"I Will Not Be Conquered": Popular Music and Indigenous Identities in North America

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Abstract

This thesis explores how indigenous peoples in the U.S. and Canada have been represented through popular music, both historically and in the present. It uses musicians, both indigenous and nonindigenous, as case studies to discuss how indigenous identities have been expressed, particularly exploring issues of gender, authenticity, voice, and cultural ownership. This is done through examination of music, interviews, and other cultural works. It considers the significance of these, given the context of colonialism that indigenous peoples in North American have experienced. This thesis also explores indigenous popular music as a potential form of agency which allows indigenous artists self-determination. It examines this in conjunction with Gerald Vizenor's theory of indigenous survivance, an idea that indigenous peoples are assertive of their own cultural identities, and that their cultures have not only survived colonialism, but are resurging.[1]

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[1] Gerald Vizenor, (Editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008).

Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction

'Music is everything. Music is an honouring – we honour all elements of Creation. Each ritual is embraced by music. Music is healing, music creates a space of being. There are songs which are so powerful, they can quicken your death'.[2]

- Joanne Shenandoah, elaborating on the role of music in her Onyota'a:ka culture.

Author's interview.

'Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives'.[3]

- Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity' (1996).

As sociomusicologist, Simon Frith, would agree, popular music is an area in which cultural narratives about indigenous identities are constructed and spread. Through musical discourse, interpretations of these identities can be conveyed to audiences, both by artists who are indigenous themselves, and those who are not. This thesis explores those narratives, using musicians as case studies to examine portrayals of indigenous identities, while discussing their significance within the context of indigenous peoples' experiences.

The thesis begins with sections dedicated to positioning its discussion. This is done through historiography, methodology, and a theoretical framework. There are also two additional sections titled, The Colonial Context of Indigenous Peoples in North America, and Indigenous Identities in North America. These are vital in contextualising the significance of indigenously themed music, as the experiences of indigenous peoples are fundamental to understanding this.

Chapter one focuses on the commodification of female and male indigenous identities through their sexualisation in popular music, arguing that this has proliferated harmful stereotypes. In these cases, popular music is argued to be misrepresenting indigenous identities. Complications in this are also analysed, such as Felipe Rose of the Village People, who is an example of an indigenous artist who himself, conforms to sexualised stereotypes of indigenous masculinity in his performance. His motivations for this are examined, as well as that of other indigenous artists who have expressed gendered indigenous identities less stereotypically.

The following chapters are solely concerned with indigenous music produced by indigenous artists. Chapter two explores indigenous hip-hop, and E.D.M (electronic dance music), arguing that rather

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[2] Author's interview with Joanne Shenandoah.
[3] Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', found in Simon Frith, (editor), *Taking Popular Music Seriously: Selected Essays,* (2007), pp. 293-312, p. 309.

than these being examples of indigenous identities becoming subsumed by globalised culture, they are actually expressions of modern indigenous identities incorporating elements from different cultures, and translating them into their own. Indigenous interpretations of gender are also discussed to further illustrate this argument, as particular understandings of these have influenced indigenous hip-hop.

The main theme of the final chapter is voice. For a minority group in both U.S. and Canadian societies, whose cultures have been suppressed and the voices of their peoples ignored. This chapter argues that music is an important means by which indigenous peoples have been able to affirm and publicise their own definitions of their identities. This is done in four subsections, dealing with the Native American Music Awards, the uses of traditional languages, comedy, and protest in their music. It forwards that considering the history in which these cultures have been suppressed, these affirmations of identity are politically defiant.

Overall, this thesis explores the complexities of indigenous identities today, and how they have been expressed through the discourse of popular music. In doing this, firstly, it seeks to expose the harmful stereotypes that have been perpetuated as commodities in the music industry. Secondly, it shows how indigenous artists are challenging this by producing innovative music which demonstrates their own cultural awareness, whilst also incorporating influences from other cultures. And finally, it listens to what indigenous musicians have to say about themselves, and the identity politics of being an indigenous musician, explaining their music as a discourse of self-determination. As the song used in the title of this thesis suggests, 'I Will Not be Conquered' (2012), by Muskoday First Nation rapper, Eekwol, also known as Lindsay Knight, music can be empowering.[4] As well as being an emcee and an activist for indigenous rights, Knight is lecturer of Native Studies, arguing that there is a link between indigenous music of the past and present. She displays how music can be used by indigenous artists to powerfully reject the colonialism that their peoples have experienced, as it has the potential to allow them to construct their own narratives of identity.

How indigenous identities are represented is important and has real-world impact on the way that indigenous peoples are treated and perceive themselves. Popular music, as an accessible medium, is an area in which these ideas of identity are articulated and publicly contested between different interests. As musician, Dave Randall, has explained of music's political influence on which ideas become accepted as mainstream: 'it's only a small exaggeration to say that political struggles are

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[4] Eekwol, 'I Will Not be Conquered', (2012).

sometimes fought on impromptu dance-floors, and won or lost according to who has the best tunes'.[5]

1.1 Historiography

Although academic discussion of indigenous peoples and popular music in North America has been relatively recent, indigenous music that Western scholars have considered 'traditional' has long received attention.[6] Between the late 19th to early 20th centuries, this was an area of interest for ethnologists. Two of the best known of these were Alice Fletcher and Frances Densmore, whose research was motivated by a mixture of public curiosity, a belief in conservation of cultures through archiving, and their conviction that indigenous music held scientific value.[7] In terms of science, they considered this music as an insight into the past, a primitive form of sound which Western societies had evolved beyond.[8] This idea was reinforced by a social Darwinist explanation of why the indigenous music these ethnologists had encountered tended to be harmonic, and not as melodic as Western styles. They concluded that harmony was a less advanced stage of evolution of music than melody, which justified the colonial assumption that Western cultures were superior to indigenous ones.[9] As Frances Densmore wrote of her interest in indigenous music in *Chippewa Music* (1910): 'a person of little musical talent presents an imperfect rendition of a song, yet these imperfections are interesting. They indicate which phase of the song was most difficult for him to acquire and remember, the melody or the rhythm'.[10] Densmore did not consider her research as insights into evolving cultures, but as insights into, 'the development of music', which assumed that indigenous cultures did not produce music that matched Western standards.[11] This was in line with the colonial thinking of the period.

Alice Fletcher also held these views, commenting in her book, *Indian Story and Song from North America* (1900): 'these songs are like the wild flowers that have not yet come under the

[5] Dave Randall, *Sound System: The Political Power of Music,* (2017), p. 35.

[6] Music perceived as 'traditional' by ethnologists has received attention from since the late 19th century. In depth analysis of indigenous popular music largely appeared in the 2000s, see Sandra Schulman, *From Kokopellis to Electric Warriors: The Native American Culture of Music*, (2002); David Samuels, *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation*, (2004).

[7] Joan Jensen, 'Frances Densmore Gets the Depression Blues', *Minnesota History* 62, (2011), pp. 216-227, p. 217.

[8] Joan Jensen, 'Frances Densmore Gets the Depression Blues', *Minnesota History* 62, (2011), pp. 216-227, p. 217.

[9] Joan Jensen, 'Frances Densmore Gets the Depression Blues', *Minnesota History* 62, (2011), pp. 216-227, p. 217.

[10] Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, (1910), foreword.

[11] Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, (1910), foreword.

transforming hand of the gardener'.[12] In doing this, she was positioning indigenous music as an uncivilised opposite to that of Western societies. Whereas dominant societies were thought to be progressing, indigenous cultures were considered backward and part of North American history, rather than as cultures that would continue being practiced. They believed that indigenous peoples were either to be eventually assimilated into dominant cultures (i.e. to stop practicing their cultures), or that they, unable to adapt to modernity, would die out.[13] Recording these sounds was thus believed to be a means of conserving this music for future scientific study. This wrongfully assumed Western superiority, and that academics would, in the future, be more capable custodians of indigenous music than indigenous peoples themselves. It is important to consider this precursor research in this thesis, as study of indigenous music in academia has a history of proliferating what we recognise today as colonial narratives. The implications of this is further considered in the Research Ethics section of this thesis' methodology.

Thankfully, such academic assumptions of indigenous peoples as musically inferior have been widely rejected in academia since the mid-20th century. As written about in this section, from the beginning of the 21st century, there has been a small, but quickly growing academic interest in indigenous popular music. It has been different to the ethnomusicological analysis of scholars that came before it, who tended to particularly focus on those sounds they considered 'traditional'.[14] Significantly, this new wave which studies indigenous popular music has had increasing input from indigenous writers and academics themselves, and this has tended to lead a more empowering narrative of the function this music serves.[15]

Sandra Schulman's *From Kokopellis to Electric Warriors: The Native American Culture of Music* (2002), contributed an accessible, and non-scholarly discussion of the Nammys, (the Native American Grammys), and of artists associated with it.[16] This argued that Native American artists were being empowered by the increasing mainstream popularity of their music.[17] This thesis builds on Schulman's work by discussing the NAMMYs on pages 86-90, suggesting that these awards have personal significance in motivating artists to express themselves, and brought many together as a community of indigenous musicians.

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[12] Alice Fletcher, *Indian Story and Song from North America*, (1995), preface.
[13] Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* (2004), p. 233.
[14] Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, (1910); Alice Fletcher, *Indian Story and Song from North America*, (1995).
[15] These writers have included Philip Deloria, Lindsay Knight and Leah Shenandoah.
[16] Sandra Schulman, *From Kokopellis to Electric Warriors: The Native American Culture of Music*, (2002).
[17] Sandra Schulman, *From Kokopellis to Electric Warriors: The Native American Culture of Music*, (2002), p. 129.

Dakota cultural historian, Phillip Deloria, dedicated a chapter of his *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2004), to explaining how elements of indigenous music have been appropriated and given stereotypical meanings in dominant culture.[18] This concentrates on the origins of the 'Indian sound' in American culture, and how its influences range from tom-tom beats signalling 'Indian' ambushes in Western films, to nationalist compositions of the early 19th century, intended to capitalise on the idea of an authentic American sound.[19] Deloria also unearths how indigenous musicians of the early to mid-20th century often used musical stereotypes to draw in American audiences, while also using Western forms of music associated with sophistication.[20] This thesis also explores the 'Indian' stereotype, looking at how sexualised versions of this have been conveyed in popular music.

David Samuels' *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation* (2004), is based on the author's academic observations of the San Carlos reservation. He found that Apache musicians there have incorporated 20th and 21st century popular music influences into expressions of their cultural identity, such as rock and reggae.[21] By 'putting a song on top' of cultural memories, such as that of Geronimo, he finds that songs can be used to link, 'history, feeling, and place'.[22] Samuel challenges the assumption that only 'traditional' sounding Native American music can be used to express Native American cultural identity by exploring the multitude of ways people interpret their identities on the reservation. Chapter 3 of this thesis also explores how other cultural influences can be incorporated into indigenous identities, although it uses genres that are more commonly associated with the 21st century, them being hip-hop and E.D.M.

Charity Marsh has written extensively on indigenous hip-hop and the agency indigenous peoples in Canada are able to express through it.[23] Her work is practically based, involving indigenous peoples

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[18] Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* (2004).

[19] Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* (2004), p. 197.

[20] Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* (2004), p. 199.

[21] David Samuels, *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation*, (2004), p. 146.

[22] David Samuels, *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation*, (2004), p. 146.

[23] Marsh, Charity, 'Bits and Pieces of Truth: Storytelling, Identity, and Hip Hop in Saskatchewan', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 346-371; Marsh, Charity, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129; Marsh, Charity, 'Hip Hop as Methodology: Ways of Knowing', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37, (2012), pp. 193-203, found on https://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal, (last accessed 20/06/2019); Marsh, Charity, 'Interview with Saskatchewan Hip Hop Artist Lindsay Knight (a.k.a. Eekwol)', *Canadian Folk Music* 43.1, (Spring 2009), pp. 11-14; Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170; Marsh, Charity, and Petty, Sheila, 'Globalization, Identity, and Youth Resistance: Kenya's Hip Hop Parliament', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music* 38, (2011), pp. 132-147.

and communities in the construction of narratives. She is primarily concerned with hip-hop cultures, deejay cultures, and isolation, identity and space in the production and performance of popular music. Throughout her works, she has argued that cultures such as hip-hop and electronic dance music give indigenous peoples opportunities for resistance to past and modern-day colonial thinking, as well as enabling them to express their indigenous identities in innovative ways.

Another text is John Troutman's *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (2009), which examined how indigenous identities were battled out through the music played in the residential schools of the early 20th century. Troutman uncovers how federal bureaucrats saw Western music as a means of assimilating indigenous students, and how their intentions were complicated by the expectations of white audiences, who expected to hear authentic 'Indian' music, when seeing these students perform.[24] The mixed musical experiences of indigenous students within these schools, is argued as allowing considerable expression, within the otherwise repressive regimes.[25] Troutman also produced an article in the same year, 'Indian Blues: The Indigenization of American Popular Music', which acknowledged the contemporary role of indigenous artists in a variety of popular music genres, while linking this back to his own research on the residential schooling system.[26] The music curriculum in the residential schooling system is not a source of much analysis in this thesis, there is however, a subsection on pages 93-101 which looks at how these schools suppressed traditional languages, and how the Nʉmʉnʉʉ musician, Apryl Allen has challenged the legacy of these by using the Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ language in her music. Allen is not only a musician but a creative writer, and is concerned with expressing Nʉmʉnʉʉ culture and identity in her works.

Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges (2012), edited by ethnomusicologists Anna Hoefnagels and Beverly Diamond, comprises of essays, interviews and personal insights from the authors. This discusses many indigenous issues, and key themes include the continuance of traditional indigenous music alongside innovations, and the role this has in reproducing indigenous identities. While displaying the variety of indigenous music in Canada, it generally gives more attention to the pow wow circuit, than recent music, with only one chapter discussing indigenous hip-hop. This thesis gives more attention to contemporary indigenous music than any of the previously mentioned writings.

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[24] John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934*, (2009), p. 105.
[25] John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934*, (2009), p. 257.
[26] John Troutman, 'Indian Blues: The Indigenization of American Popular Music', *World Literature Today* 83, (2009), pp. 42-46.

Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz to Hip Hop (2016), edited by Jeff Berglund, Jan Johnson and Kimberli Lee, is the most recent contribution existing literature. It is an interdisciplinary discussion of how indigenous artists have contributed to popular music genres, such as jazz, reggae, punk, and hip hop, and how doing this has empowered them, and allowed them to continue their traditions. Although there is some noting in its literature review of *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada*'s lack of attention hip-hop, there are still only two chapters in this book dedicated to hip-hop. Its analysis again, is mostly confined to the 20th century, and has less writing on popular music from the 21st.

There have also been the contributions of indigenous musicians. Muskoday rapper, Lindsay Knight, a.k.a. Eekwol, produced an MA Native Studies thesis for the University of Saskatchewan: *Resistance in Indigenous Music: A Continuum of Sound* (2013).[27] It argued that there is connection between indigenous music of the past, and the hip-hop being produced in indigenous communities today, and that this has an emancipatory effect. Onyota'a:ka multimedia artist, Leah Shenandoah, has also made an important contribution through her MA thesis for the Rochester Institute of Technology: *O'whahsa' - Protection, Comfort and Healing* (2017).[28] She is an accomplished music artist, song writer and jeweller. She has said of her artwork: "I am creating tools for healing, manifestation and enlightenment".[29] Although mostly concerned with fashion as part of a Metals and Jewelry Design degree, her explanation of indigenous art as a method of healing can be applied to music, and as she explained in an interview for this thesis, much of her argument was influenced by her experiences as a musician.[30] These arguments of culture as a form of agency are also considered in this thesis.

RUMBLE: The Indians Who Rocked the World (2018), is possibly the most approachable work discussing the relationship between indigenous peoples and popular music for mainstream audiences.[31] It is a Canadian film, produced by Catherine Bainbridge and Alfonso Maiorana, which explores the influence of indigenous peoples on rock music in Canada and the US, claiming that the rock 'n' roll genre was pioneered by Link Wray's 1958 track, 'Rumble'.[32] It also discusses many other prominent popular artists who have indigenous ancestries that are largely unknown to the public, such as Mildred Bailey, Charlie Patton, and Jimmy Hendrix. The documentary is at its most incisive

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[27] Lindsay Knight, 'Resistance in Indigenous Music: A Continuum of Sound', published MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, (2013).
[28] Leah Shenandoah, 'O'whahsa' - Protection, Comfort and Healing', published MA thesis,
[29] 'Artist Statement', found on http://www.leahshenandoah.com/artist-statement.html, (last accessed 27/08/2019).
[30] Author's interview with Leah Shenandoah.
[31] 'RUMBLE: The Indians Who Rocked the World', (2017).
[32] Link Wray & His Wray Men, 'Rumble', Cadence Records, (1958); 'RUMBLE: The Indians Who Rocked the World', (2017).

and convincing when arguing that indigenous musical styles have heavily influenced popular genres such as Southern gospel singing and the blues, finding that attention has only been given to European and African music as explanations for their emergence.

This thesis expands on this growing literature of indigenous popular music, building on the ground-breaking work by Charity Marsh, it dedicates a large section to examining indigenous hip-hop .[33] The thesis also considers the nuanced influences of popular music as an area in which narratives of indigenous identity are contested. Furthermore, much indigenous popular music is considered in conjunction with Gerald's Vizenor's theory of indigenous survivance, arguing that it as an expression of cultural vitality, and resistance to colonialism in North America. While other authors have expressed some similar sentiment, this thesis explicitly incorporates this theory in depth.

1.2 Methodology

The aims of my research were to analyse how artists produce, perform and interpret their indigenous identities through popular music. In conducting this research, I employed a combination of qualitative methods so that I could form a triangulation approach. As sociologist, Bruce Berg has found, this approach can be used to make inconsistencies in data apparent, and verify findings.[34] I chose qualitative methods over quantitative, as they provide more detail, allowing a depth of information, even though they do make findings more difficult to generalise, due to their particularly subjective nature.[35] I also wished to analyse music, and the motivations of artists for producing it, something which cannot be easily quantified. This section will provide insight into the advantages and challenges I found in doing my research this way, as well as the ethical standards set for doing it.

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[33] Marsh, Charity, 'Bits and Pieces of Truth: Storytelling, Identity, and Hip Hop in Saskatchewan', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 346-371; Marsh, Charity, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129; Marsh, Charity, 'Hip Hop as Methodology: Ways of Knowing', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37, (2012), pp. 193-203, found on https://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal, (last accessed 20/06/2019); Marsh, Charity, 'Interview with Saskatchewan Hip Hop Artist Lindsay Knight (a.k.a. Eekwol)', *Canadian Folk Music* 43.1, (Spring 2009), pp. 11-14; Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170; Marsh, Charity, and Petty, Sheila, 'Globalization, Identity, and Youth Resistance: Kenya's Hip Hop Parliament', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music* 38, (2011), pp. 132-147.
[34] Bruce Berg, *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, (2001), p. 4-6.
[35] David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, (2005), p. 135.

Firstly, I will explain my subjectivity as an outside researcher. While I am not American, like many young people in today's globalised world, I have been influenced by American culture in my upbringing. My understanding of indigenous peoples in the U.S. had been largely influenced by their misrepresentations in US culture, such as through Westerns and Disney films like *Peter Pan* (1953) and *Pocahontas* (1995).[36] As a BA History graduate, I also had a significant prior knowledge of U.S. history before starting this project, although this was limited regarding Native American histories, as many of the histories of the U.S. I had read had been Eurocentric. The prevalence of appropriations from indigenous cultures, historical misrepresentations, and 'Indian' stereotypes has become increasingly apparent to me over the course of this project. During the summer in which I began my research, I travelled across China and Europe, noticing skull headdress tattoos at British music festivals, plastic totem poles in Hangzhou, and a plastic 'Indian' shaman sculpture in Amsterdam advertising marijuana. This realisation of how indigenous cultures and peoples have been appropriated and misrepresented, is something that many believe to be unjust. This has affected my thesis' argument, as I wish to engage with these narratives.

Artists I interviewed had differences and similarities to myself. I interviewed people from a variety of age groups and while some were around my age others were older. It was also significant that I play an instrument and compose music. This made it easier for me discuss the composition of music with interviewees as I could relate to the practice and process. I am however, an amateur a musician, whilst the people I interviewed are professionals, creating and performing music for their careers. In this sense I was an insider (as a musical enthusiast) and an outsider (as an amateur musician, outside the music industry).

Interviewees came from diverse genres in music. I listened to the music that the different artists had produced and learnt about the histories of different genres. Notably, I did not know much about country music at the beginning of the project and extensively researched the history of the genre before interviewing artists who associate themselves with the country genre. This enabled me to relate to interviewees and understand the nuances of the subject matter.

Interviewees also came from diverse indigenous cultures and some from multiple cultural backgrounds. I researched the historical background of each nation before interviewing the artists so that I had some understanding of the historical context and politics associated with their cultural identity.

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[36] 'Peter Pan', Walt Disney Pictures, (1953); 'Pocahontas', Walt Disney Pictures, (1995).

In approaching interviewees, I took an open, honest and respectful approach, giving information about my position as a Masters by Research student at the University of Exeter in the U.K., an overview of my project objectives, and what I would use their information for. As I utilised social media as a tool for interviews, I gave interviewees my Facebook profile, enabling them to look at photographs of myself and access basic personal information about my life, in lieu of being able to meet face-to-face.[37] Most of the interviews were carried out on Skype and participants could speak directly to me, face to digital face. For those interviews carried out through messaging, I always provided my Facebook and offered the opportunity to speak face-to-face through Skype or Facebook video call.[38]

1.2.2 Research Ethics

It was extremely important that I conduct my research in an ethical manner, particularly as it involved international, cross-cultural research.[39] There is no singular pan-indigenous framework for working ethically with indigenous peoples, but it is now widely acknowledged that all research must be done with respect.[40] This may seem like an obvious ethical practice for research, but it must be considered that there is a history in which scholars have used knowledge from indigenous communities in a way that the community did not approve.[41] In this, scholars have sometimes gained for their own careers, with indigenous communities being left feeling resentful, as they have felt misrepresented, or have received little in return for their input.[42] It has been observed: 'with its historic roots in the Anglo-European Enlightenment, the modern university is the epitome of "Western" institutions, having played a key role in the spread of empire and the scientific study and colonization of Indigenous peoples and cultures'.[43] Linda Tuhiwa I Smith points out that the term 'research' in itself has negative connotations for indigenous peoples as it is associated with a history of abuses. 'The term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The

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[37] Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (1999), p. 120.
[38] Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (1999), p. 120.
[39] Paul Oliver, *The Students' Guide to Research Ethics*, (2003), p. 12-13.
[40] Jassica Ball and Pauline Jaynst, 'Enacting Research Ethics in Partnerships with Indigenous Communities in Canada: "Do it in a Good Way"', *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics: An International Journal* 3, (2008), pp. 33-51, p. 48.
[41] Jassica Ball and Pauline Jaynst, 'Enacting Research Ethics in Partnerships with Indigenous Communities in Canada: "Do it in a Good Way"', *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics: An International Journal* 3, (2008), pp. 33-51, p. 48.
[42] Jassica Ball and Pauline Jaynst, 'Enacting Research Ethics in Partnerships with Indigenous Communities in Canada: "Do it in a Good Way"', *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics: An International Journal* 3, (2008), pp. 33-51, p. 48.
[43] Louie, Poitras-Pratt, Hanson and Ottmann, 'Applying Indigenizing Principles of Decolonizing Methodologies in University Classrooms', *Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 3, (2017), pp. 16- 33, p. 17.

word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary'.[44] In recent years, many researchers have increasingly adopted indigenous frameworks when studying indigenous peoples and cultures, as to respect indigenous ways of thinking and avoid contributing colonial narratives that are ingrained in mainstream cultures. Beverley Diamond has reflected on the epistemological shift in her discipline, ethnomusicology: 'why were Euro-Americans taught to assume they had it [the correct knowledge framework for studying indigenous peoples and cultures]? What were the responsibilities of knowledge?'[45] As Margaret Kovach has stated: 'there is a need for approaches that are inherently and wholly Indigenous'.[46] For my own project, I chose to adopt the ethical framework of indigenous studies professor, Linda Smith, who advised seven Kaupapa Māori principles for working with indigenous peoples. They are:

• Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).

• Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face).

• Titiro, whakarongo … korero (look, listen… speak).

• Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).

• Kia tupato (be cautious).

• Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the *mana* of the people. *Mana* loosely translates as 'power' or 'prestige').

• Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge).[47]

Although my research is not focused on the Māori peoples of New Zealand, I felt that these ethical principles were appropriate for studying indigenous issues in North America, as they are based on integrity, and mutuality with those being researched. These principles were used in combination with Kovach's approach. Although, as a Western scholar, my approach is not indigenous, I have included indigenous methodologies and ideas in my work, such as Gerald Vizenor's theory of indigenous survivance, which will be explained later in the text.[48] In further explaining my methodology, I will relate to how I attempted to adhere to these principles.

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[44] Linda Tuhiwa I Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (1999), p. 1.
[45] Beverley Diamond, 'Recent Studies of First Nations, Inuit, and Metis Music in Canada', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 10-26, p. 13.
[46] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (2009), p. 6.
[47] Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (1999), p. 120.
[48] Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008).

1.2.3 Interviews

My research involved interviewing artists that had produced much of the music my thesis was investigating. In doing this, I sought to learn about their composition processes, performances, and how they interpreted their identity in their work.

Seeing as my research concerned indigenous musicians, it made sense that I give voice to their perspectives in this thesis, as these would help me develop a nuanced approach. It also adhered to the Kaupapa Māori principle of dealing with people face to face, rather than as an anonymous researcher. This is important, considering the observations of theorists from subaltern studies, such as Gayatri Spivak, who have forwarded that there is a history of Western scholars studying subaltern (oppressed) peoples for their own benefit, without meaningfully consulting them.[49] In contrast to this, interviews were intended to give agency to participants. This method of empowerment through oral history has been described by historian Michael Fritsch, as 'shared authority', in which historians engage with members of the public in constructing their history.[50] This is not to say however, that oral history through the interviewing process is an egalitarian endeavour. Interviews tend to give more authority to the interviewer, as they are the ones who determine what will be discussed through their questioning, and also how the participant's responses will be presented in their finished research, deciding what parts of the interview are included, and how these will be contextualised.[51] Moreover, the academic interviewer is primarily the one who gains from the interview, as they may use the information provided to help them obtain a degree or become more employable.[52] Certainly in my own case, the information participants have provided will be used to further my academic studies, and potentially assist me in publishing articles and teaching. This be problematic, considering that many of the cultures that indigenous participants belong to, have principles of relationships being based on reciprocity.[53]

In terms of reciprocity, I have undeniably gained from interviews with indigenous artists, and believe that I can only begin to show gratitude for this by being honest in my research project, and empowering indigenous voices in doing this. As one interviewee told me, as I have become aware of North America's colonial history, I have a responsibility to 'tell the truth'.[54] I see that as a British person who has dedicated more time than most towards the study of indigenous peoples, it is my

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[49] Gayatri Spivak, 'Can Subaltern Speak?', found in Cary Nelson and Larry Grossberg, (editors), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, (1988), pp. 271-316.
[50] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, (1990).
[51] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, (2010), p. 129.
[52] Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History: A practical Guide for Social Scientists*, (1994), p. 105.
[53] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (2009), p. 149.
[54] Author's interview with Kelly Derrickson.

responsibility to inform people in the U.K. about the injustices that are still being perpetrated against indigenous peoples in North America, whether through everyday conversation, or more formal writing. This is not intended to flaunt knowledge, but to spread awareness of wrongdoing and misrepresentation, with consideration that most British people will never knowingly meet an indigenous person from North America. My consideration of this has largely come from talking directly to indigenous peoples in interviews, which gave me a more direct understanding of them than text books have. It made the historical injustices committed against them feel much more real to me as the project progressed. In this way, I believe that the only way to carry out this research ethically, is for me to accept the active and ongoing responsibility that comes with gaining knowledge.

Speaking directly with indigenous artists was also significant in building a relationship with the people I was studying and making many of them aware of the work I was doing, rather than having me be an anonymous researcher. As someone who has never been to North America, let alone into a prominently indigenous community, I had for months into my research, never knowingly met an indigenous person. These interviews developed my own understanding of the topic, as I was able to talk to people directly, and ask questions that books I had read did not answer.

I adopted a semi-structured approach to interviews as I felt that this had the benefit of both giving me some control over the interview through prepared questions, as well as the flexibility to expand upon these. This is because semi-structured interviews allow interviewers to spontaneously deviate from my prepared questions.[55] This required skill and prior contextual knowledge, so that I would be able to recognise points of interest in real time, and adapt the interview to engage with them.[56] This was particularly the case during my interview with Keith Secola. He is a well-respected Ojibwa singer and song writer, who has written songs in Anishinabe. He has featured in documentaries, feature film and grassroots art installations. During his interview for this thesis, he had a lot to say about his use of metaphors, or 'coded messages' as he put it, in his songs.[57] Realising this as something that my research had not yet explored in depth, I prompted further questions about it, and took the interview off its written question script. I found the information he provided to be unexpected and rewarding, as it could be linked into a wider context of indigenous peoples concealing their expressions of culture, so that they could subvert colonial laws that sought to suppress it.

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[55] Anne Galletta, *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication*, (2013), p. 2.
[56] Anne Galletta, *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication*, (2013), p. 11.
[57] Author's interview with Keith Secola.

Subsequently, the information provided by a cultural insider (an indigenous musician), spurred the direction of my research.

Considering that my questions could often be related to memories of colonialism, I wanted to display cultural sensitivity towards the context of indigenous peoples' experiences. As a white British person, I can try empathising with these through 'training, motivation, sensitivity, knowledge, and study'.[58] Engaging with indigenous peoples when studying their cultures is significant, as it builds a relationship between the researcher and those being researched. It is also important to listen to indigenous peoples and hear what they have to say about their cultures, rather than receiving all information indirectly, through films and books for example, much of which, which the researcher is exposed to, might not be produced by indigenous peoples themselves. Research of indigenous peoples and cultures by nonindigenous researchers requires consideration of and the context of how indigenous peoples have been researched. As Margaret Kovach has written: 'qualitative research offers space for Indigenous ways of researching, yet any understanding of Indigenous methodologies alongside Western-constructed research processes (qualitative or otherwise) triggers recollection of the miserable history of Western research and Indigenous communities'.[59] Interviewees in my interviews generally seemed to recognise how a white person might feel awkward asking an indigenous person questions which related to colonialism. At one point, an interviewee encouraged me to ask more difficult questions by saying: 'you can ask me anything. Don't be shy either, I won't get offended'.[60] I was grateful for this assurance, and with this permission, I felt more comfortable discussing the history and legacy of colonialism in North America. I felt it important that I had the interviewee's consent in doing this, as I needed to be aware that some interviewees might not want to discuss certain topics.

As my participants were music artists who had often produced numerous albums over long careers, I also had to display knowledge of artists' back catalogues to get the most out of my interviews. As oral historian, Donald Ritchie, has stated: 'interviewees become impatient with interviewers whose questions show they do not understand the subject matter'.[61] Aware of this issue, I devoted myself to following the musicians I wanted to interview before contacting them. This involved listening to all their music, watching their music videos on YouTube, following them on social media, and reading any blogs they had published online or news stories relating to them. This gave the advantage of providing me prior knowledge of their careers before interviews, but it also made me unexpectedly

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[58] Duane Champagne, 'Indian Studies is for Everyone', *American Indian Quarterly* 20, (1996), pp. 77-82, p. 78.
[59] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (2009), p. 22.
[60] Author's interview with Kelly Derrickson.
[61] Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, (third edition), (2015), p. 75.

more nervous before interviews. Participants would often be people whose music I had been listening to on a near daily basis for many months, and for whom I had developed admiration. Rather than interviews being a process in which participants slowly felt more comfortable with being questioned, as I had initially expected, I found that interviewees were professional musicians who already familiar with the interviewing process. It was frequently myself that was being reassured over the course of the interview and feeling more comfortable to ask potentially more difficult questions, such as those relating to the colonial experience of indigenous peoples.

1.2.4 Conducting Interviews Online

As I am based at a U.K. university and did not receive funding for my research, I was unable to travel to North America to conduct these interviews. I instead, utilised the internet to contact, and conduct interviews with participants, through video calling on Skype and Facebook, and through messages on e-mail and Facebook. This provided me with opportunities. I would probably not have been able to do these interviews 15 years ago from a U.K. university, as contacting people by telephone is more difficult, and would cost too much to do internationally.[62] Also, as linguist Roger Shuy has argued, telephone calls do not tend to come across as natural, as they are a disruption in that person's day.[63] Finding contacts on the internet is easier, and less formal. Sociologist, Anthony Giddens, has noted that the current globalisation of communications, is providing an, 'intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities'.[64] Many researchers such as myself would agree, finding that the internet is an effective way of conducting research with people far away. This can be done inexpensively, and much more quickly than through travel.[65] Moreover, the medium is appropriate in giving voice to indigenous artists who want to express themselves. As *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (2011), considers: 'over time, people have grown even more willing and eager to tell their stories. Viewers interact with the media they consume, and they want to be heard'.[66]

This is not to say that conducting interviews over the internet is without unique challenges. Firstly, it could be said that there are no 'traditional' methods for conducting interviews over the internet, as

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[62] Kelly Schrum, Sheila Brennan, James Halabuk, Sharon Leon and Tom Scheinfeldt, 'Oral History in the Digital Age', found in Donald Ritchie, (editor), *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, (2011), p. 499-516, p. 509.
[63] Roger Shuy, 'In-person Versus Telephone Interviewing', found in Jaber Gubrium and James Holstein, (editors), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, (2001), pp. 537 –555.
[64] Anthony Giddens, 'The Globalizing of Modernity', found in Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, Dwayne Winseck Jim McKenna and Oliver Boyd-Barrett, *Media in Global Context: A Reader*, (1997), pp. 19-26, p. 19.
[65] Niall Ó Dochartaigh, *Internet Research Skills*, (third edition), (2012), p. 101.
[66] Kelly Schrum, Sheila Brennan, James Halabuk, Sharon Leon and Tom Scheinfeldt, 'Oral History in the Digital Age', found in Donald Ritchie, (editor), *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, (2011), p. 499-516, p. 509.

the widespread accessibility of the technology is still relatively new.[67] I found in my research, that the standard procedure for an oral history interview was consistently challenged in ways I had not anticipated. As an example, some younger participants were eager to have their interviews done by e-mail, or Facebook messaging, rather than through a face to face video call. In three cases, this led to interviews being carried over the course of a week of messaging, where I would forward respondents questions, and then receive responses a few days later, only for me to ask the next question. As the process was acceptable to the participants, and extremely informal, there were benefits to this. Social scientists, Natilene Bowker and Keith Tuffin, have suggested that the informality of typing, and the time it allows for response, enhances the ability of participants to reflect on their thoughts and reactions.[68] This could be empowering for interviewees, and a method in which they were not rushed into responses.[69] Typed interviews also had detriments however, as responses were likely to be shorter, and less likely to flow into other points of interest than in talked out interviews. Essentially, they tended to be more structured than semi-structured, and this meant that there was less spontaneous overlap with other topics. There was also the ethical issue of not communicating with participants face to face. I tried to mitigate my anonymity, by providing messages about my research, and what their responses would be used for. They could also, as they were contacting me on Facebook, look at my profile, which includes details about pages I have 'liked', public posts I have made, and photos of myself. Furthermore, I always offered to do video calls first, and typed interviews were a last resort which were used for the convenience of participants, if they were busy or unable to use video.

Another issue concerning ethics was getting participants to sign consent forms. Whereas usually, an interviewee is willing to sign a piece of paper after or before a physical interview, only two of my participants filed out and sent back their consent forms. I feel this was because of it being online, and it appearing as a lengthy PDF file, which respondents felt no immediate need to fill out. There was no way I could force participants to sign, but I made clear to participants what their information would be used for, and all agreed to me using their names and responses in my thesis, articles and teaching. This was not ideal, but participants did give me consent, even if this was not through a conventional form. This raises questions about how to further indigenous my own methodologies to allow for non-western approaches to research consent.

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[67] Steven Jones, 'Preface', found in Steven Jones, (editor), *Doing Internet Research: Critical Issues and Methods for Examining the Net*, (1999), p. xi.

[68] Natilene Bowker and Keith Tuffin, 'Using the Online Medium for Discursive Research About People With Disabilities', *Social Science Computer Review* 22, (2004), pp. 228-241.

[69] Natilene Bowker and Keith Tuffin, 'Using the Online Medium for Discursive Research About People With Disabilities', *Social Science Computer Review* 22, (2004), pp. 228-241, p. 238.

There was also a practical challenge to conducting interviews with people in North America, as they lived in different time zones to the U.K. Whereas most interviewees agreed to a time that was reasonable for both of us, some had to be done at times that were very late into the night for me. I was conscious in doing this that respondents were providing much more for me than I was for them, and that many of them had children or jobs that meant that they were inflexible with time. Although this could be difficult, my excitement and gratitude for being able to do such an interview exceeded this.

1.2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have used qualitative methods because of the widely interpretable nature of the music that I am studying, and so that indigenous voices can be involved in this thesis. In doing this research, I was self-aware of being a nonindigenous, British scholar, and I have considered how this might affect the subjectivity of my thesis. I also attempted to do research in a respectful way, by trying to adhere to the seven Kaupapa Māori listed by Linda Smith, for researching indigenous peoples, and using the indigenous research frameworks set out by Kovach. I found that conducting interviews over the internet was both advantageous and challenging. On one hand, it has enabled me to easily contact interviewees, and do interviews in ways that were convenient to their schedules. On the other hand, there were aspects of these unconventional methods that could be awkward, such as the longevity of typed interviews, time differences in doing video calls, and getting consent forms from participants. Overall, I am appreciative of the internet's role in this project, as it has allowed me contact indigenous artists without expensive travel and enabled them to have involvement in my research.

1.3 Theoretical Framework: Popular Discourse and Cultural Authenticity

This thesis is concerned with popular music and whether this allows artists authentic expressions of cultural identity. The relationship between discourses originating in dominant cultures, such as popular music, and cultural identity has been an area of discussion amongst Marxist academics, and this thesis considers whether some of these theories can be applied to indigenous musicians.

The detrimental effects of dominant cultures on how cultural identities are defined has been analysed in postcolonial studies. In *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), revolutionary theorist, Frantz Fanon, wrote of an identity crisis that affected black Africans under French colonial rule.[70] He found that cultural assimilation, a process by which colonial subjects were forced to integrate into the

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[70] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, translation by Richard Philcox, (2008).

dominating French society, was racist, as it pressured them to renounce their own cultures and assume a French identity. As a psychiatrist in Algeria, he found this to have a destructive effect on the self-esteem of black people. He wrote: 'all colonized people - in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken route, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave - position themselves in relation to the civilizing language: i.e., the metropolitan culture'.[71] Put simply, Fanon believed that when black people used the French language, they were taking on French culture.[72] Despite taking on this discourse of French culture, they were also reminded that they could never achieve an authentic French identity, and that their own cultural identity was deemed unsophisticated.[73] Although their cultures have not been 'committed to the grave', indigenous peoples in North American similarly have a history in which governments have attempted to erase cultural identities by forcefully assimilating them towards the values of the dominant cultures.[74] Fanon's writings are relevant to this thesis because he positions the discourses of dominant cultures as assimilative and antagonistic towards expressions of authentic cultural identity. That they make colonised peoples feel ashamed of their ancestry. It examines how indigenous artists use popular music (a discourse originating from dominant cultures) and whether they can use this for authentic cultural expression.

Whether artists are capable of authentic cultural expression despite communicating through a dominant culture's discourses is disputed. An influential theorist who denounced popular music's capacity for authenticity was musicologist, Theodor Adorno, whose work has been described by socio-musicologist, Simon Firth, as, 'the most systematic and the most searing analysis of mass culture and the most challenging for anyone claiming even a scrap of value for the products that come churning out of the music industry'.[75] Although more concerned with class oppression than racial subordination, Adorno condemned society's popular music as suppressive, believing that it is a form of control by which society's elites distract the masses, and that it could only strengthen the power of the establishment.[76] He believed popular music to be 'illusionary by aesthetic standards', with no actual substance, forwarding that it did nothing to contribute to a person's life, and that its

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[71] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, translation by Richard Philcox, (2008), p. 2.
[72] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, translation by Richard Philcox, (2008), p. 2.
[73] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, translation by Richard Philcox, (2008), p. 2.
[74] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, translation by Richard Philcox, (2008), p. 2; Katherine Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy*, (2017); Robert Cohen, *Canada's First Nations and Cultural Genocide*, (2016).
[75] Simon Frith, *Sociology of Rock*, (1978), p. 195.
[76] Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, (1991), p. 34; The author accepts that many Marxists would contend that class oppression and racial subordination are intricately linked, but feels that Adorno more specifically addresses issues of class.

presence everywhere in society from radios to shops, only served to divert them from the fundamental injustices of the capitalist system.[77] Adorno understands that popular music bears little relation to reality, and this could be said of the way in which the record industry has often portrayed indigenous peoples.[78] There have been many famous artists such as Cher and the Sugarhill Gang, who have incorporated the 'Indian' stereotype into their music, despite this not reflecting the real lived experiences of indigenous peoples.[79] This can be seen as mythologising them as a marketable gimmick to the public, and the ramifications of this will examined later in this thesis. Furthermore, even those who try to use popular music as a means of rebelling against that establishment are viewed by Adorno as reinforcing it, as they are using its same marketable and controlling methods.[80] This theory would suggest, like Fanon, that indigenous peoples who incorporate popular genres into their music are using a discourse that oppresses them, and which is not defined by their own cultures, but by dominant society's elites.

Folk musician and writer, Leon Rosselson, agreed with Adorno that popular music was not authentic culture, believing it was 'incapable of saying anything valuable about the world in which most people live, love and work'.[81] His polemic essay, 'Pop Music: Mobiliser or Opiate?', argued that the commercialism of the record industry stifled out any authenticity, stating that, 'the possibility of alternative voices making themselves heard is always small and at times, such as now [1979], non-existent'.[82] Rosselson positioned folk music as an authentic alternative to this, as it had originated in pre-capitalist societies, and he believed that it had remained anti-commercial.[83] This argument can be extended to the disagreement amongst many indigenous peoples as to what makes something authentically indigenous.[84] Some indigenous people believe that innovations can be made within their cultures, while others perceive that only strictly traditional practices are authentic, as they predate contact with Europeans.[85] For contemporary musicians who mix traditional sounds into

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[77] Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, (1991), p. 33.
[78] Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, (1991), p. 34.
[79] Sugar Hill Gang, 'Apache (Jump on It)', Sugar Hill Records, (1981); Cher, 'Half-Breed', MCA Records, (1973).
[80] Robert Witkin, *Adorno on Popular Culture*, (2003), p. 108.
[81] Leon Rosselson, 'Pop Music: Mobiliser or Opiate?', found in Carl Gardner, (editor), *Media, Politics and Culture; A Socialist View*, (1979), pp. 40-50, p. 47.
[82] Leon Rosselson, 'Pop Music: Mobiliser or Opiate?', found in Carl Gardner, (editor), *Media, Politics and Culture; A Socialist View*, (1979), pp. 40-50, p. 40.
[83] Leon Rosselson, 'Pop Music: Mobiliser or Opiate?', found in Carl Gardner, (editor), *Media, Politics and Culture; A Socialist View*, (1979), pp. 40-50, p. 50; It should be considered that Rosselson's view that folk is authentic music might be influenced by him being an English folk musician himself.
[84] Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 249.
[85] Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 249.

popular genres, this can be controversial. As Shannon Thornton has considered of contemporary Celtic music, 'when the category… shifts to encompass popular as well as traditional music, has it been "appropriated"? Or can we really claim "outside interference" when the categorical shifting is actually occurring within the industry of the "insider"?'[86] Put simply, can an indigenous person produce inherently indigenous music if they are not entirely conforming to their cultural traditions? Judgements about authenticity are further complicated by the involvement of commercial sales in the indigenous music industry. For many indigenous communities, musical knowledge is traditionally inclusive and linked to the landscape.[87] The sharing of traditional sounds to largely non-indigenous audiences taps into issues of 'selling out', and what musicologist, Martin Stokes, has described as 'music out of context'.[88] That is, that audiences from different cultures will not understand the significance of the music, and that its displacement will cause it to lose its meaning. As Jocelyne Guilbault has written of the success of zouk music in the West Indies: 'it can indeed be assumed that a local music that has become exportable and has been granted considerable commercial value not only raises a feeling of pride among the local populations', but at the same time it can lead to an anxiety that their culture is being exploited through capitalism.[89] When considering these factors, it can be interpreted that traditional indigenous music becomes less authentic, less of an expression of traditional cultural identity, when incorporating elements from popular music.

Arguing against the view that popular music is inherently oppressive are Marxist academics from Cultural Studies, such as Stuart Hall and Dick Hebdige.[90] These theorists see culture as an area of conflict, something that Stuart Hall described as 'culture struggle'.[91] He argues that cultures within a dominant culture can use popular music to express themselves and disrupt the often racist narratives of that society.[92] Hall also suggests that these cultures can innovate as a response to new circumstances while retaining their authenticity.[93] He wrote: 'tradition is a vital element in culture;

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[86] Amy Hale and Philip Payton, (editors), *New Directions in Celtic Studies*, (2000), p.22.

[87] 'Native American Music', found on http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/, (last accessed 28/11/2017); 'First Nations Music in Canada', found on https://www.canada.ca/en.html, (last accessed 28/11/2017).

[88] Martin Stokes, (editor), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, (1994), pp. 99-100.

[89] Jocelyne Guilbault, Zouk: World Music in the West Indies, (1993), p. xvii.

[90] Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing 'The Popular'', found in R. Samuel, (editor), *People's History and Socialist Theory*, (1981), pp. 227–240; Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (1979).

[91] Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing 'The Popular'', found in R. Samuel, (editor), *People's History and Socialist Theory*, (1981), pp. 227–240, p. 237.

[92] Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing 'The Popular'', found in R. Samuel, (editor), *People's History and Socialist Theory*, (1981), pp. 227–240, p. 237.

[93] Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing 'The Popular'', found in R. Samuel, (editor), *People's History and Socialist Theory*, (1981), pp. 227–240, p. 237.

but it has little to do with the mere persistence of old forms'.[94] Hall would perceive that indigenous artists can incorporate popular forms of music into their own cultural traditions, while retaining their authentic cultural identity. By extension, they can use this to challenge the narratives of dominant culture, by using it to define themselves, rather than letting dominant culture define them. Jocelyne Guilbault would agree with these academics in Cultural Studies on this issue, as she believes that 'world' music enables indigenous artists in the West Indies, and indigenous peoples on a wider global scale, to create their own cultural narratives, and even inform nonindigenous peoples about their culture: 'I strongly believe that the emergence of world music offers one of the greatest of challenges both for the general public and for those at the levels of power: a chance to understand other cultures better and, in the process, to recognize them as part of our world'.[95] This is significant considering that indigenous voices are often marginalised in nonindigenous cultural narratives. Charity Marsh has also written extensively on how this is demonstrated in indigenous hip-hop, and how it has enabled Inuit peoples to challenge 'common stereotypes and reified identities that continue to circulate in political, cultural, and national discourses'.[96]

Scholars in Subaltern Studies have also grappled with the implications of Western culture being incorporated into colonised societies, and have forwarded that this has resulted in hybrid modernities.[97] Dipesh Chakrabarty, David Arnold, Gyan Prakash, Gayatri Spivak, and Partha Chatterjee, have explored how aspects of Western societies have been 'translated' into nondominant cultures, and have tried to show that Western culture has not simply been imposed upon these, but that the oppressed (i.e. the subaltern) have integrated this into their own cultural practices.[98] This is thought to have produced different forms of modernity, 'whose marks of difference still remain subject to unresolved contestations of power'.[99] In this, indigenous popular music can be seen as an area in which the power of cultural identity is being contested.

Ideas of indigenous cultural expression through popular music are discussed in this thesis in conjunction with Gerald Vizenor's theory of survivance, a concept that stresses the ability of indigenous peoples to resist dominant culture's narratives through their own cultural vitality, and

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[94] Stuart Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing 'The Popular'', found in R. Samuel, (editor), *People's History and Socialist Theory*, (1981), pp. 227–240, p. 237.

[95] Jocelyne Guilbault, Zouk: World Music in the West Indies, (1993), p. xxi.

[96] Charity Marsh, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129, p. 112.

[97] Vasant Kaiwar, *The Postcolonial Orient: The Politics of Difference and the Project of Provincialising Europe*, (2014), p. 145.

[98] Parther Chatterjee, *Empire and Nation: Selected Essays*, (2010), p. 297.

[99] Parther Chatterjee, *Empire and Nation: Selected Essays*, (2010), p. 297.

innovation.[100] He describes survivance as meaning, 'an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; Survivance is the continuance of stories, not as mere reactions, however pertinent. Survivance is greater than the right of a survivable name'.[101] This is expressed through 'songs, stories, natural reason, remembrance, traditions, customs, and [is] clearly observable in narrative sentiments of resistance'.[102] Survivance can also be used to challenge binary assessments of indigenous music, or as historian James Clifford wrote of music more generally, 'intractable double binds', such as the 'assumed contradiction between material wealth and cultural authenticity'.[103] It does this by displaying the versatility of indigenous peoples and cultures. Much of the popular music being produced by young indigenous artists embodies these themes of survivance, and its value as an expression of resistance and cultural identity will be examined.

An important medium through which these indigenous artists have transmitted their own music in recent years is the internet. Until the 1990s, a musician who wanted their music to be widely heard, generally had to sign to a major record label.[104] This gave record companies an oligarchical position, and allowed them to restrict the creative freedom of artists.[105] The ramifications of this for representations of indigenous identity in popular music was that what was produced would often be determined by the 'culture industry', and record companies have often used racist stereotyping in the production and marketing of their music, partly because these clichés conform to dominant societal expectations, and this perceivably makes them easier to sell to large audiences.[106] The development of the internet however, somewhat subverts the power of these record labels. [107] Many record companies have had trouble adapting to a space in which anyone can publish, and

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[100] Gerald Vizenor, 'Aesthetics of Survivance', found in Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008), pp. 25-38p. 1.

[101] Gerald Vizenor, 'Aesthetics of Survivance', found in Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008), pp. 25-38p. 1.

[102] Gerald Vizenor, *Native Liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Surivivance*, (2009), p. 85.

[103] James Clifford, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*, (2013), p. 17.

[104] William Aspray, 'File Sharing and the Music Industry', found in William Aspray and Paul Ceruzzi, (editors), *The Internet and American Business*, (2008), pp. 451-489, p. 453.

[105] William Aspray, 'File Sharing and the Music Industry', found in William Aspray and Paul Ceruzzi, (editors), *The Internet and American Business*, (2008), pp. 451-489, p. 453.

[106] Dave Randall, *Sound System: The Political Power of Music*, (2017), p. 125; Jason Toynbee, *Making Popular Music: Musicians, Creativity, and Institutions*, (2000), p. 121.

[107] Steve Jones, 'Music and the Internet', *Popular Music* 19, (2000), pp. 217-230, p. 223; Catherine Moore, 'Work and Recordings: The Impact of Commercialisation and Digitalisation', found in Michael Talbot, (editor), *The musical Work: Reality of Invention?*, (2000), pp. 88-109, p. 103; Moya Mason, 'Thoughts on Adorno and the Internet', found on http://www.moyak.com/papers/adorno-culture-industry.html, (last accessed 13/12/2017).

music can easily be streamed without purchase.[108] Whereas in the past, radio airtime and marketing was generally the way in which music was proliferated, artists can now make their music accessible to audiences across the globe, without having to do this through a major record label.[109] Many indigenous peoples have realised this, and have utilised the internet with enthusiasm.[110] Charity Marsh has forwarded that for many indigenous peoples in remote communities such as many Inuit people, the internet has great value. It is important to consider on-line territory as a space of social networking and a place to construct communities, especially in the North where mobility and physical access to anything outside one's community is difficult if not impossible.[111] As she explains, through the internet, 'communities are re-defining the world, both locally and globally'.[112]

Music is important in affecting how an individual identifies within a collective. Simon Frith has noted: 'identity is not a thing but a process – an experiential process which is most vividly grasped *as music.* Music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective'.[113] Essentially, music as a discourse can be individually intimate as well as a way of connecting with others within a group. It can be a way of sharing experiences and expressions. Carol Hess has commented: 'identity can be expressed musically, especially when a particular group feels a sense of ownership toward a certain type of music'.[114] Many indigenous peoples consider music as important in sustaining their communities and as an expression of their cultural identities. Hess has also suggested that these cultures give significance to music and that it in turn is able to express their values: 'the cultural contexts in which these different musical features are configured and the meanings that a given culture attaches to them confer identity on what would otherwise be abstract sounds'.[115] Although popular music can be commercial, technologies such as the internet can be a way in which communities share expression and creativity amongst themselves and with others.

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[108] Steve Jones, 'Music and the Internet', *Popular Music* 19, (2000), pp. 217-230, p. 223; Catherine Moore, 'Work and Recordings: The Impact of Commercialisation and Digitalisation', found in Michael Talbot, (editor), *The musical Work: Reality of Invention?*, (2000), pp. 88-109, p. 103.
[109] Steve Jones, 'Music and the Internet', *Popular Music* 19, (2000), pp. 217-230, p. 223.
[110] Kristy Belton, 'From Cyberspace to Offline Communities: Indigenous Peoples and Global Connectivity', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 35, (2010), pp. 193-215, p. 197.
[111] Charity Marsh, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129, p. 113.
[112] Charity Marsh, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129, p. 116.
[113] Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', found in Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (editors), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, (London, 1996), pp. 108-127, p. 110.
[114] Carol Hess, *Experiencing Latin American Music*, (2018), p. 128.
[115] Carol Hess, *Experiencing Latin American Music*, (2018), p. 182.

Although this poses some challenge to Adorno's writings on popular music, it must also be considered that the internet is still considerably influenced by commercial interests, with search engines prioritising some results over others, and advertising being abundant.[116] Essentially, the internet is not a utopian space, without limitations on what gets heard. Despite this, it does at least allow minority groups such as indigenous peoples in North America, a space in which they can transmit their music without going through the institutions of dominant societies. As political scientist, Kristy Belton, has commented: 'although cyberspace is not completely unregulated or free from state interference, it is less regulated than other environments and is not bound to a given physical territory or owned by a particular ethnic group or state'.[117] Basically, the participation of indigenous artists in the internet also needs to be considered in relation to how indigenous identity how has been represented, as it seems to allow indigenous artists greater creative freedom to express their cultural identity than music that is produced through major record labels which have used racialised marketing.

Regarding authentic cultural expressions of identity, this thesis positions itself somewhere between Adorno and Hall, arguing that popular music does not necessarily oppress or liberate the cultural identities of indigenous peoples, but rather that it has the potential for both. It acknowledges that it can often proliferate harmful messages such as the degrading stereotype of the 'Indian', and it examines how the culture industry has encouraged both indigenous and nonindigenous artists to exploit this. It also, however, considers the reverse of this, and the cultural self-assertion and emancipation that many indigenous artists find in it as a practice of survivance. As Stuart Hall once put it, 'identities are an endless, unfinished conversation'.[118] This thesis explores popular music as a discourse in that conversation, and as an area in which indigenous and nonindigenous musicians have asserted and contested ideas of indigenous identity.

1.4 The Colonial Context of Indigenous Peoples in North America

Although the focus of this thesis is how indigenous identities have been represented in popular music, this section is important because it gives context to indigenous issues. This is fundamental in understanding why self-identifying indigenous people making music is significant. Considering how both the U.S. and Canadian governments have tried to eliminate these cultures, this thesis considers

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[116] Panayiota Tsatsou, *Internet Studies: Past, Present and Future Directions*, (2014), p. 16; Mick Brooks, 'Capitalism and the Internet', found on https://www.marxist.com/, (last accessed 13/12/2017).
[117] Kristy Belton, 'From Cyberspace to Offline Communities: Indigenous Peoples and Global Connectivity', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 35, (2010), pp. 193-215, p. 197.
[118] Interview with Stuart Hall in 'The Stuart Hall Project', BFI Films, (2013).

this context in chapters 3 and 4, arguing that the continuation of indigenous artists producing music that asserts indigenous identity, is a statement of cultural vitality and endurance.

1.4.1 A Summary of the Relationship between First Nations Peoples and Canada

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015), recently described its definition of reconciliation as being about, 'establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples', a relationship which it determined Canada does not presently have.[119] Canada is currently at an important moment in its relationship with First Nations. It is beginning to acknowledge its own colonial history, and there is discussion of how reconciliation might be achieved. The context of why reconciliation is needed draws upon a vast history of the relationship between First Nations peoples and Canada. Although the breadth of this topic cannot be adequately explored in this thesis, some flashpoints are listed for overview.

First Nations peoples inhabited North America, or Turtle Island, as some of their cultures call it, for thousands of years before Europeans arrived in the continent.[120] The traditions of many of these cultures tell us that it is their land of origin.[121] Canada by contrast, is a young nation. Although remaining a British colony for many decades afterwards, it became independent from the U.K. in 1867, and with this inherited treaty obligations. These were agreements that had been signed between First Nations peoples as sovereign nations, and the British crown. The *Indian Act* (1876), which is still upheld with amendments, was soon imposed on First Nations peoples without consultation.[122] It was, and still is, a legal reaction to Canada's treaties, limiting the self-governance of First Nations peoples, their control over indigenous lands, and services they use such as education and healthcare.[123]

It is also important to note that like Native Americans, First Nations peoples were confined upon reservations in the late 19th century, where their cultural practices were suppressed. For instance, the Potlatch ceremony, a practice which could be used to redistribute wealth or as a rite of passage

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[119] 'Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada', The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015), p. 6.
[120] Olive Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, (Second Edition), (2010), p. 1.
[121] Olive Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, (Second Edition), (2010), p. 1.
[122] *The Indian Act*, (1876).
[123] 'The Indian Act', found on http://indigenousfoundations.web.arts.ubc.ca, (last accessed 02/05/2018).

was made into a criminal offence in section 3 of *An Act Further to Amend the Indian Act* (1880).[124] This ban lasted until 1951.[125]

Jumping considerably ahead in history, the 1970s were a time in which First Nations peoples were increasingly protesting their treatment by the Canadian government. The American Indian Movement (AIM), in the U.S. and Canada, focused on opposing and spreading awareness of their governments' 'Indian' policies, and the exploitation of their lands, sometimes through militant actions.[126] This was significant in that indigenous peoples were increasingly making their discontent visible to the general public, making injustices towards them harder to ignore.

During the 1980s, some progress towards a better relationship between Canada and First Nations peoples was being made by some museums, which engaged with indigenous voices on how indigenous collections were displayed. This has since become more common in practice. As historian, Bryony Onciul, has written of the rise of new museology in post-colonial nations, such as Canada: 'sharing power and authorship is increasingly used as a strategy to pluralise, democratise and decolonialise relations with, and representations of, Indigenous peoples'.[127] This is not, as she has noted, without complications, as it is still museums and not indigenous peoples that possess often sacred indigenous items.[128] This does however, display Canadian institutions being more considerate of First Nations perspectives.

In 1990, there was the Oka Crisis, in which Kanien'kehá:ka protestors blocked the extension of a private golf course onto their land.[129] This led to a violent conflict between protestors and the Canadian government, which was well publicised by the media. Subsequently, The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was set up, and this published a report in 1996, in which it determined: 'The main policy direction, pursued for more than 150 years, first by colonial then by Canadian governments, has been wrong'.[130] It also recommended Canada commit towards a better

[124] Section 3 of *An Act Further to Amend The Indian Act,* (1880)*.*
[125] For more information on the Potlatch ban see Leslie Robertson, *Standing Up with Ga'axsta'las: Jane Constance Cook and the Politics of Memory, Church, and Custom*, (2012).
[126] For more information on the American Indian Movement see Bruce Johansen, Encyclopedia of the American Indian Movement, (2013).
[127] Bryony Onciul, *Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice: Decolonizing Engagement*, (2015), p. 1.
[128] Bryony Onciul, *Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice: Decolonizing Engagement*, (2015), p. 1.
[129] For more information on the Oka Crisis see Harry Swain, *Oka: A Political Crisis and its Legacy*, (2010); Kanehsatake: '270 Years of Resistance, National Film Board of Canada', (1993).
[130] 'Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples', found on https://www.canada.ca/en.html, (last accessed 02/05/2018).

relationship with First Nations peoples by recommending actions that would allow them greater sovereignty, although many of these actions have not yet been adhered to.[131]

During the 2000s, there were revelations about the horrors of the Indian residential school system that was enforced upon First Nations children from the late 19th to late 20th centuries, the last of these closing in 1996.[132] Many survivors bravely spoke out about the traumas they had experienced at these institutions. Not all students had negative experiences, but there were cases at these schools of extreme emotional and physical abuse, including deaths. They have had disastrous implications for the self-esteem of many indigenous children. Bud Whiteye, a survivor of the Mohawk Institute Residential School, recently explained the extensive cultural regime within these institutions. 'You didn't speak anything but English. You went to the white man's school. You went to the white man's church. You wore white mans' clothes. All those were built in. It wasn't a classroom-type lecture. It was ingrained in the system'.[133] All this was designed to alienate children from their indigenous identities, by isolating them from their families and cultures. Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge, have elaborated on the importance of culture in creating a sense of place within the world. 'Space is transformed into place through traditions, memories, myths and narratives and its uniqueness confirmed and legitimated in terms of their relationship to particular representations of the past'.[134] Residential schools intentionally disturbed this process, by removing cultural practices that gave children a feeling of belonging to their own cultural identities. It was this, specifically, that The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada would go on to describe this as, 'cultural genocide' in 2015, determining that the schools were purposed at preventing, 'the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next'.[135] These schools, run for much of their existence by church denominations, and later by the state, have caused much intergenerational trauma for First Nations peoples.

Canada has much work to do with reconciliation. First Nations peoples are still enduring the consequences of colonialism. As a Canadian demographic, they amongst other things, disproportionately experience overcrowded housing, food insecurity, high unemployment, mental

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[131] 'Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples', found on https://www.canada.ca/en.html, (last accessed 02/05/2018).
[132] For more information on the Indian residential school system see John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System*, (1999); Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, (2010).
[133] Bud Whiteye cited in 'Canada's Dark Secret', *Al Jazeera* 3 Feb. 2017.
[134] G. J. Ashworth, Brian Graham and J. E. Turnbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, (2007), p. 54.
[135] 'Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada', The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015), p. 1.

health problems in their youth, low levels of confidence in the justice system.[136] And in 2015, indigenous peoples (including Metis and Inuit) accounted for 25% of homicide victims, despite only representing an estimated 5% of the population.[137] Canadian provinces also still approve the exploitation of indigenous lands by businesses, and allow the lucrative extraction of natural resources on these lands, something which many indigenous peoples oppose.[138] The sovereignty of First Nations is limited. As First Nations activists, Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson, have pointed out, the Canadian government does not allow indigenous peoples significant power, 'over any land or resources in… Aboriginal and treaty territory except for the 0.2% that has been designated Indian reserve lands'.[139]

Canada's historic treatment of First Nations peoples has been oppressive, seeking to exploit their lands, and eliminate their cultures. There has however, been some improvements, or at least acknowledgements in the way in which First Nations peoples are treated; although for many First Nations peoples, Canada still needs to allow indigenous self-governance and control of lands for reconciliation efforts to be sincere.

Some indigenous communities have also criticised the Canadian government's approach towards reconciliation, feeling that there is too much emphasis on town-down approaches that maintain the Canadian government's power, rather than giving power to indigenous communities themselves.[140] Many indigenous peoples also feel that the Liberal Party governments of Justin Trudeau, considered by some with initial optimism, have like many previous Canadian governments, misled indigenous peoples over their intentions, promising to be 'progressive' and seek reconciliation while attempting to curtail indigenous sovereignty and pursue environmentally damaging economic policies on indigenous lands.[141] There are also indigenous community led approaches to dealing with issues in indigenous communities, with many indigenous people feeling that national and regional

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[136] 'First Nations People, Métis and Inuit in Canada: Diverse and Growing Populations', found on http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/start, (last accessed 02/05/2018).
[137] 'First Nations People, Métis and Inuit in Canada: Diverse and Growing Populations', found on http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/start, (last accessed 02/05/2018).
[138] For more information see Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson, *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-up Call,* (2015); Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson, *The Reconciliation Manifesto: Recovering the Land, Rebuilding the Economy*, (2017).
[139] Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson, *The Reconciliation Manifesto: Recovering the Land, Rebuilding the Economy*, (2017), p. 80.
[140] Sheryl Lightfoot, 'Indigenous-Canadian Relations at the Sesquicentennial: An Opportunity for Real and Lasting Transformation', found in Carolyn Tuohy, Sophie Borwein, Peter Loewen and Andrew Potter (editors), *Policy Transformation in Canada: Is the Past Prologue?*, (2019), pp. 124-131, p. 129.
[141] Sheryl Lightfoot, 'Indigenous-Canadian Relations at the Sesquicentennial: An Opportunity for Real and Lasting Transformation', found in Carolyn Tuohy, Sophie Borwein, Peter Loewen and Andrew Potter (editors), *Policy Transformation in Canada: Is the Past Prologue?*, (2019), pp. 124-131, p. 129.

governments are not providing sufficient support to these communities. For instance, the missing and murdered epidemic of indigenous women (which is further explained in chapter 3.2) is considered to be a crisis that Canadian authorities have failed to respond to, and many indigenous communities have felt an urgency to create their own responses. The website for the WHO IS SHE? campaign in Ottawa states: 'our families can't wait for Ottawa to stop Indigenous women and girls from disappearing. We are planning our own process to bring safety to our peoples'.[142]

 Canada's relationship with its colonial past is also still being contested. Many indigenous peoples challenged the national celebrations of 150 years of Canada through protests that highlighted Canada's history as a colonial nation. In consideration of these criticisms, one CBC headline read: 'Is Canada 150 a national party or a celebration of colonization?'[143] Michelle LeBaron and Paulette Regan have observed: 'in the year of Canada's sesquicentennial celebrations, many Indigenous people and their supporters organized countercommemorative interventions. Others participated in Canada 150 commemorations but on their own terms, telling the story of Canada in their own ways'.[144] It is important to consider that the current effectiveness of the reconciliation process is questioned and that many indigenous peoples feel that Canada's colonial past is still not being appropriately acknowledged by those outside indigenous communities.

1.4.2 A Summary of the Relationship between Native Americans and the U.S.

In comparison to Canada, which has at least begun to recognise its past actions, the U.S.' relationship with its indigenous peoples is more undetermined, as it has had no substantial equivalent to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, or the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. This subsection explores the relationship between the U.S. and Native Americans. Again, while the magnitude of this topic cannot be adequately explained, some noteworthy events are listed.

The U.S. has existed as a modern nation since 1776, and has had periods of friendly relations, conflict, and outward abuse towards different Native American nations. The experiences of various Native American peoples has varied, but generally by the latter half of the 19th century, many Americans, such as the US commissioner of Indian affairs, Francis Walker, regarded the 'national progress' as the seizure and commercial development of indigenous lands by settlers, to which Native Americans were considered a natural 'obstacle'.[145] Successive 19th century governments had

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[142] Found on https://www.whoisshe.ca/, (last accessed 06/10/2019).

[143] Adam Carter, 'Is Canada 150 a national party or a celebration of colonization?', *CBC News* 26 Jun. 2017.

[144] Michelle LeBaron and Paulette Regan, 'Reweaving the Past', found in Philippe Tortell, Mark Turin and Margot Young (editors), *Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies*, (2018), pp. 217-224, p. 220.

[145] Francis Walker, *The Indian Question,* (1874), p. 17.

had a simple and brutal answer to this: the confinement of indigenous peoples on reservations. These had originated in the 1850s in the U.S., following the annexation of Texas (1845), Oregon (1846), and California (1848), allowing governments, 'to maximize the amount of land that could be freed up for settlement and to be able to easily monitor Native Americans once they were on the reservation'.[146] This effectively imprisoned Native Americans, often on poor quality land which was unsuitable for agriculture, making them dependent upon governments for sustenance. Despite continuous resistance, they were pressured to comply with this by governments who rarely upheld the treaty obligations that they had agreed with indigenous nations, or had signed no treaties at all, who passively allowed settlers to harass indigenous peoples on their own land, and by sheer military force. In his seminal revisionist book of how the U.S. had treated Native Americans in the late 19th century, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (1976), the historian Dee Brown, described the motivations for the genocide and forced relocation of these peoples as, 'violence, greed, audacity, and an almost reverential attitude toward the ideal of personal freedom for those who already had it'.[147]

Some Americans did however, have more nuanced motivations than this. Many believed that Native Americans could only survive if they became culturally 'modern' (meaning culturally white), and this resulted in an agenda of assimilation into U.S. society which involved policies aimed at suppressing indigenous customs. The Rules for Indian Courts (1882) directed Indian agents and missionaries to actively suppress religious activities on reservations, with punishments ranging from the withholding of rations to imprisonment.[148] The Indian Religious Crimes Code of 1883 and the issuing of Circular 1665 (1922) by government officials reiterated that indigenous peoples engaging in their traditional religious practices should be harshly punished.[149] While the assimilation of indigenous peoples did have some paternalistic motivations, as it was justified as ensuring the survival of Native Americans in a 'modern' world which many Americans did not believe their cultures compatible with, it also served the purpose of removing indigenous opposition to the commercial exploitation of their lands by U.S. society. Historian, R. David Edmunds, has summarised what the government's rationale was: 'Indian people would accept their individual land holdings and would be completely assimilated.

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[146] Christian Dippel, 'Forced Coexistence and Economic Development: Evidence from Native American Reservations', *Econometrica* 82, (2014), pp. 2131-2165, p. 2136.
[147] Dee Brown, *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, (1970) p. xv.
[148] The Rules for Indian Courts (1882); Paul Harvey, Edward Blum and Randall Stephens (editors), *The Columbia Guide to Religion in American History*, (2012), p. 75.
[149] The Indian Religious Crimes Code of 1883; Circular 1665 (1922); Paul Harvey, Edward Blum and Randall Stephens (editors), *The Columbia Guide to Religion in American History*, (2012), p. 75.

Native Americans, as a separate and unique ethnic minority group, would essentially disappear'.[150] Effectively, it was thought that Native Americans could survive, but only if they removed all sense of their cultural identities.

To eliminate these identities, the U.S. set up its own assimilative education programme, the American Indian boarding schools.[151] In the U.S., these were run by the state, rather than by churches, like in Canada. The strategy was soon coined as killing 'the Indian in the child' and it was practiced by the removal of Native children from their families during their formative years. At these schools, children would be taught U.S. culture, and to be ashamed of their ancestry.

By the latter half of the 20th century, Native Americans were loudly challenging these policies. Since the 1960s, many Native Americans have put pressure on the U.S. to give them greater self-determination. The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 enabled Native Americans some control over issues that concern their own people.[152] The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978), was also significant in making the persecution of indigenous people for cultural practices illegal.[153]

In the 1970s, the American Indian Movement (AIM) also campaigned for greater recognition of indigenous sovereignty, and the mistreatment of indigenous peoples.[154] The movement often resorted to high publicity stunts and militant actions. Some of the most notable of these were the reoccupation Alcatraz Island (1969-1971), in which activists claimed to be retaking lost land in New York. The march on Washington (1972), in which they protested the violation of treaties, as well as AIM members occupying the Bureau of Indian Affairs, that being the administrative branch of the U.S. which manages Native American issues. There was also the armed standoff at Wounded Knee (1973), the area where Native Americans had been massacred by the U.S. military almost a hundred years earlier. In this, activists stood off against the U.S. military. All these brought increasing public attention to the mistreatment of Native Americans.

In the 1990s, there was much revaluation of how Native Americans were presented in Hollywood movies. While *Dances with Wolves* (1990), *Last of the Mohicans* (1992), and *Pocahontas* (1995), are

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[150] R. David Edmunds, 'Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995', *The American Historical Review* 100, (1995), pp. 717-740, p. 718.
[151] For more information on the American Indian boarding schools system see David Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, (1995); Margaret Archuleta, (Editor), *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*, (2005).
[152] The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968.
[153] The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978).
[154] For more information on the American Indian Movement see Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, (1997); Dick Bancroft and Laura Wittstock, *We Are Still Here: A Photographic History of the American Indian Movement*, (2013).

flawed in their representations of romanticised 'Indians', they did begin to represent Native American characters as real humans, with relatable attributes.[155] Indigenous film makers also began to make an impact. Notably, *Smoke Signals* (1998), was the first Hollywood film to have the producers, director, screenwriter, technicians, and main cast all be indigenous to North America.[156] As Nēhiyaw filmmaker, Neil Diamond, has suggested in his documentary about screen representations of Native Americans, *Reel Injun* (2009), *Smoke Signals* was groundbreakingly in not only being the first Hollywood movie to be directed by an indigenous person, but also because it portrayed Native Americans as modern characters, rather than as historical warriors, such as in the Western films of the 1950s.[157]

Perhaps the closest the U.S. has come to an acknowledgement of responsibility towards historical mistreatment of Native Americans was in 2009. As part of a defence appropriations spending bill, President Barack Obama signed that he, '[apologised] on behalf of the people of the United States to all Native Peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted on Native Peoples by citizens of the United States'.[158] Many felt the apology lacked sincerity however, as little effort was made to draw attention to it, limiting its impact on both Native Americans and the wider American public.[159] It was also a general apology for past actions, lacking government culpability, and made no effort to resolve current disputes of sovereignty with Native Americans.

Essentially, the relationship between the U.S. and Native Americans has been historically unequal, with the U.S. taking indigenous lands, and attempting to eradicate Native American cultures. While Native Americans have made some gains in sovereignty and self-representation since the mid-20th century, the U.S. has not begun to discuss the reconciliation of this relationship in the same way as Canada is beginning to do.

1.4.3 Conclusion

In summary, both the relationship between First Nations and Canada, and the relationship between Native Americans and the U.S. have involved indigenous peoples and lands being colonised, with practices of cultural suppression attempting extinguish eradicate cultures. This colonial context is

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[155] 'Dances with Wolves', (1990); 'Last of the Mohicans', (1992); 'Pocahontas', Disney Studios, (1995).
[156] 'Smoke Signals', (1998).
[157] 'Reel Injun', (2009).
[158] 'S.J.Res.14 - A Joint Resolution to Acknowledge a Long History of Official Depredations and Ill-Conceived Policies by the Federal Government Regarding Indian Tribes and Offer an Apology to All Native Peoples on Behalf of the United States', (2009-2010), found on https://www.congress.gov/, (last accessed 11/05/2018).
[159] Rob Capriccioso, 'A Sorry Saga: Obama Signs Native American Apology Resolution; Fails to Draw Attention to it', *Indian Country Today*, 13 Jan. 2010.

essential in understanding the significance of indigenous issues today, and why indigenous methodological approaches such as those advocated by Kovach and Smith are necessary to decolonialise research.[160]

1.5 Indigenous Identities in North America

Indigenous identity in North America is a complex topic, involving various interpretations of what this authentically is. As indigenous social work scholar, Hilary Weaver has noted, there is not even consensus on the appropriate terms with which to describe it.[161] This thesis uses the term 'indigenous' to describe those peoples descended from ancestors native to North America before European contact. A proposed 1986–1987 definition of 'indigenous' by the United Nations' Special Rapporteur José Martínez Cobo, said that 'indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them'.[162] 'Indigenous' is widely considered by contemporary scholars to be an appropriate term to describe these peoples.[163] Those indigenous peoples situated within the modern United States will be referred to as Native Americans, and those in Canada as First Nations as this is also generally accepted discourse, although Metis and Inuit peoples are distinguished, as they have their own unique cultures, histories, and legal statuses.[164] When referring to specific nations within these broad groupings, this thesis uses their names in their native languages, as the author believes that this is a respectful way of addressing them.[165]

There are many different understandings of indigenous identity. One of these is the perception of indigenous identity as defined by dominant society, that is, largely by nonindigenous peoples. The term 'Indians', is a popular and problematic way in which dominant society has historically labelled indigenous peoples in North America. Historian, Robert Berkhofer Jr., described it as a 'White invention', adding that 'the idea of the Indian or Indians in general is a White image or stereotype because it does not square with present-day conceptions of how those peoples called Indians lived

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[160] Margaret Kovach, Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts, (2009); Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (1999).
[161] Terms such as native, 'Indian', Native American and First Nation all have different meanings. See Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 240.
[162] José Martínez Cobo cited in 'State of the World's Indigenous Peoples', The United Nations, (2009).
[163] Bruce Burglett and Glen Hendler, (editors), *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, (second edition), p. 134.
[164] Bruce Burglett and Glen Hendler, (editors), *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, (second edition), p. 130.
[165] This is because it allows self-determination and does not privilege the knowledge of the English language over indigenous poeples' own ways of understanding themselves. See Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (2009), p. 75.

and saw themselves'.[166] The term ''stereotype''—introduced to the social sciences by Walter Lippmann's book Public Opinion (1922)—refers to those 'pictures in our heads' drawn from the proverbial 'kernel of truth'.[167] The 'Indian' stereotype is then, a mental depiction of indigenous peoples, drawn from fragmentary knowledge. An exaggerated and simplified cliché, which tends to situate indigenous peoples either as violent 'savages' that white pioneers fought in the historical frontier, or as romanticised primitives, existing within nature.[168] This has been proliferated into popular consciousness through various mediums, such as films, music, old photographs, and museum galleries. [169] It effectively reduces indigenous peoples to a generalisation defined by the gaze of dominant culture, the exotic 'other', as Edward Said would put it, to which dominant society compares itself, and verifies its own perceptions of normality and supremacy.[170] Considering this, when this thesis refers to 'Indians', it is not referring to actual indigenous peoples themselves, but this stereotypical assumption of indigenous peoples. There will be discussion of how nonindigenous music artists have used this in popular culture, as well as the motives of those artists of indigenous descent who have conformed to this in their music and performance.

There are also people with little or no indigenous ethnicity or upbringing, who have identified with indigenous cultures, and their motivations for doing this vary. Indigenous identity can in particular circumstances, become profitable, 'fashionable', or represent values that individuals strive towards having.[171] Bill Clinton and Miley Cyrus for instance, have both claimed Tsalagi heritage despite producing no evidence for this.[172] Such behaviour is not without criticism. Some indigenous scholars have begun using the terms such as 'cultural pirates' to describe those perceived as stealing aspects of indigenous cultures.[173] These people are often not perceived as having authentic indigenous identity.

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[166] Robert Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (1978), p. 3.

[167] Charles Wilson, (Editor), *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 4: Myth, Manners, and Memory,* (2006), p. 170.

[168] Ethel Newell, 'The Indian Stereotype Passes', *Elementary English* 31, (1954), pp. 472-476, p. 472; Robert Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (1978), pp. 72-80.

[169] Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 243.

[170] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (1978), pp. 202-203.

[171] Russell Cob, 'Why do so Many People Pretend to be Native American?', found on https://longreads.com/, (last accessed 27/11/2017).

[172] Russell Cob, 'Why do so Many People Pretend to be Native American?', found on https://longreads.com/, (last accessed 27/11/2017).

[173] Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *Anti-Indianism in Modern America: A Voice from Tatekya's Earth*, (2007), p. 79.

Another complication to indigenous identity and perceptions of its authenticity within an individual is its strict legal definition. Those recognised as 'Indian' in the perspectives of the US and Canadian governments receive documents, a CDIB in the US, and an Indian status card in Canada, which certify the carrier as possessing 'a certain degree of Indian blood'.[174] This is used to quantify the authenticity of an indigenous identity by blood quantum, that is, the more direct their biological ancestry, the more authentic they are considered by the US and Canadian governments. A person raised within an indigenous culture, but from a mixed heritage ancestry for instance, might not be considered 'Indian'.[175] It has been suggested that these federal policies have caused some disunity within indigenous communities as it encourages individuals to compare their indigenous identities against each other, leading to exclusivity.[176] These definitions bring a legal aspect into questions of authentic identity, although they are measured by biological factors, rather than cultural practices. Furthermore, 'Indian' statuses have been defined by dominant societies which have historically attempted to assimilate indigenous peoples, and in the process dissolve their claims to the land. Understandably, this method of measuring the authenticity of an indigenous identity is open to much criticism, as no other ethnic group in the US or Canada is legally defined.

More importantly than what has already been listed, indigenous peoples define their own cultural identities. This is complicated however, as people indigenous peoples are varied, and centuries of contact with Western societies, and the colonial policies that have been enforced upon them, have extended these differences. Some indigenous peoples live on reservations, while other live in cities.[177] Many continue to follow traditional religious practices, while others are Christian or atheist.[178] Some specifically identify with a region or nation, while others accept broad identities as natives or indigenous peoples, with many other being somewhere in between.[179] As cultural theorist, Stuart Hall once acknowledged, identities are 'never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions'.[180] Indeed, if the term

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[174] Eva Garroutte, Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America, (2003), p. 38.
[175] Ellen Samuels, *Fantasies of Identification: Disability, Gender, Race*, (2014), p. 141; Bonita Lawrence, 'Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview', *Hypatia* 18, (2003), pp. 3-31, p. 9.
[176] Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 249.
[177] Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 252.
[178] Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 252.
[179] Hilary Weaver, 'Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?', *Indian Quarterly* 25, (2001), pp. 240-255, p. 243.
[180] Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', found in Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, (editors), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, (1996), pp. 1-17, p. 4.

'indigenous peoples' is problematic because it is an umbrella term that does not acknowledge the diversity of indigenous nations within North America, it must acknowledged that even within these nations, the people have extremely varied identities. They are exclusively determined by race or traditional culture, but also by factors such as family, class, gender, and sexuality. The way that people frame their identities are multifaceted, and this means that many identities coexist with cultural ones.

Another important thing to consider, is that some indigenous people identify with a pan-indigenous identity, while others do not. The concept of pan-indigeneity was introduced by ethnologist James Howards, in his 1955 article, 'The Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma', in which he suggested that indigenous identification within individual nations was in decline, and giving way to cultural practices which grouped indigenous peoples as a whole.[181] He maintained this argument in his 1977 article, 'The Plains Gourd Dance as a Revitalization Movement', which described a popular dance amongst indigenous nations of the time as an example of indigenous peoples, 'striving away from a tribal distinctiveness and toward a generalized Indian social identity'.[182] Ethnomusicologist, William Powers later developed on this view and suggested a more nuanced view of pan-indigenous identity, recognising that it was not necessarily antagonistic to national identities.[183] He acknowledged that an indigenous person could identify with their national identity, as well as with pan-indigeneity. In her thesis on indigenous identity and powwows, Kresta-Leigh Opperman acknowledged that pan-indigeneity can even be a useful categorisation for indigenous peoples: 'the strength of this identity exists in its power to unite diverse culture groups throughout North America through their common interest and historical situation'.[184]

While the author of this thesis acknowledges there are issues and debates with analysing indigenous peoples from different nations in one text, and using umbrella terms such as 'indigenous peoples, it is felt that there is sufficient similarity in the colonial experiences of indigenous peoples in the US and Canada, and that the music indigenous artists are producing within these nations can be analysed to some extent in conjunction, as many of the issues it addresses span across their diverse communities. Furthermore, prominent historians who have studied indigenous peoples and music, have often found it appropriate to study under the umbrella term of 'indigenous', such as Jeff

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[181] James Howard, 'The Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma', *The Scientific Monthly* 18, (1955), pp. 215-220.
[182] James Howard, 'The Plain Ghourd Dance as a Revitalization Movement', *Journal of the American Ethnological Society* 3, (1976), pp. 243-259, p.257.
[183] William Powers, 'Plains Indian Music and Dance', found in W. Raymond Wood and Margot Liberty, (editors), *Anthropology on the Great Plains*, (1980), pp. 212-229.
[184] Kresta-Leigh Opperman, 'Dancing Power: Examining Identity through Native American Powwow', published thesis, University of Denver, (2010), p. 20.

Berglund, Jan Johnson and Kimberli Lee in editing *Indigenous Pop* (2016) and Charity Marsh has also used it as a generalised term.[185] Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond have used a similar umbrella term 'aboriginal', in editing their *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada* (2012).[186] While this thesis, likewise analyses a large number of indigenous identities within its limited text, it acknowledges that it cannot detail any of these cultures in great detail. There is an attempt to maintain an awareness for its readers of the diversity amongst these cultures by stating the nations which indigenous musicians identify with, before stating their names.

Overall, there are many perceptions of what constitutes indigenous, with it being defined by people within indigenous cultures and outside, with ideas of authenticity even being attached to problematic legal definitions. This thesis discusses multiple indigenous identities under one heading, and while this has limitations, it also a means by which cross cultural music can be discussed.

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[185] Jeff Berglund, Jan Johnson and Kimberli Lee, (editors), *Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz to Hip Hop*, (2016); Marsh, Charity, 'Bits and Pieces of Truth: Storytelling, Identity, and Hip Hop in Saskatchewan', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 346-371.
[186] Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012).

Chapter 2. Popular Music, Sexualised Stereotypes and Representation

Popular music has been used to commodify conceptions of indigenous identities. In his book, *The Imaginary Indian* (2011), Daniel Francis argues that the 'Indian' stereotype has been adapted to be anything that nonindigenous cultures want it to be.[187] In regards to its sell-ability, he wrote that, 'many aspects of Native culture have been appropriated over the years and turned into commodities to help sell products in the marketplace'.[188] This section suggests that this has also been applied to the imagined physicality of the 'Indian' body itself, and explains how the idea of a sexualised 'Indian' identity has been commercially exploited by the popular music industry. It also details the historical context of why 'Indians' have been stereotyped as lustful savages: how indigenous men have been thought of as hyper-masculine, and indigenous women have been imagined as hyper-feminine. It outlines the reasons and consequences of this with examples from popular music, linking historical problems of stereotyping to indigenous peoples in the present. Nuances in this are also examined with the case study of Felipe Rose, an indigenous artist who has conformed to the 'Indian' stereotype himself for much of his career, and his motivations for doing this. Finally, it will explore how indigenous conceptual artists have exposed stereotyping through their work, and they have self-determined their identities in doing this.

2.1 Sexualisation of the 'Indian'

The term 'Indian' originates from Columbus' encountering of America. In thinking that he had reached Asia he mislabelled the indigenous peoples as 'Indian'. His influential descriptions of indigenous peoples he encountered on his expedition associated the 'Indian's' image to the physicality of Europe's medieval Wildman legend: 'They are all very well made, with very handsome bodies, and very good countenances'.[189] In this they had bodies pertaining to nature, an ahistorical concept.[190] Columbus accentuated on their bodies, their physical appearance rather than on them as people. 'Indians' were also contrasted with the Christian norm of Europeans later settling North America. For Puritans travelling there from England and proliferating texts, sex was seen as vice: 'For the Puritan, all aspects of life were subject to God's scrutiny, and the godly in all their daily activities

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[187] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, (Second Edition), (2011).
[188] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, (Second Edition), (2011), p. 202.
[189] Christopher Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage of Columbus*, (Wisconsin Historical Society Digital Library and Archives, 2003), p. 111, http://www.americanjourneys.org/pdf/AJ-062.pdf, (Last accessed 25/11/2016).
[190] David Arnold, *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture and European Expansion,* (1996), p. 1.

were to demonstrate God's glory'.[191] The 'Indian' became a simplified image by which Puritans could contrast themselves and by comparison be reassured in that they were doing their Godly duty. Puritans championed the nuclear family and sexual frigidness, so the 'Indian' had to become promiscuous.[192] 'Indians' were orientalised into being defined by stereotypical features which simultaneously expressed both difference from the Europeans and inferiority to them.[193]

The stereotypical image of the 'Indian' has long been associated with unrestrained sexuality. Its connotations derive from sixteenth century Frenchmen, Italians and Englishmen, using variants of the Latin *silvaticus,* meaning an inhabitant of the woods, to describe the indigenous peoples of America.[194] This linked them to medieval legend and subsequently situated as having 'natural' bodies and a lack of self-control. As Berkhofer Jr. notes: 'According to medieval legend and art, the wild man was a… child of nature… Lacking civilized knowledge or will, he lived a life of bestial self-fulfilment, directed by instinct… He was strong of physique, lustful of women, and degraded of origin'.[195] This view of indigenous peoples is problematic because they were simplified for European understanding as backward and oversexed: more animalistic than human.

By the end of nineteenth century, the conquering culture began to reimagine the 'Indian'.[196] Indigenous peoples no longer posed a significant threat to white settlers, so the 'Indian', although still inferior, could become an object of white fascination as it seemed safely positioned as a threat of the past. The idea of 'noble savages, completely unable to cope with modern times' placed less emphasis on violent attributes.[197] The 'Indian' remained a Wildman, but the connotations of this changed. Because 'Indians' were thought historical/dead, the imagined sexuality of 'Indians' could safely become a white sexual fantasy. As Vine Deloria Jr. argued, the American understanding of the 'Indian' to this day is to be 'unreal and ahistorical'.[198] If whites are 'civilized' and progressing in history, their binary, the 'Indian', has to be static and associated with entities considered similar, like animals and nature.[199] These 'wild' connotations are linked to create determinist assumptions and generalisations of promiscuity in indigenous peoples, against white frigidity.

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[191] James Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550 – 1760,* (2007), p. 240.

[192] James Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550 – 1760,* (2007), p. 240.

[193] Edward E. Said, *Orientalism*, (1978), pp. 202-203.

[194] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (1978), p. 13.

[195] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (1978), p. 13.

[196] Shari Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination,* (2001), p. 20.

[197] Paul Chaat Smith, *Everything You Know About the Indian is Wrong,* (2009), p. 20.

[198] Vine Deloria, Jr, *Custer Died for your Sins: An Indian Manifesto,* (1969), p. 2.

[199] Emma LaRocque, *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse 1850-1990,* (2010), p. 41.

Commodification of their cultures is a particularly sensitive issue for many indigenous people. Having endured centuries of colonialism, in which their lands were taken and attempts were made to erase their cultures, many indigenous peoples see their identity as something important that remains.[200] As historians, Carter Meyer and Diana Royer, acknowledge, the perceived consequences of their identities being commodified are disturbing: 'They will no longer own their own identity in the same way that [they] no longer own most of their land'.[201] It is no secret however, that 'sex sells' in the marketplace. Through sexual stereotyping in popular music, the image of the 'lustful' 'Indian'/Wildman persists.[202] The commercial exploitation of this stereotype in popular music reveals historical racism in the present. Indeed, 'throughout U.S. history, politically and economically powerful forces have sought to represent members of various ethnic-racial groups in a manner that suits their agendas'.[203] Many of the following artists employ this marketable, racist, sexual stereotype and this reveals a continuation of dominant culture appropriating indigenous culture for its own agendas.

2.2 Sexualised Portrayal of 'Indian' Women in Popular Music

The historic stereotype of the sexualised 'Indian' continues to be reproduced in the marketing of popular music. 'Indian' women, are often presented as an exotic fantasy and this is a continuation of a historical stereotype of beautiful 'Indian' princesses. An early European account for instance, described 'Indian' women as, 'unfailingly amiable, beautiful, and full of grace and good will'.[204] The 'Indian' princess imagines indigenous women as mostly passive, only interfering to protect white men from peril.[205] A famous example of this is the myth in which Pocahontas supposedly rescued John Smith (an early settler of the Jamestown colony), from being killed by 'Indians'.[206] The historical accuracy of this event is seriously questioned by historians, as it was written by John Smith himself, a man who claimed to have been saved from dangerous situations by indigenous women three

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[200] Carter Meyer and Diana Royer, 'Introduction', found in Carter Mayer and Diana Royer, *Selling the Indian: Commercialising and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, (2001), pp. xi-xix, p. xi.

[201] Carter Meyer and Diana Royer, 'Introduction', found in Carter Mayer and Diana Royer, *Selling the Indian: Commercialising and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, (2001), pp. xi-xix, p. xi.

[202] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (1978), p. 13.

[203] Mindiola, Niemann and Rodriguez, *Black-Brown Relations and Stereotypes*, (2002), p. 20.

[204] Tarrell Portman and Roger Herring, 'Debunking the Pocahontas Paradox: The Need for a Humanistic Perspective, *Journal of Humanistic Counselling, Education and Development,* (2001), p. 187. 185 - 199

[205] Maria Lyytinen, 'The Pocahontas Myth and Its Deconstruction in Monique Mojica's Play: Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots', found in S. Wilmer, (Editor), *Native American Performance and Representation*, (2009), pp. 78-94, p. 82.

[206] Maria Lyytinen, 'The Pocahontas Myth and Its Deconstruction in Monique Mojica's Play: Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots', found in S. Wilmer, (Editor), *Native American Performance and Representation*, (2009), pp. 78-94, p. 82.

times.[207] What can be said however, is that representations of Pocahontas have since been sexualised.

A well-known example of the 'Indian' princess as a sexualised commodity can be seen in Disney's representation of the Pocahontas myth, in the studio's animated film, *Pocahontas* (1995).[208] As professor of English and cultural studies, Leigh Edwards explains, her first shot in the film sets her up as eroticised and exotic. She is, 'standing on a cliff as the camera lovingly pans around her body, making a minute 360-degree examination of her. Her waist-length hair is blowing like a banner behind her, gently brushing her buttocks'.[209] She then dives off the cliff, forming an angelic shape.

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Furthermore, 'her Indian princess costume cut high in the thigh, hanging from one shoulder, and her voluptuous figure, Pocahontas stands as an icon of Western standards of exoticized female beauty'.[211] This sexualisation of Pocahontas was deliberate. The head of Disney Studios had given animators the direction that Pocahontas had to be, 'the finest creature the human race has to offer'.[212] One of the chief animators, Glen Keane, even remarked around the time of the film's release that, 'we're doing a mature love story here, and we've got to draw her as such. She has to be

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[207] Maria Lyytinen, 'The Pocahontas Myth and Its Deconstruction in Monique Mojica's Play: Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots', found in S. Wilmer, (Editor), *Native American Performance and Representation*, (2009), pp. 78-94, p. 82.

[208] 'Pocahontas', Walt Disney Pictures, (1995).

[209] Leigh Edwards, 'The United Colors of "Pocahontas": Synthetic Miscegenation and Disney's Multiculturalism', *Narrative* 7, (1999), pp. 147-168, p. 154.

[210] Stillshot from 'Pocahontas', Walt Disney Pictures, (1995).

[211] Leigh Edwards, 'The United Colors of "Pocahontas": Synthetic Miscegenation and Disney's Multiculturalism', *Narrative* 7, (1999), pp. 147-168, p. 154.

[212] Glen Keane cited in Jason Cochran, 'Pocahontas Needed an Ethnic Look', *Entertainment Weekly*, 16 Jun. 1995.

sexy'.[213] This is a sexualised portrayal of Pocahontas which serves as a sellable commodity for Disney. This film with her as the title character, was the fourth highest grossing film of 1995 in the U.S.[214] Even today, it is still possible to meet someone dressed up as her character at the Walt Disney World theme park in Florida.[215]

This stereotype is also perpetuated in popular music. The singer, Cher, perpetuated this sexual 'Indian' stereotype in performing her single, 'Half-Breed' (1973), on The Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour in 1973.[216]

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In this, she appeared scantily dressed and donned a headdress. The headdress is of sacred value in many plains cultures.[218] Not only are headdresses rarely worn, but the right to wear them is earned.[219] Cher by wearing one, became associated not with its cultural significance to indigenous peoples, but the connotations linked to the majority culture's promiscuous 'Indian' stereotype that it represents. Cher's use of the 'Indian' stereotype is no coincidence. The 'Indian' generates eroticism

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[213] Glen Keane cited in Jason Cochran, 'Pocahontas Needed an Ethnic Look', *Entertainment Weekly*, 16 Jun. 1995.
[214] '1995 Domestic Grosses', found on http://www.boxofficemojo.com/, (last accessed 15/04/2018).
[215] 'Meet Pocahontas at Character Landing', found on https://disneyworld.disney.go.com/en_GB/, (last accessed 15/04/2018).
[216] Cher, 'Half-Breed', MCA Records, (1973).
[217] Still shot from the music video for Cher, 'Half-Breed', found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 28/04/2018).
[218] 'An Open Letter to Non-Natives in Headdresses', http://apihtawikosisan.com/hall-of-shame/an-open-letter-to-non-natives-in-headdresses/, (Last accessed 15/11/2016).
[219] 'An Open Letter to Non-Natives in Headdresses', http://apihtawikosisan.com/hall-of-shame/an-open-letter-to-non-natives-in-headdresses/, (Last accessed 15/11/2016).

because dominant culture can contrast the 'Indian' with their own 'civilized' sexual rigidity. Professor of English, Mariana Torgovnick has written:

'Freud believed that civilization arose to protect humans from the uncontrolled imperatives of sexuality and the control of aggressive impulses. The flip side of this theory was a widely shared, unexamined belief that "uncivilized" people – that is primitive… are exempt from the repression of sexuality and control of aggression'.[220]

This contemporarily links back to the Wildman of European medieval legend, 'directed by instinct'.[221] The 'Indian' then, is still associated with promiscuity and is subsequently stereotyped in sexual fantasies. Cher's video has capitalised upon this sexiness for monetary gain. A *Rolling Stone* reviewer in 1974 even described the song for the video itself, 'Half-breed', as 'supremely commercial'.[222] In this video, indigenous iconography was used to represent a stereotype which is a commercially viable sex fantasy for dominant culture, without regard of its cultural significance for indigenous peoples. The video is problematic as it is profits not only from stereotyping by cultural appropriation. As interdisciplinary scholar, Minh-Ha T. Pham describes this form of cultural appropriation: 'profit from cultural expressions, forms, and knowledges at the expense of the appropriated group's power to set the terms of the work's cultural production and consumption'.[223] In this way the sexual stereotype continues the colonial exploitation of indigenous peoples by appropriating their culture.

The opposite to this stereotype to the 'Indian' princess stereotype, is that of the 'Indian' squaw, which is traditionally that of an aged, ugly, fat, haggard and overworked 'Indian' woman.[224] The squaw tends to be characterised by being unsexy. The word squaw however, which is racially insulting, has also been used in various mainstream songs. Loretta Lynn's, 'Your Squaw is on the Warpath' (1969), for instance, uses the unattractive female stereotype as a novelty metaphor for a (presumably) nonindigenous woman who is angry at a man who has wronged her, and is subsequently, 'on the warpath' with him.[225] Even this traditionally unattractive stereotype however, has been adapted to conform to the popular and profitable stereotype of the sexually available 'Indian' woman. In Hank Thompson's 'Squaws Along the Yukon' (1958), he sings of squaws as

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[220] Mariana Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Live,* (London, 1990), p. 228.
[221] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (New York, 1978), p. 13.
[222] Paul Gambaccini, *Rolling Stone,* 14 February 1974.
[223] Minh-Ha T. Pham, 'Feeling Appropriately: On Fashion Copyright Talk and Copynorms', *Social Text* 34, (2016), p. 51.
[224] Nancy Parezo and Angelina Jones, 'What's in a Name?: The 1940s-1950s "Squaw Dress"', *American Indian Quarterly* 33, (2009), pp. 373-404, p. 379.
[225] Loretta Lynn, 'Your Squaw is on the Warpath', (1969), Decca Records.

desirable in his refrain: 'the squaws along the Yukon are good enough for me'.[226] The 'good enough for me', lyric in this, could suggest that the singer is lowering his standards for one of these women, and that he is attracted to their wild traits.[227] Their sexual wildness and exoticness of ones of these squaws for the male singer is underscored by novelty lyrics describing the details of her underwear: 'she makes her underwear from hides of grizzly bear'.[228] In this, even the wildness of the 'squaw' becomes a fetish that can be used to draw in audiences.

As recent as 2012, Gwen Stefani's 'Looking Hot' video featured her posing as a sexualised 'Indian' princess. This included cultural appropriation such as her wearing headdresses, throwing an eagle staff and dancing round a fire.[229] It perpetuates the sexual objectification of indigenous women with her being captured and seductively posing with her hands tied. The lyrics present her as 'wild' and desiring of sexual attention: 'go ahead and look at me, 'Cause that's what I want'.[230] The song's lyrics in the context of the video reproduce the historical idea of the sexually 'wild' 'Indian'. Not only does the video depict bondage of Stefani dressed as an 'Indian', but its lyrics suggest that as an 'Indian' women, she is promiscuous, and desires this. It contributes to a stereotype that women from minority ethnic groups are 'hypersexual', with music videos presenting them as having a 'sexualized, physical appearance [which] places them as decorative objects rather than active agents'.[231] This is alarming because, 'for many non-Indians, some of whom have never met a real Indian person, these clichés come to represent all that it means to be Indian'.[232] This bondage sexual fantasy being proliferated in popular culture has grave implications when considered in the respect that, 'one out of every three Native American women report they have been raped, or that an attempt has been made to sexually brutalise them'.[233]

Another example in 2012 of the 'Indian' princess was seen in popular fashion. Victoria's Secret stereotyped indigenous women in a catwalk show.

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[226] Hank Thompson, 'Squaws Along the Yukon', (1958), Capitol Records.
[227] Hank Thompson, 'Squaws Along the Yukon', (1958), Capitol Records.
[228] Hank Thompson, 'Squaws Along the Yukon', (1958), Capitol Records.
[229] 'No Doubt - Looking Hot on Vimeo',
https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwi42 9eZ39DQAhXlDcAKHX3lC5YQ3ywIHzAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fvimeo.com%2F52770103&usg=AFQjCNHo5Q4B qd7gC___oWT7MMElwbRtNA, (Last accessed on 30/11/2016).
[230] 'Looking Hot' by No Doubt, Interscope Records, (2012).
[231] Shani Peterson et al, 'Images of Sexual Stereotypes in Rap Videos and the Health of African American Female Adolescents', *Journal of Women's Health* 16, (2007), p. 1158.
[232] Colin Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, (Fourth edition), (2012), p. 666.
[233] 'Sexual violence is tearing Native American communities apart', *The Guardian,* 8 Sep. 2012.

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Historian, Charles Reagan has written that fashion, 'expresses the nature of society— its ideas, values, and roles'.[235] Victoria's Secret's use of the 'Indian' image as a sexual fantasy, can be seen as a reflection of dominant culture's desires than of actual indigenous peoples. This stereotype dehumanizes indigenous peoples by, as historian Colin Calloway puts it, 'invoking them for their association with "wildness" …or supposed physical attributes'.[236]

Fashion's commercial appropriation of the 'Indian' image equates to contemporary imperialism. Curator of The National Museum of American History, Rayna Green, has argued that past colonial discourses have presented indigenous women as sexually available for the pleasure of white men.[237] She sees this as justifying colonialism, as their desire for sex with white male settlers is related to legitimating the white conquest (or penetration) of America's landscape.[238] This both homogenises indigenous women as sexual objects and demeans their autonomy in defining them by their relationship to white men. Essentially, through discourses such as Victoria's Secret in which media presents sexualised people in 'Indian' costumes and lyrics that suggest 'Indian' women are

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[234] 'Victoria's Secret apologises for offence caused by using Native American headdress on model wearing high heels and leopard print underwear', *Independent,* 13 Nov. 2012, http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/fashion/news/victorias-secret-apologises-for-offence-caused-by-using-native-american-headdress-on-model-wearing-8312308.html, (Last accessed 21/11/2016).
[235] Charles Wilson, *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 4: Myth, Manners, and Memory,* (2006), p. 61.
[236] Colin Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History,* (Fourth edition), (2012), p. 666.
[237] Chris Finley, 'Decolonizing the Queer Native Body (and Recovering the Native Bull-Dyke): Bringing Sexy Back and Out of Native Studies; Closet', in Driskill, Finley, Gilley and Morgensen, (Editors), *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics and Literature,* (2011), p. 34.
[238] Chris Finley, 'Decolonizing the Queer Native Body (and Recovering the Native Bull-Dyke): Bringing Sexy Back and Out of Native Studies; Closet', in Driskill, Finley, Gilley and Morgensen, (Editors), *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics and Literature,* (2011), p. 34.

sexualised, real indigenous women continue to be colonised by stereotypes. Their culture and bodies are still being defined by the discourses proliferated through dominant society and not themselves. Indigenous women are branded as 'sexual', that meaning, passive and within dominant society's (sexual) fantasies. They continue to be Vine Deloria Jr. put it, 'unreal'.[239]

2.3 "Macho Man": The Sexualised 'Indian' and the Village People[240]

Not only have indigenous women been sexualised as 'Indians', but also indigenous men. The 'Indian' man has been perceived as a physically strong and macho warrior. [241] Anthropologist, S. Bird, suggests that the Indian man, 'invariably and safely placed in a "dead" historical context', can become all things to all women.[242] He is, 'breathtakingly handsome and virile, with the potential for decisive action when pressed'.[243] This is the idea of a primitive outdoorsy, and self-dependent man. The 'Indian' man can become in both mind and character, a sexual fantasy for popular culture.

This sexualised masculine 'Indian' stereotype persevered in the 1970s disco music of the band, the Village People. The 1970s New York disco scene emerged with gay liberation. As disco historian, Peter Shapiro put it, disco was 'born of a desire that was outlawed'.[244] It was centred around the previously suppressed physical expressions of dance and unrestrained sexuality.[245] It is no coincidence then that the Village People, employed the sexual image of the 'Indian' savage into their performance, as this was an established sexual stereotype in popular culture, symbolising 'bestial self-fulfilment'.[246] This suited the fun and often sexual aesthetics of disco.

The choice to feature an 'Indian' in the band can be understood within the context of the sexually macho image that the band were trying to achieve. Following the Stonewall riots of 1969, where members of the New York LGBT community demonstrated against common police raids which prohibited gays from dancing together, gay men were legally allowed to dance together in New York clubs. At discotheques, a gay macho culture emerged with the growing confidence of the

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[239] Vine Deloria, Jr, *Custer Died for your Sins: An Indian Manifesto,* (1969), p. 2.
[240] Village People, 'Macho Man', Casablanca Records, (1978).
[241] S. Bird, 'Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s-1990s', found in S. Bird, (Editor), *Dressing in Feather: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture,* (1996), pp. 1-12, p. 10.
[242] S. Bird, 'Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s-1990s', found in S. Bird, (Editor), *Dressing in Feather: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture,* (1996), pp. 1-12, p. 10.
[243] S. Bird, 'Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s-1990s', found in S. Bird, (Editor), *Dressing in Feather: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture,* (1996), pp. 1-12, p. 10.
[244] Peter Shapiro, *Turn the Beat Around: The Secret History of Disco,* (2005), p. 54.
[245] Roy Shuker, *Key Concepts in Popular Music*, (1998), p. 270.
[246] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (New York, 1978), p. 13.

community. At the time, popular culture still associated gay men with effeminacy, something which gay macho culture challenged. As popular culture historian, Alice Echols has written, it signalled, 'homosexuals' growing self-worth as they rejected society's view that they were failed men'.[247] Gay macho was a response to society's effeminate expectations of gays. It was about being a hypersexualised stereotype of a man, or as it might be put, the manliest man, despite being gay.

A hypersexualised stereotype of a man was thought of as being 'Indian', and this was incorporated into the performance of the Village People, whose line-up consisted of members costumed in stereotypically manly roles: a policeman, a construction worker, a cowboy, a biker, a member of the military, and of course, an 'Indian' chief, performed by Felipe Rose. French producer, Jacques Morali, formed the Village People after seeing Felipe Rose dressed as an 'Indian' in a New York gay macho club in 1977.[248] He decided to form a dress up music act that appealed to much of disco's hard-core audience: gay men. Felipe Rose was an obvious choice for this. He was a physically attractive man, ascribing to the, 'strong of physique' 'Indian'/Wildman stereotype.[249] Furthermore, the Village People could tout him as being an authentic 'Indian', as Rose has Lakȟóta heritage on his father's side of the family.[250]

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[247] Alice Echols, *Hot Stuff: Disco and the Remaking of American Culture,* (2010), p. 132.
[248] Alice Echols, *Hot Stuff: Disco and the Remaking of American Culture,* (2010), p. 136.
[249] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present,* (New York, 1978), p. 13.
[250] 'About', found on https://www.feliperose.com/, (last accessed 23/04/2018).
[251] 'Village People 1979 Felipe Rose', found on http://artistlist.photofeatures.com/, (last accessed 25/04/2018).

In linking the Village People to the sexualisation of the 'Indian' body as a sellable commodity, it must be considered that the Village People used abundant sexual imagery in their lyrics and music videos. For instance, their 1978 single, 'Macho Man', is a song that is explicitly about male physicality and sexuality.[252] Lyrics such as, 'come explore my body', emphasise this, and with great frequency.[253] In a song that is approximately three and a half minutes long, the word 'body' is said 49 times.[254] This is stressed as well as the masculinity of these men (the Village People). 'Man' is sung 34 times, and 'macho' a staggering 59.[255] The macho man in this song is also sexually available: 'Ready to get down with, anyone he can'.[256] This is emphasised in the music video, where Rose can be seen pulsating his body with the rest of the band, clearly expressing what audiences would recognise as a sexy 'Indian' identity.

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The Village People were not only successful with gay audiences however and released a number of singles that were popular with the general public in the late '70s. Part of their success came with marketing their sexual image to heterosexual women as well. Although it may now seem hard to believe, many people in the 1970s did not realise that The Village People were a gay band. Surprisingly, not everyone had realised this from lyrics such as in 'Y.M.C.A', where they sang about going down to the Y.M.C.A because, 'They have everything for you men to enjoy. You can hang out with all the boys'.[258] An example of ignorance of their gayness is recording of the music video for their single, 'In the Navy'.[259] Following the commercial success of 'Y.M.C.A', the U.S. navy allowed

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[252] Village People, 'Macho Man', Casablanca Records, (1978).
[253] Village People, 'Macho Man', Casablanca Records, (1978).
[254] Village People, 'Macho Man', Casablanca Records, (1978).
[255] Village People, 'Macho Man', Casablanca Records, (1978).
[256] Village People, 'Macho Man', Casablanca Records, (1978).
[257] Music video for 'Macho Man', (1978), found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 25/04/2018).
[258] Village People, 'Y.M.C.A', Casablanca Records, (1978).
[259] Village People, 'In the Navy', Casablanca Records, (1979).

the band to use one of their warships, the USS Reasoner, to film the video for 'In the Navy', despite the gay overtones of its lyrics ('they're signing up new seamen fast').[260] The navy was allowed in return, to use the song in a recruitment campaign, something which they ultimately decided against.[261] Their consideration of the song however, underscores that gay macho was still a new and secretive subculture that many in mainstream audiences would not recognise.[262] With their success, the manager of the Village People discouraged the band from openly revealing they were gay, as not to alienate audiences. In this way, Felipe Rose could be marketed as a sexual fantasy to both straight women, and a gay audience who recognised the gayness of the band through their thinly coded lyrics.

The sexual marketing of the band to heterosexual women can be seen in the Village People's movie, *Can't Stop the Music* (1980), a musical comedy produced to promote the band. In this film, the 'Indian' performed by Rose, was marketed as a sexual Wildman. At one point in the film for instance, Lulu, a flirtatious white female character remarks: 'Oh, the Indian is hot. I go for exotic types, especially when they're half-naked'.[263] In this comment, she is demonstrating the idea that Rose is different to white men, that he is the 'exotic other' of Edward Said's writings, in which non-white peoples are used to contrast and validate Western culture's own ideas of normalcy and superiority.[264] Lulu follows this comment with a sexually suggestive cultural reference which displays further racial ignorance: 'You tell him I'll make up for all the indignities they suffered in "Roots"'.[265] Roots was an exceptionally popular historical television drama airing on ABC in the late 1970s which explored the African American experience of slavery and oppression.[266] Her comparing Rose to characters from Roots reveals what the marketers of the Village People wanted to present their 'Indian' as being: the sexual exotic other. Lulu's character makes no effort to distinguish between Native Americans and African Americans. Presumably it makes little difference to her, as both ethnicities are merged in her imagination as being sexually wild, i.e. not white.

Despite this sexual objectification, Rose's motivations for performing Indian in the Village People could be multifaceted and compared to those of indigenous actors who performed as Indians in

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260 'In the Navy by the Village People', found on http://www.songfacts.com/, (last accessed 23/04/2018); Village People, 'In the Navy', Casablanca Records, (1979).
261 'In the Navy by the Village People', found on http://www.songfacts.com/
262 Village People, 'In the Navy', Casablanca Records, (1979).
263 'Can't Stop the Music', EMI Films, (1980).
264 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (1978), pp. 202-203.
265 'Can't Stop the Music', EMI Films, (1980).
266 'Roots' aired on the U.S. TV channel, ABC, in 1977, with a second season airing in 1979.

1950s Hollywood movies, giving derogative portrayals of indigenous peoples. Historian, Nicholas Rosenthal has noted:

'Indian actors helped Hollywood invent a mythic West that glorified the conquest and subordination of North America's indigenous populations. Moreover, almost without exception, the Indian characters portrayed by Indian actors conveyed unflattering portraits of Native people and distorted Indian history and culture'.[267]

Rosenthal acknowledges the reasons that indigenous actors would have had for doing this. By playing 'Indian' in Hollywood movies, indigenous actors were provided with opportunities to earn more money than they probably would have had on reservations, and to travel.[268] Moreover, they had the chance to express their identities as indigenous peoples in film, something which was suppressed on reservations.[269] There was also an aspect of autonomy to this as well. While Hollywood as an industry largely controlled how indigenous identities were presented to audiences, by performing as 'Indians', indigenous actors could at least have some control over how their identities were represented.[270]

Similarities could be made with the experiences of Rose in the 1970s. Performing in the Village People gave him the chance to earn money, and to travel the world touring. Furthermore, Rose grew up off-reservation, in the impoverished area of Brooklyn, New York. Performing 'Indian' would have given him the chance to affirm his identity as an indigenous person, and to this day, he seems to be proud of dressing up as an Indian. As his current website, https://www.feliperose.com/, says of his attire: 'To Felipe, he is not just wearing a stage costume', he is wearing something which he believes, 'honors the heritage of his Native American roots'.[271]

Rose still performs dressed as an Indian, and though the Village People could be regarded as a novelty act, he has produced solo albums since the 1970s which grapple with serious indigenous themes. For instance, his first EP, 'Trail of Tears', retold the history of the forced relocation of Tsalagi peoples by the U.S. military, along which many died. Rose's performance is respected by many

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[267] Nicolas Rosenthal, 'Representing Indians: Native American Actors on Hollywood's Frontier', *Western Historical Quarterly* 36, (2005), pp. 328-352, p. 330.

[268] Nicolas Rosenthal, 'Representing Indians: Native American Actors on Hollywood's Frontier', *Western Historical Quarterly* 36, (2005), pp. 328-352, p. 333.

[269] Nicolas Rosenthal, 'Representing Indians: Native American Actors on Hollywood's Frontier', *Western Historical Quarterly* 36, (2005), pp. 328-352, p. 333.

[270] Amanda Cobb, 'This Is What It Means to Say Smoke Signals: Native American Cultural Sovereignty', found in Peter Rollins and John O'Connor, (Editors), *Hollywood's Indians: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film*, (1998), 206-228, p. 208.

[271] 'About', found on https://www.feliperose.com/, (last accessed 23/04/2018).

indigenous peoples. He has won various categories in the Native American Music Awards, and was even inducted into their Hall of Fame in 2008.[272]

Other indigenous people are not comfortable with how Rose represents his identity. While they may have accepted Rose performing as an Indian in the 1970s, as there was little other means of representation, they do not see it as appropriate in the present. A criticism is that his performance would not be acceptable in the context of another culture being represented. Journalist, and Policy Director at the Centre for World Indigenous Studies, Dina Gilio-Whitaker, summed this up this in the title of an article she wrote for *Indian Country Today* in 2013: 'What If the Village People Replaced their Indian with a Rabbi?'.[273] In this article, she disapproves of Rose's Indian performance in the 2010s, posing the further question: 'how does Rose's campy use of the Indian stereotype in the Village People contribute to the Native community?'.[274] This article touches upon some key debates regarding the indigenous identity and cultural authenticity in popular culture. For instance, is it any more acceptable for indigenous person to perpetuate the Indian stereotype than a nonindigenous person? Or when is it deemed acceptable for indigenous cultures to be appropriated for popular culture, particularly by indigenous peoples themselves?

2.4 Challenging 'Indian' Stereotypes

Indigenous peoples have not however, simply been passive victims of stereotyping. They have increasingly asserted their existence, self-determination and the survivance of their cultures in recent decades, as Vizenor's theory of indigenous survivance would suggest.[275] The problem of popular culture stereotyping indigenous peoples as sexualised 'Indians', due to their lack of public visibility has been challenged by the increasingly conspicuous self-representation of indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples have challenged the 'Indian' image by informing the public of the plurality of indigenous cultures, and the, 'vitality of these systems at the present time'.[276] That indigenous cultures are not historical like the 'wildman', but are existing simultaneously with the present. Television shows like *North of 60* and *Northern Exposure* feature indigenous characters as

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[272] 'Winners Directory', found on https://www.nativeamericanmusicawards.com/, (last accessed 01/01/2017).
[273] Dina Gilio-Whitaker, 'What If the Village People Replaced their Indian with a Rabbi?', *Indian Country Today*, 2 Aug. 2013.
[274] Dina Gilio-Whitaker, 'What If the Village People Replaced their Indian with a Rabbi?', *Indian Country Today*, 2 Aug. 2013.
[275] Gerald Vizenor, (Editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence,* (2008), p. 1. Gerald Vizenor 'Aestheics of Survivance', pp. 1 – 24.
[276] Mary Lawlor, *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representation in Museums, Powwows, and Casinos,* (2006), p. 4.

real individuals, not as majority culture's sexual fantasies.[277] Indigenous agency is displaying an ability to break from a historical cycle of misrepresentation. It's complicating the traditional 'Indian' image by presenting their nuances. As Janice Acoose has forwarded: 'many artists, through our work, also educate consumers by moving beyond a fictitious, singular, pan-Indian representation to realistic and culturally specific representations. Numerous artists are celebrating our survival by calling attention to the beauty and strength within our cultures'.[278] She has added: 'art, music, dance, literature, and drama are much more than elusive energies emanating from outside our beings, it is vitally important that we, as Indigenous peoples, remain strongly attached to our cultures and continue to represent our own realities'.[279] This subsection looks at how conceptual artists, Maria Hupfield, Kent Monkman, and Adrian Stimpson have done this by incorporating indigenous identities into their material. Dylan Robinson and Keavy Martin have described this as 'aesthetic action', which they define as 'a range of sensory stimuli' that is used to express indigenous agency.[280]

The sexualised Pocahontas princess image has been contended by indigenous women.

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[277] Ponting, (Editor), *First Nations in Canada: Perspectives on Opportunity, Empowerment, and Self-Determination,* (1997), p. 141.

[278] Janice Acoose, *Iskwewak - Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses nor Easy Squaws*, (1995), p. 117.

[279] Janice Acoose, *Iskwewak - Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses nor Easy Squaws*, (1995), p. 118.

[280] Dylan Robinson and Keavy Martin, 'Introduction', found in Dylan Robinson and Keavy Martin, (editors), *Arts of Engagement: Taking Aesthetic Action in and Beyond the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, (2016), pp. 1-20, p. 2.

[281] Maria Hupfield, *Scout,* (2006), https://mariahupfield.wordpress.com/2010/06/09/canoe-series/, (Last accessed 28/11/2016).

Anishinaabe-kwe artist Maria Hupfield for instance, displays through her photography, indigenous women in the contemporary, not as mythical figures of a romanticised past. She disturbs settler narratives by inserting herself into traditional populist frontier style pictures. She mimics misrepresentations of the female as, 'pure, virginal and untamed', appearing herself as real and modern.[282]

The hyper-masculine 'Indian' man has been challenged by Siksiká artist, Adrian Stimson.

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As Stimpson's website put it: 'his performance art looks at identity construction, specifically the hybridization of the Indian, the cowboy, the shaman and Two Spirit being'.[284] Professor of queer studies, Qwo-Li Driskill, describes the term 'Two-spirit' as the following:

'A contemporary term being used in Native communities to describe someone whose gender exists outside of colonial logic. It is an umbrella term that references Indigenous traditions for people who don't fit into rigid gender categories. It also, depending on the context, refers to Native people who identify as Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer'.[285]

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[282] Catherine Crowston, (Editor), *Face the Nation,* (Art Gallery of Alberta, 2008), p. 35.
[283] 'Adrian Stimson, The Immortal Buffalo', http://ipaa.ca/events-performances/adrian-stimson-immortal-buffalo-boy/, (Last accessed 28/11/2016).
[284] Adrian Stimpson's Biography', found on http://adrianstimson.com/, (last accessed 28/04/2018).
[285] Qwo-Li Driskill, *Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory*, (2016), p. 5.

Essentially, to express a two-spirit identity, is to express indigenous identity which does not conform to gender normative assumptions of dominant culture. Stimson does this by adopting a gender-bending persona, Buffalo Boy, a camp parody of the hyper-masculine 'Indian' image shown in the Buffalo Bill shows.[286] Buffalo boy is a self-representation of Stimson's indigenous identity. He is, 'advancing [his] identity claim [with the] fewest constraints'.[287] He is also mocking expectations that as an indigenous person, he will behave in a typically Indian way. Stimson uses humour to subvert the hyper-masculine 'Indian' stereotype while asserting an indigenous identity which does not conform to it.

Nēhiyaw artist, Kent Monkman, also questions the polarised sexualising of indigenous peoples. He bridges aspects of masculine and feminine identity, presenting a third gender as his Two-Spirited persona, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle.

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Monkman has found from research that indigenous cultures were generally accepting of homosexuality: 'Alternative forms of sexuality were present…They were definitely here and accepted before contact'.[289] In his performance, he is subverting traditional narratives of 'Indians' as sexual binaries between men and women. He is reclaiming indigenous narratives in the pursuit of understanding his own indigenous history, or as associate curator at the National Museum of the

[286] Ryan Rice and Carla Taunton, 'Buffalo Boy: Then and Now', http://indianacts.gruntarchives.org/essay-buffalo-boy-then-and-now-rice-and-taunton.html, (Last accessed, 26/11/2016).
[287] Eva Garroutte, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America,* (London, 2003), p. 85.
[288] 'Kent Monkman: Sexuality of Miss Chief', http://www.mason-studio.com/journal/2012/03/kent-monkman-sexuality-of-miss-chief/, (Last accessed 28/11/2016).
[289] 'Kent Monkman: Sexuality of Miss Chief', http://www.mason-studio.com/journal/2012/03/kent-monkman-sexuality-of-miss-chief/, (Last accessed 28/11/2016).

American Indian, Paul Chaat Smith puts it: 'the real past, not the imagined one'.[290] Monkman presents an indigenous identity that doesn't prescribe to the heterosexual labelling of dominant culture.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter builds on research by Charity Marsh and Janice Acoose, who have argued that indigenous peoples have been stereotyped, and use their agency to challenge these stereotypes.[291] It has also incorporated Vizenor's concept of survivance and how art has been used for indigenous self-expression.[292] It has shown that indigenous peoples have been historically stereotyped as sexual. It has explained how this image continues to be commercially exploited and reproduced in popular culture, and the implications of this. These representations are not straightforward, and indigenous artists such as Felipe Rose have participated in this stereotype for their own reasons, the acceptability of which is a matter of differing opinions within indigenous communities. What is considered acceptable in representing indigenous identities is contested amongst indigenous peoples, with debates about whether it is any more acceptable for an indigenous person to appropriate aspects of indigenous cultures, and to perform the Indian stereotype, than a nonindigenous person. Although arguing that this stereotype continues to be problematic, this section has also explored the agency of indigenous peoples that defy straightforward representations of indigenous peoples as Indian altogether, by presenting themselves as nuanced individuals, who are not confined to gender expectations. In this, it finds that while indigenous peoples have appeared to be within a historical cycle of being misrepresented as promiscuous and gender polarised, the visibility of their own agency in the present displays the potential to discontinue this image.

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[290] Paul Chaat Smith, *Everything You Know About the Indian is Wrong*, (2009), p. 19.

[291] Janice Acoose, *Iskwewak - Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses nor Easy Squaws*, (1995); Marsh, Charity, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129.

[292] Gerald Vizenor, (Editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence,* (2008).

Chapter 3. Cultural Identities, Indigenous Hip-Hop, and E.D.M

'Free you mind from extinction'.[293]

- Nataanii Means, 'The Radical (ft. Russell Means)' (2014).

'Being a voice of change and authenticity motivates me to do it [hip-hop]. Just knowing what I've been through motivates me on stage'.
Author's interview with Skye Stoney.

This chapter builds on the work of Charity Marsh, and explores the popularity of indigenous hip-hop and E.D.M, and forwards that this is largely because these identities do not necessarily challenge many indigenous identities, but that they in fact, overlap with them.[294] Essentially, it argues that hip-hop and E.D.M culture can be adapted to the traditions and circumstances of these societies, and that it can be used to strengthen indigenous identities.

This challenges the cultural imperialism thesis, which forwards that Western cultures, are spread around the world through the dominance of Western nations in market capitalism, arguing that this leads to the disruption of local cultures, as they are replaced by Western practices.[295] This thesis has had traction amongst sociologists. As John Tomlinson suggested in his book on the subject, the cultural imperialism thesis emerged amongst radical social critics of the 1960s, and had, 'endured to become part of general intellectual currency of the second half of the 20th century'.[296] 'Cultural imperialism' can also be used in some ways, interchangeably with the term 'globalisation', which is often assumed to be a process by which Western cultures are increasingly subordinating, and even eradicating local cultural and economic practices.[297] These theories are problematic in that they assume a one way process by which culture is imposed, 'from the west to the rest', implying that

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[293] Nataanii Means, 'The Radical (ft. Russell Means)' (2014).
[294] Marsh, Charity, 'Bits and Pieces of Truth: Storytelling, Identity, and Hip Hop in Saskatchewan', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 346-371; Marsh, Charity, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129; Marsh, Charity, 'Hip Hop as Methodology: Ways of Knowing', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37, (2012), pp. 193-203, found on https://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal, (last accessed 20/06/2019); Marsh, Charity, 'Interview with Saskatchewan Hip Hop Artist Lindsay Knight (a.k.a. Eekwol)', *Canadian Folk Music* 43.1, (Spring 2009), pp. 11-14; Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170.
[295] Tony Mitchell, *Popular Music and Local Identity: Rock, Pop and Rap in Europe and Oceania*, (1996), p. 49.
[296] John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*, (2001), p. 2.
[297] Tony Mitchell, *Popular Music and Local Identity: Rock, Pop and Rap in Europe and Oceania*, (1996), p. 49.

other cultures are stagnant and unable to adapt to the fast moving modern world.[298] This eerily resembles elements of the 19th century American concept of Manifest Destiny, which is widely regarded today as a racist doctrine.[299] The idea was that Western settlers would inevitably dominate the American continent as the US expanded west.[300] Indigenous peoples and cultures, it was believed, were to be eradicated in achieving a more advanced social and economic order.[301] Cultural imperialism/globalisation theories, while they do not argue that widespread human genocide will happen, do suggest that Western cultures, from a position of superiority, will eradicate other cultures. This overly simplistic and does not consider the vitality of local cultures. As Vizenor argues, indigenous peoples express survivance, meaning that they assert their heritage and resist cultural suppression.[302] This section uses indigenous hip-hop and E.D.M, effectively challenging this theory, arguing that rather than hip-hop and E.D.M being a form of cultural imperialism, whereby indigenous cultures are being replaced by those of dominant societies, hip-hop and E.D.M is instead, being subsumed into dynamic indigenous cultures.

3.1 "Rez Affiliated": The Origins and Appeal of Indigenous Hip-Hop[303]

Native Americans have been involved in hip-hop since its inception. Tsalagi rapper, Melle Mel, was a member of the group Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, who were pioneers of the 1970s New York scene.[304] It wasn't until the 1990s however, that a distinctly indigenous subgenre emerged. In hip-hop lore, many consider the Tsalagi rapper, Litefoot, to be the first famous artist to specifically address indigenous issues.[305] Also known as Gary Paul Davis, he has had music, acting and business careers. He was raised in Upland, California and is involved in Native American philanthropy projects. His hip-hop legend is backed by his gangsta credentials. Early in his career, he is said to be have been motivated by a major record executive, who had criticised his approach to becoming the 'first Native Rapper', telling him that, 'all Indians ever buy is alcohol'.[306] Following this, Litefoot set up his own record label, Red Vinyl Records, and while major labels focused on dense urban centres, Litefoot specifically appealed to an unnoticed market of 326 reservations within the United States, many of

[298] Deanna Robinson, Elizabeth Buck and Marlene Cuthbert, *Music at the Margins: Popular Music and Global Cultural Diversity*, (1991), p. 3.

[299] Lester Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere*, (2010), p. 38.

[300] Lester Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere*, (2010), p. 38.

[301] Lester Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere*, (2010), p. 38.

[302] Gerald Vizenor, 'Aesthetics of Survivance', found in Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008), pp. 25-38p. 1.

[303] Litefoot, 'Rez Affiliated', Red Vinyl, (1999).

[304] Brian Wright-McLeod, *The Encyclopedia of Native Music*, (2005), p. 316.

[305] Brian Wright-McLeod, *The Encyclopedia of Native Music*, (2005), p. 124.

[306] Brian Wright-McLeod, *The Encyclopedia of Native Music*, (2005), p. 124.

which were experiencing the deprivation that hip-hop largely discusses.[307] Litefoot angrily rapped about atrocities committed against Indigenous peoples in the history of European/American expansion. His song, 'My Land' (2005), demonstrates this.[308] In the chorus, he changes the words of an American anthem, 'This Land is Your Land', to a more indignant message: 'this land is our land, this land ain't your land, from California to the New York islands'.[309] This song is a clever parody, and it exposes the dark context of what probably seems like an innocent anthem about the openness of the American landscape to most Americans. Litefoot is making it clear that this land was never entirely open, and that the long history of land theft from Native Americans is relevant today. Most importantly, he is venting the feeling of injustice that many indigenous young people have, and in this, he epitomises much of what categorises indigenous hip-hop: anger towards dominant society's legacy of colonialism, and cultural assertion.

To speak generally of hip-hop, historians of African American history, Derrick Alridge and James Stewart have said it appeals to young people in impoverished communities because it 'reflects the social, economic, political, and cultural realities and conditions of their lives, speaking to them in a language and manner they understand'.[310] This easily engages with indigenous youth whose own communities have experienced cultural suppression, and deprivation because of colonialism. Hopelessness, is cited as a major problem for indigenous youth, and though some communities are better off than others, it must be considered that many of these are experiencing extreme poverty.[311] Domestic violence, sexual assault, substance addiction, and poverty are common on many reservations across the US and Canada.[312] One reason for this is unemployment, which on the US' Pine Ridge reservation was estimated to be as much as 85% in 2013.[313] Canadian communities have similar problems. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives has found that 60% of children on reservations in Canada live in poverty, with the highest rates being 76% in Manitoba, and 69% in

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[307] Ural Garrett, 'Native American Rap Legend Litefoot Has Some Stern Words for Rappers Appropriating His Culture', *Hip Hop DX* 3 Dec 2016.

[308] Litefoot, 'My Land', Red Vinyl Records, (2005).

[309] Litefoot, 'My Land', Red Vinyl Records, (2005).

[310] Derrick Alridge and James Stewart, Hip Hop in History: Past, Present, and Future, *The Journal of African American History* 90, (2005), pp. 190-195, p. 190.

[311] Selena Randhawa, ''Our society is broken': what can stop Canada's First Nations suicide epidemic?', *The Guardian* 30 Aug. 2017; Sari Horwitz, 'The Hard Lives - and High Suicide Rate - of Native American Children on Reservations', *The Washington Post* 9 Mar. 2014.

[312] Selena Randhawa, ''Our society is broken': what can stop Canada's First Nations suicide epidemic?', *The Guardian* 30 Aug. 2017; Sari Horwitz, 'The Hard Lives - and High Suicide Rate - of Native American Children on Reservations', *The Washington Post* 9 Mar. 2014.

[313] Annie Lowrey, 'Pain on the Reservation', *The New York Times* 12 Jul. 2013.

Saskatchewan.[314] Prospects are often poor off-reservation as well, with many indigenous people now living in urban areas. In the US' Bay Area, 18.5% of Native Americans live below the poverty line, compared to 10.4% of the white population.[315] Meanwhile, in 2016, indigenous people represented just 2.5% of Vancouver's population, but 38% of its homeless.[316] These issues contribute to a widespread feeling of hopelessness amongst many indigenous youths, and this has resulted in an alarming rate of youth suicide. For Native Americans, 40% of suicides are by those between the ages of 15 and 25.[317] Canada's First Nation communities are similarly said to be experiencing a 'suicide epidemic', and in Saskatchewan, 25% of all suicides by indigenous people are by teenagers.[318] Boys between 10 and 19, are six times more likely than non-indigenous boys to commit suicide, and for indigenous girls the rate is even higher, with them being twenty-six times more likely to commit suicide than non-indigenous girls.[319] To put it bluntly, colonialism is not only a trauma that indigenous communities experienced in the past. Its consequences still have a massive impact on the day to day lives of indigenous peoples.

This contributes to the popularity of indigenous hip-hop. Its widespread surge of popularity in the past decade as a subgenre of hip-hop, is a recent phenomenon that that has appealed to many indigenous youths both on and off reservations.[320] The freshness of the genre has been explained by Flex, an Ojibwe artist: 'hip-hop has been in African-American culture for over thirty years, but for Natives, as hip-hop artists, it's something new to us'.[321] Hip-hop has its own cultural practices, which many have been adopted by indigenous artists and fans, 'for hip-hop heads, hip-hop is an identity, a way of life, a worldview'.[322] The prevalence of hip-hop among youths should not however, be considered as diluting indigenous cultures, but as an innovative continuation of these. Musicologist, James Graves has noted that while 'identity is inseparably bound to tradition', continuous innovation

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[314] Kristy Kirkup, '60% of First Nation Children on Reserve Live in Poverty, Institute Says', *CBC News* 17 May. 2016.

[315] Joe Whittle, 'Most Native Americans Live in Cities, Not Reservations. Here are their Stories', *The Guardian* 4 May. 2017.

[316] Mayana Slobodian, 'State of the First Nations: Indigenous Canadians are Reclaiming the City', *The Guardian* 6 Jul. 2016.

[317] Anna Almendrala, 'Native American Youth Suicide Rates Are At Crisis Levels', *Huffington Post* 20 Dec. 2016.

[318] Meaghan Craig, ''Don't lose hope': Saskatchewan's Suicide Crisis among First Nations Youth', *Global News* 22 Sep. 2017.

[319] Meaghan Craig, ''Don't lose hope': Saskatchewan's Suicide Crisis among First Nations Youth', *Global News* 22 Sep. 2017.

[320] Jordan Farrar, 'Hip Hop Gains Popularity among Native American Youth', *People's World* 28 Jun. 2011.

[321] Flex cited in Jordan Farrar, 'Hip Hop Gains Popularity among Native American Youth', *People's World* 28 Jun. 2011.

[322] Juliana Chang, 'Review: Keeping It Real: Interpreting Hip-Hop', *College English* 68, (2006), pp. 545-554, p. 546.

is a means by which tradition keeps its vitality.[323] Leftist writer, Eduardo Galeano, also wrote that, 'identity is no museum piece sitting stock-still in a display case, but rather the endlessly astonishing synthesis of the contradictions of everyday life'.[324] New influences are not necessarily antagonistic to traditional identities, as these inevitably adapt with time. In the case of hip-hop, indigenous cultures are not being challenged by the music of dominant society but are rather incorporating it into their own practices. It is a means by which they create their own narratives of change and resistance.[325]

For many young indigenous people, indigenous hip-hop addresses their distressing lived experiences, and it offers cultural confidence, rather than despair. Charity Marsh has observed: 'in a relatively short time span hip hop culture has been adopted and adapted by youth from around the world as a way to initiate dialogue, express lived experiences, tell collective stories, and enact youth agency'.[326] For many urban indigenous people, who live off reservations and have had limited access to ceremonial ways of experiencing music, it is an opportunity for cultural assertion.[327] Indigenous hip-hop is a practice of survivance, which allows youngsters to heal themselves and their communities from the abuses of colonialism. Tsalagi rapper, Red Eagle, also known as Jesse Robbins, has summed up this sentiment in his track, 'Song of Survival' (2013): 'the four elements are like medicine, a cultural empowerment'.[328] In this, he is referring to the four fundamental elements of hip-hop: disc jockeying (dejaying), break dancing, graffiti, and rapping (emceeing), and associating with practices in his own culture.[329] In Tsalagi culture, and similarly in many other indigenous societies, medicine is connected with ideas of religion, values, traditional knowledge, and revival.[330] Red Eagle's reference to medicine not only associates hip-hop with his traditional culture, but it is also a powerful statement of hip-hop's capacity to heal and give hope to his community. Having been raised in Oklahoma City and grown up surrounded by crime and substance abuse, Red Eagle

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[323] James Graves, *Cultural Democracy: The Arts, Community, and the Public Purpose*, (2005), p. 41.
[324] Eduardo Galeano, *The Book of Embraces*, (1991), p. 125.
[325] Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty, 'Globalization, Identity, and Youth Resistance: Kenya's Hip Hop Parliament', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music* 38, (2011), pp. 132-147, p. 140.
[326] Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty, 'Globalization, Identity, and Youth Resistance: Kenya's Hip Hop Parliament', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music* 38, (2011), pp. 132-147, p. 133.
[327] Lindsay Knight, 'Resistance in Indigenous Music: A Continuum of Sound', unpublished MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, (2013), p. 76.
[328] Red Eagle, 'Song of Survival', (2013).
[329] Derrick Alridge and James Stewart, 'Hip Hop in History: Past, Present, and Future', *The Journal of African American History* 90, pp. 190-195, p. 190.
[330] 'Cherokee Medicine Men and Women', found on http://www.cherokee.org/, (last accessed 06/11/2017); Deborah Bassett, Ursula Tsosie and Sweetwater Nannauck, '"Our Culture Is Medicine": Perspectives of Native Healers on Posttrauma Recovery Among American Indian and Alaska Native Patients', *The Permanente Journal* 16, (2012), pp. 19-27.

also personally understands the importance of culture for healing.[331] Considering the circumstances of many young fans, his music is an inspirational statement. As Charity Marsh has argued:

'Hip Hop Projects facilitate a recognizable sense of place, connections to a global world, meaningful arts practices, and a powerful form of expression, which makes sense for young Indigenous people attempting to create a space for themselves, both within and outside a colonial/ settler framework'.[332]

Hip-hop is also a way in which indigenous peoples can create their own cultural narratives. These do not have to be determined by what is deemed acceptable by mainstream society but can take various forms. Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty have noted: 'global hip hop culture offers listeners multiple narratives. Some are conventional and marked by capitalist ideas of success, privilege and power, while others provide unique accounts of grass roots activism, political dissent, and innovative forms of resistance'.[333]

Indigenous hip-hop also directly recognises and engages indigenous youth, a segment of US and Canadian society that is poorly represented in their popular cultures. Artists combat the feeling of hopelessness that many young indigenous people face by reminding them that they are important. Muskoday First Nation artist, Eekwol, does this in her song, 'I Will Not be Conquered' (2012), a title that is, in itself, a statement of defiance.[334] She raps: 'young people you know that you are the proof, the link to the past, represent the truth'.[335] This lyric reminds young people of their cultural links to the past, and it has an empowering message: that they have the ability to fight for the resurgence of their cultures.

While it may be interpreted that hip-hop is an example of indigenous cultures becoming Americanised, indigenous artists are actually incorporating their own cultural practices into hip-hop.[336]   There are aspects of hip-hop culture that seem to express similar sentiments to those of many indigenous traditions. As Mahlikah Awe:ri, a Haudenosaunee Mohawk/Mi'kmaw afro-indigenous poet reflected in an online blog, that hip-hop's less often stated fifth element, that is,

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[331] 'Red Eagle', found on https://redeagle.bandcamp.com/, (last accessed 20/06/2019).
[332] Charity Marsh, 'Hip Hop as Methodology: Ways of Knowing', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37, (2012), pp. 193-203, found on https://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal, (last accessed 20/06/2019).
[333] Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty, 'Globalization, Identity, and Youth Resistance: Kenya's Hip Hop Parliament', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music* 38, (2011), pp. 132-147, p. 132.
[334] Eekwol, 'I Will Not be Conquered', (2012).
[335] Eekwol, 'I Will Not be Conquered', (2012).
[336] Charity Marsh, 'Bits and Pieces of Truth: Storytelling, Identity, and Hip Hop in Saskatchewan', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 346-371, p. 355.

'keepin' it real', corresponds with traditional emphasis on self-understanding in many indigenous cultures.[337] 'Keepin' it real' is a state of self-awareness and understanding of one's place within a culture.[338] Awe:ri has remarked that the milestones in the journey towards this in hip-hop culture have indigenous equivalents: rolling with your hip-hop crew is like knowing your clan, and receiving a hip-hop name is similar to receiving a spirit name.[339] Considering this, hip-hop culture can be viewed as translating indigenous ways of understanding identity.

Essentially, hip-hop culture appeals to many indigenous youths because it addresses their life experiences. [340] It offers a form of culture that is relevant and accessible to them, and they can use this as a method for healing the negative effects of colonialism. Indigenous hip-hop does not only allow artists to combat the trauma of colonialism by discussing it in clear language, but it also does this by creating pride in indigenous identities.

3.2 'Sisterz': Female Indigenous Identities and Hip-hop[341]

Indigenous women in North America have been subjected to violence and patriarchy as a consequence of historical colonialism, and this subsection explains the context of this and how some indigenous women have used hip-hop to address these issues. For the purpose of going into some specific detail, it will focus on the experiences of First Nations women in Canada, although it should also be considered that Native American women have had similar experiences due to policies enacted by the US government, which have promoted patriarchy within their communities, and impeded upon their personal freedoms.[342]

Indigenous women in North America experience disproportionate rates of violence, murder, and sexual abuse. A 2014 report by the Royal Mounted Canadian police found that 1,181 indigenous women had been murdered or gone missing in Canada between 1980 and 2012, and many have

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[337] Mahlikah Awe:ri, 'Right Level, Next Level: Indigenizing Hip Hop', https://decolonization.wordpress.com/, (last accessed 17/12/2017).
[338] Mahlikah Awe:ri, 'Right Level, Next Level: Indigenizing Hip Hop', https://decolonization.wordpress.com/, (last accessed 17/12/2017).
[339] Mahlikah Awe:ri, 'Right Level, Next Level: Indigenizing Hip Hop', https://decolonization.wordpress.com/, (last accessed 17/12/2017).
[340] 'Interview with Saskatchewan Hip Hop Artist Lindsay Knight (a.k.a. Eekwol)', *Canadian Folk Music* 43.1, (Spring 2009), pp. 11-14, p. 13.
[341] JB the First Lady, 'Sisterz', found on 'BCNU Rally - Sisterz by JB the First Lady - Part II', https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 10/12/2017).
[342] For more information see Dianne Bohn, 'Lifetime Physical and Sexual Abuse, Substance Abuse, Depression, and Suicide Attempts Among Native American Women', *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 24, (2003), pp. 333-352; Rebecca Hart and M. Lowther, 'Honoring Sovereignty: Aiding Tribal Efforts to Protect Native American Women from Domestic Violence', *California Law Review* 96, (2008), pp. 185-233.

claimed that the number is actually much higher.[343] Many indigenous communities distrust federal

police departments, and feel that they are apathetic towards crimes in which indigenous women are

the victims.[344] Indigenous women in Saskatchewan have reported police neglect when reporting

domestic violence, as well as receiving evasive and inappropriate body searches, and sexual

harassment and physical assault.[345] A UN expert committee found Stephen Harper's conservative

government to be in 'grave violation' of the rights of indigenous women, for its failure to investigate

the high levels of violence they suffer, including disappearances and murders.[346] The authors of this

report, Niklas Bruun and Barbara Bailey, commented in an e-mail that, 'the victimisation of native

women is partly the legacy of colonial heritage where gender-based violence is linked to the lack of

realization of their economic, social, political and cultural rights'.[347]

As they suggest, much violent crime against indigenous women can be said to be rooted in the

identity politics of race and gender. Jiwani and Young have said that Canadian society positions First

Nations women, 'in the lowest rungs of the social order, thereby making them expendable and

invisible, if not disposable'.[348] This devaluation of female indigenous identity is not coincidental. A

2004 Amnesty International report into violence and discrimination against indigenous women in

Canada, found that the marginalisation of indigenous women was caused by a legacy of

colonialism.[349] Two past policies of Canadian governments were particularly cited in this report. The

dispossession of 'Indian' identity for women who married outside their communities, and the legacy

of children being removed from their communities to be taught in residential schools.[350]

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[343] 'Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Overview', (2014), Royal Canadian Mounted Police; Many activists believe the number of missing and murdered indigenous women is closer to 4,000, see Paul Tasker, 'Confusion Reigns Over Number of Missing, Murdered Indigenous Women', *CBC News* 16 Feb. 2016.

[344] 'Canada: Police Fail Indigenous Women in Saskatchewan', *Human Rights Watch* 19 Jun. 2017; Mary Pember, 'Missing and Murdered: No One Knows How Many Native Women Have Disappeared', *Indian Country Today* 11 Apr. 2016.

[345] 'Canada: Police Fail Indigenous Women in Saskatchewan', *Human Rights Watch* 19 Jun. 2017.

[346] 'Canada's Failure to Effectively Address Murder and Disappearance of Aboriginal Women 'Grave Rights Violation' - UN Experts', found on http://www.ohchr.org/EN/pages/home.aspx, (last accessed 03/12/2017).

[347] 'Canada's Failure to Effectively Address Murder and Disappearance of Aboriginal Women 'Grave Rights Violation' - UN Experts', found on http://www.ohchr.org/EN/pages/home.aspx, (last accessed 03/12/2017); E-mail from Niklas Bruun and Barbara Bailey cited in Mali Ilse Paquin, 'Unsolved Murders of Indigenous Women Reflect Canada's History of Silence', *The Guardian* 25 Jun. 2015.

[348] Yasmin Jiwani and Marylynn Young, 'Missing and Murdered Women: Reproducing Marginality in News Discourse', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 31, (2006), pp. 895–917, p. 912.

[349] 'Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada', Amnesty International, (2004), p. 2.

[350] 'Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada', Amnesty International, (2004), p. 2.

The first of these points is largely to do with the Indian Act of 1876, which defined what 'Indian-ness' meant.[351] This was defined by the Canadian government, and whether someone met their 'Indian' criteria, decided if they were eligible for provisions promised by treaties, and whether they could live on reservations with their communities.[352] This was particularly unfair for indigenous women, as the Canadian government made authentic 'Indian' identity reliant on the 'Indian-ness' of their fathers or husbands.[353] For instance, an 'Indian' woman who married a 'non-Indian' man under this act, lost their 'Indian' identity and band membership.[354] After 1869, women who married 'non-Indian' men were also not allowed to be on reservations with their communities.[355] Even if they divorced the 'non-Indian' man, in the eyes of the Canadian government, they had now been assimilated. [356] Furthermore, those women who did have 'Indian' status were not allowed to own property, and this made them reliant upon men in their communities.[357] As Wendee Kubick and Carrie Bourassa have acknowledged, the Canadian government's policies enforced practices of patriarchy on indigenous communities.[358] They described this as being a system in which 'major social institutions, practices, and ideological frameworks support, legitimize and facilitate male and masculine domination and the oppression and exploitation of women and many other men', adding that, 'femininity is, moreover, devalued'.[359] It was only as recent as 1985, that indigenous women made a successful

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[351] Carrie Bourassa, Kim McKay-McKnabb and Mary Hampton, 'Racism, Sexism, and Colonialism: The Impact on the Health of Aboriginal Women in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 24, (2004), pp. pp. 23-29, p. 25.

[352] Carrie Bourassa, Kim McKay-McKnabb and Mary Hampton, 'Racism, Sexism, and Colonialism: The Impact on the Health of Aboriginal Women in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 24, (2004), pp. pp. 23-29, p. 25.

[353] Carrie Bourassa, Kim McKay-McKnabb and Mary Hampton, 'Racism, Sexism, and Colonialism: The Impact on the Health of Aboriginal Women in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 24, (2004), pp. pp. 23-29, p. 25.

[354] Carrie Bourassa, Kim McKay-McKnabb and Mary Hampton, 'Racism, Sexism, and Colonialism: The Impact on the Health of Aboriginal Women in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 24, (2004), pp. pp. 23-29, p. 25.

[355] 'An Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, the Better Management of Indian Affairs, and to Extend the Provisions of the Act 31st Victoria', Chapter 42, (1869).

[356] Carrie Bourassa, Kim McKay-McKnabb and Mary Hampton, 'Racism, Sexism, and Colonialism: The Impact on the Health of Aboriginal Women in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 24, (2004), pp. pp. 23-29, p. 25.

[357] Carrie Bourassa, Kim McKay-McKnabb and Mary Hampton, 'Racism, Sexism, and Colonialism: The Impact on the Health of Aboriginal Women in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 24, (2004), pp. pp. 23-29, p. 25.

[358] Wendee Kubick and Carrie Bourassa, 'Stolen Sisters: The Politics, Policies, and Travesty of Missing and Murdered Women in Canada', found in D. Memee-Harvard and Jennifer Brant, (editors), *Forever Loved: Exposing the Hidden Crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada*, (2016), pp. 17- 33, p. 29.

[359] Wendee Kubick and Carrie Bourassa, 'Stolen Sisters: The Politics, Policies, and Travesty of Missing and Murdered Women in Canada', found in D. Memee-Harvard and Jennifer Brant, (editors), *Forever Loved: Exposing the Hidden Crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada*, (2016), pp. 17- 33, p. 29.

complaint to the UN Human Rights Committee, and policies were repealed as they were found to be incompatible with protections against discrimination in Canada's new Charter of Rights and Freedoms.[360] By this time however, many women had already been removed from their communities, and as the beginning of this section has found, indigenous women still receive a disproportionate amount of abuse from men.[361] Essentially, Canadian policies that defined 'Indian' identity, imposed a culture of patriarchy in indigenous communities, and devalued the identity of women.

Secondly, the residential schooling system underscored values of patriarchy in their upbringing, and also normalised violence against many indigenous girls. Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, acknowledged this in his 2008 apology on behalf of the system, stating that its purposes were, 'to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture'.[362] This meant that many First Nations boys and girls were not taught their cultural traditions, and were pressured to embrace the patriarchal values of dominant society. These schools also normalised violence against First Nations girls, and similarly to crimes against indigenous women today, much of it was unreported or not investigated in depth.[363] Experiences were varied at these schools, but they could at worst be places of violence, paedophilia, and even death.[364] The legacy of this system, and its lack of concern for the wellbeing of First Nations peoples has impacted the safety of First Nations women today.[365] It could be said that these schools normalised physical and emotional abuse within indigenous communities.

This contextual explanation as to why female indigenous identity in Canada has been devalued, serves to emphasise how a proud exertion of this identity is significant. Many indigenous women have been made feel ashamed of their cultural identity or have been victimised because of it. Andrea Smith wrote in 2005, that while working as a rape crisis counsellor, nearly every Native American client she saw commented, 'I wish I wasn't Indian'.[366] Sadly, this underscores how their

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[360] Sandra Lovelace v. Canada, Supra, footnote 17.
[361] 'Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada', Amnesty International, (2004), p. 8.
[362] Stephen Harper, 'Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools System', (2008), found on https://www.canada.ca/en.html, (last accessed 09/12/2017).
[363] John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, (1999), p. 153.
[364] John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, (1999), p. 153.
[365] 'Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada', Amnesty International, (2004), p. 2.
[366] Andrea Smith, 'Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change', *Feminist Studies* 31, (2005), pp. 116-132, p. 116.

identities have been devalued. Considering this, it can be said that embracing cultural identity as an indigenous woman is a political act which rejects the patriarchal system that has been imposed on many First Nations communities, and for many, expresses their traditional cultural autonomy.

Many contemporary female hip-hop artists have been concerned with identifying themselves as independent indigenous women, something which subverts the practices of patriarchal dependence that were enforced on indigenous communities. Néhinaw/Dené rapper, T-Rhyme, also known as Tara Campbell, is one of these artists. She is an emcee and jeweller. The biography on her website finishes with her being quoted: 'I just want to embody hip hop culture, in feminine form, to the best of my abilities'.[367] This summarising at the end of the webpage, seems to emphasise that her rapping is grounded in gender identity. The lyrics of her songs support this identification, as they frequently express her self-awareness in being a female rapper. In 'Golden ft. Sierra Jamerson' for instance, she declares her ability to, 'add a little rhyme and then a dash of the teet'.[368] In 'One Love Remix', she also talks about being 'supreme' because she is 'half-woman, half-amazing' and able to pursue her ambitions.[369] These are confident statements of a woman who believes herself to be skilled at emceeing, and capable of deciding her life's direction. This defies patriarchal ideas of female dependence upon men. Charity Marsh has observed that in spite of hip-hop often being stereotyped as a hypermasculine activity, female indigenous hip-hop artists are able to assert themselves and challenge these ideas. As she explains: 'these women resist and challenge hegemonic ideas around the gendering of hip hop and its associated technologies'.[370]

Some female indigenous artists also feel a responsibility in addressing the problem of missing and murdered women in Canada. Eekwol has realised the significance of her being an indigenous woman in a male dominated genre, especially given this context of abuse against indigenous women. She has said: 'we still have a lot to acknowledge when it comes to women. Especially, when it comes to Indigenous women, when we have the issue of the inquiry [into missing and murdered indigenous women, 2016] about to go down. It's important to be a strong presence in any aspect'.[371] Another artist, Vancouver based JB the First Lady, also known as Jerilynn Snuxyaltwa Webster, has particularly concerned herself with the issue. She is an emcee, beat boxer, cultural dancer, activist and youth educator. At a rally for the British Columbia Nurses' Union in May 2017, she performed

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[367] T-Rhyme cited on http://www.t-rhyme.com/bio/, (last accessed 16/11/2017).
[368] T-Rhyme, 'Golden ft. Sierra Jamerson', (2016).
[369] T-Rhyme, 'One Love Remix', (2015).
[370] Charity Marsh, 'Hip Hop as Methodology: Ways of Knowing', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37, (2012), pp. 193-203, found on https://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal, (last accessed 20/06/2019).
[371] Eekwol cited in Devln Pachollk 'Eekwol Fights for Aboriginal Women's Rights Through Hip-Hop', *Noisey* 13 Jan. 2016.

her song 'Sisterz', which called for more acknowledgement of the violence that many indigenous women are subjected to.[372] She was critical of the Canadian authorities, and expressed a common frustration in indigenous communities, that crimes against their women are not properly investigated: 'why no sense of urgency!? Why no emergency!?'[373] She added; 'I want to walk the highways, the alleys and the streets', which communicated a modest desire for indigenous women to be able to travel in public places without the fear of violence.[374]

Female indigenous artists have used hip-hop as a means of confidently asserting their cultural identity, despite a history of this identity being devalued. They have also used this voice to spread awareness of violence against indigenous women and have challenged the Canadian authorities for seemingly leaving this issue unchecked. In writing about Inuit hip-hop, Charity Marsh pointed out the significance of the stories that indigenous artists are telling: 'it speaks to how they are choosing to tell their stories, which does not always translate into being a docile citizen as understood within the framework of capitalism'.[375] Artists such as JB the First Lady challenge Adorno's view of music as an opiate of the masses by situating music as a way in which indigenous women can challenge the capitalist and patriarchal frameworks of mainstream society.

3.3 "Too Sick": Eekwol and Discussions of Indigenous Masculinities[376]

Another interesting point is the way in which Eekwol, as a female artist, talks about indigenous men and ideas of masculinity. Eekwol sees hip-hop as a way of allowing indigenous peoples to engage with their cultures through the practice of storytelling.[377] An issue discussed in her songs is the relationship between men and domestic violence, something which relates to her as an indigenous woman, as women are often the victims of this.[378] In Canada, indigenous women are three times more likely than other women to report having suffered domestic abuse.[379] In the US, the rate is

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[372] JB the First Lady, 'Sisterz', found on 'BCNU Rally - Sisterz by JB the First Lady - Part II', https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 10/12/2017).
[373] JB the First Lady, 'Sisterz', found on 'BCNU Rally - Sisterz by JB the First Lady - Part II', https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 10/12/2017).
[374] JB the First Lady, 'Sisterz', found on 'BCNU Rally - Sisterz by JB the First Lady - Part II', https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 10/12/2017).
[375] Charity Marsh, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129, p. 126.
[376] Eekwol, 'Too Sick', Innersoulflow Record, (2002).
[377] Charity Marsh, 'Bits and Pieces of Truth: Storytelling, Identity, and Hip Hop in Saskatchewan', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 346-371, p. 352.
[378] Eekwol, 'Too Sick', Innersoulflow Record, (2002).
[379] Cally Carswell, 'First Nations Women in Canada Are Suffering From an Epidemic of Violence. Why?', *Sierra* 22 Aug. 2017.

similarly distressing, with 39% of Native American women reporting to have been victims of domestic abuse.[380] Many indigenous peoples believe this to be a problem caused by the dominant societies, and the ways which they have abused men, and tried to reform their ideas of masculinity towards that of their own patriarchal cultures.[381] Mi'Kmaw, Catherine Martin has commented: 'the situation we are in today is such that our women and children aren't respected as they used to be. It is not the fault of the men. It is because of the layers and layers of influence we have had from another culture. We are in a state of confusion and are trying to work our way out of it'.[382] Jessica Riel-Johns has further elaborated on the history of this, in which European settlers, and their subsequent governments in North America felt that their patriarchal societies were undermined by the existence of indigenous societies in which gender roles were often considered fluid, or of equal value, and which placed women in positions of political power.[383] Consequently, successive colonial regimes tried to displace these traditional cultures, and instil their own patriarchy within them.[384] The aggressive process of this is thought to have caused a confusion of identity amongst indigenous men, as it has disrupted their traditional cultural identities.[385]

Eekwol's songs demonstrate an understanding of this wide cultural context which has caused many indigenous men to become violent. She explains that this is because their traditional cultural identities have been ruptured. Her song, 'Too Sick', is an example of this, which follows the narrative of a couple.[386] The track's verses reveal that the man in the relationship is culturally traumatised by the legacy of colonial assimilation, and that this has caused him to become a violent alcoholic.[387] In a later verse, he wakes up after killing his girlfriend while drunk, and the narrator of the verse tells him how, unable to carry out his traditional masculine identity as a protector, he has inverted this towards a path of destruction:

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[380] Rebecca Hart and M. Lowther, 'Honoring Sovereignty: Aiding Tribal Efforts to Protect Native American Women from Domestic Violence', *California Law Review* 96, (2008), pp. 185-233. P. 188.

[381] Catherine Martin cited in Kim Anderson, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood*, (2001), p. 13.

[382] Catherine Martin cited in Kim Anderson, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood*, (2001), p. 13.

[383] Jessica Riel-Johns, 'Understanding Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada', found in D. Lavell-Harvard and Jennifer Brant, (editors), *Forever Loved: Exposing the Hidden Crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada*, (2016), 00. 34-46, p. 37.

[384] Jessica Riel-Johns, 'Understanding Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada', found in D. Lavell-Harvard and Jennifer Brant, (editors), *Forever Loved: Exposing the Hidden Crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada*, (2016), 00. 34-46, p. 37.

[385] Leanne Simpson, *As we Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, (2017), p. 89.

[386] Eeekwol, 'Too Sick', Innersoulflow Record, (2002).

[387] Eeekwol, 'Too Sick', Innersoulflow Record, (2002).

'When the hunt's at its best, you had no arrows. Took a knife and stabbed your girlfriend in the

chest, no family to bring her home to where they're already at rest. Carried on the tradition of

alcohol and violence. The city stripped you clean of your culture, selves and dreams. The pen walls

continue to remind you of your girlfriend's screams'.[388]

As Gail Mackay has noted, the man in this song is, like his girlfriend, a victim of abuse, who is

suffering in the city, and is traumatised by a history of cultural genocide.[389] As a result, his traditional

roles of warrior and hunter are mutated, and he finds himself trapped inside a new tradition of

alcohol and violence.[390]

This North American example has international relevance, and relates to the urban experiences of

Māori people in New Zealand, and how they have similarly been affected by a legacy of colonialism.

The film, *Once were Warriors* (1994), articulates issues of male domestic violence through the story

of a dysfunctional relationship between a Māori man and woman.[391] The man, Jake Heke, is a

troubled patriarchal character, who is short tempered and extremely violent.[392] He physically abuses

his wife and instils fear in his family.[393] His character however, although intensely dislikeable for his

actions, can be understood within the context that the film provides.[394] Jake has been made

unemployed, and although he is mostly charming when sober, he is an aggressive alcoholic.[395] The

plot heavily suggests that Jake's problems stem from him not having grown up in the same

traditional cultural environment that his wife did.[396] That is to say, that he was not properly

socialised by his family in how to carry out his traditional role as a Māori man. The consequence of

this is that he has lost the meaning of his Māori heritage, and can only express himself through

drunkenness and violence. His wife, Beth Heke, clearly recognises this at the end of film, declaring:

'our people once were warriors. But unlike you, Jake, they were people with mana, pride, people

with spirit'.[397] Jake's loss of cultural knowledge, while suffering the deprivation and traumas of

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[388] Eekwol, 'Too Sick', Innersoulflow Record, (2002).

[389] Gail Mackay. 'A Reading of Eekwol's Apprentice to the Mystery as an Expression of Cree Youth's Cultural Role and Responsibility', found in Jeff Berglund, Jan Johnson and Kimerli Lee, *Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz to Hip Hop*, pp.201-223, p. 215.

[390] Gail Mackay. 'A Reading of Eekwol's Apprentice to the Mystery as an Expression of Cree Youth's Cultural Role and Responsibility', found in Jeff Berglund, Jan Johnson and Kimerli Lee, *Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz to Hip Hop*, pp.201-223, p. 215.

[391] 'Once were Warriors', (1994).

[392] 'Once were Warriors', (1994).

[393] 'Once were Warriors', (1994).

[394] 'Once were Warriors', (1994).

[395] 'Once were Warriors', (1994).

[396] 'Once were Warriors', (1994).

[397] 'Once were Warriors', (1994).

colonialism's legacy, have warped his perception of masculine warrior identity into that of an abusive patriarch.

This point about problems affecting many Māori people is raised to emphasise the issues that many indigenous people in various societies throughout the world face as a consequence of colonialism, and the impact that this has had on their understandings of their gender roles.[398] Eekwol has written another song, 'Look East', which grapples specifically with these issues in relation to First Nations men in Canada, and how their suffering is exacerbated by their inability to talk to others about it. 'Who do [the men] turn to when it gets too much? Taught not to talk about an ego like a crutch. Silence keeps it buried, all the truth, the lies. Arm wrestle tough to keep the anger inside. Men don't cry, attitude, human heritage'.[399] The silent suffering that Eekwol is rapping about can partly be attributed to the transgenerational legacy of Canada's residential schooling system in which boys were often abused (normalising violence), taught to behave stoically (distancing emotions), and to be ashamed of their identity as indigenous men.[400] This had devastating implications for many on their sense of purpose. As Eekwol puts it, 'they took away your role, along with your soul, and expect you to succeed, that's taken its toll'.[401] Eekwol acknowledges the difficulty that many indigenous men have in personally addressing the legacy of colonialism, even rapping that some can only express themselves and talk about their pain when they are drunk, making sure that 'no one knows about it when [they are] sober'.[402] In this, she is recognising that many of them conceal their emotions, and alcohol is found by many to be a solution, as it allows them to be emotional. This taps into another issue that disproportionately affects First Nations people, that of heavy drinking.[403] In Eekwol's home of Saskatchewan, although off-reservation indigenous peoples have high rates of alcohol abstinence (a reported 40%), almost half (47%), have reported to heavy drinking.[404] The alcohol itself, is cited as a major contributor towards creating a 'culture of violence' in many

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[398] It is acknowledged that 'Once Were Warriors' has been criticised for perpetuating a stereotype that Māori men are extremely violent. The author feels that this point is still pertinent however, as issues of domestic abuse disproportionately affect Māori communities. See Sheryl Ferguson, 'Once were warriors, or warriors still?', (2009), found on http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/248/265, (last accessed 17/11/2017); Brendan Hokowitu, 'The Death of Koro Paka: "Traditional" Māori Patriarchy', *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, pp. 259-284, p. 264.

[399] Eekwol, 'Look East', (2013).

[400] http://wherearethechildren.ca/en/, (last accessed 17/11/2017).

[401] Eekwol, 'Look East', (2013).

[402] Eekwol, 'Look East', (2013).

[403] 'Aboriginal Peoples: Fact Sheet for Canada', found on http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/start, (last accessed 17/11/2017).

[404] 'Aboriginal Peoples: Fact Sheet for Saskatchewan', found on http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/start, (last accessed 17/11/2017).

indigenous families.[405] Eeekwol's acknowledgement of this, amongst other factors that exert pressure on indigenous men, reveal that domestic violence is largely linked to cultural trauma, and with this, she offers a solution: the revival of traditional culture. Eekwol connects this to the way she expresses herself through hip-hop. She has said: 'I… have that notion in the back of my mind that our ancestral history runs through our blood and our spirits and I think that a lot of the times, youth relate to that kind of storytelling [in hip hop] because of our storytelling traditions'.[406] When Eekwol speaks of traditional culture she is also concerned with their importance link to the present. As Charity Marsh highlights: 'it is evident that Eekwol's hip hop does not solely focus on the preservation of past traditions, but rather, she is attempting to explore the complex experiences of Indigenous youth living in Saskatchewan... Eekwol's music is politically, socially, culturally, and ethically relevant to today'.[407]

Despite listing many problems that indigenous men face, Eekwol's song is optimistic, as it expresses faith in the resurgence of cultural traditions, or indigenous survivance as Vizenor would put it.[408] She perceives that this has the capacity to heal men, and give them a renewed sense of purpose. As she repeats in the track's chorus: 'I hear the old ones say, bring back the will, and the reason to fight. Protect us and we'll make this right'.[409] The role of protecting their communities is said to have a rehabilitative effect for men, as it will replace alcoholism and domestic violence with cultural purpose. This links into the next discussion, of how many indigenous men have found hip-hop to be a way of assuming this role as a protector.

3.4 "Warrior Code": Hip-hop 'Hardness' and Indigenous Masculinity[410]

Hyper masculine expression is prevalent in mass marketed hip hop culture.[411] 'Hardness' is generally an expected trait for artists, and this is tied to ideas of ghetto-centricity (having come from grinding circumstances), and 'manliness'.[412] African American rappers use 'hardness' to validate their hip hop identities, with them tending to emphasise their own masculinity, while subordinating the

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[405] Michael Bopp, Judie Bopp and Phil Lane, 'Aboriginal Domestic Violence in Canada', The Aboriginal Healing Foundation, (2003).

[406] Charity Marsh, 'Interview with Saskatchewan Hip Hop Artist Lindsay Knight (a.k.a. Eekwol)', *Canadian Folk Music* 43.1, (Spring 2009), pp. 11-14, p. 13.

[407] Charity Marsh, 'Interview with Saskatchewan Hip Hop Artist Lindsay Knight (a.k.a. Eekwol)', *Canadian Folk Music* 43.1, (Spring 2009), pp. 11-14, p. 11.

[408] Gerald Vizenor, 'Aesthetics of Survivance', found in Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008), pp. 25-38, p. 1.

[409] Eekwol, 'Look East', (2013).

[410] Cody Coyote (feat. Joey Stylez and Jon-C), 'Warrior Code', (2016).

[411] Derrick Darby and Tommie Shelby, (editors), *Hip Hop and Philosophy: Rhyme 2 Reason*, (2005), p. 92.

[412] Adam Krims, *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity*, (2000), p. 73.

competing masculinities of other men.[413] The most obvious example of this is the 'diss' track, in which a rapper typically emasculates their opponent, and this is often done by bragging about their own exceptionally violent capacities, or heterosexual copulating prowess, and this contributes towards a rigid criteria for masculinity within the culture.[414] Charity Marsh has written of hypermasculine personas in mass marketed hip-hop: 'as reproduced for mass consumption by the music, film, television, and news industries, the American hip-hop gangsta lifestyle offer a particular fantasy of hypermasculinity based on the accumulation of wealth, power, prestige, sex, and respect born of intimidation and fear'.[415] She has added: 'this investment in patriarchal privilege is perpetuated in media representations of the gangsta hip-hop lifestyle as well as among those who participate in gangsta hip-hop culture'.[416] She argues that this is a form of patriarchy 'inextricably linked to capitalism'.[417] The negative implications of this have been widely voiced, including sexism against women, misogyny, and homophobia.[418] Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond have noted: 'in some instances the symbolism of a genre or style is in itself heavily overlaid with gendered concepts, concepts that may be reflected in song lyrics, performance style, or the discourse about the genre or style'. [419] As hip hop has rapidly globalised since the 1990s, it might be expected that this that this would contribute towards a globalisation of its definition of masculinity.[420] This has not

[413] Antonia Randolph, '"Don't Hate Me Because I'm Beautiful": Black Masculinity and Alternative Embodiment in Rap Music', *Race, Gender and Class* 13, (2006), pp. 200-217, p. 203; Mimi Schippers, 'Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony', *Theory and Society* 36, (2007), pp. 85-102, p. 87; Hegemonic masculinity is a contested but widely accepted theory, for more information see Raewyn Connell and James Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender and Society* 19, (2005), pp. 829-859.

[414] 'Hypermasculinity and Hip Hop: An Analysis of Black Hypermasculinity', found on https://www.theodysseyonline.com/, (last accessed 01/11/2017); Charity Marsh, 'Bits and Pieces of Truth: Storytelling, Identity, and Hip Hop in Saskatchewan', found in Anna Hoefnagels and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), pp. 346-371, p. 367.

[415] Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170, p. 152.

[416] Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170, p. 152.

[417] Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170, p. 154.

[418] Antonia Randolph, '"Don't Hate Me Because I'm Beautiful": Black Masculinity and Alternative Embodiment in Rap Music', *Race, Gender and Class* 13, (2006), pp. 200-217, p. 201.

[419] Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond, 'Introduction: Music and Gender – Negotiating Shifting World', pp. found in Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond, (editors), *Music and Gender*, (2000), 1-24, pp. 5.

[420] Marcyliena Morgan, ''The World is Yours': The Globalisation of Hip Hop Language', *Social Identities* 22, (2016), 133-149, p. 134; Raewyn Connell and James Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender and Society* 19, (2005), pp. 829-859, p. 849.

necessarily been the case however, as Indigenous artists have incorporated their own cultural understandings of masculinity when demonstrating their 'hardness'.

Rap music has received much attention in the public and academic spheres for the hyper masculine lyrics and performances of African American men, but the unique translation of this into Indigenous hip hop culture has been overlooked.[421] Many male Indigenous artists describe themselves as warriors in their lyrics, and employ a lexical set of battle related words alongside cultural references. Litefoot, as an example, equates his role as a rapper with that of a warrior. The opening of his 1996 album *Good Day to Die* features traditional singing, rattles, and drums accompanied by a message: 'Litefoot, see that road? That's a warrior's road. This road is the one chosen for you… as a warrior you must speak the truth, and fight the good fight. The creator watches you, your ancestors guide you'.[422] Nataanii Means has also described himself as a warrior while connecting himself to tradition, and has invoked an idea of masculine responsibility towards his community. His song 'Warrior' opens by stating that, 'we come from warrior blood, us men. So that feeling you have at times when you're angry and upset, that goes generations back to when we had that, when he had to fight for our women, our children and our elders'.[423] Interpretations of masculinity differ between cultures and what these artists are doing is connecting Indigenous understandings of masculinity into their music.[424] Indigenous hip hop, much like its African American equivalent, features macho lyrics and posturing, but this masculinity culturally differs in not being boasted individually for its own sake, but on behalf of the community.[425]

Many Indigenous men consider protecting their community to be an important part of their identity. It is commonly estimated that Native American men have the highest percentage of honourable discharges in the US military, and Kathleen Roberts has found that 'defending one's home' has been a commonly stated reason among veterans for doing this.[426] Indigenous cultures cannot be generalised, but it is pertinent to say that in some of these societies, there has historically been a

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[421] Lakeyta Bonnette, *Pulse of the People: Political Rap Music and Black Politics*, (2015), p. 77; Derrick Alridge and James Stewart, 'Hip Hop in History: Past, Present, and Future', *The Journal of African American History* 90, pp. 190-195, p. 194; Crystal Belle, 'From Jay-Z to Dead Prez: Examining Representations of Black Masculinity in Mainstream Versus Underground Hip-Hop Music', *Journal of Black Studies* 45, (2014), pp. 287–300, p. 289.
[422] Litefoot, 'Intro – Warrior's Road', Red Vinyl Records, (1996).
[423] Nataanii Means, 'Warrior', (2015).
[424] Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities*, (second edition), (2005), p. 3.
[425] Hyper masculine narcissism is common in African American hip hop, but it is not entirely categorised by this. See 'How Hip-Hop Is Confronting Toxic Masculinity', *Huffington Post* 22 Dec. 2016.
[426] Ronald Jackson (editor), *Global Masculinities and Manhood*, (2011), p. 141.

warrior role for men.[427] Warriors in Indigenous cultures are typically a means of taking action against both physical and intangible threats to their communities.[428] Alfred and Lowe have elaborated: 'contrary to the militaristic and soldierly associations of the term in European languages – and in common usage – the words translated from indigenous languages as "warrior" generally have deep and spiritual meaning'.[429] An example of this is the English-Kanienkeha translation, rotiskenhrakete, which literally means 'carrying the burden of peace'.[430] This suggests a broader meaning of the term, not only concerned with physical violence, but the wellbeing of the community. Another example is given by Taiaiake Alfred, who has written of the role of Onkwehonwe warriors in his community:

'The new warriors make their own way in the world: they move forward heeding the teachings of the ancestors and carrying a creed that has been taken from the past and remade into a powerful way of being in their new world. In our actions, we show respect for the heritage of our people by regenerating the spirit of our ancestors'.[431]

Contemporary Indigenous societies have their own problems, which are largely influenced by a history of colonialism, and the role of warriors in these communities has adapted to meet these. Modern warriors are seen to be communicators, organisers, and leaders, capable of informing and inspiring others.[432] They are agents of decolonisation, and for many, music is an effective means of conveying themselves. Essentially, in the understanding of many Indigenous fans, and by their own self-description, various contemporary Indigenous hip hop artists who address issues facing their communities can be described as warriors.

Many male Indigenous hip hop artists are consciously aspiring towards this warrior role. A mixture of cultural confidence, and anti-colonialism contribute to this. Nēhiyaw-Métis emcee, Joey Stylez, has cited Indigenous warriors who famously resisted colonialism in the past as his inspiration. 'I'm not trying to be Lil Wayne or Jay Z anymore. I want to be like Geronimo. I want to be like Crazy Horse,

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[427] This is a generalisation of some societies, and it is acknowledged that there was nuance in the performance of gender roles within these. Warrior women did (and still do) exist. For more information, see Michael Kimmel, (editor), *Men and Masculinities: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia*, (2004), p. 565.
[428] Taiaiake Alfred and Lana Lowe, 'Warrior Societies in Contemporary Indigenous Communities', *Upping the Anti*, (2005), found on http://uppingtheanti.org/, (last accessed 30/20/2017); Thomas Keith, *Masculinities in Contemporary American Culture: An Intersectional Approach to the Complexities and Challenges of Male Identity*, (2017), found on https://books.google.co.uk/, (last accessed 10/11/2017).
[429] Taiaiake Alfred and Lana Lowe, 'Warrior Societies in Contemporary Indigenous Communities', unpublished thesis, University of Victoria, (2005), p. 6.
[430] Taiaiake Alfred and Lana Lowe, 'Warrior Societies in Contemporary Indigenous Communities', unpublished thesis, University of Victoria, (2005), p. 6.
[431] Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*, (2005), p. 16.
[432] 'Why we Need Warrior Societies', *Warrior* Spring-Summer 2006.

Sitting Bull, Louis Riel, and Gabriel Dumont. We have our own identity'.[433] These Indigenous warriors provide alternative male role models for Indigenous artists, and this contributes towards their distinct interpretations of masculinity, which draws from their own cultural history, and associates it with a responsibility towards defending their people. For artists like Cody Coyote, of Ojibwe-Éire ancestry, this understanding of masculinity is central in validating their hip hop 'hardness'.[434] In his song 'Warrior Code', Coyote can boast how he is unafraid of challenges such as prison, because he has got the 'warrior code', which obligates him to 'protect the young and protect the old'.[435] Nēhiyawēwin artist, Drezus, is similarly able to express his 'hardness' by rapping about his ability to provide for his people.[436] His track 'Warpath' has heavy aggressive beats, giving it a macho feel, and his words are a rallying cry of war as a leader to his nation: 'remove your feelings, if you want to ride with me. We're about to go to war right now, no petty assed beef. When it all go down, who's gonna ride with me?'[437] This is backed by self-confident assertions such as, 'so divided are my kin, watch me turn the tables till we eating like kings'.[438] Drezus is exerting his masculinity, but is taking pride in it being for the sake of his community.

Overall, African American hip-hop culture has had a history in which artists have used hyper masculine behaviour and lyrics to give themselves street credibility in the eyes of their communities. This has had negative implications, particularly in terms of violence, and the treatment of women.

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[433] Joey Stylez cited in Devlin Pachollk, 'Joey Stylez Makes Music for Indigenous Warriors', *Noisey* 21 Jan. 2016; Geronimo was an Apache leader who fought in the Apache Wars (1849–1924) and who resisted confinement on US reservations between 1876 and 1886. Crazy Horse was the leader of the Oglála Lakota during many conflicts of the Great Sioux War (1876-1877), and is credited with victory at the Battle of the Little Bighorn (1876). Many consider that he was deliberately assassinated in captivity. Sitting Bull was a Húŋkpapȟa Lakota who fought in Red Cloud's War (1866-1868), a war against the US which Red Cloud is widely considered to have won. Sitting Bull also fought in the Great Sioux War, and at the Little Bighorn. In captivity, his Indian agent felt that he was undermining their authority on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, and some consider that his death was a political assassination. Louis Riel was a Métis politician who led the Métis in resistance against Canadian rule during the Red River Rebellion (1869-1870) and the North-West Rebellion (1885). He was convicted of high treason and executed. Gabriel Dumont was another Métis leader who resisted Canadian rule and commanded forces Métis forces during the North-West Rebellion.
[434] Nayo Saski-Picou, 'Performing Gender: The Construction of Black Males in the Hip Hop Industry', *The York University Student Journal of Anthropology* 1, (2014), pp. 103-107, p. 103; Éire is Gaelic for Ireland. The usage of this is not intended to further confuse readers who are reading words indigenous to North America, but because the author feels that not referring to Éire in its native tongue would disregard its peoples' own history of colonialism and forced assimilation.
[435] Cody Coyote (feat. Joey Stylez and Jon-C), 'Warrior Code', (2016).
[436] Nayo Saski-Picou, 'Performing Gender: The Construction of Black Males in the Hip Hop Industry', *The York University Student Journal of Anthropology* 1, (2014), pp. 103-107, p. 103.
[437] Drezus, 'Warpath', (2014).
[438] Drezus, 'Warpath', (2014).

Mainstream society often condemns hip-hop as antisocial and dangerous. [439] Indigenous hip-hop however, seems to have its own indigenous understandings of masculinity, and many artists have seen to authenticate themselves as warrior defenders of their communities. Charity Marsh argues that this is indigenous artists expressing 'an alternative masculinity'.[440] Hip-hop, a new practice to these communities, is being used to continue traditional identities in an innovative way.

3.5 Indigenous Family and Hip-Hop

Family and community is another area in which indigenous cultures can correspond with hip-hop. As in most societies, families are fundamental in the cultural reproduction of indigenous identities. Albert Pooley, president of the Native American Fatherhood and Families Association, has described them as being at 'the heart of the Native American cultures'.[441] In many indigenous societies, families are extended, and sometimes allied with other associate families.[442] Some nations can even be understood as a collection of families in which each person has responsibilities towards other members.[443]

The importance of kinship in hip-hop is often overlooked.[444] Hip-hop has historically offered artists and fans a feeling belonging, many of which have come from tough family circumstances, which links into previous discussion of why it appeals to young indigenous people.[445]

Family and community are prominent themes in the indigenous hip-hop subgenre, and with many artists honouring their kin. Drezus, also known as Jeremiah Manitopyes, a rapper and activist based in Winnipeg, Manitoba, for instance, underscores that he a 'badass' (who intimidates the establishment), only to claim that he is more significantly a family man, rapping that, 'they call me public enemy, but they don't understand that I hold it down for my family'.[446] Many artists' music

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[439] Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170, p. 155.

[440] Charity Marsh, 'Keepin' it Real?: Masculinity, Race, and Media Representations of (Gangsta' Rap in) Regina', found in Wilfred Ramsay, (editor), *Making it Like a Man: Masculinities in Canadian Arts and Culture*, (2011), pp. 149-170, p. 155.

[441] Albert Pooled cited on https://www.nativeamericanfathers.org/, (last accessed 11/11/2017).

[442] 'Canada First Nations Families', http://family.jrank.org/, (last accessed 11/11/2017); Tamara Newcomb, 'Parenting Characteristics in Native American Families', unpublished thesis, Oklahoma State University, (2001), p. 7.

[443] Tamara Newcomb, 'Parenting Characteristics in Native American Families', unpublished thesis, Oklahoma State University, (2001), p. 7.

[444] Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop, Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation*, (2006), xii-xiii.

[445] Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop, Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation*, (2006), xii-xiii.

[446] Drezus, 'Warpath', (2014).

videos, also celebrate families and communities, with footage that features them. Blue Flamez' 'Rez Life' is a typical example of this, which focuses on an intergenerational community event.[447]

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[447] Blue Flamez, 'Rez Life', (2015), official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 11/11/2017).
[448] Blue Flamez, 'Rez Life', (2015), official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 11/11/2017).

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The role of mothers is also appreciated. In hip-hop, rappers paying tribute to their mums is an established practice, even for those regarded as total 'bad asses', like 2Pac.[450] Despite mainstream hip-hop frequently objectifying women in its lyrics and marketing, there is a tendency for artists to show great respect for female members of their own family.[451] Frank Waln follows in the tradition of 'the mom rap' with his song, 'My Stone', which is an unrestrained statement of gratitude towards his mum.[452] Waln has elaborated on the importance of her role in his life: 'growing up on the reservation was very tough. I was raised by my mother and aunties… Everything I do today is connected to how I was brought up'.[453] Waln's attributes his successes as a rapper to her influence with his heart-warming line: 'when I shine, mom you shine'.[454]

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[449] Blue Flamez, 'Rez Life', (2015), official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 11/11/2017).

[450] Examples include Kanye West, 'Hey Mama', Roc-A-Fella Records, (2005); 2Pac, 'Dear Mama', Interscope Records, (1995); Nas, 'Dance', Columbia, (2002); Drake, 'Look What You've Done', Young Money Entertainment/Cash Money Records, (2011); Jay-Z, 'Blueprint (Momma Loves Me)', Roc-A-Fella Records, (2001); Snoop Dogg, 'I Love my Momma', No Limit/Priority Records, (1999).

[451] Derrick Darby and Tommie Shelby, (editors), *Hip Hop and Philosophy: Rhyme 2 Reason*, (2005), p. 97; Eminem's many songs insulting his mum are an exception to this, although he redresses this in Eminem, 'Headlights', Interscope Records, (2014).

[452] Frank Waln, 'My Stone', (2017); 'The mom rap' phrase is being coined here.

[453] Frank Waln in 'Rebel Music – Native America: 7th Generation Rises – MTV', found on http://www.mtv.com/news/2154171/rebel-music-native-america-7th-generation-rises/, (last accessed 08/11/2017).

[454] Frank Waln, 'My Stone', (2017).

Indigenous hip-hop does not just celebrate families, but it also addresses the problems that they face. Supaman adeptly handles this in his song, 'Somewhere'.[455] Apsáalooke rapper and fancy dancer, Supaman, also known as Christian Parrish Takes the Gun, is an artist who understands family issues. Before returning to his mother, he spent part of his childhood being raised in foster care, as his parents struggled with alcoholism.[456] As he has commented of the song in an interview for this project: 'I wanted to touch on some subjects that are close to home for me and hopefully relate to the listeners out there. Knowing we are all going through something and to live the best lives we can, because life is short'.[457] 'Somewhere' works emotively on a number of levels.[458] Firstly, there is the sound of a flute that is looped into the song.[459] It's simple and clear hook evoke feelings of innocence and honesty, and these contrast with its heavy lyrical content, giving it an unsettling tone. The verses themselves, speak of the problems that indigenous mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, and friends face, exploring problems as varied as bullying, suicide, prostitution, substance abuse, and extramarital affairs.[460] There is concern that the lack of communication within families following conflicts, means that when members die, people 'never get the chance to say [they are] sorry'.[461] The consistent refrain of 'somewhere' underscores the tragedy of this, and is used to remind listeners that these kinds of family breakdowns are actually happening to people as the track plays.[462] Perhaps the most moving part of the song is its end. Supaman begins scratching a recording into the music, teasing the line 'Hey Victor…' until suddenly, the music stops.[463] It plays: 'Hey Victor, what about your dad?'[464] This is a cultural reference, which would be recognised by many indigenous people. It comes from the independent indigenous film, *Smoke Signals* (1998), in which the story's protagonist, Victor, journeys to pick up the ashes of his estranged father.[465] Victor resents his father for being violent, an alcoholic, and then leaving his family when he was young. As Supaman's refrain of 'somewhere' reminds listeners that indigenous families are constantly facing adversity, his inside cultural reference to *Smoke Signals*, directly addresses indigenous peoples, inviting them to consider the particular complications of split up families, something which relates back to the legacy of the residential schools explained in chapter one.

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[455] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[456] 'Supaman – Native American', https://www.definingcultures.com/, (last accessed 09/11/2017).
[457] Author's own interview with Christian Parrish Takes the Gun.
[458] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[459] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[460] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[461] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[462] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[463] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[464] Supaman, 'Somewhere', Rezawreckted Music, (2016).
[465] 'Smoke Signals', (1998).

Acceptance of indigenous hip-hop in indigenous communities is not unanimous, but contested, as it is often associated with anti-social behaviour. Rapper Skye Stoney implied this in a Youtube video of a BBQ that he was hosting, saying that: 'it's very important, these little kids have got to know that even though we're the ones their mums and dads want them to stay away from, at least they see us giving back'.[466] These sorts of concerns about the impact of hip-hop on the youth is not unique to indigenous communities in North America either. As a recent journalistic BBC Radio 4 documentary reported, some indigenous families in Australia have similar anxieties.[467]

3.6 "Indian City": Indigenous Music and Modern Indigenous Identities[468]

A common misconception about indigenous peoples is the idea of the historical 'Indian', that real indigenous people are confined to their traditions, and are incompatible with modern living.[469] Alexa Woloshyn has explained this perception in mainstream culture: 'when innovations are perceived [within indigenous cultures], the results can be demonized as cultural transgressions, romanticized, blamed on the influence of urban culture—where no true Indigenous culture exists'.[470] Charity Marsh argues that: 'the young Inuit people of the North continue to be understood within a colonialist framework of reification – as bodies invested in "tradition," bound only to "traditional" ways of being in the world, isolated from the affects of colonialism, diaspora, globalization, and transnationalism'.[471] Music is an area in which indigenous peoples are challenging this stereotype, and it also allows families who have left reservations to remain connected with their cultures in urban environments.

An example of innovation that many non-indigenous people might not realise, is powwows, as they are associated with indigenous traditions. Powwows have contested origins amongst indigenous circles, a debate which goes beyond the scope of this thesis.[472] What can be said is that their widespread popularity amongst indigenous peoples grew in the 20th century, and by the 1980s, they could be described as 'extremely popular'.[473] As ethnomusicologist, Christopher Scales, has noted:

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[466] Drezus in 'First Out Here: Indigenous Hip Hop in Canada', video found on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GbILAU2uQYE, (last accessed 26/10/2017).
[467] 'Australian Rap', BBC Radio 4, 9 Feb. 2017.
[468] A Tribe Called Red, 'Indian City ft. Black Bear', Radicalized Records/Pirates Blend, (2017).
[469] Paul Chaat Smith, *Everything you Know about Indians is Wrong*, (2009), p. 4.
[470] Alexa Woloshyn, '"Welcome to the Tundra": Tanya Tagaq's creative and communicative agency as political strategy', *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 29, (2017), pp. 1-14, p. 2.
[471] Charity Marsh, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129, p. 111.
[472] Tara Browner, *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-wow*, (2004), p. 19.
[473] 'History of the Powwow', found on http://www.powwows.com/, (last accessed 23/01/2018).

'powwows if nothing else, are thoroughly modern phenomena'.[474] They incorporate music, dancing, and regalia from traditional sources, but the event itself is an example of how indigenous cultures have adapted over time.[475] The dynamism of these traditions at the powwow, displays their continued life and relevance to indigenous peoples.[476]

Anthropologist, Daniel Gelo, describes a powwow as, 'a festival of dancing and dance contests, feasting, gift giving, camping, and other social activities'.[477] www.powwows.com, a website dedicated to publicising powwows, and providing information about them, elaborates that they are a way of indigenous peoples, 'meeting together, to join in dancing, singing, visiting, renewing old friendships, and making new ones'.[478] This is to say that they 'renew' indigenous cultures, and 'preserve the rich heritage' of indigenous peoples.[479] Through competitive, ceremonial and healing music, as well as dancing, and intricate regalia, indigenous peoples of different heritages are able to come together at a pan-indigenous event.[480] Not only do they do this because it is fun, but also because these events promote unity and political alliance amongst indigenous nations.[481] It is a space in which they can come together and be proud of their indigenous identities.[482] Ethnomusicologist Anna Hoefnagels has written that 'this celebration is not a long-standing nor fixed "tradition," but rather a meaningful and constantly evolving gathering, deliberately adapted and fostered by Native individuals'.[483] Music is at the centre of this, as it is what the socialising and dancing at these events is structured around. , Hoefnagels observed: 'physically, the musicians and

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[474] Christopher Scales, *Recording Culture: Powwow Music and the Aboriginal Recording Industry on the Northern Plains*, (2012), p. 8.

[475] Anita Herle, 'Dancing Community: Powwow and Pan-Indianism in North America', *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 17, (1994), pp. 57-83, p. 57.

[476] Laurent Jérôme, 'Powwow Music: Tradition and Innovation in Indigenous Cosmologies', Hilary Kaell, *Everyday Sacred: Religion in Contemporary Quebec*, (2017), pp. 75-98, p. 75.

[477] Daniel Gelo, 'Powwow Patter: Indian Emcee Discourse on Power and Identity', *Journal of American Folklore* 112, (1999), pp. 40-57, p. 40.

[478] 'What is a Native American Powwow?', found on http://www.powwows.com/, (last accessed 23/01/2018).

[479] 'What is a Native American Powwow?', found on http://www.powwows.com/, (last accessed 23/01/2018).

[480] Anita Herle, 'Dancing Community: Powwow and Pan-Indianism in North America', *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 17, (1994), pp. 57-83, p. 57.

[481] Matthew Krystal, *Indigenous Dance and Dancing Indian: Contested Representation in the Global Era*, (2012), p. 94.

[482] Ann Axtmann, 'Performative Power in Native America: Powwow Dancing', *Dance Research Journal* 33, (2001), pp. 7-22, p. 13.

[483] Anna Hoefnagels, 'The Dynamism and Transformation of "Tradition": Factors Affecting the Development of Powwows in Southwestern Ontario', found on https://www.erudit.org/en/, (last accessed 23/06/2019).

their drums, called drum groups or Drums, are at the centre of the powwow'.[484] She notes that powwows include 'direct contact between individuals, relationships between Drums'.[485]

Similarly to powwows, indigenous E.D.M (electronica dance music) bridges innovation and tradition, and often takes inspiration from them. A potent example of this is A Tribe Called Red, and the popular tracks that they are producing. They are based in Ottawa, Ontario and the group consists of Tim '2oolman' Hill, who is Mohawk, and Ehren 'Bear Witness' Thomas, who is of the Cayuga First Nation, and it's former members include DJ Jon Deck and Dan 'DJ Shub' General, who is Cayuga First Nation, and Ian 'DJ NDN' Campeau, who is Nipissing First Nation. Although their tracks feature distinct indigenous elements, such as traditional singing, they also incorporate modern sounds like synthesizers, and this combination manages to avoid the problem of narrow labelling that much indigenous music receives.[486] It is common for indigenous artists throughout the Western world to be placed under vague titles like 'world music', which downplay their ability for innovation.[487] Music award shows in Canada for instance, have tended to homogenise indigenous music, categorising its genres away from their more mainstream equivalents. Hip-hop artist, Eekwol has vented frustration over this: 'how do you possibly adjudicate a powwow album with a hip-hop album?'[488] *A Tribe Called Red* however, have managed to reject this trend by breaking out into mainstream pop. In 2014, they specifically chose not to be entered for the Aboriginal Album of the Year category at the JUNO awards.[489] Instead, they were judged against Canadian artists and won the JUNO for best breakthrough band, a category that is usually dominated by white rock and pop groups.[490] Eekwol has reflected: 'it was the first time since Buffy Sainte-Marie or something when Indigenous artists actually won that category. It was a big deal'.[491] A Tribe Called Red's music can be described as 'powwow step', an emerging genre that integrates elements of hip-hop, reggae and dubstep with

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[484] Anna Hoefnagels, 'Northern Style Powwow Music: Musical Features and Meanings', found on https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MC/article/viewFile/21605/25094, (last accessed 22/01/2018), no page numbers given.
[485] Anna Hoefnagels, 'Powwow Songs: Traveling Songs and Changing Protocol', *The World of Music* 44, (2002), pp. 127-136, p. 128.
[486] Brigid Delaney, 'Why has an Indigenous Artist Won Best World Music in his own Country?', *The Guardian* 8 Oct. 2015.
[487] Brigid Delaney, 'Why has an Indigenous Artist Won Best World Music in his own Country?', *The Guardian* 8 Oct. 2015; Ian Birrell, 'The Term 'World Music' is Outdated and Offensive', *The Guardian* 22 Mar. 2012.
[488] Eekwol cited in Devln Pachollk, 'Eekwol Fights for Aboriginal Women's Rights through Hip-Hop', *Noisey* 13 Jan. 2016.
[489] Jesse Kinos-Goodin, 'A Tribe Called Red, Wab Kinew, Tanya Tagaq on the Indigenous Music Renaissance', *CBC Music* 18 Aug 2014.
[490] Devln Pachollk, 'Eekwol Fights for Aboriginal Women's Rights through Hip-Hop', *Noisey* 13 Jan. 2016.
[491] Eekwol cited in Devln Pachollk, 'Eekwol Fights for Aboriginal Women's Rights through Hip-Hop', *Noisey* 13 Jan. 2016.

the contemporary traditional dance music of indigenous powwows.[492] Like conventional powwows, 'powwow step' allows the artist to express their nation specific-identity while fostering participation in a broader indigenous community. [493] In doing this, Tribe coherently mix the 'new' (electronic beats) with the 'old' (traditional music), making the point that past and present cultures can be consistent. As band member, Ian Campeau, has said of using the powwow sounds, 'all we really do is mash up dance music with dance music'.[494] Charity Marsh has argued a similar point of Inuit hip-hop:

'Hip hop culture in Nunavut enables a re-working of contemporary Inuit identity. As part of this re-working, Inuit youth mediate representations of themselves and their current lived experiences through mobile technologies and local networks, challenging common stereotypes and reified identities that continue to circulate in political, cultural, and national discourses'.[495]

Tribe's music grapples with what it means to be a modern indigenous person, and this is particularly interesting when considering how many indigenous people now live in urban areas. 78% of Native Americans live off reservations, with 72% of those living in urban or suburban environments.[496] In 2011, the number of Canada's First Nations people living off reservations was also found to be rapidly growing, with 56% inhabiting urban areas.[497] Tribe band member, Ehren Thomas, has talked about 'making the connections between urban life and traditional life', saying that Tribe's music is 'about reconciling those two lifestyles'.[498] This can be seen in the music video for 'Indian City', which shows casually dressed, urban indigenous people, breakdancing in a dance off against other indigenous people who are dressed in regalia, and are using traditional dancing styles.[499] Both skilfully manoeuvre to Tribe's music, and the message is clear: both urban and traditional lifestyles are compatible with the electronic-powwow mix that the band have produced. Their music bridges the two worlds of indigenous culture and urban life. As Alexa Woloshyn written, *Tribe* are able 'to synthesize the past and present into a compelling music that sounds and feels both connected to a

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[492] Benjamin Shingler, 'The Next Hot Sound? Powwow Step, Aboriginal Hip-Hop', *Al Jazeera* 28 Nov 2013.

[493] Alexa Woloshyn, 'Hearing Urban Indigeneity in Canada: Self-Determination, Community Formation, and Kinaesthetic Listening with A Tribe Called Red', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 39, (2015), pp. 1-23, p. 4.

[494] Ian Campeau in Dan Lytwyn, 'A Tribe Called Red Brings Indigenous and Electronic Beats Together', *BBC News* 6 Jul 2017.

[495] Charity Marsh, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129, p. 112.

[496] Joe Whittle, 'Most Native Americans Live in Cities, Not Reservations. Here are their Stories', *The Guardian* 12 Nov. 2017.

[497] 'Urban Indigenous Peoples', found on https://www.canada.ca/en.html, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

[498] Ehren Thomas in Dan Lytwyn, 'A Tribe Called Red Brings Indigenous and Electronic Beats Together', *BBC News* 6 Jul 2017.

[499] A Tribe Called Red, 'Indian City ft. Black Bear', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

vibrant cultural heritage and relevant for twenty-first-century urban based Aboriginal youth'.[500]
While doing this they expose the idea of anything being statically 'traditional' as problematic. As
Anna Hoefnagels has argued:

>'"Tradition" is a label that is frequently applied to celebrations, practices and activities that include
>music, dancing, arts, foods, crafts, and other cultural expressions. However, "tradition" is a
>problematic concept, especially when activities or practices that are considered or labelled
>"traditional" are newly created or borrowed'.[501]

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[500] Alexa Woloshyn, 'Hearing Urban Indigeneity in Canada: Self-Determination, Community Formation, and Kinaesthetic Listening with A Tribe Called Red', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 39, (2015), pp. 1-23, p. 2.
[501] Anna Hoefnagels, 'The Dynamism and Transformation of "Tradition": Factors Affecting the Development of Powwows in Southwestern Ontario', found on https://www.erudit.org/en/, (last accessed 23/06/2019).
[502] A Tribe Called Red, 'Indian City ft. Black Bear', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

DJ Shub, who is a former member of Tribe, and an award winning deejay, makes a similar point in the music video for his song 'Indomitable'.[504] The video opens with an indigenous man going to work in the city.[505] The scenes are initially grey, but this begins to change after his shift as he travels towards a powwow.[506] The vibrant colours highlight that he is receiving cultural nourishment at the powwow, and the contrast between the man's black suit at the start of the video, and the motley regalia he dons at the powwow, emphasise that his urban and traditional identities can coexist within him.[507] This is poignant, as it is an experience that many indigenous people can relate to. For those who live in urban areas, powwows can provide a way of meeting other indigenous people, and an opportunity to culturally express themselves.[508]

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[503] A Tribe Called Red, 'Indian City ft. Black Bear', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017); 'Biography', found on https://www.djshub.ca/bio/, (last accessed 27/08/2019).

[504] DJ Shub, 'Indomitable ft. Northern Cree Singers', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

[505] DJ Shub, 'Indomitable ft. Northern Cree Singers', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

[506] DJ Shub, 'Indomitable ft. Northern Cree Singers', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

[507] DJ Shub, 'Indomitable ft. Northern Cree Singers', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

[508] Anita Herle, 'Dancing Community: Powwow and Pan-Indianism in North America', *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 17, (1994), pp. 57-83, p. 57.
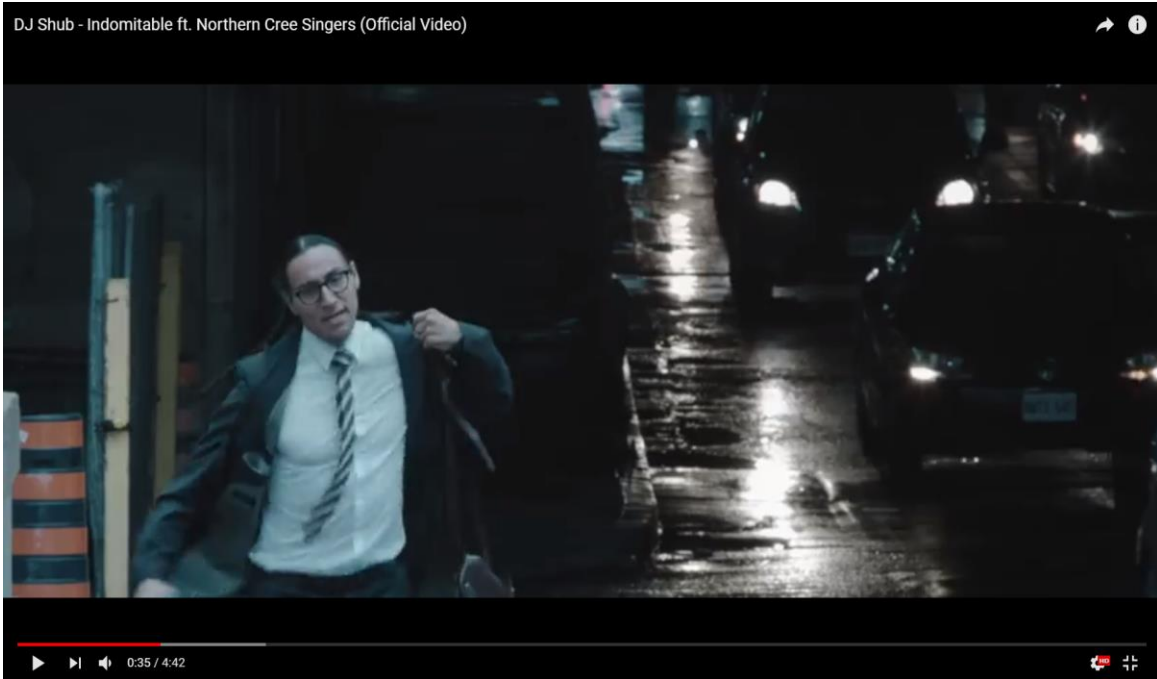
Returning to discussion of A Tribe Called Red, their music is not only important in affirming to indigenous people that they can be simultaneously modern and traditional, but also in challenging the stereotype of the historical 'Indian' that many non-indigenous fans would be influenced by, as it

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[509] DJ Shub, 'Indomitable ft. Northern Cree Singers', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).
[510] DJ Shub, 'Indomitable ft. Northern Cree Singers', official video found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

reminds them that these cultures have contemporary existence. As mentioned, Tribe have produced exceptionally popular music, and this means that their audiences comprise largely of non-indigenous fans. As *Tribe* band member, Bear Witness has said of their unexpected success, 'what [we] ended up with is a very inclusive party that everybody showed up to'.[511] Much of the impact of their music has been to make these fans think about how indigenous cultures have been misrepresented in dominant culture, and to encourage them to stop appropriating these themselves. *Tribe* have tweeted to their non-indigenous fans, asking them to 'please stop wearing headdresses and war paint' at their shows, adding that 'it's insulting'.[512] The band have managed to make some impact in sending this message. Ian Campeau remembers a show in Chicago:

'There was a guy at the door asking the bouncers, "hey I've got a Chicago Blackhawks shirt, do you think it's okay if I come to show in this? I don't know". There was a time… [when] we [the band] were watching our indigenous fans police our non-indigenous fans, and that was awesome. But now, watching these non-indigenous fans take it upon themselves to really think about what they're doing when they come to our shows. It fills the heart to see'.[513]

This is encouraging, and it reveals the influence of indigenous musicians in shaping how indigenous identities are understood by dominant society. Indigenous artists educating non-indigenous audiences about the history of colonialism raises the question however, of whether indigenous artists should feel obligated to represent their cultures in dominant society, as having to consistently redress appropriations and stereotypes, such as that they are historical 'Indians', is a taxing responsibly for artists that probably, for the most part just want to make music.[514] *Tribe* themselves believe that whether they like it or not, as a particularly successful band that derives so much of its sound from powwow tradition, they do have this responsibility.[515] They have explained that this is informed by the holistic culture that they come from, in which music and cultural representation can be understood as connected responsibilities.[516] In a public statement, the band reflected: 'we're using our community in our music. We don't have that luxury to say, "Let's just make music". It's

[511] 'A Tribe Called Red Breaks down Its 'Powwow-Step' Style', found on https://www.npr.org/music/, (last accessed 12/11/2017).

[512] A Tribe Called Red tweet, found on https://twitter.com/, (last accessed 26/01/2018).

[513] Ian Campeau in Dan Lytwyn, 'A Tribe Called Red Brings Indigenous and Electronic Beats Together', *BBC News* 6 Jul 2017.

[514] Anna Hoefnagels and Beverly Diamond, (editors), *Aboriginal Music in Contemporary Canada: Echoes and Exchanges*, (2012), p. 245.

[515] Zach Johnston, 'A Tribe Called Red Discusses Indigenous Life On Canada's 150th Birthday', *Uproxx* 7 Jan. 2017.

[516] Zach Johnston, 'A Tribe Called Red Discusses Indigenous Life On Canada's 150th Birthday', *Uproxx* 7 Jan. 2017.

automatically gonna come with all the politics that comes with being indigenous'.[517] Maybe this exposes a current limitation of powwow music being mixed with more contemporary influences, that if a successful indigenous artist uses indigenous sounds, it is difficult for them to do this before the eyes of dominant society without becoming absorbed in the identity politics of indigeneity. Regardless of whether they are consciously trying make a point about indigenous identities or not, indigenous dance artists do have an effect on the way in which non-indigenous fans perceive indigenous cultures. As *Tribe* have said, their non-indigenous fans are prompted to think about the appropriations of mass culture and show respect towards indigenous fans. The full extent of this is difficult to measure, but the very presence of indigenous artists producing electronic music must somewhat nullify the misconception that indigenous peoples are historical.

Another musician who incorporates powwow tradition into his performance is hip-hop artist, Supaman. His music displays the dynamism of his culture, by mixing traditional instruments and singing with hip-hop beats and rapping. In 2015, he released a music video for his song, 'Why', on the popular video sharing website Youtube, and this soon went viral.[518] As of January 2018, the video had over 1.1 million views on YouTube.[519]

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[517] 'A Tribe Called Red: Standing up for their Culture with their Music', found on https://beatrouteab.wordpress.com/2014/02/10/a-tribe-called-red-3/, (last accessed 13/11/2017).
[518] Supaman, 'Why', (2015).
[519] 'Supaman – Why', found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 24/01/2018).
[520] 'Supaman – Why', found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 24/01/2018).

It would be reasonable to assume that large part of the reason that this video was so popular was because he performs in his eye-catching powwow regalia, something which he has done more regularly in his performances since this. Supaman takes advantage of the interest this attracts, and uses it to deliver hard hitting messages about the experiences and mistreatment of indigenous peoples, something which dominant society often seems to ignore. His performance in itself dispels the idea that indigenous peoples are historical, or extinct, as his regalia is a clear indicator to non-indigenous audiences of his indigenous identity, yet his music makes full use of loop medalling technology, and deejay decks. He has explained of his regalia which is used for powwows: 'I think people find it so interesting because they have never seen it before, especially with someone doing hip hop. So, it creates dialogue and therefore is an opportunity to educate people on what American society doesn't want you to know'.[521]

While to many to many people outside the powwow circuit, his regalia may appear traditional in the sense of being an old cultural practice, what he is incorporating into his performance is actually a modern powwow tradition. He has said: 'the regalia I wear is called the Men's Fancy dance, [and it] comes from the "crazy dance" or "horse dance" which originated in Oklahoma. It is the most contemporary style of Native "powwow" dancing"'[522] Anna Hoefnagels explains the cultural significance of regalia at powwows: 'the dancers' outfits, referred to as "regalia," often have symbolic meaning, making use of traditional objects (feathers, beads, animal bone, leather, etc.) and, for some dancers, special colours. Each style of dance has its own history, being introduced at different times into the powwow program'.[523] Even within powwows, Supaman's dancing is for competitive purposes rather than specifically for ceremony or healing, so its use outside of powwows is not likely to be too controversial.[524] That said, Supaman is aware that he should use powwow culture in a way that is beneficial to indigenous peoples. If the principles of powwows are, as according to powwow.com, honour, respect, tradition and generosity, Supaman seems to consider these in his music, particularly in what he can give to indigenous youth. He remembers his first experience of performing hip-hop in his regalia was at a powwow, where he was asked to rap and did not have time to change into his regular clothes. After performing, he has said that a respected elder from his community congratulated him, and told him:

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[521] Author's interview with Christian Parrish Takes the Gun.
[522] Author's interview with Christian Parrish Takes the Gun.
[523] Anna Hoefnagels, 'The Dynamism and Transformation of "Tradition": Factors Affecting the Development of Powwows in Southwestern Ontario', found on https://www.erudit.org/en/, (last accessed 23/06/2019).
[524] Anna Hoefnagels, 'Northern Style Powwow Music: Musical Features and Meanings', found on https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MC/article/viewFile/21605/25094, (last accessed 22/01/2018), no page numbers given.

'You had something positive to say, talking about being drug and alcohol-free, being a husband and a father, and that's powerful. You guys keep doing that, because our youth, they're dying. They're committing suicide, and they're on drugs and alcohol. Anything you can do to reach them in a good way, with good intentions, its worth of the effort'.[525]

Supaman does use his powwow culture in his music and its performance, but he does this in a way that he believes will benefit the indigenous community. There is some concern amongst the elders in indigenous communities that the youth are disengaged with their cultures. As a hip-hop artist with a young indigenous fan base, Supaman recognises that he can benefit the community by addressing their issues, as well as making them value their indigenous heritages. One way in which he does this is by performing at schools, and telling pupils that their cultures are something to be proud of.[526] He has said of the sentiment of his music:

'Our Native youth are hurting inside. They're drinking, doing drugs and committing suicide. So I always tell them what my elders told me: As long as you're doing something with a pure heart to reach out to them and your intentions are good, go for it. Anything done in a good way is worth doing'.[527]

Supaman is using his platform as a fashionable musician, to engage with indigenous youth, and encouraging them to be proud of their culture heritage.

Overall, contemporary indigenous music often draws from both new and older powwow influences, although these powwow influences in themselves are example of how indigenous culture have continually bridged tradition with innovation. As Alexa Woloshyn has argued of Tanya Tagaq, another indigenous musician who challenges the misconception that indigenous peoples are incompatible with the present: 'when Tagaq's voice—both in her music and through her social media—is heard, stereotypes will be challenged, settler colonialist narratives will be undermined, and Inuit sovereignty will be celebrated'.[528] Contemporary indigenous artists have mixed their influences to reconcile traditional and modern identities, particularly for urban, and/or young indigenous people. The context of this is complicated, with there being a widespread myth in dominant culture that the only authentic indigenous people are historical ones.

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[525] Matt Mueller, Rapper Supaman Talks Standing Rock and Mixing Native Traditions with New Beats', found on https://onmilwaukee.com/, (last accessed 22/01/2018).
[526] Hal Cannon, 'Supaman: Rapping On The Reservation', found on https://www.npr.org/music/, (last accessed 22/01/2018).
[527] Adrian Jawort, 'It's a Bird! It's a Plane! It's Supaman, a Native Hip-Hop Hero!', *Indian Country Today* 11 Sep. 2015.
[528] Alexa Woloshyn, '"Welcome to the Tundra": Tanya Tagaq's creative and communicative agency as political strategy', *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 29, (2017), pp. 1-14, p. 11.

The music of artists like A Tribe Called Red and Supaman disprove this myth, by using multiple influences which expose to both indigenous and non-indigenous fans that indigenous peoples can simultaneously have traditional and modern identities. Furthermore, artists such as Supaman can use this in a way reaches indigenous youth, allowing them to engage with their cultural identities, and be proud of them.

Theoretical Overview

Indigenous hip-hop and E.D.M fit into wider debates about identity and cultural authenticity. As detailed in this thesis' theoretical framework, thinkers such as Fanon believe that the discourses of dominant cultures are inherently colonial, and that they make colonised peoples ashamed of their ancestry.[529] Furthermore, it also engages with the question posed by Shannon Thornton about whether 'traditional' influences can be integrated into contemporary ones, and whether that constitutes 'outside interference'.[530]

Indigenous hip-hop and E.D.M seem to challenge Fanon. As explained, although they are using hip-hop, an influence transmitted through dominant cultures, many songs by artists in these genres display a cultural pride in their indigenous identities, whilst grappling with issues that relate to the legacy of colonialism. This is particularly evident in the sections of this chapter dedicated to ideas of femininity and masculinity in indigenous hip-hop, as they are found to display cultural awareness of wider issues that affect indigenous peoples, and provide affirmations of indigenous identities as solutions to this. Indigenous E.D.M as well, displays a pride in cultural identity, and, engaging with Thornton's question, is seen to break down the binaries arguments of 'traditional' vs. modern. In the process, it is challenging stereotypes of indigenous peoples as historical, which is important, given the role of harmful stereotypes discussed in chapter 2. Essentially, indigenous hip-hop and E.D.M use influences originating in popular cultures, and as scholars in Subaltern studies have found, they 'translate' them into their own expressions of identity. This is popular music saying important things, and undermining the idea that Adorno and Rosselson's writings on the subject can be universally applied.

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[529] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* translation by Richard Philox, (2008).
[530] Amy Hale and Philip Payton, (Editors), *New Directions in Celtic Studies*, (2000), p. 22.

Chapter 4. Voice

This chapter explores case studies that express indigenous voices in popular music, arguing that for a demographic that has commonly been misrepresented in U.S. and Canadian societies, it is an important means by which they define themselves. It does this in three ways. Firstly, it looks at the Native American Music Awards, and how this brings together indigenous musicians, and encourages them to perform. Secondly, it looks at the use of comedy in music by Keith Secola, and how he uses 'coded messages' to entertainingly make political assertions of surivivance. Thirdly, it discusses how traditional languages are used to express cultural identities in popular music. Finally, protest music and First Nations is looked at, forwarding that while conventional Canadian media often ignores, and vilifies indigenous protests towards resource extraction. It finds indigenous musicians such as Kelly Derrickson however, able to subvert this by proliferating counter-narratives through popular music on the internet.

4.1 - Popular Music and the NAMMYs

This chapter explores case studies of indigenous voices in popular music, arguing that for a group that has commonly been misrepresented in these societies, it is an important means by which they define themselves. The Native American Music Awards, also known as the NAMMYs, began in 1998. Its website explains that this originally aimed at proving that indigenous music was 'a viable music industry'.[531] This was and still is important, considering that until 2000, Native American artists had not been given their own category at the GRAMMYs.[532] This category also now no longer exists, while there remains four categories for Latin music.[533] Even the NAMMYs themselves, could be said to unfairly receive inattention from much of dominant society, as they receive less support than their Latin American equivalent, the LAMMYs. As one Native American artist has put it, 'you can still see the preferential treatment perhaps, which America gives to which minority, as they will televise the Latin American Music Awards. The Native American Music Awards aren't televised. They are televised online'.[534] The NAMMYs are important then, in giving recognition to the indigenous music industry, in a way that the institutions of mainstream mass culture often do not.

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[531] 'About us', found on https://www.nativeamericanmusicawards.com/, (last accessed 10/01/2018).
[532] Sandra Schulman, *From Kokopellis to Electric Warriors: The Native American Culture of Music*, (2002), p. 132.
[533] 'Awards', found on https://www.grammy.com/grammys/awards, (last accessed 15/01/2018).
[534] Author's interview with Danielle Egnew.

The NAMMYs has a dual purpose. Its website describes this as promoting, 'cultural preservation and renewal on a national level through new music initiatives', and also to 'raise the awareness level and appreciation of Native American culture to the public at large, both nationally and internationally'.[535] These goals are significant, as they boarder between celebrating indigenous cultures, and also giving support to indigenous music artists commercially.

In some respects, the NAMMYs resemble traditional inter-tribal gatherings, with hosting nations providing catering as part of their hospitality.[536] In other ways, the ceremony more resembles the GRAMMY awards, with artists walking down a red carpet to enter, and generally being treated like celebrities.[537] This is not only intended to acknowledge their accomplishments, but also to promote their image by celebrity association.[538] Many of the artists who attend come from relatively obscure backgrounds, and are not signed to major record labels, with some even self-producing their music. Their treatment as celebrities cannot be understood as an aggressive money-making agenda in the same way that can be said of many GRAMMYs artists. Many NAMMYs winners benefit from modest increases to their sales, and this allows them to continue making music, rather than bringing in a vast revenue. Mitch Walking Elk, winner of the 2013 award for best blues recording has explained: 'I didn't get a lot of calls for concerts from it, I didn't get "hey, y'know, you want to be a movie!?", y'know anything like that'.[539] The award was not so much of financial value to him, but it was meaningful as a musical accomplishment and a form of recognition. He has added: 'it was a shot in the arm… personally, it was very helpful, and I'm sure that for other native artists, it is also that. It gives them something to shoot for'.[540] Oneida Iroquois musician, and 2014 winner of debut artist of the year, Leah Shenandoah, has voiced similar views by saying, 'I didn't have any gigs from getting a NAMMY', although she acknowledges that this may partly have been because she was not promoting her music at the time, because of personal matters.[541] She does acknowledge that a NAMMY award can potentially give a sales boost to an artist, stating that, 'I know that other people's careers have profited from it', but for her the value of the awards is that they give recognition to indigenous artists, something which the mainstream GRAMMYs does not.[542] This is important to her,

[535] 'About us', found on https://www.nativeamericanmusicawards.com/, (last accessed 10/01/2018).
[536] James Cunningham, 'The Nammys Versus the Grammys: Celebrity, Technology, and the Creation of an Indigenous Music Recording Industry in North America', *The World of Music* 49, (2007), pp. 155-170, p. 159.
[537] James Cunningham, 'The Nammys Versus the Grammys: Celebrity, Technology, and the Creation of an Indigenous Music Recording Industry in North America', *The World of Music* 49, (2007), pp. 155-170, p. 160.
[538] James Cunningham, 'The Nammys Versus the Grammys: Celebrity, Technology, and the Creation of an Indigenous Music Recording Industry in North America', *The World of Music* 49, (2007), pp. 155-170, p. 160.
[539] Author's interview with Mitch Walking Elk.
[540] Author's interview with Mitch Walking Elk.
[541] Author's interview with Leah Shenandoah.
[542] Author's interview with Leah Shenandoah.

because she feels it helps motivate artists.[543] She has said: 'it also gives people something to strive towards… and it was really unfortunate that they had taken the GRAMMYs category out because that was up there for a while'.[544] While the NAMMYs do strive to increase commercial viability of indigenous artists, many winners do not seem to get large sales increases. Perhaps their greater impact is on a personal level of motivating artists and giving them due recognition for their talents in a way the GRAMMYs does not.

The awards also place emphasis upon inclusivity. Danielle Egnew, winner of the 2017 award for 'Best Country Recording', is of European and Native American ancestries, and was not raised on a reservation. Rather than the NAMMYs making an issue of the identity politics that surrounds many indigenous debates (i.e. who are more or less indigenous than others), the awards acknowledge the diversity of backgrounds within these cultures. Egnew is thus eligible to participate, and she sees this as a way of unifying indigenous peoples, in spite of the internal divisions that colonialism has historically caused.[545] She has explained her optimism towards this: 'I get excited because music is a healing component, and music pulls us together, regardless of our backgrounds, regardless of how much native blood we have'.[546] This inclusivity does not only transcend divisive debates of who is indigenous, but also rivalries between different indigenous nations. Indigenous histories go back a long a way, and many nations have conflicted with others in the past. Egnew elaborates on how the awards temporarily subside the frictions that this causes:

'[The rivalries] still run quite high, and they go back generations, hundreds of years, if not thousands of years… Where you see that suspended however, is in music… like in the Native American Music Awards… In a venue like the Native American Music Awards, everyone suspends any sort of interpersonal, intertribal issues, and they might kid each other, and give each other a hard time, [but it does not matter]… if you're coming in from a different tribe that might of warred with this other tribe… its music that transcends all ills'.[547]

Essentially, the NAMMYs create an atmosphere in which indigenous peoples of differing identities and nations, can gather together peacefully. Although relating to Kenyan hip-hop, Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty have also observed the capacity of music to create a space in which rivalries can be put aside. They write of The Hip Hop Parliament and its ability to bring underground Kenyan artists together: 'aware of the overarching clichés in hip hop culture [of conflict between rival groups], The

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[543] Author's interview with Leah Shenandoah.
[544] Author's interview with Leah Shenandoah.
[545] Author's interview with Danielle Egnew.
[546] Author's interview with Danielle Egnew.
[547] Author's interview with Danielle Egnew.

Hip Hop Parliament promotes hip hop as "a "neutral" space in which tribal tensions are muted' with the hopes that hip hop will become 'a starting point for an effort to come together'.[548]

4.2 - Keith Secola, Indigenous Comedy, and Coded Messages

Indigenous survivance has been demonstrated using indigenous humour, and this runs counter to the expectations of indigenous solemnity that many people in dominant societies have. These biases exist because dominant culture has often misleadingly represented indigenous peoples as humourless. Kenneth Lincoln in his 1993 book, *Indi'n Humor,* notes the persisting stereotypes that dominant society expects of the imagined 'Indian', including: 'the noble savage, the "poor Indian", the stoic warrior, the libidinous princess, the dogged squaw, the medicine witch, the cigar-store totem, the tearful ecologist, and the rainmaking shaman'.[549] All of these perpetuate a misconception that indigenous peoples are serious, and without humour. Indigenous peoples, in reality, are not only capable of comedy, but use it amply. Country artist, Danielle Egnew of both Native American and European heritage, has explained: 'contrary to what we see in the 1950s [Western] movies, y'know, "me very serious Native American!"… the native tribes are hilarious. Humour is a huge part of the native tribes, and they will poke you with a stick and tease yah. And that's probably why they thought white people were so weird, because white people would get super offended, and [the indigenous people] they're all like, "we're joking with yah, what's wrong with you? Laugh!"'.[550]

Humour has also played a role in relieving the traumas of historical colonialism. As Lincoln adds in *Indi'n Humor,* indigenous peoples have not survived hundreds of years of colonisation by passively 'casting themselves as victims', or 'lamenting dispossession under the banner of Manifest Destiny'.[551] Humour has been an ongoing form of resistance, and a way in which indigenous peoples have processed their hardships, mocked dominant societies, and poked fun amongst themselves.[552] As English professor, David Moore points out, that seeing as they were expected to have died out as a race by now, they can even use their continued existence as a joke that challenges the fundamental presumptions of a virtuous U.S. (or equally Canadian) society: 'the vanishing Indian stereotype and narrative function as the rationale to cover up the reality not only of ongoing Native

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[548] Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty, 'Globalization, Identity, and Youth Resistance: Kenya's Hip Hop Parliament', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music* 38, (2011), pp. 132-147, p. 139.
[549] Kenneth Lincoln, *Indi'n Humor: Bicultural Play in Native America,* (1993), p. 3.
[550] Author's interview with Danielle Egnew.
[551] Kenneth Lincoln, *Indi'n Humor: Bicultural Play in Native America,* (1993), p. 3; Manifest Destiny was the belief that U.S. society was virtuous and its people were destined to settle westward into the continent. This was popularly believed by US settlers in the 19th century.
[552] David Moore, *That Dream Shall Have a Name: Native Americans Rewriting America,* (2013), p. 308.

nations but equally of stolen land as the foundation of America; thus the fact that Indians never vanished means that America is and was always already a failure in its own values of freedom and justice for all. How ironic! Ha! Ha!'[553] Much of indigenous humour thrives on this kind of irony. It points out how dominant societies have imagined sanitised versions of their pasts, which do not correspond with the reality of how they have treated indigenous peoples. Indigenous humour entertainingly exposes the truth of this.

Indigenous musicians have expressed cultural awareness and pride, not only through music that seems to be directly serious, but also by incorporating humour. An artist who blends comedy and serious subject matter is Keith Secola, who describes his music, if pushed to label it, as 'Native Americana', and draws inspiration from folk artists like Bob Dylan and Woodie Guthrie.[554] Secola's most popular song, 'Ndn Kars' (Indian Cars), has achieved anthem status within the Native American music world.[555] It was largely popularised through the film *Dance Me Outside* (1994), a film that in itself, incorporates music into its indigenous humour".[556]

The film has serious subject matter. A young girl from a reservation is murdered, and the white man who committed the crime receives a light prison sentence, an injustice that unfortunately relates to similar events in the real world.[557] Upon his release, it follows the differing responses of her friends, with the girls seemingly more positioned towards campaigning towards a retrial, and the boys plotting towards his murder.[558] Despite this dark material, the film breaks the tension with comedy, and music is sometimes part of this. There is one moment when some of the boys are being escorted to a police station in a police car for questioning, and they are loudly singing 'Half Breed', a pop song about a girl who is mocked by both white and indigenous people, because she had a dual biological heritage from each.[559] This was popularised by the artist Cher in the 1970s. The irony of these indigenous boys singing this song is funny because it shows a self-awareness of dominant society's biases against them. This is made funnier by the wailing of Cher's chorus of 'half-breed!'[560] This short joke carries plot significance as well, as by underscoring the biases that dominant culture has towards indigenous peoples, it helps explain why, aside from judicial injustice, these young indigenous boys would be resentful towards 'the system', and feel that they have to take matters

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[553] David Moore, *That Dream Shall Have a Name: Native Americans Rewriting America,* (2013), p. 301.
[554] Author's interview with Keith Secola.
[555] Keith Secola, 'Ndn Kars', Akina Records, (1992); Sandra Schulamn, *From Kokopellis to Electric Warriors: The Native American Culture of Music*, (2002), p. 92.
[556] 'Dance Me Outside', (1994).
[557] 'Dance Me Outside', (1994).
[558] 'Dance Me Outside', (1994).
[559] 'Dance Me Outside', (1994); Cher, 'Half-Breed', MCA Record, (1973).
[560] Cher, 'Half-Breed', MCA Record, (1973).

into their own hands. *Dance Me Outside* is an example of how indigenous peoples blend comedy with serious subject matter.

'Ndn Kars', which plays before the film's credits, similarly contributes to this blend. Secola song demonstrates an ability to mix deeper meanings with comedy and cultural pride. He takes the object of the rez. car, which refers to aged, dysfunctional cars which are often found on reservations across the US and Canada.[561] Secola has explained that these have been mocked, 'where I grew up in Northern Minnesota, the term Indian cars was almost like a derogatory term, where people were snide and would laugh and would stereotype it with negative connotations'.[562] What Secola does is to flip this stereotype, and turn it into a symbol of indigenous pride. The song follows the explanation of an indigenous person whose car has been pulled over by a police officer, a relatable situation for indigenous peoples, given that there is widespread police discrimination towards minority groups in North America. Comedy ensues, with the driver seemingly conforming to the 'Indian' stereotype in order to wrangle his way out of trouble, stating things like, 'I've got to make it to a Powwow tonight, I'll be singing 49, down by the river side'.[563] Most of the humour however, comes from the self-depreciating description of how completely rundown his car is. The 'dash is dusty', and his 'plates are expired', 'the radiator steams', and 'one headlight don't work'.[564] Despite all the car's faults, there is an underlying pride to the way Secola sings about it. He addresses indigenous peoples with the plural 'we', talking of flying down highways in Indian cars, where 'we don't get old, we just get younger'.[565] This presents a pride in the joy that indigenous peoples take in their cars, even if they are rundown, because they belong to them. They simply enjoy these cars, and do not care how they appear. The car is also metaphor for indigenous peoples, and how, despite often being in poverty, they are proud and know what matters in life. A sticker that says 'Indian Power' is also said to be what holds the car together, and that can be said to be the determination of indigenous peoples. As Secola puts it, 'the song is about the richness of being poor'.[566] The indigenous pride is further emphasised by the guitar's main riff, which uses the musical scale of 49 singing, a common form of singing on indigenous powwow circuit.[567] This song resonates with indigenous peoples because it is relatable, and while it pokes some fun amongst themselves, it also

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[561] 'Rez Car', found on https://www.urbandictionary.com/, (last accessed 10/01/2018).
[562] Author's interview with Keith Secola.
[563] Keith Secola, 'Ndn Kars', Akina Records, (1992).
[564] Keith Secola, 'Ndn Kars', Akina Records, (1992).
[565] Keith Secola, 'Ndn Kars', Akina Records, (1992).
[566] Author's interview with Keith Secola.
[567] '49 vs. Round Dance songs', http://www.powwows.com/, (last accessed 07/01/2017).

offers an assertion of pride in their identity, despite the poverty that affects many of their communities.

Secola achieves this comedic, yet purposeful effect through his use of symbolism. He has explained that while his songs often have serious meanings, he also wants them to be entertaining, 'as not to alienate people with over truth', adding that, 'you've kinda got to use metaphor, real codes'.[568] Indeed, the serious subject matter of historical injustices towards indigenous peoples could come across as too serious for some settings, or even as emotionally exhausting. The codes that he uses to get around this can take humorous forms, and the way in which he performs these contribute towards this. The live performance of his song 'Fry Bread' for instance, taken literally, is a song bread about the ridiculous lengths indigenous peoples will go towards to eat it without suppression. Secola has elaborated on its deeper meaning: 'I kind of use it as a modern protest. When I do it live, I'll say… "A long time ago fry bread was illegal, and you couldn't eat it, or you couldn't speak it, and you couldn't see it, or eat it. And so people got together, and gathered illegally and sang songs into the night, in the dark forests the sound of heathen rhythms can be heard until the morning light". But the idea of a little bit of a historical thing, using this code'.[569] Secola takes the joke further in the next verse, which refers to some tragic parts of indigenous history: 'I talk about the Fry Bread Laws and the Trail of Grease. These are metaphors for some awful laws in the history of America, the Trail of Tears… and then the Fry Bread Laws, like the Fry Bread Removal Act. I say that in jest and humour, and I story tell like that about a Fry Bread Removal Act'.[570] The song works, because of its cultural reference to fry bread, which evokes pride in indigenous identity. It is an indigenous cuisine that indigenous peoples enjoy, and the joke is that they love this food so much, that they have historically gone to great lengths to eat it, despite people trying to take it away from them. But the joke also has a deeper layer of meaning, which most of Secola's indigenous audiences would understand. He has explained: 'the metaphor is the fry bread is native in our indigenous culture and people'.[571] Essentially, the fry bread symbolises these cultures as a whole, and the history in which dominant US society has tried to forcefully extinguish these through suppressive laws. Secola

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[568] Author's interview with Keith Secola.
[569] Author's interview with Keith Secola.
[570] Author's interview with Keith Secola; A number of Indian laws were ratified over the 19th century. These were largely aimed at taking the land indigenous nations, and suppressing their cultures. The Indian Removal Act (1830), allowed the president to negotiate with indigenous peoples south-east of the modern US for their lands, something which many of these people resisted. It precipitated The Trail of Tears. The Trail of Tears (1830-1850), was a series of removals of many Native American nations from their lands, southeast of the modern US, sometimes at gunpoint. Over the course of these relocations, large numbers died from exposure, disease and starvation.
[571] Author's interview with Keith Secola.

manages to present this dark history in an entertaining and playful way. In his live performance of the song, Secola has said that his band, 'get people involved from the community audience, to kinda use theatre, and re-enact like they're a piece of fry bread, and they're laying down taking a nap, and making the fry bread rise'.[572]

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The point of this is so that Secola's band and the audience are not left at 'a point of misery'.[574] The performance seems ridiculous, but at the same time, Secola is managing to tell a truth about a history that might otherwise prompt audiences to feelings of upset and anger. While 'Fry Bread' may come across as a whimsical, it subtly demonstrates an awareness of a history of cultural suppression, while celebrating the determination of indigenous peoples to defend their cultures. All of this is done in a way that engages communities, and is fun.

Songs like Ndn Kars and Fry Bread are effective because they are relatable.[575] Ian Ferguson has highlighted in *Me Funny*, a book focusing on the humour of First Nations peoples, that, 'the point of our jokes is to tell the truth. The humour is less directed outward, towards the dominant culture, than it is focussed on the specificity of the Aboriginal way of life... the day-to-day stuff that really

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[572] Author's interview with Keith Secola.
[573] Keith Secola performing 'Frybread' at the annual music festival in Cortez, 24 Aug. 2013, found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 06/01/2018).
[574] Author's interview with Keith Secola.
[575] Keith Secola, 'Ndn Kars', Akina Records, (1992); Keith Secola, 'Fry Bread', (1996).

constitutes a culture'.[576] This corresponds with Secola's desire to make music for the 'common man', which is embedded in the folk traditions that he draws from.[577] These cultural references to things that indigenous peoples associate specifically with their identities, the traditional food of fry bread, and on reservations, the rez car.

They are also effective because they rework information. Drew Taylor has pointed out: 'Humour requires intelligence. It calls for the ability to take in information, deconstruct it and reconstruct it in a new, improved, refined format. The humourist then reintroduces that information to the world to achieve a completely different reaction'.[578] Ndn Kars, and Fry Bread certainly do this, reworking themes of poverty and cultural suppression into entertainingly presented coded symbols. The intelligence that is required to understand these codes, encourages audiences to think about pre-existing knowledge, and connect it to the song. The use of metaphor can then help them reflect on these subjects, while not having to take them too seriously. As Secola has commented: 'I think humour is a valuable tool… in storytelling because it's entertaining you know? And people can laugh, and then they can come to their own conclusions, and draw that real understanding, and deeply understand it'.[579] Like music, humour can be an entertaining way of conveying information, and Keith Secola combines the two.

4.3 - Na Ʉnʉ Nahai (Shape Shifter): Narratives of Nʉmʉnʉʉ Survivance through Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ Popular Music

This thesis examines how indigenous musician, Apryl Allen, uses the Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ language to affirm Nʉmʉnʉʉ identity in her music. The significance of this is contextualised through explanation of the American Indian boarding schooling system which United States administrations implemented in the 19th and 20th centuries, and how through the suppression of Native American languages, it sought to exterminate distinct indigenous worldviews. It finds Allen's music to be evidence of Gerald Vizenor's theory of indigenous survivance, as it rejects the cultural extermination that these institutions attempted to impose, by celebrating her indigenous heritage and language.

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[576] Ian Ferguson, 'How to be as Funny as an Indian', found in Drew Taylor, (editor), *Me Funny*, (2005), pp. 123-132, p. 128.
[577] Author's interview with Keith Secola; Robert Wells, *Life Flows On in Endless Song: Folk Songs and American History*, (2009), p. 8.
[578] Drew Taylor, 'Introduction', found in Drew Taylor, (editor), *Me Funny*, (2005), pp. 1-3, p. 3.
[579] Author's interview with Keith Secola.

4.3.1 The Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ Language

There is a diversity of circumstances for Native American languages in the United States. While many of these languages are still widely spoken, in many communities, the common usage of traditional language is uncommon, and in many cases, no longer spoken at all.[580] Many linguists who study indigenous languages in North America predict that most of them will cease to be used on a daily basis, and will be replaced by English.[581] This process has been described by husband and wife linguists, Richard and Nora Dauenhauer, as 'language shift', as many Native Americans have little fluency in their cultural language.[582] A 2011 census bureau report found that only 5.4 percent of Native Americans and Alaska Natives spoke an indigenous North American language.[583] A 2016 American Community Survey potentially puts this number higher for those indigenous peoples of a single ethnic background, finding that 27% of them aged 5 and older spoke a language other than English at home, although this does not necessarily mean that they were all speaking indigenous North American languages.[584]

The everyday usage of cultural language is declining in some communities more than others. The Comanche peoples, or as they refer to themselves, the Nʉmʉnʉʉ, have had particular challenges. They are a Southern Plains peoples, whose reservation is in the modern-day U.S. state of Oklahoma, although there are also members of the nation who live in other states.[585] Their language's own name for itself is Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ, which roughly translates as, 'language of the people'.[586] This thesis uses Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ terms for people and language as a means of respect, as it allows self-definition, and does not privilege the knowledge of the English language over ways of understanding themselves.[587]

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[580] Frederick White, 'Rethinking Native American Language Revitalization', *American Indian Quarterly* 30, (2006), pp. 91-109, p. 91.

[581] Frederick White, 'Rethinking Native American Language Revitalization', *American Indian Quarterly* 30, (2006), pp. 91-109, p. 91; Michael Walsh, 'Will Indigenous Languages Survive?', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, (2005), pp. 293-315, p. 308.

[582] Richard Dauenhauer and Nora Dauenhauer, 'Technical, Emotional and Ideological Issues in Reversing the Language Shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska', found in Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley, (editors), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*, (2010), pp. 57-98, p. 61.

[583] U.S. Census Bureau, 'Native North American Languages Spoken at Home in the United States and Puerto Rico: 2006–2010', (2011), p. 3.

[584] 'FFF: American Indian and Alaska Native Heritage Month: November 2017', found on https://www.census.gov/en.html, (last accessed 16/03/2018).

[585] 'About Us', http://comanchenation.com/, (last accessed 03/04/2018).

[586] Lila Robinson and James Armagost, *Comanche Dictionary and Grammar,* (1990).

[587] This is because it allows self-determination and does not privilege the knowledge of the English language over indigenous peoples' own ways of understanding themselves. See Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (2009), p. 75.

A website dedicated to promoting nʉmʉ tekwapʉ, http://www.comanchelanguage.org/, notes that in 2006, there were 13,000 enrolled Nʉmʉnʉʉ, yet less than 1% who could speak the language fluently.[588] Indeed, the stated purpose of the website is to, 'change the direction of the Comanche language", and to, "restore the NʉMʉ TEKWAPʉ as a living language once more'.[589] Put simply, even Nʉmʉnʉʉ people who are enthusiastic about their language would agree that it faces serious challenges and that action is needed if it is to continue being commonly used.

4.3.2 Colonial Suppression of Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ

The challenges facing many Native American languages are no coincidence, but the result of deliberate U.S. government policies in the 19th and 20th centuries which sought to eliminate Native American cultures. Unknown to many, and possibly most American citizens today, the era of military conquests into Native American lands was followed by educational campaigns directed at indigenous children.[590] These sought to replace Native American languages and cultures with Anglo-American values, such as Christianity, Western clothing, and the English language.[591] American Indian boarding schools were set up, where Native American children were forcibly separated from their families, and taught to be ashamed of their cultural heritage.[592] U.S. authorities believed that this would have a 'civilising' effect upon indigenous populations, who would reject their own 'savagery', and take up American ways.[593] This also served the purpose of eliminating Native American claims to their lands, as it was thought that in rejecting their cultures, indigenous peoples would be successfully assimilated into US society, thus becoming regular citizens.[594] As the superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Richard Pratt, put it in his often quoted 1892 speech, the objective was to, 'kill the Indian [in the child]… and save the man'.[595]

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[588] 'The Comanche Language', found on http://www.comanchelanguage.org/home.html, (last accessed 15/03/2018).
[589] 'The Comanche Language', found on http://www.comanchelanguage.org/home.html, (last accessed 15/03/2018).
[590] Richard Dauenhauer and Nora Dauenhauer, 'Technical, Emotional and Ideological Issues in Reversing the Language Shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska', found in Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley, (editors), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*, (2010), pp. 57-98, p. 60.
[591] Richard Dauenhauer and Nora Dauenhauer, 'Technical, Emotional and Ideological Issues in Reversing the Language Shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska', found in Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley, (editors), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*, (2010), pp. 57-98, p. 60.
[592] David Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928,* (1995), p. 335.
[593] David Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928,* (1995), p. 335.
[594] David Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928,* (1995), p. 335.
[595] '"Kill the Indian, and Save the Man": Capt. Richard H. Pratt on the Education of Native Americans', found on http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/, (last accessed 16/03/2018).

Native American pupils at residential schools would be severely punished for speaking in their cultural languages, and the experiences of Nʉmʉnʉʉ children were no exception. Popular musician, Apryl Allen, has spoken of her mother's experience as an Nʉmʉnʉʉ student at one of these institutions:

'If a student spoke Comanche in school they were reprimanded: girls had their mouths washed out with lye soap… It's a horrible, horrible soap… It was used to clean various items and using it would form blisters on your hands. So, you can imagine what that would do to the inside of your mouth. If boys were heard speaking it, they were taken out back and beaten with two-by-fours [wooden boards]. It was learned quickly, not to share their stories, not to share their language… this is how they took away our cultures from us'.[596]

Unfortunately, these are not isolated examples of the child abuse that happened at many of these schools. Allen has also spoken of an even more extreme case in which traditional language was repressed: 'there is another story of a girl, not out of my tribe, but when she spoke her native tongue, the teacher came over and ripped out three of the finger nails on her hand'.[597] This underscores how fiercely staff could discourage the usage of Native American languages, often resorting to brutality.

These schools attempted to exterminate Native American languages because authorities in the US recognised that languages are an important part of developing cultural identities. They affect how people perceive themselves and their place within the world. The emphasis at these institutions upon speaking English was purposed at positioning that language as superior to that of Native American languages. As critical linguists Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress bluntly put it: 'language is an instrument of control as well as communication'.[598] This sort of cultural power is pivotal to colonial administrations, as it is the power to dictate how subjugated peoples comprehend themselves, and their relation to those who are attempting to colonise them. As Kenyan post-colonial theorist, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, noted of European imperialism in Africa: 'colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised'.[599] Essentially, for colonialism to be maintained, it was fundamental that subjects be made to believe they were inferior.

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[596] Author's interview with Apryl Allen.
[597] Author's interview with Apryl Allen.
[598] Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Language as Ideology*, (1993), p. 6.
[599] Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 'The Language of African Literature', found in Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature,* (1986), pp. 4-33, p. 16.

In subjugating Native American peoples, the US government sought to change how these peoples understood themselves, and this involved making Native American children believe that their cultural heritage and language was wrong, and that dominant US culture and language was right. The cultural disruption that these schools caused, and their legacy in devaluing Native American cultures, have had an incalculable impact on the common usage of cultural languages in Native American communities today.

4.3.3 Native American Languages and Cultural Worldviews

There are people in Native American communities today that are hesitant about the value of their cultural languages. This can partly be attributed to the legacy of cultural suppression at residential schools, which taught children to be ashamed of their indigenous cultures, but it can also be linked to the deprivation that many of these communities experience.[600] A 2016 American Community Survey found that 26.2% of Native Americans and Alaska Natives live in poverty, which is the highest rate of any ethnic group in the US.[601] As anthropologists Rosemary Henze and Kathryn Davis have explained:

'Even some indigenous people feel that "progress" in the modern sense requires giving up some old ways, including language, and that efforts to save a dying language are not the best use of time when there are so many issues at stake that seem more pressing, not the least of which are physical and economic survival'.[602]

Put simply, many believe that attempts to revive the widespread usage of traditional language amount to 'living in the past', and that given the pressures that communities are experiencing, resources could be allocated towards more important issues. Considering the circumstances of many Native American communities, this is an understandable perspective. Not all Native American people feel this way however. Many are upset by the prospect of their cultural language becoming less spoken in their communities, as they see their language as a fundamental part of their identity.[603] Traditional languages can be viewed an important part of formulating the worldviews of Native

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[600] Richard Dauenhauer and Nora Dauenhauer, 'Technical, Emotional and Ideological Issues in Reversing the Language Shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska', found in Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley, (editors), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*, (2010), pp. 57-98, p. 63.
[601] 'FFF: American Indian and Alaska Native Heritage Month: November 2017', found on https://www.census.gov/en.html, (last accessed 16/03/2018).
[602] Rosemary Henze and Kathyrn Davis, 'Introduction: Authenticity and Identity: Lessons from Indigenous Language Education', *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 30, (1999), pp. 3-21, p. 3.
[603] Rosemary Henze and Kathyrn Davis, 'Introduction: Authenticity and Identity: Lessons from Indigenous Language Education', *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 30, (1999), pp. 3-21, p. 3.

American cultures. In an analysis of the relationship between Native American languages and cultures, linguists Allison Sherry and Christine Vining wrote that:

'Virtually every aspect of Native American life and the Native American worldview is influenced by culture and language. A person's values and beliefs have both a deep and subtle impact on thought, behavior, decision making, expression (including show of emotion), time, and interpretation of events'.[604]

This can be understood in conjunction with the sociocultural theory of language formulated by Lev Vysgotsky, which forwards that the grammatical structure of a language, and the meaning of words included within it, have the effect of transmitting the way that its culture of origin comprehends its surroundings.[605] The language is believed to influence the thought processes of its speakers, as they are communicating through its particular cultural perspective. This theory places strong emphasis on languages in reproducing cultures.[606]

There are Native Americans who would support this view. Many choose to pass on oral knowledge through their cultural language as they consider that the meanings of the knowledge could not be accurately conveyed in English.[607] There are also arguments of cultural sovereignty for the continued use of traditional languages, as they are increasingly being recognised by many as part of indigenous self-determination.[608]

4.3.4 Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ in Apryl Allen's 'Shape Shifter'

The rest of this section discusses how an example of contemporary Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ popular music deals with issues of Nʉmʉnʉʉ identity through cultural language. Nʉmʉnʉʉ artist, Apryl Allen, sings in both English and Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ in her music. Her 2009 album, *Na Ʉnʉ Nahai (Shape Shifter)*, won a NAMMY (Native American Music Award) for best pop recording.[609] Producing this bilingual album was not straightforward however. In a research interview, she spoke of her difficulties in using Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ in the album:

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[604] Allison Sherry and Christine Vining, 'Native American Culture and Language: Considerations in Service Delivery', *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe* 24, (1999), pp. 193-206, p. 197.
[605] Lev Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*, (1986).
[606] Lev Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*, (1986).
[607] Andre Cramblit, 'Our Mother Language and the Survival of Native Language as a Whole', *Indian Country Today* 17 Apr. 2017.
[608] Christine Sims, 'Tribal Languages and the Challenges of Revitalization', *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 36, (2005), pp. 104-106, p. 105.
[609] http://aprylallen.com/, (last accessed16/03/2018).

'My plan was to do a Comanche album. But the reality of our tribe is, when I went to do it, this was heart wrenching to me. All the traditional songs were gone. They had been replaced with Christian hymns [in Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ]. There are maybe, and this was back in 2010, so you know some of the elders of our tribe have passed on. Maybe 50 individuals in the world that can speak Comanche. At the time I did my album, there was only five people that could read, write and translate Comanche. five! And our language did not become a written language until 2002… just think about that, only in 2002 have we begun having that written down as a language. So, had I come up with this album beforehand, there wouldn't have been anything to have written down. So, you see in my lyric pages, I have written words, but that's new. That's 2002'.[610]

Allen is sceptical about the prospects of Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ. One of her album's lyric pages even describes it as "a dying language".[611] She is unable to speak the language fluently herself, and had assistance in recording the parts of her album in which she sung in Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ.[612]

Her use Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ in the album however, can also contradict the notion that the language is disappearing. It can be analysed in conjunction with Gerald Vizenor's theory of indigenous survivance.[613] As this thesis has previously established, survivance is defined by an, 'an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not as mere reactions, however pertinent'.[614] As the following paragraphs will elaborate, these sentiments of cultural presence are clearly incorporated into Allen's album.

Firstly, it is important to consider that Allen's album is deeply personal. In *Shape Shifter,* Allen expresses links between the Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ language, Nʉmʉnʉʉ culture, and her identity. Much of this is done through the physical album itself. Its lyric pages for instance, contain Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ translations next to the English, and beside this there are photographs of Allen's great-grandfather and grandmother, with stories about them.[615] These stories are supported by written historical documents from the Department of the Interior, as well as oral histories that have been relayed to Allen through family elders.[616]

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[610] Author's interview with Apryl Allen.
[611] Lyric page for 'Awakening' on Apryl Allen, 'Shape Shifter', (2009), found on http://aprylallen.com/, (last accessed 16/01/2018).
[612] Author's interview with Apryl Allen.
[613] Gerald Vizenor, 'Aesthetics of Survivance', found in Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008), pp. 25-38, p. 1.
[614] Gerald Vizenor, 'Aesthetics of Survivance', found in Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008), pp. 25-38, p. 1.
[615] Lyric pages for Apryl Allen, 'Shape Shifter', (2009).
[616] 'About Na Ʉnʉ Nahai (Shape Shifter)', found on http://aprylallen.com/, (last accessed 15/03/2018).

Muutuumi (1869 - 1952)
Great-Grandfather

Muutuumi accidentally killed his wife Oray in 1902 when she was 24; he never remarried. Their daughters Jane and Mary were sent away to a boarding school for Indians, where they were taught the white-man's ways.

After the death of his daughter Jane in 1930, he was not allowed many visits nor inside the home of the white couple raising his grandchildren. The children were forbidden to speak Comanche and taught the English pronunciation of his name Mothterme (pronounced Mŏtĭmē).

He is remembered as a kind man who loved to tell Comanche Stories while rolling cigarettes out of oak leaves he cured himself. He died of old age.

Oray (1878 - 1902) (4:53)
Apryl Allen & Richie Cannata

Oray
She did wrong one day
Oray, Oray
God please forgive her of this shame
Kamakuna, Kamakuna
(Beloved, Beloved)
Oray

It was said Muutuumi
Angered by the wrong she'd done
He didn't mean to cause her harm
Kamakuna, Kamakuna
(Beloved, Beloved)
Oray

Muutuumi vowed to take no other wife
Their daughters he would love for life
Kamakuna, Kamakuna
(Beloved, Beloved)
Oray, Oray

Oray
She found love one day
Oray
A life filled with passion from this day
Kamakuna Oray
(Beloved)

Muutuumi married her
When she was young
Two sons born die as little ones
Two daughters they then had together
Bound by love they'd live forever
Kamakuna, Kamakuna
(Beloved, Beloved)
Oray, Oray

Oray
She did wrong one day
Oray, Oray
God please forgive her of this shame
Kamakuna, Kamakuna
(Beloved, Beloved)
Oray

Lead Vocal: Apryl Allen
Guitars: Eren Cannata
Keyboards: Chris Clark
Addt'l Keyboards: Richie Cannata
Native Flute: Apryl Allen
Bass: John Montagna
Drums: Kevin Bregande
Native American Drums/Rattles:
Angela Crank, Jmichael R. Crank
Background Vocals: Eren Cannata, Julia Wilde
Recorded & Mixed by: Kieran Perdias
Addt'l Eng: Koil PreAmple, Jeff Shreiner
Assistant: Chris McDonald

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Morningstar (Taa Tatsinupi) (3:27)
Apryl Allen & John Montagna
(translated by Videll Yackeschi)

Nu oope umaa mai?ai paihi
Siik soko bai pihi tsa totsiyahu tui
U suni ooku?

Nu pihi tsa u nasutamu katui
Of days gone by you're what I miss
Haku unu ukitutsi?

May you be the morning star
Who sets before the rising sun
To hold within a journey's end
And cast a light for those to follow

Tuta suaka u mia ka
An emptiness I must go on
umu maruki tui u suwaitu

Why is this life such a mystery?
Hak tahi mia noru supunaitu?
Haku unu ukitutsi?

May you be the gentle breeze
I feel caress against my cheek
You wrap your warmth so subtly
With whispered dreams you speak to me

May you be the morning star
Who sets before the rising sun
To hold within a journey's end
And cast a light for those to follow

May you be the gentle breeze
I feel caress against my cheek
You wrap your warmth so subtly
With whispered dreams you speak to me

Kebusa nu ok katsoku puni tui
And know we will unite again
Haku unu ukitutsi?

For English translation visit
www.apryllallen.com

Lead Vocal: Apryl Allen
Guitars: Julio Fernandez
Soprano Saxophone: Richie Cannata
Keyboards: Manny Focarazzo
Bass: John Montagna
Drums: Kevin Bregande
Percussion: Fred Walcott
Native American Drums/Rattles:
Angela Crank, Jmichael R. Crank
Background Vocals: Eren Cannata, Julia Wilde
Mixed by: Steve Eigner & Kieran Perdias
Addt'l Eng: Koil PreAmple

Jane Muutuumi (1896 - 1930)
Grandmother

Was one of two daughters born to Muutuumi and Oray. At an early age she was sent to Fort Sill Indian School near Lawton, Oklahoma. During this time she was taught to speak English.

At the age of 24 Jane married a white man named Will. Together they had seven children.

On April 29, 1930 Jane's appendix ruptured. As her Husband and children gathered near, a family friend was sent on horseback to get the doctor. The doctor refused to come because she was Indian – sending the message "I don't care if the whole damn family dies."

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In producing these stories alongside her indigenous language, Allen is displaying a self-awareness of her heritage and the lives of her ancestors. She has chosen to include all these things together because she sees them as related. For her, family, culture, and Numu Tekwapu are all parts of what makes her cultural identity. Allen may not fluently speak Numu Tekwapu, but she is conscious of its significance for her culture, and clearly has deep personal respect for it.

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[617] Lyric pages for 'Oray' on Apryl Allen, 'Shape Shifter', (2009), found on http://apryllallen.com/, (last accessed 16/01/2018).
[618] Lyric pages for 'Morningstar' on Apryl Allen, 'Shape Shifter', (2009), found on http://apryllallen.com/, (last accessed 16/01/2018).

Allen's esteem for her Nʉmʉnʉʉ identity and Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ is something that her Native American fans realise and appreciate. As she has explained, she had other indigenous artists tell her: 'it's so incredible what you are doing for the Comanche nation, but do you understand what you're doing for the Native Americans as a whole? Because a lot of languages and cultural identities are gone, their stories are gone'.[619] In this, they are acknowledging that cultural confidence, such as asserted in Allen's album, is integral in keeping Native American languages and cultures vibrant.

4.3.5 Conclusion

Na Ʉnʉ Nahai (Shape Shifter), is an assertion of Allen's self-identification as Nʉmʉnʉʉ. Even the album's title, which translates as *Shape Shifter,* is a cultural reference to an Nʉmʉnʉʉ belief in the ability of individuals to physically transform into other animals.[620] Considering that survivance is characterised by, 'an active sense of presence over absence', being a proud Nʉmʉnʉʉ who acknowledges their heritage and language is a form of resistance.[621] Her singing in a language which the residential schools tried to exterminate is a clear rejection of their colonial legacy. It is a declaration that Nʉmʉnʉʉ peoples are still alive, and that they acknowledge their heritage. Even if Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ is in decline as a commonly spoken language (something which could yet be reversed), and Allen cannot speak it fluently herself, her choice to use the language in her album is a symbolic statement of cultural vitality, and the continuation of Nʉmʉnʉʉ culture.

4.4 "These Things We Can't Ignore": Natural Resources, Canadian Media, and First Nations Protest Music[622]

Successive Canadian governments have seen to invigorate their nation's economy through the increasing exploitation of natural resources for export. In the process of doing this, Canada has violated many of its treaties with First Nations peoples, and this has led to conflicts over the protection of basic resources. One of the Canadian government's historical strategies for dealing with these kinds of conflicts with indigenous peoples is simple: by pretending that they do not exist. This section looks at how contemporary First Nations music artists are making this more difficult, by utilising websites such as Youtube to expose what is being done, and to disseminate their own attitudes towards the environment. This section not only wants to discuss this conflict, but also how indigenous musicians are offering ways in which this can be resolved. Many First Nations have

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[619] Author's interview with Apryl Allen.
[620] Author's interview with Apryl Allen.
[621] Gerald Vizenor, 'Aesthetics of Survivance', found in Gerald Vizenor, (editor), *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, (2008), pp. 25-38, p. 1.
[622] Kelly Derrickson, 'Idle No More', (2014).

holistic views of how resources should be handled, and this is seen in First Nations music videos. Through the platform of the internet, indigenous artists are now offering an alternative to Canada's conflict with its environment and First Nations peoples. Central to this, is the idea that Canada must have a relationship with these peoples that is based on respect and reciprocity.

4.4.1 Canada and First Nations Peoples

Canada is often stereotyped as the 'nice guy' of the international stage.[623] While many people accept that the United States is capable of imperialistic actions, Canada by contrast is perceived as inoffensive. As director of the Research for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Paulette Regan has stated, in regards to its relationship with its indigenous peoples, 'Canada is often falsely portrayed as a "peaceful" nation, built on treaties rather than conquest'.[624] Former Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, perpetuated this myth at the 2009 G20 summit, when he infamously asserted that, '[Canada has] no history of colonialism. So we have all of the things that many people admire about the great powers but none of the things that threaten or bother them'.[625] While many Canadians took little notice of this statement, it caused considerable offence towards Canada's indigenous peoples, who pointed out that for the past 500 years they and their ancestors had been subject to settler colonialism, in which lands have been taken through conquest.[626] Aside from wars, diseases, and the destruction of indigenous livelihoods that this included, indigenous peoples were also confined upon reservations, and children forcibly removed from families to be taught at Indian residential schools.[627] These schools had a cultural agenda of teaching children that Canadian values were superior to those of their own cultures. Emotional and physical abuses occurred at these institutions, and in some cases, deaths.[628] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada described this process in 2015 as 'cultural genocide'.[629]

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[623] Eric Weiner, 'Can Canada Teach the Rest of Us to be Nicer?', found on http://www.bbc.com/travel, (last accessed 27/03/2018); Carmen Robertson and Mark Anderson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, (2011), p. 4.

[624] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler within Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, (2010).

[625] David Ljunggren, 'Every G20 Nation Wants to be Canada, Insists PM', *Reuters* 26 Sep. 2009.

[626] Amber Dean, *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women: Settler Colonialism and the Difficulty of Inheritance*, (2015), p. 149.

[627] John Milloy, *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, (1999).

[628] http://wherearethechildren.ca/en/, (last accessed 27/03/2018).

[629] 'Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada', The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015), p. 1.

4.4.2 Canada's Staples Economy

Canada's current economic model is export intensive, and this has been largely driven by private capital which is seen to be determining the location, scale, and pace of resource development.[630] A large part of this is the extraction of fossil fuels such as oil, towards major world economies, particularly the U.S.[631] In 2016, National Resources Canada estimated that the nation's natural resource sectors made up 11.3% of its GDP, with a further 4.4% of GDP being indirectly created by this.[632] The value of exports were valued at 201 billion Canadian dollars.[633]

This resource extraction is not without precedent in Canadian history. The staples thesis forwarded by Harold Innis and later developed by political economists of the late 20th century such as Mel Watkins, explains Canada's economy as being historically built around the exploitation of natural resources.[634] Whereas in the past, this was associated with the export of furs to Europe, Mel Watkins sees the extraction of resources such as oil as contemporary equivalents to this.[635] Indeed, in the view of many proponents of the staples thesis, the resource extraction based structure of Canada's economy is seen to be becoming increasingly entrenched.[636]

This history of Canadian colonialism however, makes the usage of natural resources by businesses in Canada controversial and legally questionable, as First Nations peoples continue to assert their rights to their lands. Director of Research for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Paulette Regan, has noted: 'Canada, as state and nation, is built on the premise that Indigenous peoples are either absent or that Indigenous political challenges are "settled"'.[637] This premise is not true. In land terms alone, it can be pointed out that the treaty negotiating process with many First Nations is still ongoing. Furthermore, Canadian provinces are often legally challenged for using indigenous lands

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[630] Mark Winfield, '"Dirty Oil," "Responsible Resource Development" and the Prospects for a National Conversation about Energy Sustainability in Canada', *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice* 25, (2013), pp. 19-39, p. 22.

[631] Mark Winfield, '"Dirty Oil," "Responsible Resource Development" and the Prospects for a National Conversation about Energy Sustainability in Canada', *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice* 25, (2013), pp. 19-39, p. 22.

[632] 'Key Facts and Figures on the Natural Resources Sector', found on http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/home, (last accessed 23/03/2018).

[633] 'Key Facts and Figures on the Natural Resources Sector', found on http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/home, (last accessed 23/03/2018).

[634] Kit Dobson, 'Canada', found in Imre Szeman, Jennifer Wenzel and Patricia Yaeger, (editors), *Fuelling Culture: 101 Words for Energy and Environment*, (2017), pp. 65-67, p. 65.

[635] Edward Shaffner, 'Canada's Oil and Imperialism', *International Journal of Political Economy* 35, (2006), pp. 54-71, p. 70.

[636] Kit Dobson, 'Canada', found in Imre Szeman, Jennifer Wenzel and Patricia Yaeger, (editors), *Fuelling Culture: 101 Words for Energy and Environment*, (2017), pp. 65-67, p. 65.

[637] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler within Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, (2010).

without the meaningful consent of First Nations peoples, and there also exist large unceded territories, in which the indigenous population never signed treaties surrendering their rights to their lands to the Canadian government.[638]

4.4.4 First Nations Protest and the Canadian Media

Whereas this conflict between First Nations activists and corporations may be perceived as ideal for Canadian media coverage, traditional Canadian media is often limited in reporting First Nations protest, often only giving it attention if there is a large turnout, or if violent confrontation takes place.[639] This can be attributed to media bias. As political economists, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, argued in their classic, *Manufacturing Consent* (1988), media does not come from an objective standpoint, but is based, 'on serviceability to important domestic power interests'.[640] Herman and Chomsky suggest that elite institutions such as governments and corporations hold enormous influence over the media, greatly determining what news stories get reported, the volume of coverage assigned to them, and the way in which they are presented.[641] As they note, the media receive much of their content from information provided the government, and collect revenue from corporate advertisements.[642] While this thesis is mostly applied to the U.S. media, it would be naïve to assume that the Canadian press is without this sort of influence. Media analysts, Robert Hackett and Richard Gruneau, have pointed out for instance, that corporations play a significant role in censoring news coverage in Canada, supressing the spread of information that challenges their power, and promoting that which accelerates it.[643]

While elite influence over mainstream media may seem obvious, it must be especially considered in relation to the way that First Nations peoples are framed by the Canadian media. Professor of media and public affairs, Edward Entman, has described media framing as selecting, 'some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment

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[638] Jen Preston, 'Neoliberal Settler Colonialism, Canada and the Tar Sands', *Race and Class* 55, (2013), pp. 42-59, p. 47.

[639] Adam Barker and Russell Ross, 'Reoccupation and Resurgence: Indigenous Protest Camps in Canada', found in Gavin Brown, Anna Feigenbaum, Fabian Frenzel and Patrick McCurdy, (editors), *Protest Camps in International Context: Spaces, infrastructures and Media of Resistance*, pp. 199-219, p. 207.

[640] Edward Sherman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, (1988), p. 35.

[641] Edward Sherman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, (1988), p. 2.

[642] Edward Sherman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, (1988), p. 2.

[643] Robert Hackett and Richard Gruneau, *The Missing News: Filters and Blind Spots in Canada's Press*, (2000), p. 25.

recommendation for the item described'.[644] Essentially, the presentation of information is pivotal in shaping how the public will react to it. Corporations who wish to avoid meaningful discussion with First Nations peoples about the construction of oil pipelines through their land, or wish to ignore them altogether, can use their media influence to affect the way in which First Nations protest is framed, and in doing this, strengthen their own political positions.[645] As Carmen Robertson and Mark Anderson have written of the relationship between the Canadian's media and indigenous peoples: 'the country's most ubiquitous agent of popular education, the newspaper, has tended to conflate all of these peoples into one heavily stereotyped monolith, patterned on a colonial ideology that flourishes to this day'.[646] Alexa Woloshyn has also forwarded: 'mainstream media often relies on representational practices straight from the settler colonialist playbook'.[647]

Even when they are not protesting, the Canadian media's coverage of the indigenous population is muted, and often derogatory. According to a 2011 National Household Survey, 2.1% of Ontario's population was indigenous.[648] Despite this, a Journalists for Human Rights report found that between June 1st, 2010 and May 31st, 2011, indigenous peoples received just 0.15% of the province's news coverage, with only 26% of this being described as 'positive' towards them.[649] Media analysts, Frances Henry and Carol Tator, have also suggested that the media in Saskatchewan had racialised coverage of First Nations peoples, reporting them as 'problem people', posing a, 'threat to law and order'.[650] Indigenous protestors who challenge the extraction of fossil fuels by corporations are similarly challenged by apathetic media coverage. If they do receive significant coverage it often frames them as being violent or antieconomic, which far from being objective press coverage, is attempting to vilify them.[651] In many cases, the state and media even equate the legitimate protest

[644] Robert Entman, 'Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication* 43, (1993), pp. 51-58, p. 52.

[645] Robert Hackett and Richard Gruneau, *The Missing News: Filters and Blind Spots in Canada's Press*, (2000), p. 25.

[646] Carmen Robertson and Mark Anderson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, (2011), p. 3.

[647] Alexa Woloshyn, '"Welcome to the Tundra": Tanya Tagaq's creative and communicative agency as political strategy', *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 29, (2017), pp. 1-14, p. 2.

[648] 'Number and Distribution of the Population Reporting an Aboriginal Identity and Percentage of Aboriginal People in the Population, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2011', found on http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/start, (last accessed 24/032018).

[649] Robin Pierro, (lead writer), 'Buried Voices: Media Coverage of Aboriginal Issues in Ontario - Media Monitoring Report: 2010 – 2013', Journalists for Human Rights, found on http://www.jhr.ca/en/, (last accessed 24/03/2018).

[650] Frances Henry and Carol Tator, *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*, (2002), p. 224.

[651] Frances Henry and Carol Tator, *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*, (2002), p. 224; Craig Proulx, 'Colonizing Surveillance: Canada Constructs an Indigenous Terror Threat', *Anthropologica* 56, (2014), pp. 83-100, p. 87.

of First Nations peoples to terrorism.[652] For instance, during the opposition of Wet'suwet'en peoples to oil pipelines being built through their unceded territory, Toghesty, Hereditary Chief of the Likhts'amisyu Clan, remarked how a friend of his with political sway had warned him that politicians were planning to demonise peaceful protestors. 'They're going to try and frame it so that people there [the protestors] are violent, they're extremists, and they need to be dealt with in a really harsh way'.[653] This plays into a narrative trope in the Canadian media. As Carmen Robertson and Mark Anderson have observed: 'the idea that Canadians of Aboriginal ancestry epitomize moral depravity is as old as the press in Canada'.[654]

Another example of this was in 2013, when the industrial energy company, Southwestern Resource Canada (SRC), decided to undergo exploratory fracking in a contested space, a traditional hunting ground of the Mi'kmaq peoples.[655] When Mi'kmaq protestors opposed this by blocking the path of fracking construction, the media condemned them. In a sociological honours thesis, which analysed 372 articles of this protest across Canada, L. McLellan found that media coverage clearly favoured the interests of SRC, by generally portraying protestors as 'violent' and 'radical'.[656] Although not confined to the media, Charity Marsh has also written of a general prejudice towards Inuit people in Regina:

'Aboriginal youth living in the urban centre of Regina, Saskatchewan, are identified through a colonialist lens most closely associated with a contemporary discourse on Aboriginal youth living in Canada as bodies in crisis – gang-affiliated, drug-addicted, linked to crime, prostitution, and poverty, or lacking in education, motivation, and initiative'.[657]

News coverage not only perpetuates an outdated and harmful stereotype of indigenous peoples as violent savages, but also, as in many cases of First Nations protest, it is a deliberate public relations initiative to discredit their opposition to the exploitation of their lands.

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[652] Craig Proulx, 'Colonizing Surveillance: Canada Constructs an Indigenous Terror Threat', *Anthropologica* 56, (2014), pp. 83-100, p. 87.
[653] Toghesty in 'Canada's First Nations Vs. Harper's Pipelines', found on https://www.youtube.com/, (last accessed 24/03/2018).
[654] Carmen Robertson and Mark Anderson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, (2011), p. 7.
[655] L. McLellan, 'Contemporary Settler Colonialism: Media framing of Indigenous collective action in Elsipogtog, Mi'kma'ki', Honours Thesis, Dalhousie University, (2015), p. 4.
[656] L. McLellan, 'Contemporary Settler Colonialism: Media framing of Indigenous collective action in Elsipogtog, Mi'kma'ki', Honours Thesis, Dalhousie University, (2015), p. 33.
[657] Charity Marsh, '"Don't Call Me Eskimo": Representation, Mythology, and Hip Hop Culture on Baffin Island', *MUSICultures: The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, (2010), pp. 110-129, p. 111.

4.4.5 First Nations Counter Narratives

Despite this limited and often vilifying media coverage, First Nations protestors have found ways to communicate their own counter narratives about how their lands should be managed, and the importance of the environment. One effective means of doing this is through protest music. In an interview for *Indian Country Today,* legendary Nēhiyaw (Cree) protest musician, Buffy Sainte-Marie, summed up why she thought music was such an effective means of communicating grievances to the public:

'A great three-minute protest song can be more effective than a 400-page textbook: immediate and replicable, portable and efficient, wrapped in music, easy to understand by ordinary people. It's distributed word-of-mouth by artists, as opposed to news stories marketed by the fellas who may own the town, the company store and the mine'.[658]

As Marie notes, protest music has the capacity to bypass conventional media that might have corporate interests attached to it. It can be a convincing means of conveying arguments to an audience, as it is an entertaining way of communicating serious subject matter.

The potential audience of this music has increased in recent decades with access to the internet becoming widespread. Sociologist, Ralph Schroder, has suggested that the internet is largely open for minority group to express themselves and challenge mainstream media that otherwise would have ignored them.[659] The internet is a relatively open space in which most people can publish, and music can easily be streamed without purchase.[660] This is significant in that people who may have been unlikely to listen to an artist's music because of its cost are more likely to listen to it, as this only requires them to click a link. As Peter Drier and Dick Flacks explain: 'the emergence of YouTube and other new technologies has blurred the lines between commercial and non-commercial music and made it easier for performers to spread their music'.[661] It gives artists the potential for their messages to be wider spread, and for them to reach global audiences without being signed to a major record label.[662] Realising its communicative capacity, many First Nations artists have utilised

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[658] Buffy Sainte-Marie cited in *American Indian Magazine,* Spring 2013.
[659] Ralph Schroeder, *Social Theory after the Internet: Media, Technology, and Globalization*, (2018), p. 58.
[660] Steve Jones, 'Music and the Internet', *Popular Music* 19, (2000), pp. 217-230, p. 223; Catherine Moore, 'Work and Recordings: The Impact of Commercialisation and Digitalisation', found in Michael Talbot, (editor), *The musical Work: Reality of Invention?*, (2000), pp. 88-109, p. 103.
[661] Peter Dreier and Dick Flacks, 'Roots of Rebellion: Music and Movements: The Tradition Continues', *New Labor Forum* 23, (2014), pp. 99-102, p. 102.
[662] Steve Jones, 'Music and the Internet', *Popular Music* 19, (2000), pp. 217-230, p. 223.

the internet to affirm their indigenous identities and worldviews, while also challenging the way in which the Canadian economy is currently being managed.[663]

In Canada, many of these artists identify as supporters of the Idle No More movement. Idle No More emerged in 2012 as an indigenous grassroots resistance towards the C-45, a bill being introduced by then Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, and once passed this was passed it was titled the 'Jobs and Growth Act'.[664] In effect, it served to weaken First Nations sovereignty rights, and Canada's environmental protections.[665] As a movement, Idle No More uses the internet to communicate with its activists, many of whom are young First Nations people. [666] They use this to arrange protests and to disseminate their messages to the public.[667] Idle No More are against resource exploitation that degrades the environment in First Nations lands, believing that First Nations peoples should have control over how these resources are managed.[668] Central to this, is the belief that respect for these environments, and respect for First Nations sovereignty are interlinked.

Beverley Diamond has suggested that many indigenous languages and music encourage activism: 'just as many First Nations languages are verb rather than noun orientated… their music is often action orientated'.[669] While it is difficult to assess this, it can be observed that many indigenous artists are concerned with taking action. Many have released songs on Youtube in support of Idle No More, such as Drezus, Rellik, Pura Fé, and Lucien Spence.[670] Amongst these is Westbank First Nation pop musician, Kelly Derrickson, who integrates themes of sustainability and First Nations sovereignty into her music. She shares this music using websites such as Spotify, Soundcloud, and Youtube. Unsurprisingly, her most explicit expression of support for the Idle No More movement is in her

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[663] Kristy Belton, 'From Cyberspace to Offline Communities: Indigenous Peoples and Global Connectivity', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 35, (2010), pp. 193-215, p. 197.
[664] Mark Pedelty, *A Song to Save the Salish Sea: Musical Performance as Environmental Activism*, (2016), p. 115.
[665] Mark Pedelty, *A Song to Save the Salish Sea: Musical Performance as Environmental Activism*, (2016), p. 115.
[666] Fyre Graveline, 'IDLE NO MORE: Enough is Enough!', *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue Canadienne de Service Social* 29, pp. 293-300, p. 293.
[667] Fyre Graveline, 'IDLE NO MORE: Enough is Enough!', *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue Canadienne de Service Social* 29, pp. 293-300, p. 293.
[668] Gilles Paradis, 'Idle No More for First Nations Rights/Jamais plus l'inaction à l'égard des droits des Premières Nations', *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Santé Publique* 104, (2013), p. e1.
[669] Beverley Diamond, 'Native American Contemporary Music: The Women', *The World of Music* 44, (2002), pp. 11-39, p. 33.
[670] Drezus, 'RED WINTER', (2013), found on https://www.youtube.com/; Rellik, 'Idle No More (feat. Nathan Cunningham)', (2013), found on https://www.youtube.com/; Pura Fé, 'Idle No More', (2015), found on https://www.youtube.com/; Lucien Spence, 'Idle No More Song', (2013), found on https://www.youtube.com/.

song, 'Idle No More' (2014).[671] In this, she sings about the environmental destruction that is happening on First Nations lands because of Canada's economic policy: 'waters turn from blue to brown, desecrate our sacred ground'.[672] This is not a song of despair however, but of defiance. Her lyrics are a rallying call to First Nations protest: 'these things we can't ignore… if we expect to survive, we must stand heart in hand, with eyes open wide, to save our home and native land'.[673] Here, she is suggesting that First Nations peoples should confront the Canadian government on its current economic policy. As she has explained in a research interview for this project: 'Idle No More is our people, and other people standing up with us against those governments'.[674] In contrast to the apathy the Canadian media have had towards indigenous issues, her music is confident and assertive. As she has explained, this is part of a wider movement whereby First Nations peoples are, 'tired of being swept under the rug'.[675] Nēhiyaw (Cree) hip-hop artist, Drezus, also expresses this sentiment of mobilisation in his own support of Idle No More. In his song, 'RED WINTER' (2013), he angrily raps: 'my peoples getting restless, [the corporations] making money off our land and we ain't even on the guest list'.[676] Charity Marsh has argued that indigenous hip-hop, as a form of indigenous protest music, has the capacity to 'challenge the dominant racialized and racist frameworks on which the media so often relies when presenting stories on hip hop culture and Indigenous youth in Canada'.[677] In another article with Sheila Pettty she further noted: 'youth from around the world embracing hip hop and a global hip hop politics as a way to articulate dissent, challenge political leaders, and to enact change'.[678]

One of Derrickson's more recent songs, 'I Am' (2017), again focuses on environmental concerns.[679] It uses indigenous understandings of holisticness, by incorporating the environment into identity. Derrickson, has commented on the song: '"I Am", those two words are really important. What you put after it can change your whole life. I am strength, I am powerful, I am infinite, I am love'.[680] Derrickson's point here is about self-determination. It is a belief that self-perception affects a person's identity. For her, this is connected to the environment: 'I really think that that connection

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[671] Kelly Derrickson, 'Idle No More', (2014).
[672] Kelly Derrickson, 'Idle No More', (2014).
[673] Kelly Derrickson, 'Idle No More', (2014).
[674] Author's interview with Kelly Derrickson.
[675] Author's interview with Kelly Derrickson.
[676] Drezus, 'RED WINTER', (2013), found on https://www.youtube.com/.
[677] Charity Marsh, 'Hip Hop as Methodology: Ways of Knowing', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37, (2012), pp. 193-203, found on https://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal, (last accessed 20/06/2019).
[678] Charity Marsh and Sheila Petty, 'Globalization, Identity, and Youth Resistance: Kenya's Hip Hop Parliament', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music* 38, (2011), pp. 132-147, p. 133.
[679] Kelly Derrickson, 'I Am', (2017).
[680] Kelly Derrickson, 'I Am', (2017).

we have with Mother Nature is the eternal I am. That is something that think every single person on this planet, not just native people, have an obligation to concern themselves with… the heartbeat of Mother Earth'.[681] The lyrical refrain of, 'I am Mother Nature', in the song, underscores self-identification with the environment.[682] Nature is in Derrickson's view, something that all people are related to. Indigenous and nonindigenous peoples alike, are reliant on its resources for their existence, as they live within it. By extension of this view, reckless exploitation of nature, and the damaging of Canada's ecosystems is self-destructive for everybody. If all humans are Mother Nature, as her song suggests, respect for environment is linked to respecting people in general. Accordingly, Derrickson views acknowledgement of First Nations sovereignty, and the sustainable economies these nations advocate as, 'not just for native people', but as important for general prosperity of all peoples in Canada.[683] As she has said of environmental issues: 'we have to change, we have to transform. Let's do it with integrity'.[684]

It is difficult to assess the impact of this protest music, but it can be noted that the tactics of the Idle No More movement, protest songs on social media being amongst them, have been successful in attracting the attention of foreign observers towards Canada's environmental degradation, and its treatment of indigenous peoples.[685] The movement has even encouraged parallel protest rallies in the U.S., U.K., Australia, and several other places.[686] Protest music is an important part of its voice. As a recent *CBC Music* article admitted of Canadian history: 'The Indigenous side of history had been left out of textbooks - but it was through music that their stories really started to come out to the world'.[687] For peoples whose voices are often stifled by mainstream media, music remains an important method of communicating their defiance, and they are now enabled to do this through the internet. Although speaking of the indigenous protest towards oil pipelines at Standing Rock in the U.S., this quote from an interview with protest musician, Raye Zaragoza, whose multinational heritage includes O'odham, sums up the communicative capacity of the internet for disseminating indigenous counternarratives:

'This modern age of social media is really powerful because through viral videos we're able to get more information and educate ourselves more than we were able to before, and times I watched

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[681] Author's interview with Kelly Derrickson.
[682] Kelly Derrickson, 'I Am', (2017).
[683] Author's interview with Kelly Derrickson.
[684] Author's interview with Kelly Derrickson.
[685] Terry Wotherspoon and John Hansen, 'The "Idle No More" Movement: Paradoxes of First Nations Inclusion in the Canadian Context', *Social Inclusion* 1, (2013), pp. 21-36, p. 22.
[686] Terry Wotherspoon and John Hansen, 'The "Idle No More" Movement: Paradoxes of First Nations Inclusion in the Canadian Context', *Social Inclusion* 1, (2013), pp. 21-36, p. 22.
[687] Lindsay Monture, 'A Brief Evolution of Indigenous Protest Music', *CBC Music*, 5 Jul. 2017.

the news, and they weren't covering [the] Standing Rock [protest] at all, and the only place you could see anything going on was Facebook. I think it's really powerful and really important that we're utilising these mediums to get the word out, and to educate ourselves on what the truth is because y'know, a private company that is giving us information on television is not necessarily a completely objective view'.[688]

4.4.6 Conclusion

Overall, this section finds Canada's current economic policy to be energy intensive and environmentally damaging. The corporations who carry out this economic program interpret First Nations opposition to this usage of their lands as inconvenient, and in line with this thinking, have largely attempted to vilify these peoples or treat them as if they do not exist. Traditional Canadian media, such as newspapers, have been complicit in this, by often ignoring or producing misleading narratives about First Nations protest that challenges resource extraction. First Nations musicians such as Kelly Derrickson however, have utilised the internet to publicise counter narratives to this in their music, in which they propose ways in which Canada can stop conflicting with its indigenous peoples and the environment. Central to this, is an ethical argument that associates Canada recognising its environmental responsibilities with respect towards First Nations peoples.

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[688] Author's interview with Raye Zaragoza.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

'Music really has a way of reaching people… making people listen when sometimes words aren't enough… [it] lifts up the voices of people who are otherwise silenced'.[689]

Author's interview with Raye Zaragoza.

This thesis has explored representations of indigeneity through popular music, arguing that this is an area in which interpretations of identity are contested. It has argued this in three ways.

Firstly, it has assessed the use of 'Indian' stereotypes in popular music. It did this by focusing on the sexualisation of indigenous identities. This section largely validates Theodor Adorno's writings on popular music, finding that it often does not accurately convey indigenous people, but represents them instead, as sexual fetishes. These are found to be inconsiderate of the experiences of indigenous peoples, although nuances in this have also been explored, such as indigenous artists who conform to stereotypes themselves, and their motivations for doing this. Overall, popular music in these cases is not so much an accurate representation of indigeneity as it is a marketable one. Although, these sexualised representations have not been passively accepted by indigenous peoples. This thesis has found that they have been challenged by indigenous artists who undermine the binaries of gender stereotypes.

Secondly, it examined how popular music can be used by indigenous artists themselves, to assert their cultural identities. It did this through analysis of indigenous hip-hop and E.D.M. Indigenous hip-hop challenges the idea of indigenous identities being subsumed by globalisation, finding that new influences have largely been translated into indigenous cultural identities. This thesis' analysis particularly focused on how indigenous femininity and masculinity are expressed through hip-hop, and how they address indigenous issues. Indigenous E.D.M has meanwhile defied the stereotypes of indigenous peoples either being historical or nonindigenous, displaying that indigenous identities are dynamic.

Finally, it looked at the potential self-representation that popular music allows indigenous artists. This section forwarded that popular music is an important means of self-expression for a group that has been historically side-lined by U.S. and Canadian societies. It did this by exploring how artists have expressed sentiments of survivance through their incorporation of comedy, protest, and traditional language, into their music.

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[689] Author's interview with Raye Zaragoza.

This research can be further developed in the future. It will be interesting to see how the relatively new technology of the internet will impact the transmission of indigenous popular music in the long term. Will many indigenous artists continue to use this to control the production and transmission of music, by bypassing record companies, or will the means of expression on the internet become increasingly concentrated within the parameters of large companies? Furthermore, what other platforms aside from popular music, can be explored in relation to the theme of indigenous survivance?

Overall, despite a history in which their cultural identities have been suppressed, and misrepresented in U.S. and Canadian cultures, many indigenous artists have themselves, used popular music to assert their own definitions of their cultural identities. As Eekwol asserts in the song used in the title of this thesis: 'I will not be conquered! I will not be caged! I'll live how I want! I'll choose my own way!'.[690]

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[690] Eekwol, 'I Will Not be Conquered', (2012).

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