

Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz to Hip Hop. Edited by Jeff Berglund, Jan Johnson, and Kimberli Lee. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016. 250 pages. \$34.95 paper and electronic.

In our current cultural climate, when a resurgent public xenophobia and hatred of difference dominates the media, issues of power and representation continue to be of utmost import. These issues are of course omnipresent in debates about who can and cannot legitimately claim Native American identity and cultural and intellectual property. The core questions are, “Who is Native American? Who gets to decide?” Disputes range from the lawsuit between Urban Outfitters and the Navajo Nation to the controversy over which Native Americans took part in the *Washington Post* poll and stated they have no problem with the Washington football team keeping the name Redskins. A primary underlying assumption is that Native peoples lack presence and therefore power; because we have always already disappeared, so has our ability to substantiate our claims to our identities and cultural or intellectual property. Although this assumption that Native American cultural practices have fallen silent may extend to the realm of the audible, a growing archive is strengthening the view that Native American people and cultural practices have continued to thrive since contact with settler-colonial societies. *Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz to Hip Hop* is a welcome addition to this archive, and is one of the few edited collections to focus solely on Native American musicians who have used popular or contemporary musical forms and practices to articulate their own sense of identities and cultural or intellectual understandings of their past, present, and future realities.

As a whole, *Indigenous Pop* contributes a number of diverse positions and arguments to the study of twentieth- and twenty-first-century Native American music-making. To begin, the collection features the perspectives of fourteen diverse contributors from different disciplines, primarily English, literature, history, and ethnomusicology, with interdisciplinary approaches including American Indian studies, Chicano/a studies, indigenous studies, and religious studies. The editors state that they intentionally sought out contributors from fields other than music studies due to their dissatisfaction with how the “study of Indigenous music and song-making has long been *constrained* to the realm of ethnomusicology, and has often focused on the old songs, ‘traditional songs,’ or chants” (4; my emphasis). Yet it is worth noting that half of the contributors are either trained or working in the broad field of English (literature, writing and rhetoric), and thus the essays tend toward literary analysis.

The essays are arranged chronologically according to genres considered to be *the* popular music of the time: jazz, country western and folk, rock and roll and fusion, reggae, punk, hip-hop, and rap. The collection discusses an equally diverse set of musicians, ranging from those who are famous within mainstream music (vocalist Mildred Bailey, guitarist Robbie Robertson, and vocalist Lila Downs) to those who are well-known in Native American music (saxophonist Jim Pepper, poet John Trudell, vocalist/guitarists Buffy Sainte Marie and Peter LaFarge, and guitarists Link Wray and Jesse Ed Davis), to emerging musicians such as hip-hop artists Eekwol, aka Lindsay Knight (Muskoday First Nation) and Kinnie Starr (Mohawk).

The editors' introduction states that contributors consider the influence of pop on indigenous forms. However, such a unidirectional concept problematizes some of the more interesting theoretical interventions made throughout regarding agency and audibility. Instead, as several authors demonstrate, the sounds of indigenous pop evoke multidirectional intercultural encounters, exchanges, and expressions, and demonstrate that indigenous forms and worldviews have in fact influenced mainstream pop genres. For example, while as a metaphor the "red roots" of blues or jazz is useful, it perpetuates simplistic understandings of intercultural encounters, exchanges, and expressions; specifically, it relegates Native American presence and participation in conventional American music histories to only "the beginning" in the form of chants, flutes, and drums. The danger is that Native American presence and participation is effectively disappeared and left in the past, mirroring conventional American histories that lead students to believe that Native Americans and indigenous people no longer exist.

Aside from scholars and enthusiasts of Native American popular music cultures, it is somewhat unclear at which audience(s) this book is aimed. Taking as a clue the editors' statement—"Beyond a personal interest in contemporary Indigenous music, we have all committed to incorporating Indigenous music into our American Indian literature or rhetoric courses" (8)—I read this collection while thinking how scholars working at the intersection of music studies and Native American studies might utilize this book in their research and/or incorporate it into related university courses. There are certainly many reasons why Native American studies or music studies courses might easily adopt this book, but I will also briefly address a few considerable challenges.

Four chapters in particular deserve special mention for addressing multiple aspects of music performance. First, in a masterful historiographic account of Joe Shunatona and the United States Indian Reservation Orchestra, John Troutman offers a detailed discussion of how blood quantum anxieties in the 1930s, bolstered by an "ideological 'savagery to civilization' evolutionary paradigm," and epitomized in US Indian policy, directly influenced Shunatona's genre and repertoire choices (19). Moreover, Troutman addresses the tensions raised when "show Indians" such as the members of the United States Indian Reservation Orchestra played "negro jazz" with "Orientals" and "Jews" (27). Second, Chad Hamill's chapter on Mildred Bailey offers a rich biographical sketch alongside descriptions of her repertoire, style, and aesthetics. Hamill's chapter is also the only one to offer musical transcriptions of the songs under consideration, and while perhaps not accessible for all readers, they do convey musical information that traces concrete connections across three different genres (Catholic Indian hymn, swing performance by Bailey, and a War Dance song) to demonstrate how and what sounded Indian.

Third, Cassie Cobos's in-depth examination of the border-crossing sounds and sentiment of Lila Downs's song "Minimum Wage" compels readers to reconsider deep fissures in spatial, lingual, and colonial nation-state issues along the United States-Mexico borderlands that "complicates the assumed nationalistic stability of identity, land, labor, and people" (151). Cobos describes in detail Downs's embodied performance practices—via dance, voice, lyrics, and instrumentation—in ways that deftly

illustrate a centering and privileging of indigenous peoples' long and ongoing histories across la frontera: "Assuming immigration—and diaspora and/or diasporic return—erases colonial histories of border-making and land-claiming" (148). I particularly appreciated her discussion of Downs's locution, or the sound of language, such as "Downs sings 'country' as 'cŌnthry' in the line of the song that first brings up language" (147). Fourth, Jeff Berglund's chapter on Navajo punk band Blackfire features interviews with each of the three members: Klee, Jeneda, and Clayson Benally. In that this chapter carves space in academic writing for musicians to speak for themselves as public intellectuals, for me, this was one of the book's most important moments.

I found myself struggling with three areas: terminology and naming, the place of sound and aurality in music scholarship, and the politics and poetics of citation. Both with regard to the people and expressive forms under consideration, throughout I was troubled by the overall lack of discussion and casual treatment of terminology and naming. The terms American Indian, Native American, Aboriginal, First Nations, and indigenous are largely used interchangeably throughout the text without a discussion of why or what is gained and what is lost by doing so. For students, issues of naming are a common source of anxiety—"what name is okay to use?"—and leaving these names unexplained ignores these crucial debates altogether. Given that all musicians discussed originate from and currently reside in North America, the editors could have simplified their naming practices by using "Native Americans" or "Native North Americans" and used "indigenous" when discussing broader global issues or when musicians themselves employ the term. A more ideal approach, however, would have been to ask each author to use and explain the naming conventions used by the musicians themselves. As several authors point out, nation-state borders crossed Native peoples, lands, and lifeways, and there are critical differences between how colonial policies manifested as concrete realities for Native people differed greatly from Alaska to Florida, and Nova Scotia to Mexico. The geopolitical ramifications of settler societies and policies are indeed drastically different, and scholars must take care to avoid generalizations and to address the particularities of lived experiences. Interestingly, issues of terminology and naming also extend into the realm of music genres and forms. As a stand-alone concept, the term *music* takes on, and at times loses, different meanings across the essays. What does it mean that a collection dedicated to music overwhelmingly does not address the sonic or aural aspects of the form?

The racial politics underlying all of the genres under consideration are only alluded to and not substantially developed. The chapters highlighted earlier address issues of racialized genres: Troutman Indian music versus "negro jazz," Hamill Indian versus white, and Cobos indigeneity along the United States-Mexico border. Part of the silencing and erasing of Native American presence within the music-industrial complex relies on simplistic racial borders that have been policed throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. While some Native American musicians perform popular genres because of a genuine love of the sounds or musicians they evoke, rather than a desire to earn fame and fortune, those who are actively blacklisted or otherwise excluded from participation or enfranchisement in the music-industrial complex have actively challenged those racialized boundaries. Most of the popular genres under

consideration—namely jazz, reggae, hip-hop, and rap—are largely understood to be black genres, while others such as country, folk, rock and roll, and punk are coded as white genres. The spectrum of racial recognition within the music-industrial complex indeed rests upon the Euro-American colonial racialized logics that insist on a white and black paradigm.

Moreover, at several moments authors romanticized music as outside of politics. For example, one chapter claims that “Music is a creative, *nonthreatening* means for artists to convey impactful messages in a multimedia world” (123, my emphasis). This statement is then contradicted by other authors in the collection. In just one instance of how Native musicians expressing Native issues in popular genres were seen as threatening, or drawing upon so-called threatening or pointed genres to convey their politics, Joe Shunatona and the members of his United States Indian Reservation Orchestra only barely evaded the confiscation of their property, imprisonment, and forced starvation by the US government for incorporating Indian music and dance in their performances (17). To underestimate the power of music and sound risks an erasure of violence done onto Native individuals and communities, and speaks to my larger criticism of the noticeable absence of sound and aurality in this collection. Several promising terms are introduced—such as “sonic literacies” (Rios), “aesthetic activism” (Johnson), and an application of James Clifford’s articulation theory as a conceptual framework to analyze music (Walsh)—yet they are only applied in the realm of discourse, rhetoric, narrative, and image, and never fully develop discussions of the sonic or aural implications contained therein.

For comparative purposes in the classroom, the lack of explicit discussion of historic sounds versus contemporary might lead to students assuming that all traditional music cultures used the same chants, flutes, or drums. This potential misunderstanding could be remedied by extra work on the part of the instructor to have both the albums under consideration alongside ethnographic recordings of traditional musics from that musician’s region, but in instances where instructors are not familiar with the recorded archives, a discography would have been immensely helpful. Lastly, some historiographic particularities that require additional supplemental readings go unexplained, such as the American Indian Movement. Otherwise, the lyrical messages may not register with students unfamiliar with Native histories in the Americas.

Methodologically speaking, this collection would have benefited from integrating ethno/musicological approaches—which emphasize historiographic and/or ethnographic analyses of biography, repertoire, style, and aesthetics—with its literary focus on lyrics, narrative, discourse, rhetoric, metaphor, semiotics, language, image, and artwork. It appears that a silo-based academic approach is still largely present in Native American music and dance scholarship. That is, on the one hand, ethnomusicology offers a wealth of analyses of the sonic and corporeal aspects of traditional and contemporary Native expressive culture, yet falls victim to the Eurocentric methodologies and conventions of the field; on the other hand, Native American studies privileges the lived experiences, histories, and worldviews in ways that attend to the meaning of Native expressive culture, yet is lacking in a coherent body of culturally based understandings of sound and the politics of aurality. In the end, it became clear to me that

several of the above-mentioned challenges could be remedied by engaging in a critical conversation with recent music studies scholarship. One possible solution would have been to draw on the interdisciplinary field of sound studies, which brings together the disciplines of anthropology, cultural studies, science and technology studies, media, performance, and history, to name a few. Ultimately, *Indigenous Pop* makes a truly important contribution to the growing archive of audible indigenous modernities, and also demonstrates how much more work is needed and yet to be done.

Jessica Bissett Perea

University of California, Davis

Neoliberal Indigenous Policy: Settler Colonialism and the “Post-Welfare” State. By Elizabeth Strakosch. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 213 pages. \$109.00 cloth and electronic.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and politics retain a special place in the Australian psyche. Always a political hot button, today this policy domain is characterized by confusion, frustration, and disappointment that, despite a seemingly endless cycle of policy regimes, the socioeconomic gap between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and other Australians appears stubbornly resistant to closing. The last century has seen policies of protection, assimilation, self-determination, intervention, and, lately, “recognition.” None have had the transformative effects that had been hoped for. All have resisted more profound changes to the relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and the Australian state. And in the wake of this turmoil, many Aboriginal people and communities experience a sense of powerlessness and frustration as they struggle to articulate their needs and priorities within ever-changing policy frameworks.

Elizabeth Strakosch engages directly with these concerns, offering readers a challenging and compelling account of the profound changes that have taken place in indigenous affairs policy over the last forty years. From a broad, bipartisan consensus on an (admittedly limited) policy of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander self-determination, the Australian state has moved inexorably towards policies based in neo-paternalism, intervention, and settler-state control. Hard-won gains intended to support self-governance have given way to a renewed focus on indigenous “dysfunction” and associated policy measures intended to reshape the behavior of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to more closely resemble settler norms and expectations, combined with an emphasis on economic integration and mainstreaming.

The most important contribution Strakosch makes to advancing our understanding of the working of indigenous policy domains is the way she draws together the impacts of settler colonialism and the emergence of neoliberal understandings of citizen-state relations. Strakosch argues that the emergence of neoliberalism at least partly explains the decline of self-determination as the dominant paradigm in indigenous policy, as the increasing dominance of neoliberalism undid ideas of the state as benevolent,