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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Without Reservations: Native Hip Hop and Identity in the Music of W.O.R.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Alan Lechusza Aquallo

Committee in Charge:

Professor Anthony Davis, Chair
Professor Mark Dresser
Professor Ross Frank
Professor Nancy Guy
Professor Elizabeth Newsome

2009

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The Dissertation of Alan Lechusza Aquallo is approved, and is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2009

DEDICATION

“This is dedicated to those among us, who rose above us, because they chose to love us, and we didn’t push ourselves, they were the first to shove us, sent from the sky and gave birth to the toughest” – Tru Rez Crew

This work is dedicated to the women in my life who have sacrificed their love and lives to support me through these endeavors. Without their strength, courage, wisdom, patience and love, I could not have completed this work.

A-Ho, Mitak-wea-seh~

Grandma Mary Ann Hernandez/Guzman
Rosalie Blair
Carolyn Lechusza Aquallo
Sage Monet Lechusza Aquallo

EPIGRAPH

Lakota pey-key
wanta womblie chiawo
ahyadoo
e-ho-ne-yeh kiapo
oyate
we-io-shkey
e-yapi-ehielo
ahyadoo
*("The People are excited
to see what you will do
with your knowledge")*

"The sense of family, the pride of heritage, the seriousness
of the occasion, and the humor of the moment are the same
as they have always been when Indians gather."

- Scott Bradshaw
(Osage-Quapa)

Honde-tahon-da-konde
Me-key eyohn-da
kei-yon-beton-gwa
hey-ya-tahon-da
wei-eyaho
("Students, take it to the finish...")

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“This funky radical bomb track started as a sketch in my notebook, and now
dope hooks make punks take another look, my mind ya hear and ya begin to
fear, that ya card will get pulled if ya interfere...”
Rage Against the Machine (1993)

The path that has brought me to this point has been long and arduous. I could not have even imagined that this would have been possible except for the unwavering love, care, insight and strength and beauty offered by the numerous men and women, young and old, whom I have the privilege of calling family and friends.

It is first important to thank the Creator; for all that we have and all that we will have in this life and future. Thank you Creator for the many gifts that you have bestowed upon us. Thank you Creator for the medicine that you have blessed and offered for all the People. Ah-ho!

As a Native person we remember those who have come seven generations before us and seven generations to come. This work finds its place within a continuum of work from Native artists and scholars who have paved the way for me to arrive at this point. The nameless many of the Native Nations within this Nation who have sacrificed more than I can define are the grandmothers and grandfathers to whom this work is forever indebted. Mitak-wi-ase, Ah-ho, All My Relations!

Por mi familia; Lechusza y Aquallo. Nada es imposible! Nada!

Muchos gracias para todo hermanos y hermanas; abuelos y abuelas. Gracias para mi vive.

I am honored to have a committee of men and women who have illustrated their care and patience with my work. These iconic figures in their respectful disciplines have earned the titles to which they have received and continue to support the growing research and creative artistry for the coming generations. I have been tested and challenged by these men and women well beyond the confines of the classroom. The echoes of their work and resilience of their care continues to be a mantra for me during the course of my own professional engagements. Thank you for your generous offer to assist me through this work. This is not a closure to our collaborations, but merely another step in the life journey that will continue to bring our paths together. Respectful thanks to: Professor Anthony Davis, Dr. Ross Frank, Dr. Nancy Guy, Dr. Elizabeth Newsome and Professor Mark Dresser.

I am forever grateful to the members of WithOut Rezervation for their creative work that caught my attention and inspired me to invest, what is quickly becoming my life's work, into the arena of Native Hip Hop. The hours spent listening, sharing and confiding with Chris LaMarr is time worth its weight in gold. I am humbled to know such a man who has endured and

persevered through his own trials and tribulations. Inspiring is the word that continues to resound when I think of Chris LaMarr; inspiring.

“Shout outs” are certainly required to a few instrumental people who have continued to support me through the endless endeavors that have occupied my days and years. These people certainly have stood by and defined the terms “thick and thin”: Craig Stone, The CSULB Drum Group, Master Vinny Golia, Master Bertram Turetzky, Dr. Edwin and Bonnie Harkins, Dr. Jason Stanyeck, Dr. Michael Dessen, Dr. Christopher Adler, Pandit Vikas Srivastava, Maestro James Newton, Professor George Lewis, Maestro Christopher Garcia and Professor Robert Zelickman.

Likewise, it is important to acknowledge a few key Native Hip Hop artists who offered a spark of inspiration during the times when I thought that there was nothing left but defeat. Julian B., Shadowyze, One Nation, War Party; keep it “real”, keep it proud, keep it sacred and keep it loud!

At the time of this writing I have been blessed with a full professorship appointment in American Indian Studies at Palomar College. This position affords me the opportunity to bring into clear focus all the many facets of research that integrate within my interdisciplinary work and ongoing scholarship. I wish to humbly recognize the men and women who are my senior professors and now colleagues who found confidence in my work and trust in my strength. They paved the way for me and continue to offer

priceless insight into tribal politics, Native education, family matters and the meaning of humanity. Gracious thanks to: Professor Patricia Dixon, Professor Linda Locklear and Professor Steven Crouthamel. On a similar note, Professor Susan Lobo has offered the same level of openness, compassion and critical inquiry into my growing work. Thank you!

I shall not forget the many scholars, musicians/composers, multi-media artists and rare individuals who I have met, shared time (and tea!) with over the years. They are many and continue to fortify the ground upon which I walk. I wish them all blessings and generous gratitude for their individual work within their respective fields. Our world could not revolve without your discourse and sounds!

To the many students with whom I have had the pleasure and opportunity to share time and knowledge with throughout the years. Whether it was in an individual instrumental lesson, rehearsal or classroom lecture context you all listened to the words and sounds that we shared with intensity and passion. You were equally my teachers regardless of the discipline, age or location. Those hours together are not simply historical moments upon which to wax poetically. Those moments and times are the heirlooms that I continue to draw upon for guidance and wisdom as a new situation and context is presented before me. Thank you all for being so patient, honest and passionate.

Never last, but always in mind, heart and spirit. My step-father Robert Blair-Russell who continues to give his life so that I may be able to strive for a better tomorrow. The selflessness and dedication that he offered to my mother is a pillar upon which to build a new generation. To a veteran who literally offered his life for my generation to be able to create, write and live, I offer you a humble debt of gratitude, family love and the promise to work to the fullest degree in honor of the sacrifices that you have offered.

In the wee small hours of the morning on August 29, 2003 Sage Monet Lechusza Aquallo came screaming into this world. Her first sounds were those of soft powwow music and Maurice Ravel. Her inquisitive sight has been a blessing as she continues to be an inspiration for me to strive to better myself in order to support her life.

Carolyn and I were married on January 14, 2005. An anticipated sunny and warm day became cold and rainy. Still, my lovely wife was just that, beautiful. She and Sage were dressed in lovely dresses enjoying the weather that tested my good nature on that sacred day. Still, I could not wish for anything more than to have by my side such a strong companion. She is a good mother, a beautiful woman, a terrific cook, a fervent critic and a loving soul mate.

On July 20, 2007 my mother, Rosalie, crossed into the next world. The day before she left this world, she asked how close I was to finishing this dissertation. It was at that point that I realized she was holding onto the years in order to see me complete this work. My highest level of embarrassment is that I did not finish this dissertation for her to see and read with her own eyes. Yet, I know that she is still listening to what we say in the family and reading what scraps of thoughts I leave laying around in the hopes of pushing this work forward. She gave more than I could ever imagine in order for me to basically live. It is from this persistent attitude and grateful heart that I was “born at 18”.

VITA

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“Raps to Remember, Raps to Represent; The Construction of Contemporary Native Identity in Hip Hop” Conference presentation, Western Popular Culture Conference, Salt Lake City: Utah, 2003.

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“TRAPA: A Native Multi-media Representation of Identity” Conference presentation, Queen’s College, London: England, 2008.

“How Much is that Indian in the Window?: Contemporary Native Music and the internet” Society for Ethnomusicology, Southern California Regional Chapter, Santa Barbara: California, 2008.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Without Reservations: Native Hip Hop and Identity in the Music of W.O.R.

by

Alan Lechusza Aquallo

Doctor of Philosophy in Music

University of California, San Diego, 2009

Professor Anthony Davis, Chair

“Its Bigger than Hip Hop” - Dead Prez¹

This dissertation focuses on how the Native Hip Hop group WithOut Rezervation (W.O.R.) incorporates Hip Hop both as genre and culture, to construct a contemporary sense of identity. Through a critical review of contemporary Native identity within Hip Hop culture, this dissertation will illustrate that there exists a point of dialogue between the Native and non-Native communities. Taking into account the cultural and political histories of the forced diaspora of Native people into the urban centers, this dissertation

¹ Dead Prez. Let's Get Free. Loud Records, Jan. 14, 2000.

will examine the persistent identity and (mis-)representation of Native people within Hip Hop history through the integration of the sample *Apache*. A deconstruction and re-construction of the pluralities present within contemporary Native identity is articulated through the development of three identity formations, Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal. This dissertation addresses how WOR re-presents and expresses the socio-political issues of stereotype, gender, oral traditions and contemporary identity negotiation in the lyrics, rhythm and Hip Hop techniques of sampling and scratchin'.

This dissertation serves to the benefit of the large Native and non-Native intellectual communities by presenting a contemporary understanding of the expressive cultures present within the genre of Native Hip Hop. Further, this dissertation seeks to serve as a critical model that permits the expansion, development and further investigation of other Native musics.

Introduction

“I thank Creator for my Life, the strength to live and the wisdom to write”
-Julian B. (Muscogee Cree)¹

“Our task is not to organize the revolution but to organize ourselves for the
revolution; not to make the revolution but to take advantage of it”
-Karl Kautsky²

This chapter presents the histories, methodologies and theories used to construct a contemporary Native identity and its negotiation through the expressive cultural and musical agent Hip Hop. By focusing on the Multi-Tribal Hip Hop group WithOut Rezervation (WOR), this dissertation serves to demonstrate the development and persistence of Native identity in Hip Hop.

Ontological Reason

In the late 20th/early 21st century, Native people must still work to educate a broad range of non-Native communities about the different Native histories, cultures and arts. By incorporating the artistic media of the times, in this case Hip Hop, Native artists engage in dialogue with the large non-Native communities locally, nationally and globally. However, this engagement is by

¹ B., Julian. Once Upon A Genocide. New Mexico: SOAR, 1994.

² Kautsky, Karl qtd. in Smith, Andrea. Native Americans and the Christian Right. The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008 (xvii- xviii).

no means fixed or stable.³ As the Hip Hop community continues to grow, its tentacles that have reached into most, if not all major consumer markets on a global scale. These tentacles also find their way into the Native Hip Hop community (Kitwana 15, Basu and Werbner 237 – 259, Garofalo 319 - 351). Or, perhaps, the inverse is the case. The point here is that these very tentacles introduced the non-Native Hip Hop community to Hip Hop created by Native artists, poets, MCs, DJs, graffiti artist and break dancers. Currently, Davey D's on-line Hip Hop resource website credits six pages totaling forty-nine listings of articles and information referencing Native Americans in Hip Hop culture (DaveyD.com reviewed 9 Feb. 2009). The legendary Tupac (2Pac) Shakur offers a very telling quote about the primacy of Native people in Hip Hop: "On the other hand we as persons of color have to remember as was put by the great Indian warrior Geronimo 'the soldiers always had scouts!! You never saw the Calvary go out without a Native American in the Lead.'"⁴

Even with the "street cred" of Tupac, the Hip Hop community still requires a history lesson about Native people. This repeated history lesson has become a birth rite for contemporary Native people. Native Hip Hop artists convey their message with an eye on the education of the non-Native community. These messages speak in multiple voices from a dynamic location of culture within the U.S. and the global arena. Additionally, these messages

³ Andrea Smith discusses the instability of identity in her work building upon Stuart Hall and Foucault as she defines "generative narratology" (xvi – xxviii).

⁴ <<http://www.daveyd.com/pactributb.html>>. Reviewed 20 Nov 2008.

challenge Native identity as it is constructed, deconstructed and re-constructed within Hip Hop. By placing a critical focus on the music of WOR, I demonstrate how this Native Hip Hop group navigates and constructs complex forms of Native identity.

While it is necessary to include some historical background on Hip Hop and the Native diaspora in the urban center, this will not be the central focus of this work. Instead, this dissertation investigates the conjunction of Hip Hop and the Native migration to the urban center and how it is that contemporary Native Hip Hop artists, specifically WOR in this case, create a complex form of identity through this dynamic global medium, Hip Hop.

In the history of Hip Hop there are a number of examples that reveal the presence and persistence of Native identity. At the start of the 1960s, Jerry Lordon's song *Apache* was originally composed as a musical reflection of Western films about Indians. This selection has been sampled and reworked by numerous artists and serves as a living link between Hip Hop culture and the ongoing presence of Native people. *Apache* (mis)represents Native identity and ironically becomes a driving force in Hip Hop. The Village Voice article "Rap, Rage and REDvolution" by Cristina Verán cites a very telling point by Davey D. Cook (aka Davey D.): "There is an unwillingness to give Native American artists credit for expressing, really, what hip-hop is supposed to be

about: the music and the heritage of the people who present it.”⁵ Davey D. continues further not realizing the historic landmark statement that he waxes poetically: “If an artist like Litefoot doesn't come out with a song that has a James Brown sample or an 'Apache' bassline, people aren't trying to hear it.”⁶ This statement is evidence of the (mis)representation of Native identity by the Hip Hop community. This dissertation seeks to contest the hegemonic (mis)representation of Native identity in Hip Hop by critically examining the song/sample *Apache* and four artists/authors through their varied representation of Native identity within this genre.

The Intercultural Expressive Exchange

Hip Hop is a multidisciplinary genre that has its origins in the urban post-industrial New York City community of the Bronx. Originating out of the block parties in the late 1970s South Bronx (Smallwood 172), Hip Hop grew as an expressive vehicle to counter socio-political conditions of oppression for the inner city youth of New York City (Rivera 52 – 53). The two 1979 recordings, “King Tim III” by The Fatback Band and “Rappers Delight” by the Sugarhill Gang, solidified the arrival of Hip Hop (Conyers 181).⁷ The culture of Hip Hop involves the art forms, or “Elements,” (Rivera 50) originally beginning with four

⁵ Verán, Cristina. “Rap, Rage and REDvolution.” *The Village Voice* 4 Mar 2004.

⁶ *ibid.* An analysis of Litefoot alongside WOR will be presented in Chapter 1.

⁷ Africa Bambaataa offers a “Hiphopography Chronological Listing” in James L. Conyers, Jr. *African American Jazz and Rap: Social and Philosophical Examinations of Black Expressive Behavior* (182).

(DJ, MC, breakdancing, graffiti) that have escalated into the present Six Elements of Hip Hop with the addition of aesthetics/clothing and journalism (Watkins 55 – 84).⁸ The collective energy harnessed from this on-going culture has continued to gain local, national and international attention. Hip Hop has been accessed by various cultures as a flexible political agent to debate and critique oppressive colonial strategies in order to establish self-identification and sovereignty.⁹

The history of Native people within the United States is highly dynamic and complex varying with each Native community. Two forms of historical representation generally emerge when discussing Native history: pre-contact (indigenous history) and post-contact (European history). Between the years 1930 – 1960, Native people were subject to a forced diaspora into the urban centers (Niels 1971). This movement led to the “spiritual and ideological battleground” (Niels 121) that began a struggle for self-identification and self-determination in the 1960s that reached a climatic point during the Red Power Movement of the 1970s (Nagel 1997, Cornell 1988). The ongoing political and ideological struggles between Natives and non-Natives (read: EuroAmerican) continue to play themselves out in the representation of Native people in the popular culture of non-Natives. The resistance to Native representation is

⁸ S. Craig Watkins does a very nice job of outlining the arrival of aesthetics and journalism in Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Pop Culture and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement (2005).

⁹ It is in this way that Hip Hop functions as a “generative narratology” as defined by Andrea Smith in Native American and the Christian Right, The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances (xxvi).

based upon sustained cultural (mis)understandings and racist stereotypes. Hip Hop as a postmodern expressive art form allows contemporary Native people, post 1970s, to express a self-representative identity. This dissertation seeks to view how Native artists, specifically WOR, engage the expressive agent of Hip Hop in order to construct a complex Native identity that I note as Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal identity. In doing so, this dissertation demonstrates a form of Native colonial resistance that seeks to advance creative and intellectual sovereignty for Native people.¹⁰

Methodology of Research

The primary research for this dissertation was conducted from 2002 through 2008. The research for this dissertation requires a multidisciplinary approach that reflects the cultural areas under examination. The research for this dissertation includes interviews (personal, phone and email correspondence), interdisciplinary scholarship review of Native and Hip Hop culture, on-line review and critique of Native Hip Hop events and videos, conference presentation including critical feedback from Native scholars, performers and composers, personal attendance to numerous Native cultural events (powwows, cultural days, political events) and audio/visual review and

¹⁰ Robert Warrior in Andrea Smith's Native American and the Christian Right, The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances discusses "intellectual sovereignty" (xxiii – xxiv).

critique of Native artwork (recordings, posters, record art, clothing designs, et al).

Interviews played a significant role in the creation of this dissertation. Numerous hours of personal and phone interviews as well as email correspondence (when other means were not available) offer direct and specific focus on issues and questions that help shape the research. Interviewees included Russell Means (activist, poet, actor), John Trudell (activist, poet, actor), Ernie Paniccioli (photographer, artist, author), Susan Lobo (author, educator) and the lead member of WithOut Rezervation (WOR) Chris LaMarr. The interdisciplinary and scholarly reviews of both Native American and Hip Hop literature offer insight and a critical base for this dissertation. Film criticism, theoretical journals, aesthetic cultural articles, musicological studies and Native cultural, historical, political, artistic books and articles are just some of the sources that assist in formulating the theories that construct and provide the basis of this dissertation.

The on-line review and critique of Native Hip Hop events and videos receive a similar level of attention. The use of the internet by Native Hip Hop artists, and specifically WOR, as a means to communicate and re-construct their expressive identities comes as an added benefit to this research. This inter-active communication allows the conducted research to remain up-to-date with events and input from Native and Hip Hop communities.

Once I gathered enough research, it became useful to present this work to an inclusive academic community. Conference presentations of this and related work began in 2002 and have continued up to the present (2009). The information and critical feedback gained from these presentations assist in the formation and focus of this work on numerous levels. Colleagues offered a critique not only of the presentation and documentation, but also suggested areas of discourse and research for further review and possible integration into this dissertation. Also, at these conferences networking provided new interview possibilities.

It was also necessary to attend regular powwow and cultural events within the Native community. This first hand contact and primary research offered an unspoken verification that this dissertation fulfills a glaring need in the Native community. The hours of active listening, deconstructing and critiquing Native artworks (audio and visual) not only quenched the academic thirst, but also shed a revealing light on the importance of this subject area.

A working lexicon for Native Hip Hop

In this dissertation, I use the term Native, Native American, Indian and American Indian in a consistent manner with those defined by Devon A. Mihesuah in Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about

American Indians (1 – 22).¹¹ Like Gerald Vizenor, Teresia K. Teaiwa and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Mihesuah notes that these terms are inadequate in themselves because they are constructed on a hegemonic sliding scale based on politics and blood quantum (Mihesuah 12).¹² Smith lists numerous identifiers, and their problematic usage, in regard to indigenous people around the world including: First Peoples, Native Peoples, First Nations, People of the Land, Aboriginals, Fourth World Peoples (Smith 6 – 14). The use of the term indigenous “is a way of including the many diverse communities, language groups and nations, each with their own identification within a single grouping” (Smith 6). Though the use of indigenous would be a reasonable identifier for people within the limitations of the United States, I have rather elected to use Native as a qualifying term. This does not undermine the work of Smith, but rather, speaks about Native people who are specifically indigenous to the land within the present borders of the U.S. In doing so, I follow the lines of prescription recognized by Andrew Jolivéte and Teresia K. Teaiwa. Jolivéte recognizes the importance of popular Native culture as a means of actively re-narrating and rearticulating the images of Native people who have been historically exploited through (mis)representation within the U.S. (Jolivéte 6).

¹¹ Another insightful review of Native terminology can be found in Michael Yellow Bird, “What We Want to Be Called: Indigenous Peoples’ Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Identity Labels.” American Indian Quarterly, 23.2 (Spring 1999), 1 – 21.

¹² Gerald Vizenor viii – xvii; Nagel xi – xii. Vizenor goes one step further noting the use of *indian* as a constructed simulation of identity which is still under colonialist control. Given this, for Vizenor, there is no post-colonialism for Native people.

Teaiwa acknowledges the “mobility and fluidity and a dynamism which confounds and resists colonial, nationalist and even post-colonial representations” (Teaiwa 19). Native, in my work, defines a postcolonial ambivalence articulated through a dynamic cultural, intellectual and political space realized within the internal diasporas of the U.S. This ambivalence affords a flexible re-presentation of identity constructed through the ideology of self-determination. Throughout this dissertation reference is made to a specific tribe whenever possible.

My use of the terms, Tribal, Inter-Tribal, Multi-Tribal as terms of identity representation should not be viewed as exclusive. The current tenor of indigenous studies, 2007-9, presents an argument based within *postcoloniality*¹³ that strives to decolonize indigenous history and establish a political space and place for indigenous identity (Bruyneel xvii-xix). Electing to use the base-term “Tribal”, I do not re-iterate the colonial and political connotations of this term. Rather, I employ this term as a point of departure from its limitations. This dissertation articulates a release from structured notions of identity fixed within the dominant hegemony of the West. The term “Tribal” assists in re-presenting the fluidity of Native identity.¹⁴ This re-presentation is a strategy designed to usurp and reverse the infused political implications of this term for indigenous people. By redefining this term “Tribal,”

¹³ Italics in the original.

¹⁴ Chapter 3 of this dissertation develops the terms “Tribal”, “Inter-Tribal” and “Multi-Tribal”.

I establish a flexible space and place for indigenous identity that may be defined further through self-determination.

This dissertation contends with issues of representation. Frequently, I employ the inverse of representation, “(mis)representation.” This offers an alternate reading of how a subject presents a distorted perspective. This reading demonstrates the parallel meanings, colonial and postcolonial, that are being negotiated within a single work.

The deconstructionist theory “signifyin’” used in this dissertation follows Henry Louis Gates Jr.’s definition. Signifyin’:

functions to redress an imbalance of power, to clear a space, rhetorically. To achieve occupancy in the desired space, the Monkey rewrites the received order by exploiting the Lion’s hubris and his inability to read the figurative other other than as the literal. Writers Signify on each other’s text by rewriting the received textual tradition. This sort of Signifyin(g) revision serves, if successful, to create a space for the revisiting text. It also alters fundamentally the way we read the tradition, by defining the relation of the text at had to the tradition (Gates 94).

Samuel Floyd describes Signifyin’ as:

a way of saying on thing and meaning another; it is a reinterpretation, a metaphor for the revision of previous texts and figures; it is tropological thought, repetition with difference, the obscuring of meaning – all to achieve or reverse power, to improve situations, and to achieve pleasing results for the signifier (qtd in Perry 61).

From Gates and Floyd, signifyin', in this dissertation, is noted as the ability to re-read a text for political gain allowing Native artists to re-present identity in a fluid fashion.¹⁵

Throughout this dissertation I place "Hip Hop" with proper capitalization in order to signify that, at this point in history (2009), Hip Hop is understood as a global culture that includes a multiplicity of voices and perspectives. For the late 20th century, Hip Hop continues to be an active postmodern agent re-defined in its own terms. However, in Hip Hop scholarship and pedagogy, there still lacks codification in regard to the use of capitalization (hip hop) or hyphen (hip-hop or Hip-Hop). The cultural significance of this codification is not the intent or focus of this dissertation.

Hip Hop terminology is consistent with its use in the field with such terms as: emcee (MC), disc jockey or deejay (DJ). This dissertation uses names, nicknames, taglines or other means of Hip Hop cultural reference to artists and authors. Though I have worked endlessly to find the actual names of artists who are more easily acknowledged by their Hip Hop surname, I use pseudonyms, when necessary, for ease in identification across the varied scholarship disciplines that encompass the arena of Hip Hop pedagogy.

Chapter Outlines

¹⁵ The philosophy of signifyin' will be utilized more in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Chapter 1 describes the diaspora of Native people as a result of the Relocation and Termination policy of the 1950/60s. This chapter explores the conjunction of this migration with the emergence of Hip Hop in the 1970s. The diaspora of Native people into the urban center assisted in the creation and development of Native Hip Hop. Hip Hop then became an active expressive agent for contemporary Native identity. The Hip Hop group Without Rezervation (WOR) engages their Native cultures with cross-cultural connections and influences from the growing body of Hip Hop in the 1980/90s. The chapter uses aural examples from WOR to define the points presented.

As stated earlier in this introduction, the Native presence in Hip Hop is a cornerstone of Hip Hop culture. Chapter 2 is largely a case study dealing with the (mis)representation and re-presentation of Native identity within Hip Hop. The chapter realizes the dialogical importance of Native identity within Hip Hop and relocates Native identity through interdisciplinary techniques that problematize the cultural hegemony and stratified stereotypes of history. As stated previously, this chapter deconstructs references to Native identity by four influential figures within the history of Hip Hop: Pow Wow, Professor Griff, Kevin Powell/Ernie Paniccioli and Cowboy. A deconstructive review of *Apache* presents both a racialized perspective of Native identity as well as a liberating device for resistance.

Chapter 3 tracks the development of three fluid forms of contemporary Native identity that I refer to as Tribal, Inter-Tribal, and Multi-Tribal. Here, I present how these identities are integrated and are useful in recognizing a fluid form of identity for contemporary Native people. This chapter investigates and deconstructs the work of Stephen Cornell, Joan Nagel, Donald Fixico, and others, who have advanced the scholarship within the area of identity construction for contemporary Native people. The intent here is not to diminish the work of these highly regarded scholars, but to illustrate how these three identity formations, Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal, can be incorporated in this present body of scholarship to enhance the work of future generations. The chapter applies these identity formations to selected examples from WOR to illustrate their use and functionality.

Chapter 4 investigates how WOR signifies on Hip Hop culture through lyrics, technical devices and samples/scratching. An analysis of selected lyrics and their literary forms explores how issues of stereotyping, gender issues, sexual politics, oral tradition, and the construction of personal/tribal histories are re-presented. The chapter explores the varied technical devices from Hip Hop culture (Sermonizing, Flow/Rupture, Cut/Mix, Layering) and how each are incorporated within the work of WOR.

The final chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 5, summarizes the important points articulated in this dissertation along with examining some of

the shortcomings within the current work of WOR. Possible directions and proposed future research is presented as a method of composing a critical field of Native Hip Hop.

In one respect, this dissertation is a large case study of WOR, demonstrating how this Native Hip Hop group examines their Native identity within the genre of Hip Hop. Questions arise such as: “is there Indian Hip Hop?”, “what does it sound like?”, “why would Indians want to get into Hip Hop?”, “what are they trying to say?”, “isn’t all Indian music drum and singing?”, and the list can continue from there. These questions of authenticity and identity construction are confronted just as the undercurrent of racism and segregation is brought into light for critical examination. The transposing energy that affords a drum to (break)beat and a jingle dress to shimmy while listening to Public Enemy is the same signifyin’ energy that Chris LaMarr captures when he states, “Are You Ready For W.O.R.?”¹⁶

¹⁶ WithOut Rezervation, Are You Ready For War?, Canyon Records, 1992/4.

Chapter 1. Raps to Re-present

“The Earth is breathing through the
streets.”

Linda Hogan (Chickasaw)¹

This chapter outlines of how the diaspora of Native people to the urban center in the mid 20th century helped establish a cross-cultural dialogue that fostered the development of Native Hip Hop. Examples from WithOut Rezervation (WOR) will help in clarify these points.

An outline of the Native diaspora into the urban centers (1934 – 1971)

Movement for Native people is not uncommon. In the history of the U.S.-Native relations, there have been two major diasporas of Native people. The policies that led to the construction of these two diasporas support an assimilation campaign designed to eradicate and eventually terminate Native people (Churchill 147 - 161). The reservation system for Native people in the United States begin to be formalized in 1778 – 1780 after the Second Continental Congress established an agency to deal with Indian affairs in 1775. After 1778, Congress established federal Indian reservations by federal treaty or statute, conferring to the occupying tribe(s) recognized title over lands and the resources within their boundaries.²

¹ Qtd. in McMaster, Gerald and Clifford E. Trafzer (ed). Native Universe: Voices of Indian America. Washington D.C.: NMAI, Smithsonian, 2004.

² In 1789 The U.S. Congress placed the Indian Affairs Office in the Department of War. In 1832 Congress formed a Commissioner of Indian Affairs position. The Office of Indian Affairs

In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act thus setting in motion the first forced diaspora of Native people within these United States (Fixico ix - xiv). Native people were then removed from their original homelands to the “Indian Territory” west of the Mississippi into Oklahoma. During the tenure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Commissioner John Collier (1933 – 45) the “Indian New Deal” was constructed to encourage Native people to reorganize tribal governments, to become more self-sustaining, and to develop the confidence to integrate and assimilate into mainstream America.

However positive this appeared on paper, the actual results of the legislation led to the psychological, economic, spiritual and cultural devastation of Native people. The inception of the Howard-Wheeler or Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1934 assisted in the political restructuring of the Native political system that would then encourage the other components of the Indian New Deal and establish a retribalization of Native politics that would have a lasting affect on Native identity. (Fixico xiii – xiv, 25 – 26; Neils 5 – 13).

WWII provided Native soldiers cultural contact and a view into mainstream America.³ Native veterans returning to their reservations after WWII found challenging social and economic conditions. Donald Fixico

was formed on March 11, 1824 and remained in the War Department until transferred into the Department of the Interior in 1849. The Office was renamed in 1947 The Bureau of Indian Affairs. <<http://www.doi.gov/>>. Reviewed 26 Jan 2009.

³ Donald Fixico points out that Native soldiers fought in WWI, Korean and Vietnam wars as well (Fixico 6).

recounts that “[e]conomic conditions on reservations offered very few employment opportunities for Indian veterans. Extreme poverty pervaded the reservations, and the return of soldiers strained the already limited resources” (Fixico 8 – 9). Native veterans, and curious youth, sought a means to offset these economic conditions (Fixico 9). Stephen Cornell points to the large-scale economic pressures in the post-WWII era that assisted in the urban migration of Native people (Cornell 129 - 132).

Bureaucrats misunderstood the experiences of Native veterans and their need to assimilate into mainstream American culture. This resulted in the legal decision to move forward with the assimilation process (Fixico 12). The Indian Relocation Program of 1954 focused on job placement and expanded opportunities through BIA placement programs, including the adoption of the Indian Vocational Training Act (1957).⁴ This program assisted in relocating Native men off of the reservation and into urban centers such as Los Angeles, Oakland/San Francisco, San Jose, Minneapolis, Oklahoma, Seattle, Dallas, Cleveland, Salt Lake City, Denver et al (Churchill 140 – 147; Cornell 130; Fixico xiii – xiv, 25 – 26, 134 – 157; Nagel 187 – 205; Neils 14 - 45). The displacement from the reservation into the urban centers is the second

⁴ To deflect the negative image of the relocation program and reinforce the importance of vocational training and employment assistance, the “relocation program” changed its name to “employment assistance” around 1957 (Fixico 139, 145).

diaspora of Native people.⁵ The American political sentiment of this movement is found in a phrase from the Eisenhower years: “The sooner we can get the Indians into cities the sooner the government can get out of the Indian business” (Cornell 131).

The Indian Claims Commission (ICC) continued the assimilation process. Originally part of the IRA, the ICC bill was signed into law by President Truman in 1946 “to settle all tribal claims against the United States [that] would financially liberate Native Americans from dependency on federal programs” (Fixico 27). In reality, the Indian Claims Commission Act presented a direct assimilation process of Native people into mainstream America.⁶ The Zimmerman Plan, outlined by Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Zimmerman, was enacted on February 8, 1947. This plan divided Native “tribes into three categories, depending upon...their readiness for withdrawal of federal trust status” thus becoming a foundation for tribal termination that would be realized in 1950/60s (Fixico 33).

In August of 1953, President Eisenhower signed into law Public-Law 280 (P.L.-280) that confirmed the transfer of jurisdiction over tribal lands to state governments in California, Oregon (except for Warm Springs Reservation), Nebraska, Minnesota (except for Red Lake Reservation), and

⁵ Though Native men are identified here specifically, Cornell, Fixico, Nagel and Neils discuss women and family involvement in this relocation process.

⁶ The ICC eventually ceased on April 10, 1957 in an effort to support independence and self-reliance for Native people (Fixico 107 – 108).

Wisconsin (except for Menominee Reservation) (Fixico 111 – 133).⁷ This transference of power to state from federal jurisdiction of Indian affairs was seen as a method to spur Indian self-determination, but in reality this political strategy was designed to terminate Native people. The Indian New Deal policies, the IRA, ICC, Zimmerman Plan and P.L.-208 are recognized together as the Termination Policies that peaked in the 1950s and lasted until the 1960s. The Relocation Plan and the Termination Policies capitalized on shifting post-WWII Native attitudes, urban migration and economic growth. Donald Fixico confirms that, “Relocation took its place beside termination as the second goal of federal Indian policy in the 1950s” (Fixico135).

In the urban center Native people came face-to-face with loneliness, isolation, depression, and substandard living conditions with the creation of Native ghettos. Substance abuse and alcoholism became methods of coping with the stress and struggle that came through this disenfranchisement from reservation and family contact. From this point of devastation, Native people found solace in what has become coined as the “Indian Bars”. These locations offered more than a mere alcoholic fix for Native people. It was in these locations that Native people could gather, share stories and culture, and, ultimately, find a sense of place within a complex urban society.

⁷ In his chapter on P.L.-280, Donald Fixico goes into depth of how this law affected the eventual termination of the Klamath and Menominee, thereby articulating the actual intent of this, and similar, legislation. The Klamath have since then reacquired their tribal status in 1986 and the Menominee in 1973.

Importantly, in these bars Native people were first introduced to non-Native popular music (Lechusza 2002). As an act of resistance to the bar scene, and the possible complete annihilation of Native people who had relocated to the urban center, Indian Cultural Centers were formed and a revival of the powwow was witnessed in urban centers (Fixico 156, Lobo 74 – 80, Lowrey 277 – 290). Coupled with the emergence of the Indian Bar and the Cultural Centers came the creation of the American Indian Movement in 1968⁸ and the Red Power Movement in the early 1970s (Johnson 86 – 90). As Johnson notes, the Red Power Movement emerged after the success of the Black Power Movement and the Chicano Movement of the 1960s (Johnson 86).

The Occupation of Alcatraz Island on November 20, 1969 came at a critical juncture in Native history that would help secure Native inter-tribal (multi-tribal)⁹ relationships and visibility and serve as a launching pad for future Native agency. In the 18 months of the Occupation of Alcatraz Island (November 20, 1969 – June 11, 1971) Native people throughout the U.S. were able to come together and foster relationships that previously were severed due to the Termination policies enacted by the Federal Government. Although this movement began as an urban Indian movement the focus was not limited

⁸ <<http://www.aimovement.org/index.html>>. Reviewed 6 Feb 2009.

⁹ The terms Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

to urban Indian conditions, but rather drew national and international attention to Native issues in general.¹⁰

Through this activism the urban center became the location for a dynamic exchange of Native cultures within a growing Native population (Fixico 123 - 189, Nagel 114) thereby leading to a resurgence and re-presentation of Native traditions and cultures (Johnson 96 - 150). Though upon their first arrival to the urban center Native people were exposed to other forms of creative expressions from cultures both Native and non-Native, it was not until this period that the appropriation of these expressive styles for their own purposes became viable.

Ironically the federal government created relocation as a means to terminate Native people on every account: political, cultural, historical and, literally, personal. Joan Nagel observes that relocation and the application of assimilation enabled an ethnic and cultural resurgence as if “the very processes thought to reduce or destroy ethnic distinctiveness can, ironically, become the means by which ethnicity is regenerated and renewed” (Nagel 114).

Native activism was firmly rooted in the San Francisco Bay Area. Though other locations would play a role in Native activism (i.e. Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Denver, Albuquerque, Phoenix and Seattle), the San

¹⁰ Dr. Troy Johnson is the leading scholar on the Occupation of Alcatraz Island. His work thoroughly documents the history and developments of this important point in Native history.

Francisco Bay area with a post-Alcatraz sense of activism and Native pride would eventually play an important part in the evolution of Native Hip Hop. In the early 1970s, Native people took active control of this urban space where cultural connections were situated. These Native cultural exchanges, or Inter-Tribal¹¹ connections, expanded through the cultural influence of the (large) surrounding non-Native communities.

In order to understand the expansion of space within the urban center that Native people occupied, we are assisted by Henri Lefebvre who notes three theoretical definitions of space: spatial practice, representations of space and representational space (Lefebvre 38 – 39). Simply stated, the spatial practice within a particular society's perceived space can be a method through which social spaces are formed. Spatial practice, then, is the daily routine of individuals and the networks created within a society. The spatial practice of these "inhabitants" and "users" seeks only to symbolize their shared social life. Representations of space recognize the symbiotic correlation between "what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre 38). "[W]hen we create representations of space" Lefebvre notes, "we do this through the conceptualized arts of scientist, planners, urbanist, technocratic subdividers and social engineers in the production of scale models and the plans used to bring these models into actual operation" (Lefebvre 38). Representational

¹¹ The terms "Tribal," "Inter-Tribal," and "Multi-Tribal" will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

space occurs as a result of cultural and subcultural groups. Lefebvre states, “[t]hus representational spaces may be said...to tend toward more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs” (Lefebvre 39). With this theory of “space” one can analyze how Native people actively took possession of their space as articulated by all three of these theories. “Spatial practice” is articulated through the daily interaction with ones Native culture. As we will see in chapter three, this space is defined by the three identity formations Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal. An example of the “representation of space” is the political activism and dynamism of the Red Power Movement. This form of political representation of space continues to exist as a post-Red Power Movement (post 1970s) influencing younger generations. WithOut Rezervation identifies these elder Native activists and performers including John Trudell, Nilak Butler and Russell Means¹² on the recording *Are You Ready for W.O.R.?* Significantly, these activist were all part of the Red Power Movement.

Finally, the cross-cultural connection between the Native and non-Native communities creates “representational space.” It is within this rhizome of cultural fabric that Native transposition of non-Native cultural artifacts

¹² Samples of John Trudell are on “Dead Indians,” “Born at 18,” “Defend the Territory,” and “Red, White, and Blue”. Samples of Nilak Butler are on “Are you ready for WOR?”. Russell Means is noted by Chris LaMarr as giving “props” for this recording. (phone interview with LaMarr 3 Feb 2009) WithOut Rezervation, *Are You Ready For War?*, Canyon Records, 1992/4.

become visible and function as an agent for expression. The dynamic intersection, dialogue, negotiation and cross-cultural connection between culture (Native and non-Native) and music (popular, namely Hip Hop) affords the agency of following Native generations to embrace American popular culture, transposing pop cultural signifiers through an active Native identity. In her work with the indigenous Mapuche people of South America Andrea Avaria Saavedra reminds us of this importance:

that spatial mobility comes from a holistic vision integrating all kinds of different cultural traits that are part of cultural/social/political particularities of what it means to be Mapuche (Native). Spatial mobility creates fundamental changes in existing relationship and work. (Saavedra 56- 57)

Through the application of these concepts, space (cultural, social and political) is re-contextualized. With Native/non-Native communities, we begin to see how Native people transpose non-Native expressive culture in order to survive and to ensure self-determination within the urban center. Following the era of Native activism in the 1970s, the late 1980s gave rise to the nascent genre of Hip Hop that became a vehicle for creative and critical Native investigation.

Cross-cultural connections in Hip Hop

In discussing the blending of expressive traditions, Joy Harjo recounts the important connections between Native and African cultures at the earliest developmental stage of Jazz history when she states that “Native people were

there too when everything was going down in Congo Square” (Harjo 2007). As early as 1840, Native musical references were being integrated into Western concert music (P. Deloria 205). Scholars have traced a significant amount of Native musical references, identity and style inhabited within Western concert music during the period of 1890 – 1920 (Fletcher 1898, Cadman 1915, Nettle 1953/1961, Clapman 1966, Browner 1997/2000/2002). Further, it was during this time period that Native musical performers (instrumental and vocal) were beginning introduced to non-Native audiences through two streams of music: traditional Native music and Western concert music (P. Deloria 204 – 223).

The Wild West Shows introduced traditional Native music to the non-Native audience.¹³ These “traditional Native American musics” were often distorted to protect the “spirit” of the song (Browner 277 – 280). This manner of operation I note as “distortion-for-protection”. This term recognizes a liberal musical opposition to dominant forms of oppression, colonialism, assimilation and other termination strategies. This distortion-for-protection included rhythmic variation, melodic adjustment and word substitution.¹⁴ Virginia Giglio

¹³ Overwhelmingly the music that was viewed during this period was from the Southern Plains tribes (i.e., Ponca, Omaha, Osage, et al). Pisani, Michael. Exotic Sounds in the Native Land: portrayals of North American Indians in Western Music (1996), Sounds Indian: Imagining Native American in Music (2005) qtd. in P. Deloria 274.

¹⁴ Means, Russell. Personal Interview. 2 Aug 2003. As we will see in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, rhythmic variation and melodic adjustment become the integral components of the sample “Apache” that itself continues the line of distortion-for-protection. Word substitution is discussed through a critical reading of the text by WOR in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

recognizes this same operation in Southern Cheyenne music. Giglio refers to the “musical sense” that the distortion-for-protection produced making the songs “similar enough to [be] identifiable” (Giglio 144). The rhythmic variation, melodic adjustment and/or word substitution, for Giglio, was applied most often to songs that were religious or culturally sacred (Giglio 48, 64, 116).

There is a similar discussion stemming from the practice of Native music transcription and its use in Western concert music. Native song collecting reinforces EuroAmerican musical hegemony is imposing Western musical constrictions upon Native music.¹⁵ These incorrect transcriptions presented as “authentic” Native music (P. Deloria 191 – 210, Browner 280). In this arena, the distortion-for-protection technique can be seen in the performers themselves who began to take an active possession of their musical re-presentation (P. Deloria 207 – 218). Visual re-presentation (photos, dress), concert programming and performing venues are only a few of the points of contest for Native performers at this time. What resonates through these actions is the intent to assert Native self-determination and the necessary rupture from a colonial assimilationist model of Native music. It is this anti-assimilationist social consciousness that affected Native expression in music prior to WWII. This social consciousness persisted with the movement of Native people into the urban center after WWII. During the 1960/70s,

¹⁵ The most notable musical inaccuracies occur in melody and rhythm. The Native concept of Form if forced into a Western model just as harmony is forced upon Native melodies and represented as being “natural” (P. Deloria 201).

Native social activism was sonically realized in Native rock with such bands as the Jaggars (1968), Redbone (1970) and XIT (1971). In the late 1970s/early 1980s, Hip Hop established a flexible expressive art form that actively countered the constrictions of cultural oppression. Capturing the pulse of Native sovereignty and self-determination that was established during the 1960/70s, the generation of the 1980s transferred this attitude into Hip Hop.

In this section we will see that Native Hip Hop converges with African-American Hip Hop and grows into a strong musical movement in the late 1980s. This section will also examine how Native Hip Hop transposes the signifiers of Hip Hop culture into Native representations that reflect cultural issues that are ongoing and in flux within the Native communities. Finally, we will see how WOR constructs a complex form of Native identity that extends through the transformation of Hip Hop.

An outline of the History of Hip Hop: Bronx to Los Angeles (1970 – 1988)

Hip Hop culture has a complex origin. Though it is not the intent of this document to outline the entire evolution of Hip Hop, it is necessary to identify the origins of this genre and culture to see how it has influenced, and has become influenced by, Native artists. Most Hip Hop scholars point to the work by the Watts Prophets (Los Angeles), The Last Poets (New York), Gil Scott-Heron (New York) and Nikki Giovanni at the start of the 1970s as a precursor

to the creation of Hip Hop (Perkins 1996, George 1998, Toop 2000, Fricke and Aherarn 2002, Keyes 2002, Rivera 2003, Cepeda 2004). Their street conscious jive, even paced rhymes, toasting and boasting poems, Afro-centric rhetoric and socio-political awareness laced with bongo, conga, funk and soul underpinnings captured a literary tradition derived from Amiri Baraka, Langston Hughes, Cab Calloway and the Black Church. The Watts Prophets and the Last Poets both embraced the free-jazz and musical experimentation of the early 1970s by John Coltrane, Miles Davis, Archie Shepp, Max Roach, et al. seeking to move their own literary works into new territories of personal and cultural expression.

The year 1979 gave birth to two origins of Hip Hop: The Fatback Band “King Tim III” and the Sugar Hill Gang’s popularly successful “Rapper’s Delight” (Toop 81, Watkins 15). “King Tim III” by the Fatback Band was a B-side work that referenced a disc jockey personality. Common for the era, many disc jockeys began using some form of rhyming and rapping to bridge musical selections on the radio. This created excitement and interest in their programs and promoted interest in their respective radio stations. This technique is what caught the attention of the public, but was not interesting enough to hear repeatedly on a record selection. Rahiem (Guy Williams) is quoted as stating:

‘No! Nobody wants to hear this suff on a record’. Then the first record that we all heard was “King Tim III”. It was rap, but it

wasn't anyone who was known to us. As far as we knew, we (GrandMaster Flash and the Furious Five) were the best doing it at the time, and we felt like this "King Tim III" guy, he's kinda wack. He's not a real MC. (Fricke and Ahearn 201)

For this, and the fact that it was a B-side selection, this innovative work by the Fatback Band took a backseat to the ever-popular work by the Sugar Hill Gang. The Sugar Hill Gang was the creative product of Sylvia and Joe Robinson in 1979. "Rapper's Delight" was a success from the start. Using live musicians to record sampled bits from Chic's "Good Times" and the never-tireless promotional skills and work of the Robinson's, "Rappers' Delight" found its way from the hands of radio DJ's to the ears of the late 70s youth. This established rap as a pop culture genre in the making.

In 1982, after acknowledging the success of "Rapper's Delight", Sylvia Robinson approached GrandMaster Flash and the Furious Five to produce and release their now infamous "The Message". "The Message" may not have been most successful recording for Sugar Hill Records (it only reached sixty-two on the pop charts and four on the R&B charts), but this work introduced Conscious Rap, or Conscious Hip Hop, between 1987 and 1994 (Watkins 21). "The Message" sparked Africa Bambaataa's call-to-action to establish his Zulu Nation.

Africa Bambaataa (Kevin Donovan) was no stranger to the streets of New York. He was a member of the Black Spades street gang and entertained a life of crime and punishment throughout his youth. During his

mid youth Bambaataa had the idea to use the popular music of the time to help his gang brothers break the endless cycle of violence. Bambaataa borrowed the name “Zulu” from the Hollywood movie and began to work toward anti-violence and unification of the youth through education and community involvement. Bambaataa originally identified his movement as the “warriors for the community” that began to take shape in 1974, and provided a foundation for Hip Hop by 1979 (Watkins 23). Bambaataa was a powerful DJ who found his niche in weaving tracks together rather than developing scratch techniques like Grand Master Flash (Joseph Saddler) or Grand Wizard Theodore (Theodore Livingston). Bambaataa was known for his large, powerful sound system that was only equaled to the Herculords (speakers) of Kool DJ Herc (Clive Campbell) and the Wheels of Steel (turntables) of GrandMaster Flash. “Planet Rock” (Tommy Boy Productions 1984) secured Bambaataa’s strength within the Hip Hop community.

Around 1971, Graffiti started to take hold as an art form for youthful expression in New York. It is widely held that Graffiti was part of the culture during the Parties and street events that took place around the Bronx starting as early as 1966.¹⁶ Pistol, an early Hip Hop graffiti artist recalls, “graffiti...it was like a virus. They (New York Police Department) had no way of controlling it; every subway line was completely covered. We had our way

¹⁶ <<http://www.daveyd.com/historyofgraf.html>>. Reviewed 15 Feb 2009.

with it. We just saw it as art and a way to get recognition” (Fricke and Ahearn 13). It was not uncommon for groups of young graffiti artists to gather at the Writer’s Corner (149th Street Grand Concourse) and share works with those master artists of this genre: Blade, Bom5 (Ray Abrahante), Comet, Phase 2 and Taki 183 (Demitrius)¹⁷ (Fricke and Ahearn 275 – 283).¹⁸

In this same period, c. 1969, breakdancing became a notable component of Hip Hop culture. Like graffiti, breakdancing can be traced back to the dance/gang culture of the mid-1960s and took a strong hold at the start of the 1970s. Breakdancing emerged primarily in the Puerto Rican community in New York City in 1975 – 1976 as gang violence was noticeably fading out. The primary B-Boy (break-boy/girl, boogie-boy/girl, Bronx-boy/girl) Crew was the Rock Steady Crew whose members included: Jimmy D, JoJo (Santiago Torres), Kevin Swift, Jorge “Pop Master Fabel” Pabon, Frosty Freeze (Wayne Frost) and Crazy Legs (Richard Colon). (Rivera 50 – 58) Beginning in 1982, the Rock Steady Crew gained notoriety as breakdancing had a revival in films such as *Wild Style* (1982), *Style Wars* (1984), *Beat Street* (1984), *Breakin’* (1984), *Breakin’ II: Electric Boogaloo* (1984) and *Flash Dance* (1984) (Rivera 72).

¹⁷ These artists have worked to protect their real names. I respect this history by noting them by their artist “tag” name. The exception is Taki 183, who was identified in a New York Times article in 1971 and allowed his first name to be released, and Bom5 who worked with Africa Bambaataa.

¹⁸ It was out of this inspirational time that Ernie Paniciolli became involved with photographing these graffiti art works and documenting the evolution of Hip Hop.

By 1974, the art of scratching, beat juggling, punch phrasing and break spinning had been developed and were starting to be used with more eloquence and technical skill. The Master DJ's who pioneered this genre are: Grand Master Flash (Joseph Saddler), Grand Wizard Theodore (Theodore Livingston), Kool DJ Herc (Clive Campbell) (George 16 – 21, Fricke and Ahearn 56 – 67).

Conscious Hip Hop began in the 1980s. In 1987, KRS-One (Kris Parker) released his first recording, "Criminal Minded" (Boogie Down Productions, 1986). This selection featured a polished use of beats, samples and the rhetoric of the streets that spoke to performers and a developing audience. KRS-One (Knowledge Reigns Supreme Over Nearly Everyone) (Watkins 241) was pushed into the limelight along with another heavy hitting rapper of the time, Chuck D.

Chuck D (Carlton Douglas Ridenhour) began the eminently important conscious rap group Public Enemy in 1987. The Long Island group released their debut recording that same year, "Yo! Bum Rush the Show" (Def Jam Records, 1987). The music and the message of this song is similar to the first release Criminal Minded by KRS-One, with its use of hard-hitting rhetoric and fast paced samples, creating music that was much more developed and complex. Public Enemy's following release, "It Takes A Nation of Millions To Hold Us Back" (Def Jam Records, 1988) found equal success with their

creative use of musical genres like funk, avant-garde and noise coupled with abrasive and socially charged lyrics. From this recording Public Enemy created the bedrock of socially conscious Hip Hop that would inspire the next wave of Hip Hop.

On the West Coast, the Bay area developed a very important style of Hip Hop called Mobb Music. This Oakland based style is known for its use of synthesizers, low bass grooves and digital drum machines. Different from the looping and sample based music on the East Coast, Mobb Music did maintain a recurring theme noted throughout Hip Hop culture; a focus on the “reality” of the day and the necessity to express this perspective through the vehicle of Hip Hop (Murray 15). Too Short (Todd Anthony Shaw), aka 2Short, Too \$hort, is noted for this style in his releases on the 75 Girls label (1983/85) and Jive Records (1987). It was this style that brought about the early incorporation of the blues and funk that would then inspire the Southern California Gangsta Style (G-Funk) a few years later (Toop 185).

Chicano Hip Hop had already begun in the 1980s. The seminal Kid Frost (Arturo Molina Jr.) began his career in East Los Angeles with selections such as “Mexican Border” (Ruthless Records, 1984 promo), “Commando Rock” (Baja Records, 1984) but really caught national attention with his 1990 release “La Raza” (Virgin Records, 1990). Kid Frost, who by 1990 was known as Frost, was accompanied in 1991 by Skatmaster Tate (who also crossed

over into the subgenre of Skate Hip Hop inspiring the Beastie Boys), Mellow Man Ace (Ulpiano Sergio Reyes) (1992) and Proper Dos (Ernie Gonzalez)(1992) (Toop 187). What distinguished these artists was the use of salsa, Cuban rhythms, reggae, jazz samples along with Spanish and English text/slang that layered, like their musical cousins to the East, the rhetoric of the street. It was in this same Los Angeles area a little further north in Compton and South Central that things began to shake even more.

South Central Los Angeles is recognized as the birthplace of Gangster Rap (Kelly 118 – 158). Noting KRS-One's "Criminal Minded" and the Philadelphia centered Schooly D's "P.S.K." (Park Side Killers) (Booggie Down Records 1985), "Smoke Some Kill" (Jive Records, 1987), Ice-T released his debut "Rhyme Pays" (Sire Record Company, 1987). Ice-T (Tracy Marrow) used his debut work to speak about conditions in South Central Los Angeles and presented the sheer hard facts about life as a gangster. The work of Ice-T inspired the infamous gangster (gangsta) rap group N.W.A. (Niggaz with Attitude) that included members: Easy-E (Eric Wright), MC Ren (Lorenzo Patterson), Ice Cube (O'Shea Jackson), DJ Yella (Antoine Carraby) and Dr. Dre (Andrew Young). N.W.A. took the energy and fury expressed by Ice-T and expanded on this with their ground shattering "Straight Outta Compton" (Priority Records, 1988). It was this recording that helped establish gangsta rap and placed Los Angeles on the Hip Hop map. The rage and fury filled

lyrics were backed by hard thumping bass lines and funk samples that borrowed from the best: James Brown, George Clinton, Sly and the Family Stone, Rick James, Ohio Players, et al. “Straight Outta Compton” borrowed Mobb Music’s use of synthesizers and low bass that lead to the coining of G-Funk (Gangsta Funk). This genre was known for its autobiographical lyrics that attempted to dispel myths about the street. Ironically, it was this same level of “O.G.” (Original Gangsta) style of rap that caught the attention of youth who would by the 1990s flood the commercial and mass market making the O.G. style another Hip Hop genre for sale.

By 1988, Native Hip Hop began to be recognized through the active integration, influence and inspiration of Hip Hop culture. The act, and art, of transposing Hip Hop signifiers required the Native Hip Hop artist to be involved in a process of transformation and re-presentation. Similarly, Janet Berlo notes that contemporary Inuit artists successfully bypass the formation and articulation of a static identity by the (larger) governing body through artistic creativity, balancing of self-determination and traditional functions of culture with a sense of the Western art market (Berlo 309). This new Inuit art appropriates modern art styles and techniques including sculpture, drawing and graphic art. These artistic works “transformed in both discourse and practice [are able] to express their active [rather than passive] relations” to the larger non-Inuit community (Graburn 150). This similar process of traditional

through the contemporary transformation is seen with Native art forms including Southwestern pottery (Wade 1986), Pacific Northwest transformation masks (Holm and Reid 1975) and Alaskan Native basket weavers (Lee 2003).

This method of creative expression allowed these contemporary Native artists the ability to control their social and cultural relationships internally (Tribal) as well as externally (Inter-/Multi-Tribal).¹⁹ Cultural difference offered a means of discourse and a creative entry, not limitation, within the expressive arts. For these Native artists, then, the space and method of identity representation, and eventual re-presentation, were self-defined, establishing an active point of cultural agency. Graburn confirms this method of identity re-presentation and transposition through artist expression when he stated, “[o]bjects, with their multivalent potentials, seem uniquely able to carry out such symbolic projects” (Graburn 150).²⁰ This is akin to the process WOR established, and continues to undertake, as they shape their creative work using the genre of Hip Hop.

WOR takes active possession of the spatial dialectic present within Hip Hop transposing these internal/external relationships in order to construct a complex form of Tribal identity. Through this process, WOR is also able to communicate current relevant issues to the (large) non-Native community in a

¹⁹ These three concepts, Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

²⁰ Graburn, Nelson H.H. “Authentic Inuit Art: Creation and Exclusion in the Canadian North.” *Journal of Material Culture* 9.2, 2004: 141-159.

manner similar to those African-American artists who have come through the rank and file of Hip Hop. WOR supercedes the historic limitations prescribed to Native people through the dynamic integration of Hip Hop from the 1980s.

Toward the formation of Native Hip Hop (1988 – 1994)

Building upon the inter-cultural connections between the African-American and Native communities in the urban center Native Hip Hop begins to develop within the late 1980s, capitalizing upon the energy and activism of the Red Power Movement from the 1970s. As stated previously, Hip Hop began to be developed as a complete artistic movement in 1979 and led to full-scale popular recognition by 1982 (Watkins 9 – 33). Native Hip Hop, around 1988, has similar origins in both Los Angeles/Long Beach and the San Francisco Bay Area in California. Grey Paul Davis, aka Litefoot, acknowledges Los Angeles and Long Beach as being centrally important locations for his development as a Hip Hop artist beginning around 1988. The literary and musical works of the Native poets, musicians and performers like John Trudell, Floyd “Red Crow” Westerman, Charlie Hill et al, in these multi-cultural cities inspired a generation of Native youth in the post-Alcatraz Island Occupation era (post-1971) (Lechusza 2002).

The original members of the Native Hip Hop group WithOut Rezervation (Kevin Nez, Corey Aranaydo, Mike Marin and Chris LaMarr) all originate from

the San Francisco Bay area and continue to recognize this location as an important genesis of their work within the Hip Hop community that eventually extended into the Native community.²¹ WOR first begins to form around the mid 1980s in the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, California. It was here in this Indian cultural center that they began to share thoughts, music and individual interest in Hip Hop. Just as Grey Paul Davis refers to the origin of Native Hip Hop in Southern California in 1988, Chris LaMarr of WOR acknowledges the development of Native Hip Hop in the Bay area in this same year with the complete formation of WOR as an underground Hip Hop group (LaMarr phone interview 14 Dec 2008).

Both WOR and Litefoot produced their first Hip Hop works in October/November 1988. However, it is not until 1992 that these artists find larger success. Ironically in this same year, 1992, as the non-Native recognized the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival and discovery of the "New World". With the political energy and critical response to the national celebrations, WOR begins to gain regional and national attention through concerts and radio airtime particularly with their selection "Was He a Fool? (Columbus)" (LaMarr phone interview 2008). In a similar gesture during this year, Litefoot formed his Red Vinyl Records and began releasing his own work through this record label. 1992 is the year in that

²¹ Corey Aranaydo is featured on the recording *Are You Ready For W.O.R.?* (1994). Mike Marin is brought back into the group following this recording and Corey Aranaydo no longer performs with the WOR.

Litefoot identified his Hip Hop style as “maturing”, giving him national distribution of his recordings with commercial success that steadily increases through 1994. (Winter 2003) In 1992, WOR was approached by Canyon Records to produce a recording that would within two years become the now infamous national debut recording *Are You Ready For W.O.R.?* In 1994, WOR becomes the first Native Hip Hop group to release a work on a major label.

From this timeline of the forming genre of Native Hip Hop, it is plausible to argue that Litefoot is one of, if not the first Native Hip Hop solo artist, while WOR can be recognized, without a doubt, as the first Native Hip Hop group. Native Hip Hop begins as a genre in 1988 with underground activity in Los Angeles/Long Beach and the San Francisco Bay area, with the full arrival of this genre in 1992 reaching major success in 1994. What divides these artists is the repeated insistence by Litefoot that he is “the only one (Native Hip Hop artist) of his kind” (Winter 2003). What complicates this statement is that Lisa Mitten entered WOR into the Native American music databases on October 16, 1998 whereas Litefoot was added on later on February 9, 1999 through his Red Vinyl Records label.²² Contrary to this listing, the NAMMY’s (Native American Music Awards), launched in January 1998 (Prinzing 20), recognize note Litefoot as either Best Rap artist or Best Rap and Hip Hop recording/song

²² <<http://www.nativeculturelinks.com/music.html>>. Reviewed 13 Feb 2009.

from 1998 until the present (2008) with the only exception coming in 2001.²³

WOR, it appears, did not make this listing while other Native Hip Hop performers who glorify a gangster lifestyle in Hip Hop (i.e. Night Shield, Shadowyze) continue to be present.

In 1988, Litefoot speaks of his work as Native Hip Hop only after he and fellow music producer Willie Fresh (aka Big Will) coined the phrase “tribalistic funk” which is a style that he maintains has a very strong street ethic and ‘hood authenticity via the African-American gangsta Hip Hop style which originated in Los Angeles/Compton in 1987/88 (Easy-E, Ice-T, Snoop Dogg, et al).²⁴ Litefoot presently, 2009, continues to perform in a solo context with the emphasis being placed upon himself.

In contrast, WOR presents Hip Hop that is performed and created by Native men. Their music negotiates a group ethic consistent with the lineage of Hip Hop crews (Wu-Tang Clan, Public Enemy, et al). WOR further defines their style as being influenced by funk, post-Soul and R&B popular music in a manner striking similar to how the early Hip Hop rappers using the vitality and literary insight of the early Rap Masters: The Watts Prophets, The Last Poets, Gil Scott-Heron, et al. Mobb Music from Oakland influenced WOR through the

²³ <<http://www.nativeamericanmusicawards.com/?mpf=frame&>>. Reviewed 13 Feb 2009.

²⁴ Seattle Times. Tuesday, 1 Nov 2005.

use of their samples and bass lines.²⁵ Powwow singing and drum styles further influenced their musical style. The distinctions here suggests that Litefoot envisions Native Hip Hop as an offshoot of (solo) gangsta rap, whereas WOR is more interested in the use of Hip Hop as a device that can communicate to Native/non-Native community about current issues facing Native people.

Litefoot works to construct an authentic representation of Native Hip Hop through his own glorified self-image that is itself a caricature and stereotype of gangsta rap. Litefoot's selection "My Chick" (Red Vinyl Records 2008) illustrates this point through the incorporation of commercialized gangsta fashion and aesthetics, urban language and lyrics, predictable musical components (simple rhythm, distorted timbre, limited harmony) and misogynistic representations of women.²⁶ Litefoot illustrates a restricted Native identity that is marginalized and frozen in a specific point of time. The flexibility of self-representation is removed and the necessity to restructure and re-present identity is limited to a static form of DuBois' double-consciousness that is defined by the non-Native community. For Litefoot to have authenticity

²⁵ Chris LaMarr did not confirm this point specifically, but the influences to which he speaks certainly outlines the characteristics of Mobb Music. Taking note that Chris LaMarr is very aware of his sonic surroundings and the developments within Hip Hop, he certainly would have been inspired by Mobb Music as a style even if it were indirectly. This may indeed be the case given the timeline for the arrival of Mobb Music, the stylistic characteristics and how these are viewed within WOR and the historical development of their music.

²⁶ Litefoot. "My Chick." Relentless Pursuit Red Vinyl Records, 2008. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P8bLwSZsT-U>>. Reviewed 4 Apr 2009.

in Hip Hop he creates, for himself, an Indian Hip Hop identity that relies on a fixed stereotype of Indian ethnicity. Litefoot requires the stoic Native male persona and deceased Indian heritage to persist, thereby leaving him as the sole Native Hip Hop survivor. Litefoot's reliance upon a stereotype of Native ethnicity for authenticity is the reason why he is adamant about being the "only one (read: Indian)". If there are other Native Hip Hop artists/performers then he runs the risk of being either an inauthentic Indian or an inauthentic Indian Hip Hop artist. Litefoot elects to construct Native identity through signifiers that are void of substance. The gangsta image that Litefoot embraces is translated into an "Indian warrior" image that he romanticizes as a lost, historic Indian culture.²⁷ "The warriors of simulations, then and now, uncover the absence of the real and undermine the comparative poses of tribal traditions" (Vizenor 12). Given this understanding, Litefoot's use of a gangsta image a la "Indian warrior" is a constructed simulation of Native identity. Litefoot conforms to the stereotype of Indian identity constructed through a non-Native pop culture image of the Native that must function within the limited space and place defined by a non-Native community. "Indians, in this sense, must be the simulations of the 'absolute fakes' in the ruins of representation, or the victims in literary annihilation" (Vizenor 9). Hip Hop defined by a pop culture gangsta image becomes, for Litefoot, a limited space of context. The vacant simulation

²⁷ Biegenho discusses this point in a similar manner related to Bolivian indigenous music in "Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity I Bolivian Music Performance." 20 – 23.

of the *indian*²⁸ that Litefoot perpetuates is defined by Gerald Vizenor as “the absence of the tribal real” (Vizenor 4).

By contrast, WOR seeks to construct Native identity through Trickster hermeneutics (Vizenor 15). “Trickster hermeneutics is survivance, not closure, and the discernment of tragic wisdom in tribal experiences” (Vizenor 15). WOR’s active involvement with the multiplicities of culture(s), albeit Native (Tribal, Inter-Tribal) or non-Native (collectively Multi-Tribal),²⁹ assist in their reconfiguration of space (social, political, historical) in order to find a balance of culture that is re-presented through Hip Hop as a vehicle of cross-cultural connection. By shifting the emphasis from authenticity to historical socio-political transformation, WOR constructs a Hip Hop Native identity that uses the elements of Hip Hop culture to formalize and continually negotiate a space and place for the complexity of Native identity (Forman xxx).

Xavier Albo defines this cultural shifting for the indigenous people of Bolivia, particularly artists, as a methodology for defining identity through art as the “return of the Native” (qtd. in Bigenho 4 – 5). Taking this concept and applying it to the work of WOR, we can see how this Native Hip Hop group transcribes and re-presents contemporary Native identity through the dynamic cultural agent of Hip Hop. Authenticity then is not based on an essentialist

²⁸ The use of the lower case “i” and use of Indian in italics is consistent with Vizenor’s use.

²⁹ These identity formations will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3 and 4 of this dissertation where they are applied in more detail specifically to WOR.

paradigm or a hybrid cultural model. Rather, for WOR, authenticity undergoes constant cultural scrutiny at the intersection of their tribal identity (Tribal, Inter-Tribal, Multi-Tribal)³⁰ and Hip Hop culture. This epistemological³¹ framework affords WOR a mobility of identity formation that enables improvisation within the form of Hip Hop. As Taiwo recounts in his work on the Orishas, “[r]ather than seeing our existential experience as ‘definitive’, with closed, unified structures, it becomes ‘relative’, with open unified ones” (Taiwo 118). Hip Hop then, is the site where Native artists can “redefine their intellectual identity, one that allows these various worldviews to tell, from their perspective, their own ‘lived’, ‘perceived’ and ‘conceived’ spaces” (Taiwo 118).

The ongoing debate about which Native Hip Hop group/performer came first ultimately leads to a dead end. Multiple and simultaneous origin is the most likely reason that these two perspectives of Hip Hop begin at nearly the same time. Though the focus here is not on the work of Litefoot, his contribution to the conversation is necessary to see how the development of Native Hip Hop is, like any other cultural form, not without its persistent controversies. What continues to be of interest is that Native artists, specifically WOR, represent multiple views of tribal identity within their work that are constructed using Hip Hop in order to transpose this genre and re-

³⁰ These three forms of Native identity will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

³¹ I use epistemology here as the subaltern, border thinking, decolonizing term defined by Walter D. Mignolo in Local histories/Global Designs. Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000 (44 – 45).

present a fluidly complex form of Multi-Tribal Native identity. WOR begins this journey by taking the lead from a number of socially conscious Hip Hop artists and activists. In Chapter 3 of this dissertation the application of the Native identity formations and how they are re-presented by WOR will be discussed.

A Brief Musical History of WOR (1992 – 1994)

As mentioned above, WOR formed as a Hip Hop group in 1988 through interactions within the Intertribal Friendship House. The name WOR draws attention to Native issues, historic and contemporary. WOR retains the double entendre implication of the name itself. Some examples would be: Native people living without a reservation system, Native people obtaining complete sovereignty, self-representation and self-determination without overarching political devices controlling, dictating or defining their socio-political existence, Native artists who may present their socio-political opinions without a fear of recourse, and Native artists who work without legal restrictions placed upon them and their work. These definitions all relate to the Indian Arts and Crafts Law that was signed into law on November 29, 1990 (Parley 1993).³² Since the drafting of this law in 1988/89, that builds itself upon the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1935, the Law calls into question Native identity as an “Indian” artist, certification of Native authenticity within a given art or craft, production

³² Parley, Jon Keith. “Regulations of Counterfeit Indian Arts and Crafts: An Analysis of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990.” *American Indian Law Review*. 18.2 (1993): 487 – 514.

and sale of Native arts and crafts as well as the sovereignty of Native artists to define their work(s) as traditional and contemporary.³³

WOR recognized the importance of a name for their group that expressed multiple meanings (Native/non-Native, generational, historical, socio-political) and highlighted the importance of Native issues on a national and local level, instilling a sense of pride and empowerment for a Native audience. A similar form of identification and representation of Native identity can also be seen in the Aboriginal pop band Yothu-Yindi (mother-child): “Social solidarity is reflected in the name of the pop group Yothu-Yindi who have directly adopted the yothu-yindi [mother-child] concept as evidence of a unified Aboriginal identity through the organization of the band and the meaning of the song texts” (Magowan 147).

The effort given to the selection of a name, illustrates a complex form of resistance through an indigenous identity that brings into focus issues of politics, culture and history. Any past or previous accommodation, to non-

³³ This legislation proved to define once and for all what and who is a “Indian” artist. The controversy over this law maintains that the understanding of a Native artist must be defined by an outside factor, in this case the US government. The law attempts to read as sympathetic toward Native artists, but in reality the law does not take into consideration the multiple means by which Native people, and Native artist, are recognized by Indian tribes, bands and nations. Examples of the legal racism applied through this law are the cases of Jimmy Durham, Bert Seabourn, and Jeanne Walker Rorex all discussed in .Hapiuk, William J. Jr. “Of Kitsch and Kachinas: A Critical Analysis of the ‘Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990’.” Stanford Law Review, 53.4 (April 2001): 1009 – 1075. Some Native artists who have been outspoken about this legislation are Edgar Heap of Birds (see in Berlo) and Jaune Quick-to-See (see in Hapiuk).

indigenous or non-Native power structure becomes obsolete. Performers present issues that re-present a critical (re)reading of history and culture.

In 1992, the indigenous communities throughout the Western hemisphere deconstructed the historic mantra of Columbus' "discovery" of the "New World" replacing the "500 years of contact" with "500 years of resistance" (Bigenho 5). As Bigenho writes, "[t]he quincentennial moment brought a symbolic return to the cataclysmic moment of conquest, and indigenous peoples throughout Latin America (and the Western Hemisphere) forced their reading of this event into public light" (Bigenho 5). This was the same year that Canyon Records approached WOR about the possibility of producing and releasing a national record. Canyon Records made a conscious decision in the late 1980s/early 1990s to record more contemporary Native music on their label. WOR took advantage of two opportune moments, the Native political energy via 500 years of resistance, and a national record contract, to launch WOR into national recognition as a Native Hip Hop group. By this time WOR assumed a level of importance among Native youth in both the San Francisco Bay Area Hip Hop scene and the surrounding Native reservation systems. This allowed WOR to have strong ties in both in the Native and non-Native communities. With the embrace of Native elders in the International Friendship House, WOR set out to "inspire the next generation"³⁴

³⁴ Chris LaMarr phone interview December 14, 2008.

of Native people who, by the 1960s, connected with the sounds, aesthetics and culture of Hip Hop. The support and recognition of the older generation, those who came through the political activism of the Red Power Movement and the Occupation of Alcatraz Island, fueled the passionate fire that WOR continues to express in all of their work.

On April 23, 1993, the selected tracks for the recording *Are You Ready for W.O.R.?*³⁵ (*AYRFW*) were mixed and produced. The included tracks on this recording came from the large body of work that WOR had accumulated since they each began working in Hip Hop in the late 1980s. In selecting the works for the recording *AYRFW*, WOR realized their position as a vehicle for Native activism, positive social change and a place for dynamic multi-tribal connection with the Native community. WOR compiled selections that engage gender issues (“Born at 18”), stereotypes and racism (“To The Sell Outs,” “Guilty ‘til Proven Innocent,” “Mascot,” “Red, White, And Blue,” “502 years,” “Was He A Fool?” (Columbus)) and, Native empowerment (“Are You Ready For WOR?”, “Skin I’m In”, “Time For Some Action”).

On September 1, 1994, *AYRFW* was released, arriving in a climactic year for WOR. Chris LaMarr completed his Law School studies at the University of Colorado within a few months following this release. From this point forward, WOR now found themselves performing, speaking and

³⁵ WithOut Rezervation, *Are You Ready For War?*, Canyon Records, 1992/4.

presenting an alternative way for Native people to illustrate and voice concerns that they have in their own Native community. WithOut Rezervation Productions (WORP) was established in 1995 by Chris LaMarr and his wife Heather. WORP focused mainly on Native Hip Hop and sports team clothing, although recently they have been producing decals and other Native and sport-focused items. WOR released their second recording, *World WOR II* in 1999 through WORP records with lower total sales than *AYRFW*. As of the winter season 2008, there has been preliminary discussion among the members of WOR to begin work on a new recording.³⁶ Chris LaMarr remains the central person in WOR who is active as a Native attorney and educator. Until early in 2009, LaMarr maintained administrative and teaching duties as the Director of the Native American Studies Program at Lassen College. He currently performs similar duties at UC Davis.

The Cross-Cultural connections of WOR

In composing their “BAND THANX”³⁷ WOR acknowledged cross-cultural musical influences that, as will be seen, favored a similar political perspective. The selection of people/groups to acknowledge and their placement within this section was, as LaMarr noted in no specific order (LaMarr email

³⁶ As of today, April/May 2009, the third release by WOR exists in rough tracks that does not have a confirmed scheduled date for edit, mixing or release.

³⁷ Throughout this listing the spelling and capitalizations will be consistent with WOR’s usage on the recording *AYRFW*.

correspondence 2 Jan 2009). Following this lead, the BAND THANX will be examined as a whole, rather than attempting to isolate “who named who”, which would be an inconsistent reading from WOR’s democratic standpoint. Still, for the purposes of understanding how WOR capitalized on their diverse musical influences the BAND THANX will be grouped according to musical styles/genres.

Within the Native community, WOR references John Trudell and Quiltman, along with the Young Eagle Singers and Dancers and R. Carlos Nakai. As noted previously, WOR arose from a post-Alcatraz Island Occupation manifestation of Native activism where Trudell was a central figure. Quiltman was the back-up band for Trudell. Trudell came into contact with Quiltman after he left the Bay Area and arrived in Santa Monica (Trudell interview 14 December 2008). The Young Eagle Singers and Dancers illustrates WOR’s active involvement with the local powwow scene in the Bay Area and their importance in the contemporary powwow arena.³⁸ WOR acknowledges the influence of a number of hard rock and heavy metal artists such as: Made by Hatred, Blackfire, Culture of Rage, B.S.A. NIRVANA, Pearl Jam, Siren, Rage Against the Machine, METALLICA, Fungo Mungo, Siren, Nine Inch Nails, Tool, Slayer, and Vio-lence. In this listing we can see that WOR was signifyin’ on the genre of aggression associated with these bands.

³⁸ Chris and Heather LaMarr were also involved with hosting the Lassen College Powwow on the Susanville Indian Rancheria in November 2007 while LaMarr was the Director of American Indian Studies at this College.

The lineage of punk, hard rock and heavy metal spoke to a contemporary sub-cultural aesthetic present in the late 1980s through 1990s that helped define a post-punk era of music. As with Hip Hop, most of these groups were also quite vocal in their concern for public opinion regarding issues of mass media, commercialization and the recording industry (Connell and Gibson 251 - 269).

The Latino influence on WOR is evident through in the listing of: Los Lobos, Latin Poets, DJ Beto, Cisco, Quiz One and Santana. The range of Latin American styles here stretches from Puerto Rican Hip Hop, ala DJ Beto, to traditional Mexican chorros placed in a pop culture context by Los Lobos. WOR does not suppress the involvement of Latino styles within the history of Hip Hop and their inclusion in this list reflects this sentiment.

Hip Hop, Ska and Reggae are the most obvious influences on WOR. It is no surprise to find the names Culture Hype Crew, Burning Sky, Rarebreed Tribe, Public Enemy, Ice-T & Body Count, ICE CUBE, Tribe Called Question, Blacksheep, Primus, Deftones, KOAS, Too Short, E-40, Del, Souls of Mischief, Skankin Pickle, Paris, KRS-1, The Organization, Puzzlefish, MCM & the Monster, Run-DMC, Cypress Hill, Fishbone and Quiz One. From this list we see the influences of what has been coined Old School Hip Hop (Tribe Called Quest and Run-DMC, et al), Gangsta/West Coast Hip Hop (Ice Cube and Ice-T & Body Count, et al), post-Ska (the Deftones and Skankin Pickle, et al) and Reggae (Burning Sky). This list demonstrated WOR's encyclopedic

knowledge of African diasporic music that has come to signify mainstream American and global popular culture.

Reflecting these influences through a Native creative lens that is aligned with Hip Hop, we see more than a theoretical cultural leakage of styles. LaMarr notes, as will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters, that WOR recognizes three different musical genres/styles that were central to their Hip Hop foundation: powwow music, ceremonial music, and popular music. This relationship will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. WOR illuminates musical roots in late 20th century popular music that is intermixed with contemporary Native music styles that function, for the post-modern Native, as both traditional and ceremonial music. By not placing a hierarchy on these styles or artists, WOR outlines a conscious binding of expressive cultures, Native and non-Native, in a fluid connection between genres. WOR takes inspiration from these genres in order to represent a Native identity as well as to articulate an identity local to the urban San Francisco Bay Area. In the forty-four second selection “Defend the Territory”. WOR transposes the “territory” from a limited location of physical urban space to a location of complex Native culture and identity. With brief samples of police sirens and car chases behind an echoing voice that repeats, “Defend the Territory”, WOR signals their understanding that Native identity is constantly under political surveillance and requires defending. The second

echoing phrase repeats, “the world’s only” followed immediately by Chris LaMarr stating “WithOut Rezervation”. This affirms WOR’s commitment to their level of socio-political activism that is rooted in the mechanics of Hip Hop. Along this same line of thinking, Magowan quotes Stephen Yunupingu, the singer of the Aboriginal Soft Sands band, who stated:

[w]e have to protect the background and be strong because our ancestors fought for their rights. Through words and feelings in the songs we show our political history. We claim the rivers and the land through song. You can change the song but not the land. The land is our marr (essence) – it stays forever.
(Magowan 147)

This powerful statement summarizes many of the points discussed by WOR on the recording *AYRFW*: a political connection to the land, the strength of the ancestors/elders, the importance of spirituality and ritual that is transposed in contemporary society, the cultural preservation and sustainability that function along multiple tribal levels. Briefly, WOR defined these as: articulation, understanding and individual dynamic connection to the reservation vis-à-vis a tribal cultural exchange within the urban center, cultural knowledge and support foundation from the elders, spirituality and ritual reflected in contemporary ceremonial tradition transposed through powwow culture, and contemporary cultural re-presentation through Hip Hop.

As stated earlier, Public Enemy arrived on the Hip Hop stage in 1986/7 with the recording, “Yo! Bum Rush The Show!” In 1988, Public Enemy released their now infamous recording “It Takes A Nation Of Millions To Hold

Us Back". It is this recording that inspired WOR to become involved with Hip Hop. Chris LaMarr also refers to early funk (Parliament, P-Funk All-Stars) and R&B (Barry White, Marvin Gaye) as important to WOR's development in Hip Hop. This stylistic recognition, along with the before analyzed listing of BAND THANX, helped to align WOR to a lineage of Hip Hop that is rooted in California by way of the New York Hip Hop scene in the early 1970s. WOR takes a cue from the critical work of Public Enemy by addressing the Native political history of the San Francisco Bay Area. Chuck D, of Public Enemy fame, reciprocates WOR's tribute to Public Enemy on a recording by Urban Renewal (April 2000) where:

Chuck D is featured on this bold jam about Native Americans. Entitled 'At Least The American Indians Know Exactly How They've Been Fucked Around' is a reggae flavored song that features a montage of voices and excerpts from speeches from Malcolm X and Chuck D.³⁹

Although this political statement does not specifically mention WOR, the sentiment, content and its location within Hip Hop history recognizes the importance of Native people. As we will see in the following chapter, for many of Hip Hop's most shining stars, this basic level of recognition was not easy to come by.

Conclusion

³⁹ eLine Productions Review 2008. Reviewed 22 Dec 2008.

By understanding the diaspora that led to the arrival of Native people to the urban center in the mid 20th century we are able to recognize the inter-cultural connections between Native and the surrounding non-Native communities. With the arrival of Hip Hop near the close of the 20th century minority communities were offered an opportunity to speak from a personal and cultural position that continually questioned and reshaped an understanding of cultural authenticity. The 1980s gave birth not only to the sub genre of Hip Hop now recognized as West Coast Hip Hop or Gangsta Rap, but also to the formation of Native Hip Hop. WOR captured the energy and spirit of West Coast Hip Hop transposing this sub genre through multiple tribal influences. As a result, Native Hip Hop arrived as a presence within the dynamic national and global Hip Hop culture. As we will see in the following chapters, WOR continues to investigate and re-present their multiple tribal influences within Hip Hop through the repetitive articulation of Native identity. The following chapter will discuss how Hip Hop affords a fluid cultural and political position for Native identity.

Chapter 2. A Deconstructive survey of Native representation in Hip Hop

“When they hear the drum and the song...they want to live.”¹
Leonard Cozad, Sr.

This chapter will outline the integral importance of Native identity present within Hip Hop culture. An overview of four Hip Hop artists and authors within the Hip Hop community will assist in articulating this discussion. Additionally, a case study of the sample *Apache* will further highlight the (mis)representation of Native identity in Hip Hop culture. The conclusion will present a theoretical strategy that fluidly re-presents Native identity, refocusing its position within Hip Hop. This strategy circumvents historical stereotypes and a racist approach to Native identity.

The African-American and Native Intercultural connections

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the history of Hip Hop is quite complex involving cultures on a global scale. Hip Hop culture exists through the Six Elements (DJ, MC/Rap, Breakdancing, Graffiti, Fashion, Journalism)² and they continue to transform on a local/global level. An interesting connection in this history is the use of and reference to Native culture by Hip Hop artists. As will

¹ Qtd. in Howard, James H. “The Plains Gourd Dance as a Revitalization Movement”. *American Ethnologist*, 3.2 (1976): 243-259.

² Capitalization is used here referencing the proper formation of each Element as it is in current use (2009). Raquel Cepeda’s *And It Don’t Stop, The Best American Hip-Hop Journalism of the Last 25 Years* discusses this development through research and interviews.

be discussed in this chapter, Native identity is an ongoing presence within Hip Hop culture that has been stereotyped and romanticized. Figures of prominence within Hip Hop culture confine Native identity within a colonialist perspective. This chapter addresses the understanding and recognition of Native culture in Hip Hop by those who have assisted in sculpting this culture.

By now, in the early 21st century, it is no mystery that African and Native American people interacted for issues of personal and cultural survival. Though these connections may be deeply rooted in history, ongoing struggles for identity recognition and representation on an individual or tribal level still persist. The purpose in this chapter is not to restate the well-documented and individually complex cultural connections between African and Native Americans. Such notable scholars as Bennett (1961), Debo (1970), Katz (1986), Forbes (1988, 1993), Weatherford (1988), hooks (1992), Vaughn (1995), Brooks (2002), Perdue (2003) and P. Deloria (2004) have achieved this work. Additionally, the Smithsonian Institute Libraries offer a comprehensive and current listing of books pertaining to African-American-Indian studies.³ This chapter will build upon the work of these scholars and integrate this research with other Hip Hop scholars and artists to demonstrate how Native people are recognized, realized and represented by non-Native, mainly African-American, artists within Hip Hop culture.

³ <<http://www.sil.si.edu/SILpublications/AfricanAmericanIndiansBibliography.pdf>>. Reviewed 9 Feb 2009.

Melville J. Herskovits states, “American blacks have mingled with the American Indians on a scale hitherto unrealized” (qtd. in Bennett 321). Herskovits continues, “[t]he Indian has not disappeared from the land, but is now a part of the Negro population of the United States” (qtd. in Bennett 321). This demonstrates the importance of the Black-Indian, or as Forbes prefers “Red-Black”, a relationship historically important in the early development of the United States. As Philip Deloria points out, Black American music came to dominate the popular musical landscape of the U.S., eclipsing Native music (P. Deloria 238). As we will see later in this chapter, this eclipsing does not extinguish Native identity or the inter-connected relationship between these two cultures. In Hip Hop, the relationship between these cultures built upon this historic precedent becomes transparent. This transparency does not erase Native culture and identity. Rather, the transparency indicates the depth of the Native identity’s integration into Black expressive culture. The expressive inclusivity of African and Native American artists establishes a continuum of improvisational communication and re-presentation.

Two areas of Native representation appear in Hip Hop: one that acknowledges the historic relationship between Black-Indian cultures and the other that racializes Native culture. This first area acknowledges Native culture and identity within the arch of Hip Hop’s history. In this perspective, Native culture is defined as part of the history and heredity of Hip Hop, and is

limited to only this position. The second area of representation appropriates Native identity through stereotypes producing a negative image consistent with the colonial dominance of Native identity. This area (mis)represents Native identity and/or culture. “(Mis)representation” takes into account the different modalities of reference, representation, and re-presentation in viewing Native identity and/or culture in Hip Hop, with an essentialist or racialized reading of Native culture.

The Intercultural exchange in Hip Hop

Adam Krims notes that the “origins of hip-hop [are] reconstructed...and changed” in present global-local contexts by cultures in order to establish a form of identity (Krims 154 - 155). For Krims, this allows Hip Hop to be created, mutated, and mediated from a local origin through a global representation that expresses identity (Krims 155). As will be noted later in this chapter, this level of cultural exchange and transposition of Hip Hop by Native people constructs a position of post-colonial resistance. Venida Chenault states that an identity paradigm shift is important for “Indigenous Peoples [in order to] reclaim their right to say their own word, reclaim their identities, and name the [Hip Hop] world according to their understanding” (qtd. in Yellow Bird 6). The original four elements (Rap, DJ, breakdancing, graffiti), aesthetics and ideology of Hip Hop may have originated within the

diasporic African-American urban community, but, as Andrew Sluyter points out, their transformation, for Native people, are the result of social consequences and conditions that arise in opposition to a colonial Eurocentric mental and physical landscape (Sluyter 413).⁴

Jacqueline C. Simpson incorporates the work of Pierre Bourdieu to define transformed cultural resources as “cultural capital.” These are the culturally familiar experiences that are adjusted to the dynamics of social interaction (Simpson 67). This opposes Max Weber’s position that cultural capital is based upon “privilege” (Simpson 67). This flexible definition was gathered by Paul DiMaggio and re-presented as a “fluidity of cultural experiences” that are accessible as cultural tools for identity construction (Simpson 67 – 68). In her socio-political research of Black and Native people in the southern U.S., Tiya Miles recounts the fluency of values and cultural practices that belonged to the “dual and overlapping tribal/racial communities” (Miles 145).⁵ James Brooks expands this point in the concept of “situational multi-ethnicity” that he defines as:

[o]ur own intellectual framework[s that] remain slow to admit complexity beyond the discovery and analyses of ‘biracial’ or ‘tri-ethnic’ communities, to engage carefully with the cross-cutting

⁴ Angela Cavender Wilson’s article “Reclaiming Our Humanity, Decolonization and the Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge” (69 – 87) defines these oppositional areas as “Indigenous Knowledge” (mental) and the network of “Indigenous nations” (physical landscape).

⁵ Miles notes the politics of slavery/Freemen(women), kinship systems and intermarriage between African/African-American and Native people as sites of identity struggle in the southern U.S. states between the 1600 – 1800s.

tensions and ambiguities of dynamic cultural hybridity and to do so as much as possible from the standpoint of those mixed-and-multiple-descended peoples themselves – to confound the color line... in ways as yet beyond imagination. (Brooks 6)

The foundational cross-relation between African and Native American cultures, or Black-Indian (Forbes 1988), Red-Black (hooks 180 – 182), makes cultural exchange possible. This allows identity formation to expand across cultural boundaries as it retains a locus within the original culture. This cultural exchange places a mobile dynamic in motion.

An example of this mobility is found within each of the four characteristics of Hip Hop culture as defined by Perry Imani: “(1) the primary language is African American Vernacular English (AAVE); (2) it has a political location in society distinctly ascribed to black people; (3) music and cultural forms [are] derived from black American oral culture and; (4) it is derived from black American musical traditions” (Perry 10).⁶ Perry Afro-centric definitions verge on essentialism. On the other hand, a cultural exchange re-reading of these characteristics with a Native perspective would be: (1) the primary language is Inter-Tribal using black American vernacular within Native signifiers; (2) it has a political location in society distinctly associated with Native people, music and cultural forms that include black American popular

⁶ These characteristics read very close to the three Black Semantic foundations defined by Geneva Smitherman: (1) words derive or have a direct African origin; (2) words entertain a loan-transformation; (3) words result in an inflated vocabulary. Smitherman, Geneva. Talkin and Testifyin, The Language of Black America. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977 (43). The application of Smitherman’s work will be viewed more in Chapter 4.

culture; (3) it is derived from Native oral culture and; (4) it is derived from Native musical traditions that inclusively involve black American musical traditions. This re-reading sheds further light on the inter-connected relationship between Native and, as Perry states, black American popular culture. This refocuses the discussion on the development of culture essentialist and not on Perry's essentialist argument that limits and binds culture.⁷

Davey D draws the connection between Black, Latino/Puerto Rican and Native cultures in a 1999 interview by Necro entitled "Is Hip Hop Black Culture?".⁸ Davey D. says:

Hip Hop [is] multi-cultural in the sense that there were Black and Puerto Ricans who put this whole thing down. We lived next to each other and for the most part experienced the same urban problems and in many ways we shared same culture legacy of exploitation, oppression and colonization. Puerto Ricans are really the native Taino Indians who inhabited the island of Boriken. Columbus came with other Spanish settlers from Europe came on over and discovered them. He also discovered the island had gold. He pillaged the island and depleted its gold resources and since Columbus and his boyz didn't bring any women they started raping the native women of the island. Not long afterwards African slaves were brought over. That's how things got ethnically mixed up in Puerto Rico. Blacks as you know have Native Americans and European blood. Again the European blood was the result of slavery where African women were raped.

⁷ A similar analysis and expansion could be made between the relationship of Native cultures to Mexican American, Spanish, Puerto Rican and other global cultures within Hip Hop.

⁸ FNV: Nov. 1999. Reviewed 22 Dec 2008.

Adding to this point of reference, Raquel Rivera cites the inclusion of Native identity as a “popular strategy – which extends beyond hip hop – of defining Puerto Rican culture history in terms of Native American ancestry, particularly to distinguish Puerto Ricans from the U.S. African American experience” (Rivera 158). Rivera recognizes the “shared indigenous American connections” present in these different cultures, African, Puerto Rican and Native American, as a “bond to the ‘ghetto’ connection they share with each other” (Rivera 158). Rivera identifies the urban industrial complex that has historically challenged Native, Puerto Rican and African American communities.⁹

These perspectives suggest that Hip Hop artists have an historical involvement with Native identity that connects culture. These inter-cultural connections recognize the fluidity of Native identity that becomes a nexus point of cultural exchange. Jorge “PopMaster Fabel” Pabon, of the legendary Rock Steady Crew and Universal Zulu Nation, notes the cross-cultural and intercultural connection between Afro-diasporic and Native music and dance when he wrote his 1999 article “Physical Graffiti, The History of Hip-Hop Dance”, “[s]ome of the earliest dancing by b-boy pioneers was done upright, a form which became known as “top rockin’”. The structure and form of top rockin’ has infused dance forms and influences from Brooklyn uprocking, tap,

⁹ Carocci notes reference to the urban center and inner city, i.e. the “ghetto,” by urban Natives as the “urban reservations” or “urban rez” (Carocci 263 – 282).

lindi hop, James Brown's "good foot," salsa, Afro-Cuban and various African and Native American dances" (Pabon 18 - 19).

This statement recognizes the same lineage and cultural connection that DeFrantz reveals in his research into the diaspora of African dance (DeFrantz, *The Black Beat Made Visible: Hip Hop Dance and Body Power*, 2004). Pabon's recount of the borrowing of Native dance confirms the Native contribution to Hip Hop culture. Pabon identifies the Native influence within the multi-focal reality of Hip Hop culture. Further, Pabon recognizes that this borrowing is not limited to an African-Native binary but is inclusive of many cultures, and expressive forms, that exist within the continuum of the African diaspora.

Popular music historians Kip Lornell and Charles Stephenson provide another example of the liberal exchange between African diasporic music and Native culture. Lornell and Stephenson outline ten basic characteristics of go-go music, a musical genre that predates the funk movement of the late 1970s and is linked to Hip Hop. These ten basic characteristics are: 1. African-American, 2. Washington, D.C. – based, 3. Contemporary and popular among its audience, 4. Rooted within and for Funk and Hip-Hop, 5. Male-dominated, 6. Highly syncopated, 7. Driven by a variety of percussion instruments, 8.

Thrives in live performances, 9. Utilizes call and response, 10. Features extended performances, sometimes grouped in suites.¹⁰

This listing is not an essentialist structure designed to neglect the dynamic influences of go-go music in the formation of Hip Hop. Rather, these basic characteristics assist in understanding the evolution of Hip Hop as it dislocated from its center and progressed creating its own diaspora through club culture, mix tape exchanges, digital file sharing and word-of-mouth inspiration.

This listing can be reduced into three political areas: space, time and identity (Bruyneel xix). Kevin Bruyneel defines political space as “the lived and envisioned territorial, institutional, and cultural location through which a people situates its past, present, and future as a political identity.” Political time is defined as “the narratives of struggle, development, and transformation through which a people historically positions itself or is positioned by others as some form of coherent collective identity.” Lastly, political identity is defined as “that which binds a group together both through its relationship to discernible power inequities...and through its collective vision of how to generate, sustain, or expand the group’s capacity to determine its future” (Bruyneel xix). Collectively, for Glen Coulthard, these three spaces become the “transformative praxis.” Coulthard bases his theoretical work on an

¹⁰ Lornell and Stephenson viii – ix.

expanded reading of Hegel and Fanon, defining the transformative praxis, through reference to James Tully, as the “critical self-affirmative process [that] must be consciously directed away from the assimilative lure of the statist politics of recognition and instead be fashioned toward our own on-the-ground strategies of freedom” (Tully qtd. in Coulthard 17). From this post-colonial position¹¹ that moves to identify “tribal self-determination” and contest the “repressive practices and consequences of the persistent American effort to impose colonial rule” (Bruyneel xviii), it becomes possible to navigate the areas of space, time and identity as they are realized and mediated in Hip Hop’s intercultural exchange.

This process of intercultural exchange between African-American and Native expressive culture forms the basis of my hypothesis for the evolution of Native Hip Hop. In this hypothesis Hip Hop serves as an agent for identity construction. For the purposes of this dissertation, the spatial arena is the art form of Hip Hop, realized within the African-American community that is transposed by Native Hip Hop artists, here namely WOR. The signifiers of Hip Hop (i.e., language, sampling, scratching, beat, et al) are transposed through Native engagement and will be discussed in the examples, “Tribal Shouts” and “To The Sellouts” in Chapter 3 and the four critical elements of Hip Hop

¹¹ Kevin Bruyneel defines that “*postcolonial* refers to the consistencies, contingencies, and fissures in the practices of colonization and decolonization” (xviii). He clarifies that the structures of colonization (economic, cultural, political) are always in place. The “gaps” offer “meaningful expressions of [indigenous] postcolonial resistance” (xviii).

(sermonizing, cut/mix, rupture/flow, layering) in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. The temporal space, for the purposes of this dissertation, is limited to the origin of Native Hip Hop, c. 1988, until the release of *Are You Ready For W.O.R.?* in 1994. This has already been discussed in Chapter 1, through the evolution of Native Hip Hop, and will be revisited in expanded form in Chapters 3 and 4. The arena of identity occupies the greatest portion of this dissertation. Identity will be discussed later in this chapter with an analysis of three (mis)representations of Native identity, in Chapter 3 with the construction of three identity formations and, in Chapter 4 with socio-linguistic techniques.¹²

In each subsequent chapter, the hypothesis that I pose will be challenged and applied to audio and text examples from WOR in order to demonstrate the complexity of this exchange. Throughout this process the articulation of the Native identity formations (Tribal, Inter-Tribal, Multi-Tribal¹³) will be recognized, taking into account the fluid manifestations that arise from the interaction of these formations.

¹² A complete listing with locations that these characteristics are addressed within this dissertation reads: Characteristics 1 and 2: Introduction (9 – 11) - regarding terminology versus biology and location. Characteristic 3: Chapter 1 (45 – 49). Characteristic 4: Chapter 1 (23, 35 – 53), Chapter 2 (59 – 60, 85, 89 – 90, 99 – 100, 111 – 112), Chapter 3 (142, 147 – 153), Chapter 4 (183 – 185, 201 – 205). Characteristic 5: visible within the overwhelming dominant male representation in Hip Hop (Africa Bambaataa, Cowboy, Pow Wow, et al) and the Native Hip Hop artists discussed herein (Litefoot, WOR). Characteristic 6 and 7: Chapter 4 (200 – 206). Characteristic 8: Chapter 1 (50 – 52), Chapter 3 (109 – 112, 145 – 153) and Chapter 4 (183 – 184, 201 – 206). Characteristic 9: Chapter 4 (166 – 171). Characteristic 10 coincides with characteristic 8: Chapter 1 (50 – 53).

¹³ Each of these identity formations will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

To begin re-reading Lornell and Stephenson's list it will be useful to see how the Lumbee have sustained and re-presented their musical style. In 1714, John Lawson identified a distinct democratic vocal style that that is "formed with...Equality and Exactness that [is] admirable how they should continue these Songs without once missing to agree" (Maynor 324).¹⁴ Lawson also identifies the extensive use of rattles, gourds, sticks and drums in traditional Lumbee ceremonial music (Maynor 324). In 1930, John Swatson concurred the same results as Lawson noting that the music expanded and is now embedded in both ceremonial and social contexts. Lawson further noted the favoring of syncopation and vocal melodic complexity as dominant musical characteristics (Maynor 323 - 324). Charles Hudson notes in The Southeastern Indians the expanded length of musical forms, the complexity and tension present in vocal melodies and timbre, the use of repetition (antiphonal, responsorial and phrases) and the development of call-and-response in Southern Indian music (Maynor 325).¹⁵ Malinda Maynor echoes the points identified previously and notes the expansion of Lumbee ceremonial/social musical network to include gender balance, solidification of call-and-response, and the use of extended suites that thrive in the current (2009) religious community (Maynor 324 - 325).

¹⁴ Capitalization in the original.

¹⁵ Hudson's analysis and research of Native rhythm builds upon the ethnomusicological research of Frances Densmore who, in 1943, argued for the origin of call-and-response singing being among the southeastern Native people. "Choctaw Music," in Bureau of American Ethnology, Anthropological Paper 28.136, 1943.

Lumbee musical history (c. 1700 – 2002) contains a transformed “musical mixture” of African and European styles (Maynor 328 - 329). African slavery imported to North/South Carolina established a cultural connection between the Lumbee (Native) and African (Black). These connections established “core influences” that included singing and rhythmic styles (Maynor 330). European contact brought the influence of notated music, expanded forms, and musical pedagogy to the Lumbee in the 1800s as shape-note tune books (Sutton 1982). In an effort to preserve their musical traditions from European colonialism, cultural resistance took the form of transformation in Black traditions and isolation. Eileen Southern recounts that “[c]ircumstances seemed to necessitate this [transformational] shift in survival strategy...we were ready to embrace change as a means of survival, [as] shifting racial attitudes and growing local hostilities toward Indians caused us to retreat further into our swamplands.” (qtd. in Brooks 336). Brett Sutton confirms that “[s]ince contact with Europeans and Africans, Lumbees have perpetuated and enriched [their] traditions through... use and adaptation” (qtd. in Brooks 339). The Lumbee initiated a postcolonial strategy by the adaptation and transformation their musical tradition in response to the colonization of the South.

Mike Cummings recognizes the adaptation and transformation of Lumbee music that is performatively expressed in non-Lumbee musical styles

including “classic country/gospel...karaoke-style singing...and Top 40 hits” (Maylor 328 – 329). Electronic instruments were introduced after 1940 that further transformed the Lumbee (Native) musical characteristics within non-Lumbee (African-American) musical styles. Finally, Maynor states that contemporary Powwow music is the current (2002) musical form that embraces the ceremonial/social music characteristics of the Lumbee. Though Powwow music is not indigenous to the Lumbee, this genre has, for Maynor, absorbed the ceremonial/social characteristics of Lumbee musical expression (Maynor 325). Contemporary Lumbee music is the result of a historic process of exchange, between Black, European and Lumbee cultures, which transform and reinterpret expressive styles in order to construct a complex identity (Maynor 340). The agency of transformation, in contemporary Lumbee music, operates along the postcolonial lines of Multi-Tribal identity construction.

This outline should not be taken as a pan-Indian representation. Rather, this is one example of how Native music can be transformed through non-Native intercultural exchange to construct a complex Native identity.¹⁶ The Lumbee example is consistent with my reading of the Lornell and Stephenson list and the intercultural exchange available through Powwow music.

¹⁶ Virginia Giglio’s Southern Cheyenne Women’s Songs (1994) produces a similar outline. The transformation of traditional songs through religious music “naturally” includes powwow music and contemporary popular music forms such as “marches, rock, disco, latin, country, tango, blues, swing and waltz[es]” (163 - 206).

Analyzing the nexus of African diasporic music and Native culture, we find a similarity first to contemporary Native Powwow culture and music that then signifies on Hip Hop culture and music that finally transposes these signifiers on Native Hip Hop. With the transposition of these ten basic characteristics on Powwow culture and music, we find the following: 1. Native (American), 2. North American – based,¹⁷ 3. Contemporary and quite popular among Native audience(s) – particularly as an inter-tribal form, 4. Rooted in traditional Native based music(s), 5. Balanced gender roles, originating from a male-dominated performing style,¹⁸ 6. Highly syncopated – both Northern and Southern Powwow drum styles, 7. Driven by a variety of percussion instruments (i.e., Gourd Rattle in Southern California, Rattle and Shakers in the Kiowa based Gourd Dance Society, Frame/Hand Drum viewed throughout the North Eastern U.S. and the Powwow Drum), 8. Thrives in live performances (which is the Powwow itself!), 9. Utilizes call and response¹⁹ – literal representation in Northern/Southern Powwow drum/singing styles, 10.

¹⁷ As noted in the Introduction, this work will focus upon the area within the current established and recognized borders of the United States. Future work of this nature will investigate Native Hip Hop in Canada and other Native indigenous cultures.

¹⁸ This is specifically with regards to singers and the Drum. This reading is not intended to be gender bias, but rather a transcription of the list provided by Lornell and Stephenson. There are mixed gender and all women drum groups (i.e., Mankiller) now fairly prominent within the contemporary Powwow circuit. For more discussion see Vander, Judith. Song-Prints: The Musical Experience Of Five Shoshone Women. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. and Browner, Tara. Heartbeat of the People – Music and Dance of the Northern Powwow. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

¹⁹ The “call and response” has been recognized in socio-linguistic analyses conducted by Smitherman. Smitherman, Geneva. Talkin and Testifyin. The Language of Black America. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977. Smitherman’s technique will be applied to text in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Features extended performances, sometimes grouped in suites (i.e., grouping of songs performed in Southern Powwow style like the Gourd Dance and Northern Powwow style as the “penny songs” and honoring songs).²⁰

This reading and exchange of an African-American based musical genre, go-go music, that is a sonic cousin to Hip Hop, with contemporary Native Powwow music, begins to identify the close similarity between these two genres. This exchange is the critical transformative praxis that will be outlined, as stated earlier, throughout the following chapters. In summary, the principle of exchange that I define recognizes that Hip Hop and Powwow music both occupy an intermediate space between African and Native American cultures. Following the work by Kevin Bruyneel, this intermediate space is constructed as a negotiation operating beyond dominant views of space, place and identity.²¹ Cultural exchange between the musical genres Hip Hop and Powwow is the politically liberal transformative location of a dynamic culture. Native Hip Hop is the result of this cultural exchange. This exchange brings to light multiple sonic realities and identities (read: Multi-

²⁰ More information about Powwow styles can be found in Vander (1996), Lassiter (1998), Browner (2002), Ellis (2003), and Lawlor (2006). A very good discussion of the Gourd and Rattle tradition of Southern California can be found at <http://www.kumeyaay.info/music/gourdrattles.html>. Reviewed 20 Feb 2009.

²¹ Bruyneel, Kevin. The Third Space of Sovereignty. The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007. The application of Bruyneel’s third space of sovereignty will be seen in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Tribal)²² that dynamically co-exist. As we will see in the following chapters, this fluid exchange of identity establishes Native Hip Hop as a Multi-Tribal identity.

For Ann Axtmann the power of “performative action” in Powwow music is also visible in Hip Hop:

Resistance to oppression and great ingenuity and strength in the face of horror is part of the story. As people live and remember through the flesh, blood, mind, and soul, moving bodies express and communicate the intensity of these experiences. (qtd. in Lawlor 131)

The resistance to oppression in Hip Hop is expressed through the ingenuity of its artists. The “flesh, blood, mind, and soul” become real (read: lived) and metaphorical (read: imagined) through the application of Hip Hop’s Six Elements.²³ Axtmann’s reading brings the physicality of Powwow music into the ideology of Hip Hop yielding a “positive embodiment of what it means ‘to be Indian’” [read: Native Hip Hop] (Axtmann qtd. in Lawlor 131). The integration here follows Stuart Hall’s concept of cultural identity that is “constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference” (Hall qtd. in Pulitano 134). Taiaiake Alfred adds to Axtmann and Hall his term “independency” (Alfred 92). Independency,

²² “Tribal,” “Inter-Tribal,” and “Multi-Tribal” identities will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

²³ The Six Elements of Hip Hop are, in no particular order: DJ, MC/Rap, breakdancing, graffiti, journalism/media and aesthetics. Each of these Elements are discussed through interviews and articles in, Cepeda, Raquel. [And It Don’t Stop! The Best American Hip-Hop Journalism of the Last 25 Years](#). New York: Faber and Faber, Inc., 2004.

Alfred defines, is the “coexistence [and] social balance between...peoples, and a political relationship founded on an ethic of pluralism in a framework of respect” (Alfred 92). In order for this action to exist, Alfred notes that it requires the dual principles of respect and honor of difference (“independency”) as well as the “organization of one’s mind and attitudes around the idea of the sharing of space (“interdependence”)” (Alfred 93).²⁴

Axtmann, Hall and Alfred outline a postcolonial identity that challenges colonial stasis and representation by transforming cultural space and differences in a self-determined fashion. The transformation of Powwow music and Hip Hop, as a result of their cultural exchange, is the transformative praxis.

Mary Lawlor presents the “third race” (Native) in contrast to the biracial world of White-Black racial constructions. The “third race” is similar to Homi Bhabha’s “Third Space”²⁵ where the space between two points of reference becomes the departure point for critical discourse. Limiting the discussion as Lawlor does to race, an essentialized culture forms that is defined by its opposition to an “Other.” Both Lawlor and Bhabha seek to define a post-structuralist space that is articulated outside of Western hegemony and

²⁴ Alfred builds his theories upon a strong postcolonial rhetoric that he defines as “the fundamental denial of our freedom to be Indigenous in a meaningful way, and the unjust occupation of the physical, social, and political spaces we need in order to survive as Indigenous peoples” (Alfred 89). Alfred counters the ongoing colonial process through Indigenous intellectualism that he notes in the actions of teaching, doing research and living our lives as Warriors of Truth and/or the Warrior Scholar (Alfred 95 – 96).

²⁵ Bhabha 31 – 39. Chapter 3 discusses the application of Bhabha’s “Third Space” in more detail as it relates to the development of Native identity.

essentialism in order to recognize “the possibilities of new revelations” (Maylor qtd. in Brooks 14). However, they continue to situate their work within the limited boundaries articulated by binaries of the imperial West (Bruyneel 7 – 8). Lawlor and Bhabha attempt to create new “networks of associations between objects and ideas, cueing and channeling interpretations without closing down alternative readings” (Thompon qtd. in Da Vasques 163). These networks only become visible through an expressive agent that, for this dissertation, is Hip Hop.

Once contemporary urban Natives appropriated Hip Hop culture they influenced this expressive culture with their own complex form of expression informed by Native cultures (traditional and contemporary). The “objects and ideas” prevalent in the urban center became the dynamic foundation of cultural expression for the newly relocated Native people. The fluid structure of Hip Hop culture offered urban Native people the ability to “cue and channel interpretations” of their own culture(s) “without closing down alternative readings”. This complex representation of Native culture established in the urban center through the creative force of Hip Hop assisted in the formation of Native Hip Hop. However, there are tropes in Hip Hop’s history that exclude a Native perspective or identity. These tropes repeat and reinforce the (mis)representation of Native identity within Hip Hop.

(Mis)Represented Native identity in Hip Hop

The intercultural connection between African and Native Americans in the contemporary era is not a new phenomenon. The exchange of culture that arises out of these intercultural connections creates a complexity of issues related to identity. Hip Hop has been defined through an African-American diaspora that includes the influence of Brazil (Stanyeck 2004), England (Hebdidge 1979/1998), the Trans-Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993) and Jamaica (Hebdidge 1987, Toop 2000, Krims 2000). Additionally, Hip Hop historians have noted the global transformation of regional Hip Hop styles (Perkins 1996, Rahn 2002, Rivera 2003, Perry 2005, Chang 2006).

Four key figures at the onset of Hip Hop culture helped formalize the intercultural connection between African-American and Native culture: Pow Wow, Professor Griff, Kevin Powell/Ernie Paniccioli. And Cowboy.²⁶ These performers/authors all have contributed to the formation of Hip Hop culture. With their importance and visibility within the global arena, they either consciously or unconsciously neglect to acknowledge the Native presence identity in the music and culture.

²⁶ There are a number of Hip Hop artists (Rap, DJ, Break Dance, Graffiti, Aesthetics, Journalism/Writing) who could have been selected for this analysis. For the interest of this dissertation it was important to focus the range of examples, therefore I have selected these four individuals for their important contributions to the Hip Hop culture both historically and contemporaneously.

Pow Wow²⁷ (Robert Darrell Allen)

Pow Wow (Robert Darrell Allen) is an original member of the MC group Soul Sonic Force that included G.L.O.B.E., Mr. Biggs and Africa Bambaataa. Robert Allen boldly introduces the name “Powwow” which, as noted by Lassiter (1998), Browner (2000/2002), Ellis (2003), Lawlor (2006) et al, is an inter-tribal cultural event that has multiple functions as ritual, ceremony, rejuvenation and the revival of culture, social interaction and competition. By appropriating this name, is the artist Pow Wow stating that he represents physical manifestation of all these characteristics? Is Robert Allen exercising an authority over the representation of this Native cultural form by use, definition and repetition? Or rather, is Pow Wow lessening the dynamic impact that this cultural signifier has established for contemporary Native people through mis-appropriation? Within the scope of Hip Hop’s history, it could be argued that Pow Wow constructs an active space and place for Native people within Hip Hop culture by the very use of the signifier “powwow”.

Given that Pow Wow is a founding member of the Soul Sonic Force, it would be logical to conclude that Pow Wow assisted in placing Native identity at Hip Hop’s table. By the very presence of his DJ name, Pow Wow recalls the complexity of history, meaning and representation of Native people within

²⁷ The spelling here is consistent with how Robert Darrell Allen uses this stage name.

the U.S. As a result, Pow Wow functions as an agent for cultural change for Native people within Hip Hop culture. This is evident in Pow Wow's raps.

In the selection "Renegades of Funk",²⁸ Pow Wow refers to Chief Sitting Bull:

Prehistoric ages and the days of ancient Greece
 On down through the Middle Ages
 When the earth kept going through changes
 There's a business going on, cars continue to change
 Nothing stays the same, there were always renegades
 Like Chief Sitting Bull, Tom Payne
 Like Martin Luther King, Malcolm X
 They were renegades of the atomic age
 So many renegades (Planet Rock 1984)

Situating the prominent Hunkpapa, Lakota Native figure Sitting Bull (who was born Hoka-Psice (Jumping Badger) and later took his father's name of 'Sitting Bull') within this now classic Hip Hop selection, Pow Wow draws attention to the influence and cross-cultural connection between the African and Native American communities. In this selection, Pow Wow, Bambaataa and the entire Soul Sonic Force connect these key figures (American, African-American, Native) in American history who stood up for the civil rights of their communities, despite the official opposition to their campaigns within the U.S., Pow Wow recognizes Sitting Bull's influence on activism today.

In contrast to this sense of empowerment drawn from the inclusion of such a highly visible Native figure as Sitting Bull is the stereotypic use of

²⁸ Soul Sonic Force. Planet Rock Tommy Boy Music, 1984.

Native regalia by the Soul Sonic Force. Pow Wow consistently wears a stereotypical Plains Indian headdress along with other Afro-Centric regalia. This is seen not only on the album cover to “Planet Rock”²⁹ but also on the video for “Renegades of Funk.”³⁰ Why would a seemingly politically conscious rap group present a stereotypical Indian image in their performance space? One plausible answer would be that Pow Wow is signifying on the Mardi Gras Indian tradition of New Orleans; a tradition that respects Native American traditions even to the point of considering the costumes to be traditional and “ritual” in nature.³¹ Henry Durrell is mentioned by Smith as noticing the dress of the Mardi Gras Indians as being, “*well dressed*”³² (Smith 55).

David Penny, who is supported by Lipsitz, VanSpankeren, Draper and Smith through their respective work in this field, most clearly articulates the integration and “natural synthesis” of the Black American culture, via the “Old World African culture” and Native culture both in song, dance, dress and culture (Penny 39 – 40). Furthermore, Smith notes in regard to the history of the Mardi Gras Indian:

²⁹ See Appendix A, Illustration 1; Appendix A1, Illustration 2.

³⁰ <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDdc37P6r3I>>. Reviewed 5 Feb 2009.

³¹ See Appendix A2, Illustration 3. A useful ethnography of the Mardi Gras Indians can be found in Draper, David E. The Mardi Gras Indians: The Ethnomusicology of Black Associations in New Orleans. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. New Orleans: Tulane University, 1973., Smith, Michael P. Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line., VanSpankeren, Kathryn. The Mardi Gras Indian Song Cycle: A Heroic Tradition and Lipsitz, George. Mardi Gras Indians: Carnival and Counter-Narrative in Black New Orleans.

³² Emphasis in the original.

The largely underclass black Indian gangs remain outlaws. They remain tribal and anonymous, perform their own music, and march through the city on the back streets, where they come and go as they please...the black Indians refuse to subject themselves to the humiliation of being monitored and controlled by hostile authorities. To do so would betray the function and historical meaning of their independent spirit. (Smith 48)

Pow Wow's use of Native costume is directly in line with the Mardi Gras Indian tradition. Further, this Mardi Gras tradition connects directly with the attitude and ideology of the Zulu Nation, that included Pow Wow as a member.

Resistance to outside surveillance and authority is a prevalent theme in the Zulu Nation that reflects the post-colonial ideology inherent in Hip Hop culture.

There is little argument that Africa Bambaataa is one of the two dominant forces in the evolution of Hip Hop culture (Toop 2000). However, Africa Bambaataa exercises his self-proclaimed dominance over Hip Hop culture even to the point of being quoted as stating that his approval is "factology."³³

Bambaataa extends his hegemonic ideology through the Zulu Nation.³⁴ Pow Wow, therefore, does not consider his (mis)representation of Native culture as being stereotypical, but actually respectful of Native culture.

Africa Bambaataa is also photographed elsewhere donning a stereotypical Plains Indian headdress emphasizing the primary colors of the

³³ Sisario, Ben. "Dancing to the hip-hop genre: Smithsonian lauds 'the rhymes, the life'" Herald Tribune Thursday 2 March, 2006.

³⁴ As noted in Chapter 1, Africa Bambaataa is the founder of the Zulu Nation. This leads often times to the synonymous exchange of these names.

American flag: red, white and blue.³⁵ By maintaining the presence of the headdress in performance and publications (video, audio and print) Pow Wow, Africa Bambaataa along with the other members of the Soul Sonic Force, re-contextualize the use of Native regalia in Hip Hop in order to draw attention to the history and issues of Native people for non-Native communities. This then, is the Soul Sonic Force's attempt to construct a pan-Indian identity. This respect is undermined by the mis-use of Plains style headdress. The repeated mis-use of the flamboyantly colored headdress situates Native culture in a homogenous category defined by a displaced, commercialized representation of Plains Natives. This aligns the Soul Sonic Force's use of the headdress as an "Object hobbyist" representation defined by Philip Deloria (129 – 135). The "Object hobbyist favored the replication of old Indian artifacts and costumes" (P. Deloria 129). Joanne Barker continues this thought when she notes that hobbyists "prefer[ed to] retreat into nostalgia and transcendence from a modern, impersonal society through Indian beliefs that they believed connected them to a more authentic, natural truth" (Barker 58).³⁶ The headdress becomes a vacant racialized stereotype that (mis)represents Native identity in Hip Hop culture.

Pow Wow, along with Bambaataa, could have used their artistic platform to discuss, present and illuminate the important inter-cultural

³⁵ See Appendix A3, Illustration 4.

³⁶ Barker, Joanne. "Indian™ U.S.A." *Wicazo Sa Review* 18.1 (Spring 2003): 25 – 79.

connections between Black and Native cultures. Rather than offering an opinion about Native issues, Pow Wow makes these points loud and clear through his consistent (mis)representation of Native regalia. Pow Wow's (mis)representations enable a dialogue about Native culture originating at the nexus of traditional and popular culture.

Given the importance of the Soul Sonic Force in the history of Hip Hop, one would hope to believe that the appropriation of Native regalia by Pow Wow would be more than a token gesture. This would make a political statement about Native representation within the Hip Hop lexicon. Rather, what remains is a negative trope of Native identity that is commercially reproduced and transmitted. Pow Wow's stoic silence about the use and incorporation of Native regalia leaves his actions subject to critical analysis. The romantic image of the Indian that is embodied within the commercialized artifact of the (mis)represented headdress remains a co-opted signifier of Native identity in Hip Hop culture.

Professor Griff (Richard Griffin)

Professor Griff is an original and founding member of Public Enemy who was dismissed in 1989 by Chuck D, Flavor Flav, DJ Lord and Terminator X due to his overly anti-Semitic raps stemming from his militant Afro-Centric rhetoric. The popularity of the movie *Do The Right Thing* offered Public

Enemy a voice in the mainstream Professor Griff took advantage of this exposure when he spoke out against the Jewish community. He was removed from Public Enemy and the group reformed without him in 1990 (Toop 187).

Professor Griff is half Blackfoot and, despite his continued access and ability to communicate with activist circles and post-secondary students, he does not recognize his Native heritage. This is inconsistent for this controversial figure who lectures about issues of Afro-centrism, politics and Hip Hop. One would imagine that Professor Griff would acknowledge the politically charged history and politics of Native people, even his own Blackfoot nation. These issues could fuel for fire for his presentations and creative work that speak against the U.S. government. However, Professor Griff continues to neglect his Native heritage and chooses not to speak about the importance of Native issues. Could it be that Professor Griff is overwhelmed by the complexity of issues that surround Native people? Does Professor Griff feel that the acknowledgement of his mixed-blood Native heritage would be weakening his militant Afro-centric position, even though he is repeatedly referred to as a “warrior.”³⁷ How is it that such a focused, educated, and visible figure in the Hip Hop community could miss an opportunity to embrace a platform that others in Hip Hop have not entertained?³⁸

³⁷ <<http://www.hdqtrz.com/>>. Reviewed 5 Feb 2009.

³⁸ Following the logic of Native identity outlined in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, Professor Griff’s Native heritage could be understood as a Multi-Tribal identity (African, African American and Blackfoot).

Ron Welburn in his article “A Most Secret Identity, Native America Assimilation and Identity Resistance in African America” (292 – 320)³⁹ may be able to shed some light on the issues facing Professor Griff. This article presents a historical ethnological reading of social politics that is essentially autobiographical. This article helps us to understand why Professor Griff does not readily acknowledge his Native heritage.

Throughout the article Welburn outlines some of the complexities facing issues of historic and real identity loss, variations of resistance to Indian identity articulated through Black generational differences, and Black-Red-White racial consciousness as they pertain to mixed Black-Indian contemporary identity construction (294 – 304).

The issue of cultural support leads the discussion by Welburn to view Native identity inclusion in a positive light within Black identity. This is central to Welburn’s understanding of identity (297). The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s created a positive Black experience and offered a location of socio-political support for the Black community. Welburn redefines Afro-centrism, noting that this ideology not only essentialized the historical necessity of Africa as the center of humanity (304) but, further operates to close off the acceptance of any other identity or culture other than an outwardly

³⁹ Citations in this section will all come from Welburn, Ron. “A Most Secret Identity: Native America Assimilation and Identity Resistance in African America.” (292 – 320) in Brooks, James F. (ed) Confounding the Color Line, The Indian-Black Experience in North America. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. Page numbers will be used for reference.

recognizable African heritage. This then reifies the hypodecent, “one-drop-rule” or “one-drop-of-African-blood-rule” (304) that limits cultural interaction and rejects the complex identity of a mixed Black-Indian person.

As a result the “Black first” perspective constructs a singular identity, thereby assimilating the Native heritage present within an individual. At the core of his creative work, Professor Griff allies himself to Afro-centrism.

Professor Griff’s Blackfoot heritage is always present, but it is assimilated into a form of Black urban culture, as a means of securing a rhetorical voice that does not require further explanation. Further, Welburn discusses the use of hairstyles and dress as a method of transmitting one’s preferred identity. He mentions the use of the Afro, “freedom hair” (314) in the 1960/70s, the integration of Black language “‘ebonics’ to reinforce their Blackness”, (314) and the specific inclusion of urban aesthetics/dress, foods and black popular music (314 – 315) as examples that affirm a Black, Afro-centric heritage.⁴⁰ Professor Griff embodies these characteristics in his performances.

Without attempting to resolve this complex issue of Black-Indian biracial identity, Welburn concludes that each mixed, Black-Indian, racial person needs to:

set for themselves [the level of] Indianness and who is an Indian – whether they are reservation, off-reservation, community enclave, or urban-exurban-rural “lost birds” – will need to

⁴⁰ The socio-literary scholar Geneva Smitherman also discusses each of these cultural aspects in her books Talkin’ and Testifyin’. The Language of Black America, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1977 and Talkin’ that Talk, New York/London: Routledge, 1999.

respond to and be measured by the unique destructive legacies...Native peoples have experienced. (316)

This rationale gives Professor Griff the license to accept his inter-cultural identity and embrace his Blackfoot heritage. The unique relationship between these two cultures, African and Native American, transforms identity from a singular location to one of dynamic complexity. This methodology offers Professor Griff the agency to elude the essentialist or assimilationist tenor of his work by recognizing his mixed Native heritage. Yet, presented with questions along these lines Professor Griff refuses to reply. His silence confirms that his Black defined, Afro-centric focus has consumed, through assimilation, his Blackfoot heritage.

Kevin Powell and Ernie Paniccioli

A Native artist, legendary photographer, graffiti artist and author, Ernie Paniccioli (Cree) collaborated with the African-American editor Kevin Powell on a collection of photos for the book Who Shot Ya?: Three Decades of Hip Hop Photography (2002).⁴¹ In his introduction titled, "Notes of a Hip Hop Head," Kevin Powell discusses the socio-political developments in the urban center in the mid-1970s that led to the development of Hip Hop culture. It is

⁴¹ Paniccioli, Ernie. Who Shot Ya?, Three Decades of Hip Hop Photography. New York: Harper Collins, 2002.

interesting to note where the Native is represented in Powell's musical outline of Hip Hop:

[a]dd these factors together, multiply by, um, field hollers, work songs, the blues, Cab Calloway, zoot suiters, bebop, jitterbuggers, low-riders, doo-wop harmonizers, jump-rope rhymers, lyrical assassins like the Last Poets and Muhammad Ali, Nuyorican salsa and soul, Jamaican dub poetry, Afro-Southern sonic calls and responses in the form of James Brown, the wall carvings and murals of Africans, Latinos, Native Americans, and the drum, the conga, the pots and pans, being beat beat beaten here there everywhere and it all equals hip-hop. (Paniccioli x - xiv)

Powell continues using the words "magical, spiritual" in reference to Native people (and Paniccioli presumably, though he is not named) furthering a ghetto commodification that is itself a marginalized racist perspective of African-Americans. Powell writes, "a miracle sprung from the heavy bags and hand-me-down rags of those deferred dreams Langston Hughes had sung about years before" (Paniccioli xi). Statements like this riddle the opening pages of this historic Hip Hop photo documentary by a Native person who, as Powell and Africa Bambaataa both state, is centrally important to the evolution of Hip Hop culture (Paniccioli x).

This diatribe by Powell deflates the importance of Paniccioli's photographic artwork by situating it within a dominant African-American perspective. Powell does appear to be aware of this strategy as he returns again toward the end of his essay to reinsert Paniccioli's Cree heritage. However, this is mentioned only for the sake of representing the "lost" Indian

identity within popular culture.

Through a left-handed compliment equating Paniccioli's artistic work within Hip Hop with the Native American photographs by Edward Curtis, Powell reinserts the Native and celebrates its loss. Powell casts Paniccioli's work in a romantic light that glorifies the ghetto ethic that he proudly promotes in his essay. Comparing the work of Paniccioli to Curtis is a recipe for cultural disaster. Curtis focused on a reified, stereotypical, essentialized, wordlessly romantic view of Native people that was unapologetically colonialistic. As David Lewis notes:

By the beginning of the twentieth century they [Native people] were the disappearing Indians, fit for 'Wild West' pageants or, like Ishi, last of the Yahi, exhibition in the California Museum of Anthropology. They were Edward S. Curtis's 'Vanishing Race,' and James Fraser's "End of the Trail." After that Indians were forgotten, moved to the periphery of public place and attention. They became the subjects of salvage anthropologists who were more interested in their past than their future. Yet their symbolic value persisted and images emerged as needed. (Lewis 220)

Quite similar to Curtis' Native American images, Powell limits the character, depth, space, place, identity and content of the work that Paniccioli has produced. Powell had the opportunity to critically unravel the singular, limited view of Native people and their historic relationship to the foundation of American expressive culture. Paniccioli placed trust in an author who is more than capable of reading between the lines of stereotypes and compartmentalization. Powell elected to present a re-packaged perspective of

Native identity that is centered within a historically inaccurate, commodified stereotype. Powell did not speak about the intercultural connections between the African diaspora and Native cultures. Little recognition is given to Ernie Paniccioli, a contemporary Native male who documented, through photos, the evolution of Hip Hop culture. For Powell, the Native American “vanishes” adding another strata of suppression and cultural assimilation that favors an African American position. Powell erases the Native influence within Hip Hop by neglecting its presence in an act of colonial control. This establishes a (mis)representation of the cultural evolution of this art form that was not the premise of this photo essay.

What Powell may not have anticipated was a rebuttal by Paniccioli to his colonial reading of the photos. Unlike the other examples of Native (mis)representation that have, and will be reviewed, Paniccioli positions himself within the work under examination. Paniccioli re-presents Native identity within the evolution of Hip Hop. To begin, Paniccioli reviews the intercultural connections between Blacks, Natives, Puerto Ricans and Latino at the epicenter of Hip Hop: the South Bronx, New York (Paniccioli 177 – 183). Powell and Paniccioli do concur on this birthplace. Though this positions a location for the inception of Hip Hop, Paniccioli does not prescribe a starting date for the genre. Powell found it necessary to trace the genealogy of Hip Hop, from the 1940s through the present, and prescribe a starting date for Hip

Hop history, “with Sugarhill Gang’s ‘Rapper’s Delight’ in 1979” (Paniccioli xi). Paniccioli realizes Hip Hop as an on-going art form that has evolved through collective cultural histories and socio-political experiences.⁴² Electing not to prescribe a starting date for Hip Hop releases the genre from colonial transcriptions of time. Angela Cavender Wilson defines Paniccioli’s postcolonial action as a “means [of] defying the disciplinary boundaries that dissect and categorize our [read: Hip Hop] traditions, as these boundaries simply do not exist in Indigenous ways in which the physical, spiritual, emotional, and intellectual are inseparable” (Wilson 73). Wilson places importance on Indigenous knowledge (“ways”)⁴³ that allows for multiple readings of Hip Hop history that can be culturally defined.

Paniccioli addresses the racist brutality that he endured as a young Native man in New York.

Here I am looking like Cochise in the neighborhood with kids who look like they came from *The Sopranos* on one corner; kids who look like they’re from Guyana or Africa on another corner; kids who look like they’re from the Caribbean or Puerto Rico on another...And the brothers [African American males] just looked at me and didn’t really care; every time they saw me get into a fight they were there on my side (Paniccioli 179).⁴⁴

⁴² In an email interview Paniccioli stated that he references Hip Hop as an “art form” rather than a “culture.” Paniccioli also stated that he does not believe in a “singular hip hop history.” This references the ongoing evolution that Paniccioli acknowledges of this genre. Email correspondence, 5 June 2009.

⁴³ In her article “Reclaiming Our Humanity,” Wilson substitutes the unspecific term “ways” for “knowledge” which captures the characteristics that are stated here (Wilson 73 – 77).

⁴⁴ emphasis in the original.

Paniccioli is clear about noting his Cree⁴⁵ heritage but does not attempt to replace this with an Afro-centric perspective. Rather, as this quote expresses, Paniccioli realizes an intercultural connections between Natives and African Americans at the crossroads of resistance.

Toward the end of his essay, Paniccioli states that the current form of Hip Hop culture is a “second colonization” working to eliminate the combined efforts of African-Americans and Natives in Hip Hop (Paniccioli 196) through commercialization. For Paniccioli, this “second colonization” is an extension of the first colonization of Native people within the U.S. (Paniccioli 178). He acknowledges this colonial struggle as a shared site of intercultural resistance for Natives and African-Americans within Hip Hop. He lists the techniques of this second colonization⁴⁶ - “bootlegging”, “overselling”, “overproduction”, “erasure” - coming through the vehicles of White racism, capitalism, police brutality and drug marketing, Paniccioli notes these techniques “articulated the root cause of *our* anger” (Paniccioli 195 - 196).⁴⁷ By identifying the colonial struggle as “*our*,” Paniccioli does not limit the cultural importance of a post-

⁴⁵ Cochise was from the Apache nation, not Cree. Paniccioli involves this Native icon as a method of articulating the level of stereotyping and racist mentality to which he was subjected early in his life. The ironic coincidence here, as will be discussed later in this Chapter, is that “Apache” was the title of the work by a non-Native composer that becomes the “National Anthem of Hip Hop” (Africa Bambaataa and Kook Herc).

⁴⁶ The second colonization point, in advance, to what Paniccioli will later recognize as a “new enemy” for Native people in *Sovereign Bones* (2007). Though the names may have changed, the principle remains the same; over-commodification and (mis)representation of Native people within the global mass media.

⁴⁷ My emphasis added.

colonial resistance in Hip Hop to either African-American or Native. Instead, he seeks to contest this colonial operation in order to represent an intercultural resistance. Taking this perspective, if Hip Hop is colonized, then African-American and Native people who participate in Hip Hop are ultimately colonized. Paniccioli performs his expressive anti-colonial maneuver through the combined theories of the “pictorial turn” and “transformational praxis.” The “pictorial turn,” as described in Foucault’s Picture Theory and expanded by W.J.T. Mitchell, affords the object being viewed to reverse its position and reflect its perception upon the external environment (Paulitano 182). The “transformational praxis, as stated earlier, is the “critical self-affirmative process [that] must be consciously directed away from the assimilative lure of the statist politics of recognition and instead be fashioned toward our own on-the-ground strategies of freedom” (Tully qtd. in Coulthard 17). Applying first the “pictorial turn,” followed immediately by the “transformational praxis,” Paniccioli is able to reverse the embedded and external colonial power, gaining the liberty of self-determination and expression within an intercultural expressive agent, namely Hip Hop.

From this reading, one can conclude that Paniccioli is not only aware of the (mis)representations in the introduction to Who Shot Ya?, but sought further to challenge Powell’s racialized colonial perspective. Paniccioli therefore re-presents and supports his Native identity through the agent of Hip

Hop.

Through Paniccioli's documentation, Hip Hop was able to recount its ongoing intercultural history. Paniccioli's reading of Hip Hop history stems from an understanding that he is "marginalized and an outsider in his own country."⁴⁸ As a result of this perspective, Paniccioli's photo essay of Hip Hop history can be read as a Native history of Hip Hop. This understanding recalls a quote from the legendary jazz drummer, Max Roach, who profoundly stated that, "*all American music is Native American*" (Gehr 2007).⁴⁹ From this statement, Roach points to three possible meanings: origin, cultural exchange and musical identity. This identifies a third space of sovereignty, a location that affords Native people self-determination beyond the political limitations of space, location and identity.⁵⁰ Jazz, like Hip Hop, is an expressive border-crossing agent (Murray 1976, Gabbard 1995, Monson 1996, Jones 1999/2002, Taylor 2002). Though established within the borders of the United States, jazz is able to co-exist with, and within, multiple musics, cultures and identities in order to persist as a dynamic cultural art form (Levine 1989). Jazz balances music "indigenous" (Native) to America and outside of the United States (Levine 8). Virginia Giglio notes that there is a "contemporary generation of

⁴⁸ Paniccioli, Ernie. "Interview with Ernie Paniccioli" @ 149st, New York City Cyber Bench. 27 Oct. 2001 <<http://www.at149st.com/ernie2.html>>. Reviewed 2 Aug 2003.

⁴⁹ My emphasis added.

⁵⁰ Bruyneel, Kevin. The Third Space of Sovereignty, The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Native American composers [who are] active in jazz and blues as well as the powwow drum” (Giglio 157). Cultural exchange, as we have seen earlier in this example, is present as an anti-colonialistic strategy that allows the possibility of self-determination in regard to identity. Identity then establishes a fluid interactive space that is malleable by the invested actor. The pictorial turn-transformational praxis technique expands the engagement of expressive culture, beyond imposed colonial limitations. Both Paniccioli and Roach perform this function within their respective art forms (visual and audio) that are, at its core, influenced by a Native perspective.

Cowboy (Keith Wiggins)

Keith Wiggins (aka Cowboy) is an original MC who worked with GrandMaster Flash (Joseph Saddler), Melle Mel (Melvin Glover), Kid Creole (Nathaniel Glover) in the 3MC's from 1973 - 78 (Fricke and Ahearn 70 – 74). Scorpio (Eddie Morris) and Raheim (Guy Todd Williams) later joined to form Grand Master Flash and the Furious Five. This was the group who produced “The Message” (1982) that continues to be a legendary Hip Hop classic. Cowboy is also the one who coined the phrase that is mistakenly assigned to Lovebug Starski, “Throw you hands in the air and wave ‘em like you just don’t care!” (Fricke and Ahearn 71) Cowboy, along with other MC’s of the time, used a selection by the Incredible Bongo Band that reworked the song *Apache*

to start their raps. *Apache* is a song composed around 1960 by a non-Native musician in an attempt to represent Native Americans in music. As will be discussed later in this chapter, *Apache* spearheaded the Native influence in Hip Hop from its inception to today. The appropriation of the name Cowboy, influenced by American history and the use of the song/sample *Apache* create a colonial dominance over Native (sonic) identity.

Cowboy, who inherited this nickname because of his tall posture and bow-legged walk, took advantage of *Apache*'s crowd shaking effect capturing the attention of the audience through his charismatic raps. The interplay between the master of ceremony, Cowboy, and the sonic sub cultural artifact, *Apache* (read: Indian) helped shape these early years of Hip Hop. Did the audience take note of this inter-cultural connection? Was it ever acknowledged that a pop culture conjunction was happening on Bronx streets? Was the technique of playing Cowboy and *Apache* (read: Indians) merely left to be a coincidence in the annals of Hip Hop history? David Rich Lewis recounts, "[f]rom the late 1930s when John Ford and Hollywood discovered...Navajos...Apaches and ...Comanche Indians... became our cinematic projection of a savage West" (Lewis 212). In reference to the "cowboy and Indian" television shows of the 1930s, author T.V. Reed states an obvious point about the text, storyline/narrative, mis-use and historic stereotype of Native identity in television. He states that the writers, "wrote

good cowboy and Indian stories because that was what they thought the public wanted" (Reed 79). Cowboy's use of the *Apache* sample situates his raps in a romanticized history consistent with the Western television/film programs of the 1930s era. Cowboy appropriates a hyper-reality constructed through a mass media stereotype and representation of Native identity. The "projection of [a] savage West" is articulated through the use of the sample *Apache* and the hierarchy suggested by his DJ name. Together these factors express a "playing Indian" identity.⁵¹

Cowboy constructs an authoritative colonial image with the integration of a dominant physical posture expressed through body language (stance), a gross (mis)representative musical underscore (*Apache*) and the iconic use of name/language (Master of Ceremony, Cowboy). By co-opting this literal space, through the active engagement of these characteristics, Cowboy self-centers his raps within the growing territory (dare it be referenced as frontier!) of Hip Hop that exists not only in a regional location, New York City and the Bronx, but also through repetitive radio play and commercial recording. David Lewis again describes a fictitious and stereotyped Native identity.

In twentieth-century American history, literature, art, movies, and advertising - in the images we create for ourselves and for export - mythic cowboys and Indians continue to symbolize the frontier

⁵¹ Deloria, Philip J. Playing Indian. Yale: Yale University Press, 1994. See also Dunn, Carolyn. "Playing Indian." Jolivette, Andrew (ed). Cultural Representation in Native America. New York/Toronto/UK: Altamira Press, 2006 (139 – 158).

experience, the romantic images that recall a simpler though nonexistent American West. (Lewis 220)⁵²

The constructed persona of Cowboy creates an undercurrent of fantasy and myth that refortifies nostalgia for the colonial west.

Due to a laundry list of circumstances following the success of “The Message”, the members of the Fabulous Five departed on less than hospitable terms. Although there was some collaborations among the members in later years, they never fully returned to their collective work. Unfortunately, in 1989 Cowboy passed away at the age of twenty-eight after spending two years fighting a crack cocaine addiction.⁵³ However, like the rap name that he appropriated, the legacy of Cowboy continues to live on as part myth and part reality in the pioneering history of Hip Hop.

The diaspora of the sample *Apache*

In a phone interview with Chris LaMarr he spoke about the influence of funk and R&B on the work of WOR (phone interview 14 Dec 2008). When asked if this illustrated the influence of the African diaspora in the music of WOR, LaMarr noted that the music, “Hip Hop and powwow music,” are not stable, but continue to be used “again and again” (phone interview 18 Dec 2008). Combining the previously outlined concept of transformative

⁵² The artistic areas that Lewis describes for mass media consumption at the dawn of the 20th century are the same for Hip Hop near the close of the 20th century.

⁵³ GrandMaster Flash <<http://www.hiphop-network.com>>. Reviewed 6 Feb 2009.

expression with this idea of repetition and fluidity, LaMarr recognizes the importance of music in motion. Elsewhere Hip Hop scholars discuss the importance of mobility in Hip Hop as a method of “glocalization” in order to broaden the sphere(s) of Hip Hop culture that communicate, and perform, between various local areas and on a global level (Androutsopoulos 44 – 45).

Bakari Kitwana’s states that, “Hip Hop as a culture indisputably emerged in the South Bronx in the late 1970s...before branching out around the country in the early 1980s” (Kitwana 201). Kitwana, a noted author and journalist in Hip Hop, was the Executive Editor of The Source, the Editorial Director at Third World Press and the music reviewer for the National Public Radio program “All Things Considered”. Additionally, his works were published in the Village Voice and The Progressive Magazine.

With these literary credentials one would suspect that this journalist would be well informed about the numerous global and cross-cultural contributions within Hip Hop. Kitwana acknowledges Native people as being “to a lesser extent” influenced by Hip Hop culture. However, he locates the Native influence from Hip Hop as following, in order, Blacks, Latinos and Asians (Kitwana 200). Again, the Native perspective is marginalized in popular culture nearly to the point of erasure by a constructed (mis)representation from the dominant society. Kitwana consciously constructs a position of cultural authority for Hip Hop comfortably within an African-

American perspective and more aptly within the perspective of “Black youth” (Kitwana xii).

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, there are many other African-American scholars and artists who recognize and understand the cultural dialogue that Hip Hop affords. However, in defining a cultural hierarchy within Hip Hop, Kitwana substantiates not only an Afro-centric perspective, but also illustrates the depth of mis-understanding that prevails in Hip Hop.

Native Hip Hop artists have not rested on their proverbial laurels, but their exclusion in the documented history fuels inspiration for artists throughout the evolution of Hip Hop. This example moves the discussion of cultural contact from a cross-cultural setting to the intercultural.

As defined by Jason Stanyek in his work on the intercultural connections within the African diaspora (Stanyek 2 – 12) “interculturalism” Stanyek writes, “seems to subsist on the simultaneous maintenance and transcendence of the spatial formations that play a role in the creation of distinct identities” (Stanyek 11). A critical reading of the example *Apache* helps to illuminate the intercultural connections in Hip Hop between Native/African American communities.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The reversal of placement of these identity markers is specific at this point. From the start of this chapter the focus originated from an Africa-American position with the active integration, involvement and recognition of Native identity. At this point in the chapter the perspective switches to be from a Native perspective onto an African-American viewpoint as realized through the intercultural connections within Hip Hop. This reading will remain in affect for the remainder of the chapter.

Briefly surmised, *Apache* is an instrumental composition that was created by a non-Native performer/composer who attempted to reference Native American music. The end result became one of Hip Hop's most treasured devices, a sample. This sample has served as a creative source for many artists. Most importantly, this sample emphasizes the importance of Native identity in Hip Hop. The sample defines what Stuart Hall has coined, "a still point in a turning world" (qtd. in Lawlor 38). Composed by a non-Native individual, this song, and later sample, was never intended to be a specific Native American musical representation. Instead, this work produces a critical discussion of authenticity, cultural authority and mimesis. This sample continues to be masked and reworked by artists since the 1970s, recollecting a Native identity that supports a post-industrial urban African-American identity.

The creation of an *Apache*

The 1950s brought a new attitude in film toward Native people. Film director John Ford attempted to portray Native people in a more sympathetic and realistic light in his films (Price 158 – 161). Although other films related to Apache culture were already visible during this period, it is the 1954 film *Apache* that firmly established Native representation within popular music.

Apache was developed by the integration and borrowing of two very important elements of musical evolution: melody and rhythm. The melodic evolution of *Apache* was originally composed as an instrumental work by British guitarist Jerry Lordon. Lordon was inspired in 1959 by viewing of the film *Apache* (1954).⁵⁵ In a 1993 interview Lordon explained, “I wanted something noble and dramatic, reflecting the courage and savagery of the Indian” (Lordon/Matos, 1993/2005).⁵⁶ Lordon’s recording of the original *Apache* was completed in forty-five minutes, and he expected the release “to be a B-side” (Lordon, 1993). Instead, this composition became a hit that has inspired the beat and (Native) spirit of Hip Hop culture.

Since its arrival on July 21, 1960, on the British pop charts this selection has been re-recorded and remixed by many artists. The first released version was recorded by British group The Shadows in June 1960 and released the following month. One week later on July 28, 1960, Bert Weedon released his version of *Apache* that reached number forty-four on the British singles chart only to resurface on August 11, 1960, where it found its place at number twenty-four.⁵⁷ After this two-week listing the Shadows’ version of *Apache* returned on August 25, 1960, to the British singles chart and remained at the

⁵⁵ Jerry Lordon, “Apache”, Francis Day, and Hunter Ltd./Regent Music Corp., 1960.

⁵⁶ See Appendix A4, Illustration 5.

⁵⁷ Though Bert Weedon recorded his version early in 1960, his tracks were left unreleased until later that same year.

top of the charts for five weeks through the end of September of that same year.⁵⁸

In the United States, The Shadows' original 1960s version remained unknown. However, *Apache* was introduced in 1961 by a jazz guitarist from Denmark, Jorgen Ingmann. Ingmann produced a cover version that was entitled "Jorgen Ingmann and His Guitar;" that arrived at number two on the US pop charts and number one on Canada's CHUM Radio Chart.⁵⁹ In his article "Images of the American West in Rock" Richard Aquila recollected:

Jorgen Ingmann had a hit with an instrumental entitled "Apache". Ingmann used guitar riffs to imitate the sound of arrows whizzing through the air. The trick sound worked, and thousands of Americans purchased the record, which capitalized on the exotic image of the Indian. (Aquila 419)

Apache gained popularity through a sonic presentation of "playing Indian" that, by the early 1960s, was already located within the mental landscape of the dominant (read: white) American mainstream. This representation and fictional "play" does not empower Native identity but further establishes the limits of Native identity to colonialist control (Deloria 7 – 8).

The rhythmic development of *Apache* has a similar twisted lineage. A reworked version of *Apache* by the Incredible Bongo Band surfaced in 1972, and is noted by Africa Bambaataa and DJ Kool Herc as "hip-hop's National

⁵⁸ <<http://www.skidmore.edu/~gthomps/britrock/60brchro/60brch60.html#JUN>>. Reviewed 5 Mar 2007.

⁵⁹ <<http://www3.sympatico.ca/craig.smith/chum61.htm>>. Reviewed 5 Mar 2007.

anthem" (Toop 60). Although this version was not a hit upon its release, the long percussion break in the middle has been sampled countless times on Hip Hop recordings from the 1980s onward. The version to which Bambaataa referred was not the earlier productions by The Shadows, Ingmann or Weedon. The 1972 studio project version by Michael Viner and an ad hoc group of percussionists from Los Angeles, known as the Incredible Bongo Band, produced this recording for MGM Pride in 1973. The Incredible Bongo Band disbanded shortly thereafter in 1974. Michel Viner borrowed the track *Apache* from Preston Epps's funky, Latin work "Bongo Rock". This selection by Epps was attractive to Viner because of the extended bongo break in the middle of the song. Viner added more percussion to Epps' already exciting musical creation, and lengthened the mid-section bongo break. "Bongo Rock" via the Incredible Bongo Band, became *Apache* and remained a staple throughout the 1970s in the DJ repertoire featured at parties and B-Boy/B-Girl battles. Hip Hop historian Jeff Cheng notes that these battles were appropriately mislabeled as war dances (Cheng 21).

The *Apache* sample continues to be revisited and re-mixed in contemporary electronica, techno, drum and bass, funk, DJ/party collections and, of course, Hip Hop. A quick listing of some important recordings that use this sample from 1960 – 2003 is: Bert Weedon: *Apache* (1960), Cliff Richard and the Shadows: *Apache* (1960), Jorgen Ingmann: *Apache* (1961), The

Ventures: *Apache* (1963), Davie Allan and the Arrows: *Apache* (1965), Incredible Bongo Band: *Apache* (1973), West Street Mob: *Break Dance (Electric Boogie)* (1973), The Sugarhill Gang: *Apache, Jump On It!* (1981), Goldie: *Inner City Life* (1995), Future Sound of London: *We Have Explosives* (1996), Moby: *Machete* (1999), The Roots: *Thought @ Work* (2002), Nas: *Made You Look* (2003).

At the core of these recordings and productions is the (mis)representation of Native identity.⁶⁰ If that were only the point to be made, the concept of Native identity in Hip Hop would be a mere residue on the vinyl of history. However, there is more at stake than just a simple reworked track and break-beat.

The glocalization of Native identity from the original song is constructed by an Englishman, which is then brought to the U.S. by a Dutch guitarist and exposed to the Hip Hop Nation (Alim 1- 19) by two African-American DJ's who are of Jamaican heritage. Though created as a romantic stereotypical reference to Native identity, the song/sample itself transposes this meaning into a stable signifier of Native identity. The song/sample produces a semantic inversion or "flips the script" (Smitherman 279 – 282) on the non-Native author of this work to become a firm representation of Native identity within Hip Hop culture. Once the song *Apache* is reduced to a sample, the work is not limited

⁶⁰ The (mis)representation brings into the discussion the dual perspective of a representation and the mis-representation. In doing so, the intended and inferred meaning of the example both have an equal location and means of entering the discussion.

or bound. Rather, the work is elevated to the location of a pliable and repeatable sample. Yet, within each of the repetitive re-versions of this sample through the many subgenres of Hip Hop, as stated above, *Apache* continues to be defined by its multiple lines of cultural identification.

Imani Perry reminds us of the cipa that is the “conceptual space in which heightened consciousness exists” (Perry 107). The cipa defines a space for the sample to converge sonically with a Native reading and application. The conceptual space is the repetition of the sample. The heightened consciousness is the realization of the Native reference within the sample. These references, either positive or negative, of the Native identity within the sample are then transposed through the space provided by the cipa. The identified Native representation within the sample engages the cipa through Thomas Turino’s “trans-state cultural formations” (Turino 58 – 63). The trans-state cultural formations are three categories of glocal interaction (immigrant, diaspora, cosmopolitan) that afford the represented identity the ability to transform and function outside of predisposed colonial binaries. The trans-state cultural process of a Native sample produces a Native cipa for Hip Hop that has the potential to re-contextualize the genre through a Native perspective. As a result, for Native artists, the Euroamerican musical hegemony over Native identity is sonically disrupted by a glocal transposition of identity. For non-Native artists, the sample engages the

distortion-for-protection hypothesis.⁶¹ As defined, the distortion-for-protection hypothesis allows the object, in this case the sample, to counter forms of colonial oppression in a self-determined fashion, while retaining a core identity. The distortion (rhythmic variation, melodic adjustment, word/title substitution) is the application of the sample. The protection is the Native identity. A sample that contains a Native representation, utilized by a non-Native artist, can perform a dual function of creative application for the non-Native artist and cultural retention for the Native identity. Within Hip Hop, *Apache* reclaims and re-presents Native identity, for both Native and non-Native artists.

The attempted sonic assimilation of this sample finds an ironic parallel to the IRA, Termination Policies and economic push/pull factors of the post-WWII era. If we examine the place and origin of *Apache* in light of the U.S. political landscape of the time (c. 1954- 60s), Native identity is articulated both visible and invisible in Native and non-Native communities. As discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, the Termination Policy for Native people has been reinforced in many ways throughout U.S. history: 1953 – 1968 (Public Law 280.67 Stat. 588), 1934 – 1953 (Indian Reorganization Act), 1887 (General Allotment Act), 1831 (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*), 1823 (*Johnson v. McIntosh*), 1790 (Trade and Intercourse Acts) (Canby 11 – 33). If we look

⁶¹ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

closely and connect these laws designed to “terminate the Indian problem” (Canby 26) within the U.S., the song/sample, *Apache*, came at a time when the hallmark of this policy, the Indian Reorganization Act, the Indian Relocation Acts and PL-280, were enacted. As Native people have endured these political strategies of termination, so too does the sample *Apache* persist in the groove of Hip Hop. Recognizing the impact and importance of this sample throughout the course of Hip Hop history, and the transgressive theoretical concepts that offer the sample the ability to transform and re-present a negotiate space, it becomes quite evident that Native identity is the internal thread, the bloodline that has persisted from the vinyl to the digital age.

More Apache: The Apache Walk and Film

Another (mis)representation of Apache in Hip Hop culture is the *Apache Walk* (Fricke and Ahearn 5). This is the line that a person seeking to be a gang inductee walks between other inducted members of the gang, thereby subjecting himself/herself to physical attacks and beatings. A survivor of this “ritual” is awarded with acceptance into the gang and would be allowed to wear colors, insignias and other visible markers of gang culture (Davis 11-17). The name’s origin can be attributed to the South Bronx (41st Precinct area) and to the aforementioned music selection “Apache” that was popular during this period. BOM5 of the Rock Steady Crew recalls, “Even when I was in a

gang, we played 'Apache'...on a phonograph hooked up to a lamppost outside....Gangs were already doing it, man" (qtd. in Fricke and Ahearn 9).

The walk itself symbolized a racialized reading and mis-appropriation of Native culture. Rituals of becoming a man/woman are held in high regard and considered sacred rights-of-passage into adulthood (Deloria 39 – 43). It should be noted that break dancing was an outgrowth of gang culture where fighting, dance "battles" and, as mentioned previously, "war dances", began to overtake physical violence.

Thomas DeFrantz remarks that social power, physical identity and authority of space is affirmed through this performative art. DeFrantz traces the physicality of this dance style from the evolution of capoeira, a Brazilian martial art dance form that was "disguised as dance." Breaking developed as a style of movement when breakdancers – B Boys-filled the musical breaks between records mixed by disc jockeys at parties and discotheques" (DeFrantz 83 – 84). Noting the use of the circle as a means of building community, the dance was performed in a circular formation, or ring-shout. The ring-shout has been evident throughout the African diaspora evolving from capoeira and into break dancing (DeFrantz xv – xvii).

If the concept of the circle was used as a means to define space and community physically within the performative arena of dance, the use of the parallel lines for the *Apache Walk* can be seen as a repositioning of this

inclusive attitude into a trajectory that is defined by the compression and architecture of the modern urban landscape. A potential gang member, performing the *Apache Walk* does not only physically state that he/she is willing, and effectively able, to support the community of the gang, that is prescribed by the surrounding linear structures (economics, education, employment, et al), but is also in agreement with the ideology of the gang itself. This attitude of resistance is epitomized by Fort Apache.

Fort Apache: The Bronx was another appropriation of the Apache image that appeared on film when it was released on February 6, 1981 (Rivera 54 – 55).⁶² This 1981 film borrowed its name from the 1948 film simply titled, *Fort Apache*. Since the first showing of this post-WWII film on March 9, 1948 by film director John Ford, which included the iconic actor John Wayne, myths and romantic images of the Apache continued to reign. Though viewed as more sympathetic to Native people, the Western romantic myths of Native identity remained. As John Price noted following John Ford's 1950 classic film *Broken Arrow*, by 1967 there was a popularization of films that included Apache themes and made use of this tribe's name including: *Apache Drums* (1951), *Apache War Smoke* (1952), *Apache Country* (1952), *Battle at Apache Pass* (1952), *Apache* (1954), *Apache Ambush* (1955), *Apache Warrior* (1957), *Apache Territory* (1958) and *Geronimo* (1962).

⁶² See Appendix A6, Illustration 7.

The Fort Apache in this 1981 film is the 41st Precinct in the South Bronx. George Hankins simply stated, “[i]t was bad...” (Fisher 1), referencing this Precinct in a 1993 New York Times article. Mr. Hankins further discussed the names of the gangs who were visible during this time and place (Savage Skulls, Savage Nomads, Ghetto Brothers, Black Spades, Spanish Mafia, Seven Immortals, Seven Crowns) and the “cowboy nicknames” (Fisher 1) that were in frequent use (Wyatt Earp, Billy the Kid, Jesse James).⁶³ The police station Fort Apache opened in 1914, but was not prescribed the nickname until the early 1970s by Lieutenant Clitter during a protest at the precinct (Walker 2).

The retired police officers that worked in this precinct consistently spoke of the poor and inhumane conditions of the area. The police felt that a growing immigrant population was surrounding them and that they were constantly “under siege” (Kappstatter 1). Walker suggested that this population has “171,000 [policing area] – 92,000 Puerto Ricans, 73,000 blacks, and 6,000 designated as others” (Walker 7). Walker took liberty to compare this dense non-Anglo community to “the grassy plains of Custer’s last stand...this historic and tiny outpost [known] as ‘Fort Apache’” (Walker x). As a reaction to the perceived growing unstable conditions in the area, the police there developed

⁶³ Future research will need to be conducted in deconstructing these names and their relation to the development of gang culture for this time period. At the present moment it is only suspect that these may be inter-related to the incarceration of Native men/women.

a sense of pride and camaraderie. “Serving there was a badge of honor” stated Officer Manuel Galarza (Fisher 2).

The inhumane conditions of the area (i.e., a reservation system), the growing surrounding immigrant community and the romantic projection that the 41st precinct is the “tiny outpost” on the urban landscape that is an updated version of General Custer’s “last stand” reveals, a telling racist undercurrent directed at Native people. This example perfectly draws together the phenomenological issues at stake with the evolution of gang-police interaction and Hip Hop’s (mis)representation of Native identity.

By juxtaposing Fort Apache with the Bronx we see the militarization of the post-industrial center that is New York City, and more aptly the Bronx itself, become linked to the historic warfare between the U.S. government and members of the Apache Nation. Though not stated directly, the repetition of this signifier enabled the officers to believe, consciously or unconsciously, that they will ultimately prevail. The precinct functioned like Wild West literature, and later Wild West shows, television and film, where the police (frontiers men, cowboys) struggled against the inarticulate savage Indians (Price 156). Like Custer’s prophetic last stand with the 7th Calvary that would result in an epic battle between Native people and the U.S military, the police precinct is surrounded. This becomes a point of signification for the police officers as they assume suitably prescribed roles.

Geronimo's resistant efforts (Goyathlay) toward the U.S. government define a Native identity. Once the Apache Nation, and Geronimo specifically, were (mis)labeled as rebels, due to their resistance toward the U.S. government, numerous campaigns were launched in an attempt to arrest Geronimo. This appeared to be the modus operandi for the 41st Precinct. Each arrest attempted to control the increased presence of the surrounding immigrant community; a community represented by Hip Hop culture. This helped solidify the simulation cum simulacra historical myths that originated from pop culture (mis)representations. In essence, the police played "cowboys and Indians" in their daily professional lives.⁶⁴ This possessive investment of power and authority defined the maintenance of a localized hegemonic structure that allowed little or no room from opposing (minority culture) points of view. To conclude, Geronimo was eventually arrested on September 4, 1886, by General Nelson Miles, was first moved to Fort Marion, FL, then moved to Mt. Vernon, AL in 1887, and finally to Fort Sill, OK where he eventually died on February 17, 1909 (Debo 1986). With this ending to the story, the repetition of the name, Fort Apache, rang loud across the grand divide that the precinct, in the end, always does get their (Native) man.

⁶⁴ For more information on this level of "playing cowboys and Indians" see Deloria, Phillip Joseph. Playing Indian. Connecticut/London, Yale University Press: 1999, Reed, T.V., "Old Cowboys, New Indians: Hollywood Frames the American Indian." Wicazo Sa Review 16. 2 (Autumn 2001): 75-96, Mihesuah, Devon A. American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities. USA: Clarity Press, 1996.

Repositioning and Analysis of Native Identity in Hip Hop

The title of the work by Lordon, *Apache*, represented a direct racial stereotype of Native culture. As stated earlier, Lordon was seeking to create, “something noble and dramatic, reflecting the courage and savagery of the Indian.” This cultural (mis)representation of an entire Native culture was nothing less than sonic racism. Lordon took active possession of Native identity and distorted its image creating (mis)representations that have remained through today. Native identity became colonized and marginalized not only through British (Lordon, *The Shadows*, et al), but also Danish (Jorgen Ingmann) sonic control.

Ingmann exercised his authoritative privilege on the meaning and representation of Native identity through a fictitious image that was created by historic stereotypes from the Wild West Shows of television and film (Price 167).⁶⁵ In this photo, we can see that Ingmann defined an Apache culture in a Plains-style headdress ripe with commercially produced colored feathers as he donned an aggressive grimace.

These two artists, Lordon and Ingmann, objectify Native identity that is consistent with George Lipsitz’s concept of the “Possessive Investment in Whiteness”. In this revealing work, Lipsitz traced the racialized power play

⁶⁵ See Appendix A5, Illustration 6.

that exists between minority communities (African-American, Latino American, Asian American and Native Americans) and “white” communities.

As a result of this historic racism “white” communities found themselves in a position of privilege that is embedded within the psychological landscape of the U.S. social climate at the end of the 20th century (Lipsitz 1 – 23). “The possessive investment in whiteness is not a simple matter of black and white; all racialized minority groups have suffered from it, albeit to different degrees and in different ways.” (Lipsitz 2) Specifically addressing the Native communities, Lipsitz writes:

Although reproduced in a new form in every era, the possessive investment in whiteness has always been influenced by its origins in the racialized history of the United States – by its legacy of slavery and segregation, of “Indian” extermination and immigrant restrictions, of conquest and colonialism. (Lipsitz 3)

The new form to which Lipsitz referred in this era is the recording of the 1960s that gave birth to the sample in the 1970s.

John Connell and Chris Gibson discussed the cross-cultural manifestations that breed intercultural relationships through the mobility of recordings via tapes, CDs, MP3s and, presently, internet file sharing (Connell and Gibson 160 – 191). The transition from home to regional, regional to national, national to international (i.e. glocal) yields a complex transformation and active re-presentation that traverses each contact point or contact zone (Connell and Gibson 188 – 189). Identity then for the recording, or in this case

the sample *Apache*, becomes dialogically transformed from cross-cultural to intercultural via the process of diaspora. Yet, the core identity is still present and fluidly re-articulated within the layers (Native and non-Native) of cultural interaction. The combined cross-cultural (borrowing, appropriation, influence, incorporation) and intercultural (corporeal) context for this work, *Apache*, illustrates the multiple dynamic levels of Tribal Native music/expressive culture.

What sets this sample in motion is the “exotic,” (mis)representation of Native culture, identity and music. Without this contact, Hip Hop culture would not have a “heartbeat” to sample and re-mix. *Apache*’s continued (mis)representations “emphasize the song’s coded Native American war-drum associations,” that further stereotype Native identity in versions, for example, by The Sugarhill Gang (1981) who stated “Tonto, jump on it / Geronimo, jump on it” (Matos 2005). The influence of *Apache* does not stop there. As Matos stated in 2005, “Apache didn’t die—it migrated into dance music. Drum and bass, which was created by speeding up hip-hop breakbeats, took to it instantly...Goldie and Digital utilized ‘Apache’ for ‘Inner City Life’ and ‘Metro,’ respectively” (Matos 2005). As discussed previously, the repeated (mis)representation of Native identity through the integration of the *Apache* sample in Hip Hop challenges sonic assimilation and termination. The sustainability of Native identity and its re-presentation through rhythmic

variation (i.e., Incredible Bongo Band, The Adventures of Grand Master Flash on his Wheels of Steel), melodic adjustment (i.e., Future Sounds of London, Moby, The Roots, Nas) and word substitution (i.e., *Apache*, *Jump On It!*, *Inner City Life*, *We Have Explosives*, *Machete*, *Thought @ Work*, *Made You Look*) is an example of the hypothesis that I posed in Chapter 1 of distortion-for-protection. Native identity was forced into a position that flirted with near termination by transparency, but found a strategy to contest this erasure by active re-presentation through a lineage of Hip Hop works produced in the years following the 1960s.

The Native identity at the philosophical core of this sample applies W.J.T. Mitchell's "pictorial turn," a liberating form of agency offered to Native identity. By making this "pictorial turn," the sample engages the entire range of meaning and complexity regardless of year, location or artistic technique. The Native identity at the core of this sample re-presents its position from within, constructing an improvisational position of resistance. From the philosophical perspective of Michel de Certeau, Native identity within this sample is able to:

produce behaviors that obey their own logic, a logic that criss-crosses technocratic and functionalized space. Despite drawing on established vocabularies, these actions trace counter-interests. They are embodied in bricolage, in artisan-like inventiveness. Accordingly, alongside the monolithic homogeneity of disciplined practices lie heterogeneous, scattered practices, multiform practices that elude yet reside with discipline. (qtd. in Michael and Still 880 – 881)

Through the established vocabulary and disciplined practices established here

as the performative lexicon of Hip Hop, Native identity fluidly re-creates itself. Gibson's analysis offers one final step toward a subversive re-presentation of Native identity in *Apache*. Gibson outlines a philosophy of resistance that capitalizes on the agency between the individual (a member of a particular group) and the external environment (surfaces, reflectance, opacities, and transparencies) (Michael and Still 881). Central to Gibson's view is that the:

constitutive interlocking of physical environment and organism [individual], and the transgressive act [are] grounded in the affordances that are intrinsic to the relation of organism [individual] and environment. Resistance is thus drawn from beyond the symbolic: it balances on the dynamic border of subject and object, in the affordances that are rooted in ecology. Where discipline imparts a sort of tunnel vision and delineates an impoverished repertoire of practices, affordance opens up the horizon to draw upon the full potential combinations of physical organism and physical environment. (qtd. in Michael and Still 881)

With all three of these perspectives acting in concert, Mitchell's pictorial turn, de Certeau's multiformed improvisational inventiveness and Gibson's transgressive resistance between individual and environment, the Native identity at the core of *Apache* is released from its assimilated position. The appropriated *Apache* sample usurps cross-cultural essentialization by interculturally articulating its own identity in dialogue with the surrounding artistic practice in which it finds itself.

We can see the important impact of Native identity (text based, recorded, sampled, re-mixed, re-presented) on American popular culture. The

urbanization of the (mis)represented Native became the location of a dynamic youth culture where, in the *Apache* sample, Native people were present in the many tributaries that Hip Hop fostered in succeeding decades. Applying Vizenor's "trickster hermenutics" (Vizenor 15), *Apache* can be read as a metaphor for Hip Hop. The "trickster hermenutics" balance the integral relationship and foundation of Native identity in Hip Hop. Vizenor observes the trajectory of the *Apache* sample and describes how this sample defies historical (mis)representation in order for Native identity to persist:

Trickster hermeneutics is the interpretation of simulations in the literature of survivance, the ironies of descent and racialism, transmutation, third gender, and themes of transformation in oral tribal stories and written narratives. Trickster stories arise in silence, not scriptures, and are the *holotropes* of imagination; the manifold turns of scenes, the brush of natural reason, characters that liberate the mind and never reach a closure in stories.
(Vizenor 15)

Apache exemplifies the multiple Tribal realities and the intercultural necessity of dialogue with non-Native people in order to further construct a complex Native identity. Native identity is not lost but rather strengthened by each repetition and subsequent re-mix of this sample. Through this repetition, Native influence can be seen/heard beyond the sonic masks of (mis)representation.

Conclusion

Native identity was included throughout the evolutionary years of Hip Hop culture, through cross-cultural and intercultural connections. Fischer introduces a metaphorical and literal representation of repetition to deduce that “systemic patterns generate new social forms” and that “there is the analysis of change through intended repetitions that in fact work through misappropriation or distortion” (Fischer 207-08). From this statement we can clearly see that Native artists capitalize on the recycled elements and energy of Hip Hop.

These artists additionally fortify not only a sense of identity but also confront issues directly affecting contemporary urban and reservation Native people. Hip Hop offers an emotionally charged agent of expression and representation for Native people. The (mis)representation of Native identity discussed in this chapter is challenged on the grounds that it is constructed. Native identity within Hip Hop moves away from being invisibility, and assimilated object validated only through historical recollection. Limited simulations of Native identity found in literature, film, music and art during this evolutionary period in Hip Hop’s history, c. 1960 – 70s, informed popular culture. Native identity is revealed as a cornerstone of the house of Hip Hop.

In the following section we will begin to see how identity formation for Native people is an ongoing process that remains in flux negotiating Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal identities (Chapter 3). Lornell and Stephenson

note that the expressive quality of Hip Hop offers identity to the audience and performer alike as it serves as a persistent sounding board for the community.

Lornell and Stephenson state, “I’m black, I’m creative, I’m proud, and I’m representing” as the undercurrent ‘shout-outs’ present in Hip Hop culture (Lornell and Stephenson 45). With their Multi-Tribal identity, WOR culturally transcribes the meaning of these statements to be, “I’m Native, I’m creative, I’m proud, and I’m re-presenting.”

Chapter 3. The Location of Tribal Identity

“Indian people define themselves, their experience and significance every day in hundreds of variations.”¹

“I’m Proud of the Skin I’m In!”²

In this chapter I expand upon Du Bois’ conception of double consciousness to illustrate that the three fluid forms of contemporary Native identity, Tribal, Inter-Tribal, and Multi-Tribal, constitute a triple consciousness. A summary of the migration of modern powwow culture into the urban center with the Relocation program will help explain the natural evolution of these identities. A deconstructive reading of the work by Stephen Cornell, Joan Nagel, et al, will further substantiate how these identities have become important in the present post-modern era. Finally, an analysis of two audio examples by WOR will assist in defining these Native identity formations.

The limitations of Double Consciousness

For many Native/non-Native scholars the complexity of Native identity is limited to a binary: reservation (rural) and urban (city). Du Bois’ 1903 theory of “double consciousness,” articulated “two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings ... in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from

¹ David Lewis qtd. in Clyde Ellis. “We Don’t Want Your Rations, We Want This Dance”: The Changing Use of Song and Dance on the Southern Plains.” The Western Historical Quarterly. 30.2 (Summer 1999):133-154.

² WOR, “Skin I’m In.” Are You Ready For W.O.R.? Arizona: Canyon Records, 1994.

being torn asunder" (Du Bois 3), and suggested early on that a complexity and multiplicity of identities could be defined within a single entity (person) or action. The anthropologist Roger Abrahams extends Du Bois' argument by suggesting that:

Performers...know that they may be playing to two audiences simultaneously – the black community and the white hipsters or weekend trippers. ...Black performers constantly recognize that the very performance that is conventional within the black community will be seen as strange, as pleasurable exotic to the hipster. Thus they operate out of a kind of double consciousness, knowing that they are called upon to present an image which will be interpreted as exotic to the outside world and not to the blacks in the audience. (Abrahams 155)

Thomas F. DeFrantz reinforces the same premise when he suggests that the history of "Black social dances contain dual transcripts of "public" and "private" meaning. These transcripts mirror constructions of outwardly entertaining and secretly derisive rhetoric articulated by black cultural theorists including W.E.B. Du Bois at the turn of the century" (DeFrantz 2 - 3).

Alfonso Ortiz in The Earth Shall Weep notes a "double vision" (Wilson12) in reference to how Native people have come to view history in a pre-contact/post-contact ideology. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Richard Wright echo these same ideas in their work by integrating the double consciousness/double-bind theories, and it is Wright who consistently referred to the "double vision" of African American people.³ Regardless of how it is

³ Qtd. in Gilroy, Wright, The Outsider 129.

presented, the double consciousness/double bind theory views the relationship of the outside (other) toward the (self).

The influence of the Modern Powwow tradition

Jack Forbes, as quoted by Joan Nagel, illustrates the problem of identity stemming from the hypodescent (the “one –drop rule”). He views the “one drop rule” as a strategic tool designed to not only limit “blacks” but also to categorize “Indians” (Nagel 71).⁴ He further reveals that the:

emphasis on the hypodescent (the “one-drop rule”) in categorizing Indians has the result that “blacks’ are always ‘blacks’ even when mixed with white or American Indian. ‘Indians’, however, exist as a cultural category (or as a caste). They must remain unchanged in order to be considered ‘Indian’. (qtd. in Nagel 71)

This principle dictates that Native people are required to be marginalized through segregation.⁵ Native people repeatedly face legal measures, such as the Termination Policies, and racialized stereotypes as defined by American popular media that perpetuate misrepresentations. This caste system enforces control over Native people. The Native sociologist Z.G. Standing Bear who, after concluding a discussion of urban Native people for non-Native school children in 1988, offers the statement that “there aren’t any

⁴ As stated in Chapter 1, terminology will be consistent with how it is used, defined and presented by the given scholar whose work is being analyzed. All other accounts will involve ‘Native’ as the accepted archetypal term.

⁵ Eva Marie Garrouette’s book Real Indians, Identity and the Survival of Native America outlines segregation structures witnessed in legal, biological and cultural forms.

real Indians left” (qtd. in Nagel 71). In order to overcome this prescribed (un)consciousness of Native people one must view Native identity as a cultural continuum.

As stated previously, movement for Native people is not uncommon. From the first forced diaspora of Native people within the United States, c. 1830s with the Indian Removal Act (IRA) to the creation of the Indian New Deal policies of 1934, post-WW II economic conditions, P.L-280, the Indian Relocation Services Programs and P.L-959 (Indian Vocational Training and Employment Assistance Program), Native people have been moved from established reserved locations into urban centers throughout the U.S. (Neils 5 – 10). Upon first arrival to the urban center Native people were exposed to other forms of creative expressions from cultures both Native and non-Native. The urban center presented the location for a dynamic exchange of Native cultures for a growing Native population (Fixico 123 - 189, Nagel 114, Cornell 87 - 105) thereby leading to a resurgence and re-presentation of Native traditions and cultures (Nagel 158 - 184). Influenced by stereotyped Plains Native cultures, a re-vival of the powwow tradition began that led to the ultimate creation of the *“inter-tribal”*⁶ powwow (Buff 147 – 170, Nagel 201 – 205, Fixico 56 – 57, personal interview Means 2 Aug 2003). These social

⁶ My emphasis added to this term.

gatherings served to re-present “tribal” identities both real and imagined for an urban Native population (Anderson 37 - 46). Encouraged by the growing Red Power Movement of the 1970s, the inter-tribal powwow developed as a location where Native people could construct, de-construct and re-construct their own personal, and family, Native culture(s) within an empowered environment established to breed community awareness (Means interview 2 Aug 2003, Nagel 158 - 184).

Native people now had an arena where their cultural artifacts were in sovereign control. This re-presentation of identity for urban Natives begs the critical and not so simple question, “what is a contemporary Native?” Through an appropriation of Native and non-Native artistic expression, the image of the contemporary Native retains older, imagined (traditional) signifiers as artists construct newer (contemporary) cultural and identity signifiers (Nagel 43 - 79). Through a dynamic exchange of dance styles and regalia, songs and drum styles in the modern powwow tradition, new (contemporary) Native identities become present (McAllester 1982, Howard 1983, Charles 1989, Ellis 1990/1999, de Shane 1991, DesJarlait 1997, Browner 2000, Buff 2001, Krouse 2001, Beck 2002, TallBear 2003, Lawlor 2006).

It is here, within this newly transformed powwow arena that the singular (Tribal) location of culture gives way to the development of an inter-

⁷ My emphasis added to this term.

tribal powwow (Inter-Tribal) that allows multiple articulations of Native identity to emerge (Multi-Tribal).

Tribal Identity Formation

Presently, there are a myriad of categorizations of Native identity: Sub-tribal (Cornell, Nagel), Tribal (Buff, Cornell, Fixico, Lobo, Gonzales, Nagel, et al), Supra-tribal (Cornell, Nagel), Pan-Indian (Buff, Cornell, Fixico, Nagel, et al), Urban Indian (Fixico, Cornell, Gonzales, Lobo, Nagel), Regionalist (Gonzales), Reservationist (Gonzales), Traditionalist (Cornell, Gonzales, Nagel), Neo-Indian (Fixico), Retribalist (Cornell), Retraditionalist (Nagel), Multitribal Urban Indian (Gonzales), Enrollees (Gonzales), Automatic Enrollees (Gonzales), Adoptees (Gonzales) and *postindian* (Vizenor).⁸ From this list it becomes clear that most of these terms emerged with the Red Power Movement in the 1970s.⁹

bell hooks notes the formation of a postmodern Blackness that takes into account the issues of race, gender, identity and culture.¹⁰ Replacing the term Black(ness) in hooks' theory with Native(ness), we can begin to see that contemporary reading of Native identity requires a cultural definition that functions on multiple levels. "Nativity" is the first step in the construction of

⁸ The use of lowercase capitalization and italics is consistent for Vizenor.

⁹ Joan Nagel offers an insightful tracing and historical realization of the development of the Red Power Movement and how this influenced urban Native identity and culture.

¹⁰ hooks 417 – 424.

a postmodern Native identity. The identity formation recognizes the “Other” (Native/non-Native), but is not limited by this reference. Rather, the resultant identity functions as an active critique of the self, by itself and ultimately for itself.

The philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah offers a point of departure from the binary of the double consciousness/double bind theory. Appiah states that:

identities are complex and multiple and grow out of a history of changing responses to economic, political, and cultural forces, almost always in opposition to other identities....they flourish despite what I (call) ‘misrecognition’ of their origins; despite, that is, their roots in myths and lies. (Appiah 178)

This applies to the construction of cultural history. Identity is not static.

Rather, the movement of Native people into a connection with the non-Native community fostered dynamic change that created multiple identities. As Lawrence Grossberg noted, “[r]ap (read: Hip Hop culture) projects a critical voice, explaining, demanding, urging” (Grossberg 181). It is within and from this critical voice that Native identity is re-constructed in a fluid continuum that retains an association to its former culture. Wayne Warry echoes this point in his recognition that Aboriginal culture is “fluently” constructed where:

[Aboriginal] Cultures are fluid (wave-like) and malleable and so change through time and flow into other cultures. Yet they also have solid (particle-like) attributes, which allow them to bump up against, resist, or contrast themselves to other cultures. Interactions between different cultural processes lead to border

behaviors that are essential in the formation of personal and cultural identity (Warry 100).

The fluidity of identity allows Native people to integrate, communicate and cross-connect their tribal identity. Native people are offered tools for cross-cultural communication that are syncretic as well as adaptive, reflecting the dynamic state of Native identity. There is no singular point of arrival for Native identity, but rather a moment that encourages multiple methods of identity construction. These locations of identity engage within a dynamically complex rhizome (Deleuze and Guattari 3 - 25) that are constructed, de-constructed and continually re-constructed. Stephen Cornell's seminal work on Native identity makes clear the multiplicity of voices and identities available for contemporary Native people.

Throughout his research on Native identity, Stephen Cornell presents the transformation of the tribe through a process of tribalization that provides a foundation for contemporary urban Indian identity.¹¹ Cornell explains that through:

interaction with Euro-Americans and their institutions, Native American identities were focused increasingly at the maximal, tribal level. That was the tribal level of identity, that received reinforcement...in large part to the nature and shape of that

¹¹ Cornell, Stephen. The Return of the Native. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

[Indian-White] interaction...the identity [tribal] itself was already a significant element in Indian lives. (Cornell 102)¹²

Cornell continues this line of discourse by illustrating that tribal (read: singular) identity for Native people became dislocated from a singular perspective. Multiple Native identities became possible in a new political climate with the realization of the IRA and the Indian New Deal (Cornell 87 – 101). The architecture of assimilation embedded within these policies became the pathway for multiple views of Native identity. Cornell notes that Native people during this period engaged and culturally developed “broad boundaries of tribal identity” (Cornell 102).

The cultural and conceptual content of tribal identity was once largely the same for all members of the (read: singular) tribe, but is no longer so. Change in the focus of identity has been convergent; the point of convergence has been the tribe. But change in the content of identity has been divergent. Many persons may identify themselves as Navajo, or Oglala, or Cherokee, but what that means to each one may be very different. (Cornell 102 – 103)

A transformation of identity is realized through the active and expressive construction/deconstruction of Native people. Although politics may have initiated this transformation the end result reveals multiple perspectives of identity, a Multi-Tribal identity, along a fluid continuum. Cornell states that the “meanings [culture and identity] are essentially continuous with the past, changed by time and circumstance and the influence of both EuroAmericans

¹² My emphasis added here. Cornell uses Indian-White relations to describe the contact between Native and non-Native communities.

and other Indians” (Cornell 103). This construction/deconstruction and now presented re-construction of Native identity remain culturally based in “aboriginal modes of thought and action and structures of social relations” (Cornell 103). From this we can conclude that Native artists continue to transform their artistic work in a continuous manner balancing the multiple realities of the traditional and the contemporary.¹³ Art is the cultural currency of Native identity.

Cornell’s critique assumes that there is no intersection of identities. Native identity, as defined by Cornell, continues along a path that presumably is continuous yet it flows linearly in one direction. It moves from a tribal (historic) identity to an urban supra-tribal or pan-Indian (political) identity. This theory does not take into account the intersection or middle ground between other Native identities. Although Cornell, along with Nagel, acknowledges the re-emergence of American Indian identity with the cultural renewal in the post-Red Power era (c. 1970s), this scholarship fails to address the conflicting dialectic within identity formation.¹⁴

The construction of Tribal, Inter-Tribal, Multi-Tribal identity

¹³ Alim, Ibrahim, Pennycook and Mitchell note the term “abo-digital” referring to twenty-first century Aboriginal/Indigenous people who blur the borders between traditional and (post)modern art (7 – 8, 26).

¹⁴ Nagel offers important work on ethnic renewal and the emergence of a “new” Native in Nagel, Joan. American Indian Ethnic Renewal – Red Power And The Resurgence Of Identity And Culture. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996/1997.

Stephen Cornell extends this area of discourse from a tribal [singular] focus into a tribalized [multiple] perspective (Cornell 89 – 104). Native identity encompasses a continuum that flows through three identity areas: Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal (Lechusza Aquallo 2002). The “twentieth-century double-think” (Fischer 198) is no longer adequate because “audiences have become multiple” (Fischer 199). “Cultures and ethnicities as sets are more like families of resemblances than simple typological trees” (Fisher 199). Michael Fischer moves from a concept of bifocality to a multifocality of identity as:

not something that is simply passed on from generation to generation, taught and learned; it is something **dynamic...**¹⁵, “...flower[ed] only through struggle”, “...discovered and reinvented in the new works...”, “...a voice or style that does not violate one’s several components of identity...”, “a (re-)invention and discovery of a vision, both ethical and future-oriented.”, where “...the meaning is abstracted from the past...is workable for the future (Fischer 195 – 197).

In order to build on the work established by Cornell, et al, three identity formations become apparent: **Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-tribal** (Lechusza Aquallo14). With the addition of the political work formulated by Stephen Cornell in 1999, we will be able to see how these identity areas re-present a fluid dialogical continuum of contemporary Native identity.

A **Tribal** identity refers to a specific location of Native identity constructed through family history, heritage/identity and often defined as ones singular tribal enrollment. An example of this would be a family who identifies

¹⁵ My emphasis added here.

solely as being Diné. Cornell defines this perspective as an “anchored” tribal identity that maintains “specific historical experience(s) of the group [tribe]...” (Cornell 103). Cornell also identifies the need for tribal enrollment, “tribal membership” and the political capital that comes with this identification (Cornell 103).

An **Inter-tribal** identity refers to the merging of two or more Native identities/cultures and histories within a singular person. This articulation emerged after the second forced migration of Natives into the urban center with the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and the Indian New Deal. Here, inter-tribal mixing becomes more evident. Inter-tribal identity is similar to DuBois’ historic concept of double consciousness; including by extension Richard Wright’s and Henry Louis Gates’ conception of “double vision.” For Cornell, the two dimensions of Native identity are defined by their political organization and self-articulated identity (Cornell 103). Cornell moves from a tribal-based political organization of Native identity toward a self-identified concept of political Native identity. An example would be a person who identifies him(her)self firmly as two, or more, different tribal identities, i.e., Luiseño and Maidu.

A **Multi-tribal** identity refers to the further juxtaposition of Native identities within a person articulated by Native cultural appropriation. An example of this could be a person who is Mescalero (Apache) who participates

as a powwow grassdancer, a dance style neither traditional nor indigenous to the Mescalero (Lechusza Aquallo 14 - 15). The person in this example articulates his Multi-Tribal identity through the expansion of his original Native heritage [Tribal] into the powwow arena [Inter-Tribal] as a grassdancer [Multi-Tribal]. Stephen Cornell refers to this expansion as the point of “tribalization”. Cornell defines the political transformation of the singular (Tribal) into the Inter-Tribal as it engages Indian-White political relations and finally into the Multi-Tribal that establishes a working political structure for Native people that is “capable of defending those rights (read: laws) and pursuing Indian interest within the framework of U.S. political and legal institutions” (Cornell 103 – 104). This viewpoint illustrates the movement, over time, from pre-Contact to the present, demonstrating that Native people move from singular to multiple realities in Figure 3.1 (Cornell 103).

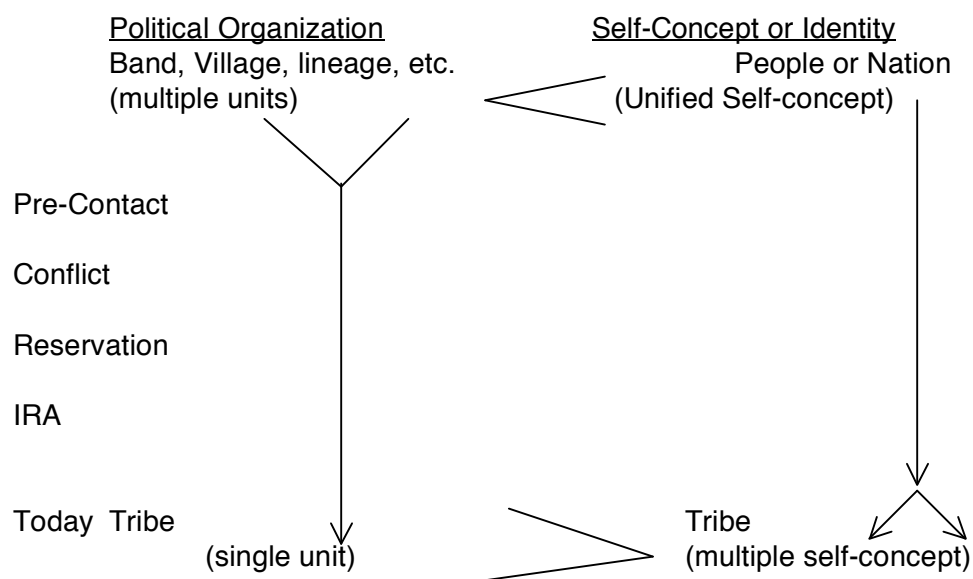


Figure 3.1: “Tribalization” by Stephen Cornell in The Return of the Native (103)

The Deconstruction of Native identity

Cornell establishes in this Tribalization diagram a hierarchy in Native identity.¹⁶ Initially, Cornell refers to “multiple units” of political organization during the Pre-Contact era as unimportant to Native people. This is identified on the diagram by the lesser-than symbol that designates the pre-eminence of “People or Nation” over self-concept or identity. Cornell recognizes a movement toward a “single unit”, the “Tribe” that, according to this diagram, has greater importance than a “Tribe” with “multiple self-concepts”. This is reflected through the use of a greater-than symbol acknowledging the prominence of the “single unit Tribe.”

Cornell illustrates the evolution of the tribe from the sub-tribal (band, village, kin, clan) to tribal (reservation-based, historic, politically official) and to the supra-tribal (national, pan-Indian).¹⁷ The framework of this scholarship rests on the political organization and activism of the Red Power Movement in the 1970s. This ideology consistently reifies a pan-Indian perspective as a

¹⁶ References throughout this section are made to Figure 3.1 offered by Cornell.

¹⁷ Stephen Cornell, [The Return of the Native](#) and used extensively by Joan Nagel [American Indian Ethnic Renewal](#).

quasi-ultimatum, for all Native people that, by definition, limits Native people to a singular perspective; a pan-reality.¹⁸ Angela Gonzales asserts that:

[i]n most urban Indian communities, a form of pan-Indian culture and identity has developed that cuts across tribal lines. As both an identity and a culture, pan-Indianism draws heavily from popular images and traditions of Plains Indians. Such ethnic markers are normative, a-historical, and often based on stereotypes (Gonzales in Lobo 177).

Gonzales analyzes the political nature of identity construction by asserting that legal formations, such as blood quantum, are “crafted by the trajectories of history, science, and politics-replacing and devaluating relational ties... and other patterns of social interaction” (Gonzales 181 – 182). J. Kehaulani Kauanui adds, “the logic of blood dilution [blood quantum] through legal and popular discourses of race displaces indigeneity and erodes indigenous peoples’ sovereignty claims” (Kauanui 9). This racialized classification of Native people follows Andrea Smith’s term “genodical logic” that being, a logical subordination or discrimination of Native people based on a privilege of whiteness (qtd. in Kauanui 10 - 11). Gonzales, Kauanui and Smith confirm what scholars elsewhere have noted; that these definitions of Native identity debilitate and marginalize Native views of self/tribal identification with the

¹⁸ *Pan-* defined by Webster’s Dictionary (2008) offers three definitions each outlining the general and singular perspective use of this term.

pan- (pan):

1. of, comprising, embracing, or common to all or every *Pan-American*
2. the cooperation, unity, or union of all members of (a specified nationality, race, church, etc.) *Pan-Americanism*
3. Med. whole, general; of all or many parts *panarteritis*.

knowledge that “neither state nor federal agencies agree on a single definition” (Gonzales 182).¹⁹

This sentiment is defended by Donald Fixico, who in his seminal work on termination and relocation, aptly titled, Termination and Relocation, Federal Indian Policy, 1945 – 1960, surmises that the U.S. Federal government had to recognize that “no single (termination or relocation) policy can be devised that will successfully serve all Indians, who represent many different tribes, languages, and cultures” both on micro (tribal) and macro (national) levels (Fixico 197).

Vine Deloria, Jr. offers a prophetic statement about the movement and direction of contemporary Native identity when he states that, “[e]veryone (read: Native people) doesn’t have to do everything that the old Indians did in order to have a modern Indian identity...tribal cultures-like all cultures-have changed, and will continue to do so over time” (qtd. In Lobo 178). In Deloria’s reading of the “modern Indian identity” describes a Multi-Tribal climate. Inter-cultural engagement helps construct an Inter-Tribal and/or Multi-Tribal identity. There is no one singular Native identity and there cannot be one definitive process through which Native people construct identity. As Susan Lobo

¹⁹ Other statements are offered by Nagel 234 – 248, Russell Means qtd. in Nagel 244, Fixico. Termination and Relocation, Federal Indian Policy, 1945 – 1960, Lobo and Peters, American Indians and the Urban Experience.

directly states, “there is no such thing as pan-Indian today.”²⁰ Similarly, Joan Nagel confirms that Native identity is “[m]ultitiered or multilayered” (Nagel 21). “Which of these identities” Nagel continues, “a native individual chooses to present in a social interaction depends partly on where and with whom the interaction occurs” (Nagel 21). Together these statements by Deloria, Lobo and Nagel place a contemporary Native identity in place that exists beyond the static limitation of pan-Indian-ness. Figure 3.2 illustrates that Cornell’s “Tribalization” implies a linear trajectory.

Examining Native identity through a Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal lens reveals an identity formation that is fluid, applied as a person/tribe deems necessary for a given context and/or situation. Figure 3.3 demonstrates the application of these Native identity formations as they appear in practice today (2009).

²⁰ Susan Lobo phone interview 1 Feb 2009.

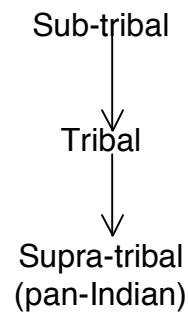


Figure 3.2: Stephen Cornell Identity Categorizations

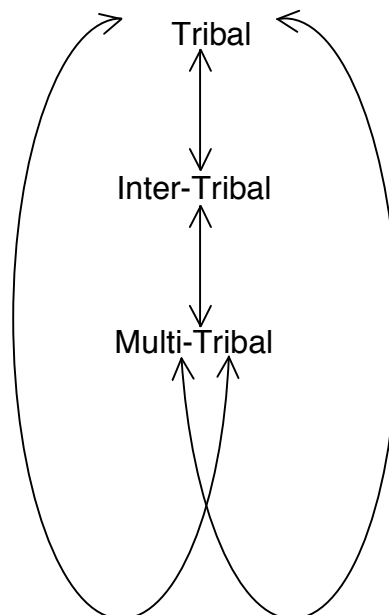


Figure 3.3: Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal Identity Formations

Donald Fixico in his book The Urban Indian Experience in America notes the necessity of balance in the ongoing negotiation and reflection of self and communal Native identity (Fixico 183 – 189). Fixico reminds us that Native people traditionally prioritized the group, or community, over the

individual.²¹ During the Relocation/Termination period the urbanized Indian made the shift from a group to an individual consciousness (Fixico 172 – 188). The identity formations of Tribal, Inter-Tribal, and Multi-Tribal offer contemporary Native people a balanced method of identity realization in a process that allows a dynamic intersection of identity and culture. This is graphically represented in Figure 3.4.

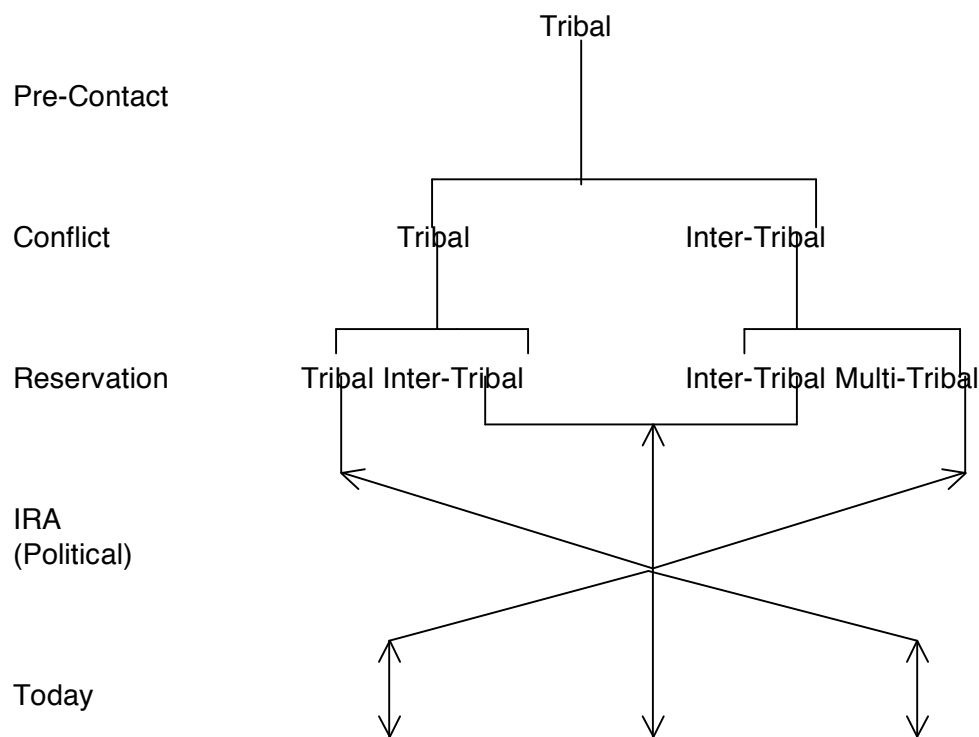


Figure 3.4: Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal Identity Formations

Joan Nagel embraces the political supra-tribal identity formation defined by Stephen Cornell in defining an “urban Indian renewed identity” that arose

²¹ Eva Marie Garrouette cites Elizabeth Cook-Lynn who echoes Fixico’s statement almost verbatim (Garrouette 88).

out of the Relocation and Termination Policies (c. 1950s). This culminated in the political activism of the Red Power movement in the 1970s.²² The identifier, supra-tribal identity, as used by Nagel creates a pan-Indian signifier that essentializes Native people.

Although Nagel works toward a post-modern, or rather *post-indian*, perspective of identity, the use of supra-tribal or “pan-Indianness” works against the mobility and fluidity of Native culture and identity. The term *post-indian*, as defined by Gerald Vizenor, is a literary device that re-contextualizes the “*indian*” as a simulation constructed by EuroAmericans (Vizenor 4 – 5). This Euro-American action imposes a limitation on the reality of Native people. The constructed “*indian*”, reinserts the dynamic identity and cultural relevance of Native people. This “trickster hermenutical” transposition dislocates Native identity from the limited categorization of a colonialist structure.²³ Native identity then is a fluid continuum realized in the ongoing negotiation between Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal formations. These identity formations do not construct a rigid model with a different name, but offer a spectrum of possibility that is self-determined.

Toward a New Native Identity

²² Nagel. American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and Resurgence of Identity. 338 – 348.

²³ Vizenor, Gerald. Manifest Manners – Narratives on Postindian Survivance. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. This work by Vizenor is also discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Another application of Vizenor’s work will be presented later in this chapter.

The Native identity formations presented above build on the work of Nagel, Vizenor, Cornell, et al. A fluid theoretical strategy for Native identity is outlined that embraces the ideological, political, social, real/imagined continuum of Native identity. The application of these formations assists in the structuring of identity for any Native person regardless of his/her current location in the culture.

The historic canon of scholarship that addresses the critical arena of Native identity has a bifocal perspective on urban and reservation identities. In contrast, Homi Bhabha's theoretical conception of Third Space²⁴ provides a critical tool that can articulate the dynamism of contemporary Native identity. Bhabha states that the "Third Space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives [that] are inadequately understood through received wisdom" (Bhabha qtd. in Pulitano 177 – 178). It is the enunciation of this split that, for Bhabha, "destroys the logics of synchronicity and evolution which traditionally authorize the subject of cultural knowledge" (Bhabha 36). However, Bhabha supports a structuralist binary position that subsequently restates the subject-other. Bill Ashcroft notes that binary positions have an implicit hierarchical bias favoring Eurocentrism (Bruyneel 7). The "imperial binary" implicit within the dualities of time (progressive-backward), space (inside-outside) and identity (self-other) are

²⁴ Bhabha, Homi. The Location of Culture. London/New York: Routledge, 1994.

recognized as areas of contest in the formation of indigenous sovereignty (Bruyneel 6 – 10). Applying the identity formations outlined above, Native identity engages a binary reading as the “subject” (Tribal) and the “other” (Inter-Tribal). The Multi-Tribal identity does not find a position within this binary theory. It is this disruption to the imperial binary that affords an expansive re-reading of Native identity.

Homi Bhabha’s Third Space is limited by its own definition to a translated construction of “modern Western forms of information technology, language, dress” (Bhabha 38). The dual territories of the Third Space maintain a colonialist paradigm that does not completely afford a Native construction of identity. Kevin Bruyneel’s theory of the “third space of sovereignty” (Bruyneel 21) presents a “non-binaristic political mapping articulated through [a] refusal of the imperial binary” combined with a re-reading of Bhabha’s own “supplementary strategy” (Bruyneel 21). As Bruyneel states:

a third space vision is a supplementary strategy, because it refuses to conform to the binaries and boundaries that frame dualistic choices for indigenous politics, such as assimilation-secession, inside-outside, modernity-traditionalism, and so on, and in so doing refuses to be divided by settler-state boundaries. It does so by means of a politics on the boundaries that expresses and constitutes a more profound sense of indigenous political life than colonial rule and settler-state boundaries would permit (Bruyneel 21).

The Native identity formations outlined previously situate themselves within Bruyneeel's third space of sovereignty as they depart from colonial prescriptions of time, space in order to construct/reconstruct a fluid form of identity.

Frederic Jameson addresses the dynamic, dislocation and re-articulation of Native identity. In his article 'Secondary elaborations',²⁵ Jameson envisions "the representation of global 'difference'"²⁶ through a focus on multiple existence of tension through space and time (Bhabha 218).

Different moments in historical or existential time are here simply filed in different places; the attempt to combine them even locally does not slide up and down a temporal scale...but jumps back and forth across a game board that we conceptualize in terms of distance (Jameson qtd. in Bhabha 218).

This "non-synchronous" (Bhabha 218) position speaks to the Native identity formations defined previously. Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal Native identity formations, with Jameson's reading, co-exist within and without permanent temporal or physical locations. They are able to function as interdependent identities that "jump back and forth."

Native identity is able to survive beyond the forced simulations of colonial dominance through what Vizenor describes as a coherence of "shadows" (Vizenor 60). "Shadows," for Vizenor, "tease and loosen the bonds of representation in stories. The meaning of words are

²⁵ Jameson, Fredric. Postmodernism Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

²⁶ Jameson qtd. in Bhabha 218.

determined by the nature of language games” (Vizenor 72). Like Jameson and Bruyneel, Vizenor’s “shadows” move without permanence or accountability to linear time and physical space. They are able to “jump back and forth” engaging identity at any given moment. The “nature of language games” applies directly to theories of Native identity.

Joan Nagel coins the term the “new Indian” (Nagel 36), to describe a Native person who resides within the urban center. This concept of the “new Indian” appears to be constructed through census data and research beginning in the 1960s and continues to be present well into the 1990s.²⁷ Nagel perceives this Native identity through a binary tied to the termination policies.²⁸ The urban Indian experience defines the “new Indian” and the reservation Indian is terminated. Elvira Paulitino notes this binary arrangement, urban (“new Indian”) and reservation (“terminated Indian”) as a “safe territory” from which to construct Native identity (Paulitino 129).

“Safe territory” articulates a polar division between urban and reservation that reifies internal differences within the Native communities. Kevin Bruyneel, by way of Glenn Morris, observes two dominant features that

²⁷ Nagel 336 – 338. Eve Marie Garrouette cites Nagel’s research pointing out that many people reclaim “an Indian identity and membership...for the first time as adults” (Garrouette 97).

²⁸ Nagel 330 – 335.

extend from this line of thinking: spatial and temporal dominance (Bruyneel 1 – 2).

These spatial and temporal boundaries mark out the practices of colonial rule, through which the colonizer attempts to “dominate the physical space,” “reform the minds,” and “absorb the economic” as well as the cultural and political histories of indigenous people (Bruyneel 2).

Jacques Derrida’s critique of logo-centrism offers a theoretical device that leverages the difference, or “différance” between these two locations, urban/reservation, and their assumed Native identities.²⁹ For Derrida, the critique of logocentrism breaks down binary oppositions by exploring their “mutual crossings and involvements” (Pulitano 171). The inherent difference, internal and external, does not create a separation, but are points of Inter-Tribal connection and dialogue. Nagel constructs an Indian identity that articulates the current Native cultural complexities that originated through the socio-political climate of the 1970s (Nagel 2001). The methodology (research techniques, social science vernacular, Native American socio-political studies) Nagel uses to structure the “new Indian” is an example of what Vizenor describes as a “simulation of Indian identity” as well as a “simulation of dominance” (Vizenor 4). This simulated Native identity is void of substance, but full of rhetorical fantasy. Nagel’s “new Indian” identity embraces inter-tribal

²⁹ Paulitano offers an insightful reading of this in Paulitino, Elvira. [Toward a Native American Critical Theory](#). 170 – 171. Minh-ha presents an insightful feminist reading of “difference” used to construct and dismantle a colonial rhetoric of identity in Trinh T. Min-ha. [Woman, Native, Other](#). 79 – 116.

difference and situates itself solely within an urban landscape. Vizenor counterbalances this placement with the creation of the *postindian* warrior (Vizenor 4 – 6). “The *postindian* warriors are new indications of a narrative recreation, the simulations that overcome the manifest manners of dominance” (Vizenor 6). It is this *postindian* perspective that maintains a “surveillance” of the dynamic realities of Native identity (literature, culture, history, art and sciences).³⁰ The *postindian* is the literary antidote to hegemony. Originating from contemporary Native “trickster” narratives, the *postindian* disrupts the stasis of history.

Native identity is in constant political negotiation defying fixed points of space and place.³¹ The fluidity across spatial, temporal and identity boundaries from the theorists Bruyneel, James and Derrida, finds a correlative in the “infinite layers” of Trinh T. Minh-ha. “Infinite layers” represent the points of departure from static essentialist constructions of identity. The layers acknowledge that there is no single location of culture, or identity, but a multiplicity that act in concert (Minh-ha 90, 94). Minh-ha observes that identity “jumps back and forth,” like an improvisation, through inassimilable layers

³⁰ Vizenor discusses the *postindian* surveillance in each of these areas throughout Mannifest Manners.

³¹ Phone interview with Susan Lobo 9 Feb 2009.

across traditional boundaries.³² The fixed structure of identity begins to be disassembled through, quoting Vizenor:

The theories of structuralism, the myths of the universal and unexpected harmonies, and objective dissociations of natural tribal reason are dubious tropes to power in the literature of dominance. The simulations of manifest manners, casual evidence, objectivism, and transitive action have no referent, no sense of *postindian* play in language and experience, no shadows in silence, and no coherence of natural reason. The tribal referent is in the shadows of heard stories; shadows are their own referent, and shadows are the silence and simulations of survivance (Vizenor 98).

The location of Native identity is not limited. The identity formations of Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal are the layers through which Native people “jump back and forth” as they improvise their own identity consciousness. The “self-identity consciousness”, defined by Vizenor, is an “inassimilable location” that defies static categorization (Vizenor 102). A self-referential fluid Native identity resists static, hegemonic placement and definition as it seeks an indeterminate construction, deconstruction and reconstruction.

The application of Identity formations: Mixed-blood and Nativist Identity

Native people express and perform their identity(ies) within the identity formations of Tribal, Inter-Tribal, and Multi-Tribal, a continuum that is influenced by environmental dynamics and global contexts. This section will

³² Minh-ha refers to Western desperation to restrict identity into controllable categories where, despite this attempt, the “categories always leak” (94).

describe how the three Native identity formations of Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal are applied to both a mixed-blood and Nativist identity. The terms mixed-blood and Nativist are based on ideology rather than biology. Mixed-bloods balance more than one tribal politic. A Nativist identity is constructed from a singular Native political focus. Through the application of the three Native identity formations to both a mixed-blood (read: complex) and Nativist (read: singular) identity, we will see that these identities function as open systems rather than isolated essentialisms.

Respectively, Elvira Pulitano and Eva Marie Garroutte in Toward a Native American Critical Theory³³ and Real Indians, Identity and the Survival of Native America,³⁴ examine the social and political systems, mixed-blood and Nativist, as they are defined by both Native authors (Greg Sarris, Louis Owens, Gerald Vizenor, Paula Gunn Allen, Craig Womack, Robert Warrior, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Leslie Mormon Silko, N. Scott Momaday, Vine Deloria Jr., Arnold Krupat, Taiaiake Alfred) and non-Native authors (James Clifford, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Elaine Jahner, Rey Chow, Jean Baudrillard, Homi K. Bhabha, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Bill Ascroft, Griffiths Gareth, Helen Tiffin, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak).³⁵ Mixed-blood, collectively

³³ Paulitino, Elvira. Toward a Native American Critical Theory. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

³⁴ Garroutte, Eva Marie. Real Indians, Identity and the Survival of Native America. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2003.

³⁵ *ibid.*

defined by these authors, is an identity used to understand the mixing of various Native cultures and heritages. These authors collectively define a Nativist identity as firmly grounded in a singular Native perspective.

The term mixed-blood has been used to articulate both a racial and political perspective. A racial viewpoint of a mixed-blood person identifies Native heritage from a singular perspective (Cook-Lynn, Womack, Allen, Warrior qtd. in Pulitano 59 – 100, Garrouette 88). The term mixed-blood is predicated on a notion of authenticity based on an essentialized concept of blood quantum or tribal affiliation in the reservation system (Cornell 104, Vizenor qtd. in Pulitano 175 – 176). The evolution of the modern mixed-blood identity has its origin in the Relocation and Termination Policies of the 1930 – 50s. The inter-cultural bonding of Native identity that occurred during the post-WWII era challenged the political intent of termination. The mixed-blood identity arose during the 1970s Red Power movement and helped sustain a Native identity. Mixed-blood identity binds together multiple Native and non-Native cultures and histories. Ultimately, the mixed-blood identity becomes the middle ground between a multiplicity of Native and non-Native identities. The identity formations of Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal can be applied to a mixed-blood identity.

A **Tribal mixed-blood** person elects, in a given situation or context to focus specifically on one of his/her tribal ethnicities. It is important to

recognize that tribes maintain different ethnic constructions. The majority of these are political, as discussed earlier in this chapter. This identity formation takes into account the underlying political agenda that is prescribed to a given tribe. Mixed-blood Native people negotiate this balance continually. This offers the ability to focus specifically on one of their interwoven tribal identities for a particular situation as s/he maintains a passive association with other tribal identity/identities. Active and passive identity associations for Native people allow their identity/identities to move from foreground (active) to background (passive) retaining cultural relevance and personal importance.³⁶ An example would be someone who is Choctaw/Cherokee and defines him/herself as a Cherokee in a discussion relevant to Cherokee history.

An **Inter-Tribal mixed-blood** person acknowledges different tribal ethnicities that function in collaboration with each other in a given situation or context. Using the Choctaw/Cherokee person as an example, he/she balances both tribal ethnicities through an active integration of culture. The Inter-Tribal, for mixed-blood Native people, defines an area in which they are the most comfortable with their Native history/histories and ethnicity/ethnicities. It is here that the mixed-blood Native person is able to cross borders of their identity. To borrow a term from Krupat, mixed-blood

³⁶ A very good historical discussion of tribal ethnicity can be seen in Fixico 26 – 42, 43 – 68, 172 – 190; Warry 106; Nagel 19 – 42.

people are the most adept “border intellectuals” (Pulitano 107) as they must consistently negotiate their identity through active definition and re-definition.

A **Multi-Tribal mixed-blood** person acknowledges his/her tribal ethnicities in functional collaboration with each other and, through appropriation, engages an entirely different Native/non-Native culture. The Choctaw/Cherokee person balances both tribal ethnicities (Choctaw and Cherokee) and appropriates a San Ildefonso pottery style that results in a San Ildefonso pottery representation of Choctaw/Cherokee ethnicities. This is the most common identity formation. Here, Native identity moves from foreground-background in constant negotiation. This identity formation connects Native cultural locations creating what Mary Louise Pratt describes as “contact zones.”³⁷ Within this identity formation Native people intersect, clash and fluidly exchange their identities as they retain the cultural relevance of the tribe without the loss of the individual.

The counterpoint to the mixed-blood system of reference is a Nativist system. Nativist, or “tribalcentric” identity (Pulitano 60), views race, politics and culture as authentic and only through a singular Native ideology (Pulitano 59 – 62). Therefore, a “tribalcentric” approach solidifies boundaries within Native communities that are designed to foster and protect a singular tribal perspective in order to confirm a cultural cannon for American Indian that is

³⁷ Pratt in Clifford, James. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge/Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.

closed and ideological. Critics such as Sarris, Owens, Deloria, Vizenor note (qtd. in Pulitano 60 - 100) that this cultural system does more harm than good in sustaining a complex and dynamic Native culture.³⁸

The Nativist system challenges the dominant political laws that govern Native people within the U.S. in order to gain sovereignty and be able to be recognized as a singular identity. A singular tribal identity within a Nativist system emphasizes difference. Flexibility, within a Nativist identity, arrives with the application of the three Native identity formations, Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal.

A **Tribal Nativist** identifies himself/herself by and within a singular Native culture. This is predicated on a limited sense of location (exclusively reservation) and contact (only tribal community). An example would be a person who is exclusively Diné (historically, culturally, spiritually, intellectually, artistically) and does not travel outside of the Diné culture.

An **Inter-Tribal Nativist** connects, with another culture, Native or non-Native, while retaining his/her singular tribal identity. This identity results from cross-cultural contact that sustains the individual tribal identity of the Native person. An example would be a Diné person who retains their singular tribal identity and who comes in contact with another Native/non-Native culture. A

³⁸ It should be noted that these authors who express a criticism against a Nativist view are themselves all mixed-blood Native people.

prime example is when tribes share a common treaty or have some tribally centered disagreement with each other (i.e., Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute).

A **Multi-Tribal Nativist** intersects with other cultures, Native and/or non-Native, and who engages or appropriates other Native/non-Native cultures. This third identity appropriates cultural artifacts from other Native/non-Native cultures but retains a singular tribal focus. Taking the same Diné person, s/he is an author who composes literature, in English, about his/her tribe and culture from the perspective of a singular tribe who integrates “outside” literary devices and techniques in order to present a singular tribal ideology. In other words, a Native author writes and appropriates the language of the colonizer (English) in order to re-present a singular tribal ideology or worldview.

From the examples of mixed-blood and Nativist identity, we see that the three identity formations embrace a variety of prescriptions for culture. Though it is obvious that their ideologies are different, and ultimately politically centered (Cook-Lynn 152 – 158), each camp strives to present an authentic Native voice that is able to speak to and from the Native community. The three Native identity formations create an open system of cultural and identity exchange rather than a closed system dictated by biology.

The beginning of this chapter discusses Alfonso Ortiz’s “double vision.” Ortiz defines double vision as pre- and post-European contact (Wilson 12).

Applying the three Native identity formations to Ortiz's double vision avoids the binary limitations of this theory: **Tribal Vision** (pre-contact), **Inter-Tribal Vision** (post-contact), **Multi-Tribal Vision** (expressive exchange contact).

This reading is not merely a rhetorical exercise, but demonstrates the flexibility of Native identity as it negotiates forms of expression. Multi-Tribal identity articulates an arena of free expression and exchange. WithOut Rezervation (WOR) channels the creative energy of Hip Hop in order to re-present their collective Native identity. Fusing the dynamic elements of Hip Hop and the Native identity formations, WOR expresses and defines their Multi-Tribal identity.

The following section will examine the audio examples "Tribal Shouts" and "To The Sell Outs" by WOR. These examples demonstrate that WOR is a Multi-Tribal Hip Hop group.

The dynamic intersections of Ceremony, Powwow and Hip Hop

"Aboriginal cultural identity," Wayne Warry states, "is the product of a complex history of culture contact, ...cultural change, and resistance" (Warry 101). The exchange that Warry notes involves internal (Tribal) and external (Multi-Tribal) signifiers that together compose a postcolonial resistance to "media representations, racism, and discrimination" (Warry 101). J. Kehaulani Kauanui reconceptualizes colonial constructions of space building on Epeli

Hau'ofa's "world enlargement" theory (Kauanui 12). The "world enlargement" theory transgresses colonial boundaries allowing Indigenous people to "rethink" their modes of identification through a global perspective (Kauanui 12). As urban Native people (aka, "city redz", "city skinz", "urban skinz") in the later part of the 20th century searched their personal and collective memory for cultural definition the powwow arena became this important signifier.³⁹ With the appropriation of both Native and non-Native genres, new dance styles and songs with a contemporary narrative emerged. Joan Nagel describes this cultural and community revival as support for the construction of a "new" Native identity and ethnicity (Nagel 187 - 212). Within the urban center the location of culture was no longer isolated but, encouraged dynamic re-presentation. When asked about the concept of Native identity, Russell Means stated:

I use the word "identities" deliberately — as there is no such thing as one, all-inclusive "Indian" identity. Just as it would be difficult, if not impossible, to lump Portuguese culture with Polish, and cover it with the broad brush of "European"; or Egyptian with Zimbabwean and pretend that "African" describes both equally — so, too with the countless different Native American cultures, nations, histories... and identities (Means 2007).

WOR challenges a singular, stereotypical and racist perspective of Native music. With their use of Hip Hop techniques (sampling, call-response,

³⁹ Buff 23 – 44, 147 – 163; Nagel 43 – 59; Fixico 56 – 58.

Sermonizing, Cut/Mix, Rupture/Flow and Layering)⁴⁰ WOR acknowledges their history (social and political) and the complex African diaspora that created Hip Hop in the United States. Both urban African-American and Native (American) music influence WOR's development. WOR acknowledges the intersection of these two communities that, through the active agency of Hip Hop, re-present Native identity.

In a phone interview, Chris LaMarr simplifies the construction and location of Native identity in music as the following, "there's ceremonial music, powwow music and Hip Hop" (phone interview 29 Dec 2008). These forms entertain the following Native identities within the construction of Native Hip Hop: ceremonial music (Tribal), powwow music (Inter-Tribal) and Hip Hop (Multi-Tribal). Hip Hop culture for urban Natives becomes a contemporary form of cultural ceremony, an agent of expression capitalizing on the impact of change. Jean Fischer states:

[N]ative systems of knowledge synthesize the paradoxes and heterogeneity of life experience. Alien to the European concept of progress, such systems produce art that is transgressive rather than progressive, and [are] resistant to easy commodification (Fisher 338).

Paula Gunn Allen discusses the relationship of ceremony to the larger Hip Hop global community when she states that, "[t]he purpose of a ceremony is integration: the individual is integrated, fused, with his fellows, the community

⁴⁰ These terms will be discussed more in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

of people is fused with that of the other kingdoms, and this larger communal group with the worlds beyond this one” (Allen 119).

This quote from Allen supports the statement by LaMarr that Native music functions on three levels: as ceremony, powwow and Hip Hop. Ceremony is expressed as a Tribal identity where the signs and system function as a singular representation. The transposition of this ceremonial process in the contemporary inter-tribal powwow⁴¹ creates an Inter-Tribal identity. Even though WOR integrates the music of these genres, each genre retains its own sonic identity. LaMarr/WOR does not construct a hierarchy but rather allows these musical genres to unify sound and culture. It is through this act of repetition and their intersection that these sonic identities form and develop agency.

Paula Gunn Allen comes to a similar conclusion in her analysis of form and structure in Native literature and ceremonies. Allen states, “the most significant and noticeable structural device (is repetition), which serves to entrance and to unify – both the participants and the ceremony.” Allen continues to state that:

[i]t is reasonable, from an Indian point of view, that all literary forms should be interrelated, given the basic idea of the unity and relatedness of all the phenomena of life. Separation of parts into this or that is not agreeable to Native American systems,

⁴¹ The lower case spelling of “inter-tribal” here denotes specifically the powwow arena and should not be confused with the Inter-Tribal identity formation discussed throughout this chapter.

and the attempts to separate what are essentially unitary phenomena distorts them (Allen 119 - 120).

The integration of culture confirmed through repetition speaks directly to the creative process of LaMarr/WOR. In the following musical examples we see how these intersections construct a Multi-Tribal identity.

Multi-Tribal musical identity: “Tribal Shouts”

The closing track on the recording *AYRFW?* is “Tribal Shouts.” WOR creates a post-modern musical ceremony. Through the Native identity formations, Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal, WOR expresses a “shout out” that resonates within and across tribal identities.

At its core, this work is a toasting and tribute song similar to the African/African-American form noted by Gates, et al.⁴² In the powwow arena the “Giveaway” is a form of paying homage.⁴³ It is this moment, often pre-

⁴² Gates, Henry Louis. The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

⁴³ More information on Powwow culture and tradition can be found in; Browner, Tara. Heartbeat of the People – Music and Dance of the Northern Pow- wow. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002., Buff, Rachel. Immigration and the Political Economy of Home: West Indian Brooklyn and American Indian Minneapolis, 1945 – 1992. Berkley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press: 2001., Ellis, Clyde. A Dancing People. Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains. Kansas: University of Kansas, 2003., Fixico, Donald L. The Urban Indian Experience in America. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000., Fletcher, Alice C. “The Relation of Indian Story and Song.” Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations. New York: Meridian Books, 1975: 235 - 239., Lassiter, Luke E. The Power of Kiowa Song. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998., Lawlor, Mary. Public Native America: Tribal Self-representations in casinos, museums, and powwows. New Brunswick/New Jersey/London: Rutgers University Press, 2006., Lobo, Susan and Peters, Kurt, ed. American Indians And The Urban Experience. London/Oxford: Altamira Press, 2001., Nagel, Joane. “American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence

determined in the modern powwow, that the powwow time-line is paused. This momentary pause allows a family, most normally Native, to recognize other important members of the Native community. The members being recognized may be of Native or non-Native ethnicity. Honor songs, special dances and gifts are offered between families. Though a Giveaway can occur at any time during a powwow, they are most often reserved for the final days or event. With an understanding of the Giveaway and its cultural meaning, WOR “shouts out” to those who have inspired and supported their work. WOR situates this track at the end of the recording that is consistent with the Giveaway’s position in the powwow. WOR recognizes family, friends and organizations, which is consistent with the Giveaway.⁴⁴ WOR gives away what they have created, their music. They offer their Hip Hop work as an

of Identity.” American Nations: Encounters in Indian Country, 1850 to the Present. New York/London: Routledge, 2001: 330 – 353., Nagel, Joane. American Indian Ethnic Renewal – Red Power And The Resurgence Of Identity And Culture. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996/1997., Vander, Judith. Song-Prints: The Musical Experience Of Five Shoshone Women. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

⁴⁴ “TRIBAL SHOUTS.” *AYRFW?*, 1994.

acknowledgement of the support that they have received from their surrounding community.

Through this selection WOR articulates a complex Multi-Tribal identity. To begin, each member “shouts out” to his own tribal community. This references their individual Tribal identity. It is important to remember that the members of WOR all come from one or more different tribal heritages. WOR itself is both Tribal and Inter-Tribal. This fluid re-presentation of a cross-cultural connection between the identity formations, Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal, is evident in all of their works.

With WOR the inter-tribal powwow is sonically transposed through Hip Hop. As in other examples on *AYRFW?*, WOR incorporates a digital drum loop representative of the style and genre of Hip Hop present in the Bay Area c. 1990s. Mobb Music, as described in Chapter 1, maintains a heavy bass and drum foundation. The accent on the second and fourth beat establishes a back-beat that is ubiquitous in popular music. This beat for Native people signifies the “heartbeat” of the powwow drum. As defined throughout this chapter, there is no singular Native identity and, therefore, no singular Native heartbeat. The transcription of the Hip Hop backbeat into a signifyin’ re-presentation of powwow culture defines a Multi-Tribal sonic identity. Multi-Tribal, in this case, is references the dialogue of African American and Native musical identities. WOR creates music that is simultaneously Hip Hop and

Native through the transposition of powwow music through the appropriation of Hip Hop.

As noted earlier, Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal identities construct the inter-tribal powwow. Hip Hop can be realized as a Multi-Tribal music. The active incorporation of two different cultures (Inter-Tribal) represented within Hip Hop (Multi-Tribal) yield a Hip Hop Multi-Tribal identity. Because of its complex cultural inception, Hip Hop cannot be viewed as a singular Tribal identity. Any culture in which Hip Hop becomes involved is, by definition, Multi-Tribal. Therefore, Native Hip Hop is realized as a Multi-Tribal genre. With Hip Hop as the vehicle of expression, WOR assumes a Multi-Tribal identity. As a result, WOR *is* a Multi-Tribal Hip Hop group.

Multi-Tribal musical identity: “To The Sell-Outs”

James Clifford states that, “[i]dentity is conjunctural, not essential” and that it “must always be mixed, relational and inventive” (Clifford 10 – 11). Applying this statement by Clifford to contemporary Native people, we see that intersections of identity are complex and not limited to a singular view. When Native identity is expressed in Hip Hop culture, Native identity is actively represented. In WOR’s “To The Sell Outs” we see the mixed, relational and inventive connections Clifford describes.

The selection “To The Sell-Outs” employs samples, and a repeating verse-chorus form that refers to an R&B style. As stated earlier, LaMarr expresses his interest in “...old school Hip Hop, R&B, the Blues...” (phone interview 14 Dec 2008). This work reveals many layers of identity. To begin with, the sampled voices that are first heard, and that return throughout this selection, come from, as LaMarr recounts, The Oprah Winfrey show (LaMarr phone interview 14 Dec 2008). In 1992, The Oprah Winfrey show produced the episode “Too Little Too Late: Native Americans Speak Out” during Oprah’s investigation of the roots of racism.⁴⁵

The sampled male voices here, all male, are taken from non-Native men who are granted authority, by Oprah Winfrey, to speak about the issues of alcoholism in the Native American community. The sampled male voices follow a male pan-Indian trope, “adult males on many Indian reservations” as well as “and their leading cause of death is alcoholism.”⁴⁶ The verse-chorus form of this work reflects LaMarr’s interest in R&B, the Blues and old school Hip Hop.⁴⁷ This recycled musical and poetic structure allows LaMarr to develop a complex perspective toward alcoholism. Taking a closer look at these sampled phrases we see both Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal identities present. The Inter-Tribal identity is defined by the use of pan-Indian

⁴⁵ Moore, Trudy S. “How ‘The Oprah Winfrey Show’ helps people live better lives.” *Jet* April 18, 1994.

⁴⁶ “To The Sell Outs.” *AYRFW?*, 1994.

⁴⁷ George, Nelson. *Hip Hop America*. New York: Penguin Books, 1998. and *The Death of Rhythm & Blues*. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

references. The Multi-Tribal identity is assumed through the non-Native male reference to the issue of alcoholism with Native men. When the rapper, here LaMarr (Pit River/Paiute), enters, a Multi-Tribal identity is brought into focus and remains the resident identity for this selection. LaMarr self-identifies as a Pit River/Paiute Native that signifies an Inter-Tribal identity. The further addition of Hip Hop to this construction yields a Multi-Tribal identity.

The poetry of this selection acknowledges a pan-Indian understanding of a strict anti-alcohol stance, yet this is not stated directly by LaMarr. He comes the closest in the statement, “this is for those who sold their true ways,” meaning those Native people who have traded their traditional values for the path of alcoholism.

The repetition of words “you”, “your” and “you’re” throughout this selection, articulates a Multi-Tribal identity. When asked about this usage LaMarr states:

I wanted to say something to those old folks who know how hard it is to be involved with alcohol and still be able to speak to the kids (Native youth) about the issues of alcoholism...the kids don't want anyone comin' around preaching to them...so I had to find a way to speak to them so they could hear what I was sayin'... (phone interview 29 Dec 2008).

This statement brings into focus the application of the three identity formations, Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal, and how they function beyond a generational divide.

The meaning of the title begs the question, who is the “sell-out?” It is presumed by LaMarr, that the listening audience will know that this title refers to a person who opts to sell his/her culture in exchange for a better life. But LaMarr cannot predict who will be (listening and/or reading) this work and what specifically is their generational perspective. The text of this work functions through all three Native identity formations. Repeated listening gives new contextual understanding of this work and how it articulates Native identity.

The musical landscape of this section can also be seen as Multi-Tribal. The delicate piano laced with light reverb in the upper register ominous recalls old school Hip Hop. The light organ melody that comes in and out in this track echoes the R&B and funk styles.

The main feature in this selection is the drum machine, a virtual drum kit, often used in old school Hip Hop. The high, clear snare, the quick crescendo of the high-hat sample, the shaker pattern and the low, partially masked kick drum, add further detail and body to the mix. The tonality is in a minor key that rhythmically oscillates between a tonic-dominant giving a sonic character to the work. The two piano chord pattern that enters at the start of the selection is repeats adding to the ominous character of the work creating a timeless quality to the overall composition. The distorted string patch that comes in during the second part of the verse conjures images of a lightly distorted guitar sound.

The musical body of this example locates itself within the framework of R&B and old school Hip Hop. By adding multiple sonic layers to the already thick mix of identity, we can see the three Native identity formations at work. It becomes evident that R&B, as well as Hip Hop, are both Multi-Tribal genres of music. Each genre developed through African diasporic music and found expressive locations in the urban post-industrial centers of the United States in the latter part of the 20th century. R&B and Hip Hop can be understood as Multi-Tribal music. R&B and Hip Hop could not exist without the cross-cultural connection, discourse and intersection of multiple cultures that create tribal identity. WOR appropriates the sonic signifiers of these genres as a means to weave a rhizome of identity. All of these formations coalesce in what George Lipsitz refers to as “musical syncretisms” that work together to express the process and dynamics of culture in the larger global community (Lipsitz 126).

This selection reflects a Multi-Tribal identity. The fluid movement through the Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal is readily apparent in the music of WOR. The ebb and flow of their work depends on different variables including; what genre is being referenced?, what is the compositional strategy?, which poetic lyric or Native rapper is performing?, et al. This demonstrates that WOR works within and between the fluid strata of Native identity.

Robert Farris Thompson surmises just how intertwined identity and the creative process are as they are redefined, recycled and re-presented.

Although the quote here specifically addresses African-American culture, the same process and conceptualization is evident in the creative work of Native artists:

Art, life, land, philosophy, religion and politics are interconnected with the divine spark that Thompson calls ‘the flash of the spirit’: an improvisational individuality informed by a transcendent spiritual presence that energizes all of African-American culture and creates a powerful resistance to total Western encapsulation (Thompson qtd. in Da Vasques 163).

Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion of DuBois’ double-consciousness and how, for contemporary Native people, this viewpoint is not entirely sufficient. Applying a deconstructive analysis through Stephen Cornell, Joanne Nagel, Gerald Vizenor, et al, who work in the area of identity construction and identification for Native people, it became evident that contemporary Native identity is a complex, multifaceted issue. Native identity functions beyond the historically prescribed definition of a pan-Indian identity. Through these critical readings, it became evident that there is a need for an integrated approach to understand contemporary Native identity that I define as the three identity formations of Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal.

The focus of these identity formations is not to create another categorization for Native people, but rather to allow for any/all dynamic possibilities. They function as open systems enabling Native people to express and re-present their identity within a continuum that is continually under negotiation. Two audio examples, “Tribal Shouts” and “To The Sell-Outs” from WOR demonstrate the integration and application of these identity formations.

WOR illustrates that Hip Hop functions as an agent for Native identity moving fluidly within areas of identity construction. From this analysis, we can see that Native identity does not have a singular locus. Rather, identity is an inter-dependent composite of many layers of meaning.

Multiple structures of identity construction create a signifyin’ identity for Native people. The signifyin’ Native trickster, as defined by Vizenor, eludes the previous signifiers of the Native persona (Indian, pan-Indian, supra-tribal, et al) and finds a location of identity in a fluid ambivalence that continuously is constructed and deconstructed through musical negotiation.

Chapter 4. The Signifyin' Frybread

“For those of us who bridge the gaps within our culture in possession
of Indian knowledge, as well as trained artists, I coin the label of
“Contemporary Traditionalist”
– James Luna¹

This chapter investigates how WOR signifies² on Hip Hop culture through lyrics, Hip Hop technical devices (Sermonizing, Cut/Mix, Flow/Rupture, Layering) and sampling. The chapter will deconstruct song lyrics and identify how issues of stereotyping, gender and sexual politics, oral tradition and the construction of personal/tribal histories are re-presented. Audio examples are selected from the recording “*Are You Ready For W.O.R.?*”³

A Lyrical Native Identity

The organization of poetry in Hip Hop follows the long honored tradition of the blues. Many scholars have discussed this relationship emphasizing the importance of this poetic and musical source in Hip Hop (Smitherman 1977/1999, Alim 2004/2006/2009, Campbell 2005, Perry 2005, Baugh 2007, Cobb 2007, Androutsopoulos 2009, Pennycook 2009, Ibrahim 2009). Hip Hop

¹ James Luna, “James Luna”, exhibition catalogue. San Diego: Centro Cultural de la Raza Gallery, 1985.

² The use of signifyin’ is consistent with the definition, given in the Introduction of this dissertation (11 – 12), by Dr. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Samuel Floyd.

³ All selections in this chapter come from the recording *Are You Ready For W.O.R.?*, Arizona: Canyon Records, 1994.

poets prioritize the pulse of the text and the relationship of the words to the beat. Literary analysis is important in order to understand how WOR negotiates the intricate complexities of contemporary Native identity in their lyrics. The re-presentation of important literary techniques, such as double-entendre, metaphor, rhyming, et al., creates a variety of lexicons in Native Hip Hop. With an understanding of the cultural politics in the lyrics, this chapter will address a range of musical techniques including, sampling and the beat.

The art of syncopation (words) and knowledge of the pulse (beat) allow the poet in Hip Hop to create his/her own style (Cobb 84 – 89). From the elemental “simple syncopation – matching beats to syllables” (Cobb 84) of the late 1970/80s, to the evolved “computer style” (Cobb 92) of the 1990s, Hip Hop artists continue to create and expand their use of literary devices. The artists have developed a post-modern lexicon defined in a global/local political climate.

Chris LaMarr recalls the infamous quote from Chuck D from Public Enemy, who in 1988 stated that rap is the “Black CNN” (Kitwana 201). This statement speaks to the importance of Hip Hop as the voice of complex cultures being constructed, de-constructed and re-constructed, in real time, for African-American communities within the urban industrial complex. Chuck D challenges the local/national news networks that in 1988, mis-represented Black urban youth in a rapidly developing Hip Hop culture (Kitwana 201, 206 –

15). Chuck D inverts the mis-representation into a re-presentation in Hip Hop culture. Kitwana develops this idea when he states that, “[a]s the national forum for Black youth concerns and often as the impetus for discussion..., rap music has done more than any one entity to help our generation forge a distinct identity” (Kitwana 201). WOR transposes the genre of Hip Hop in order to re-present the complexity of contemporary Native identity.

WOR captures the social dynamic of Indian Country on their 1994 recording *AYRFW?*.⁴ The lyrics address socio-political issues and help to construct a post-structuralist Native identity. As a contemporary Native Hip Hop group, WOR does not define the Native cultural climate of the late 20th century in the linear trajectory of EuroAmerica. In their lyrics (poetry) WOR negotiates a dialectic between the urban and reservation systems articulating a contemporary Native identity. WOR offers the listener and, more importantly, the Native community an opportunity to listen beyond the Third Space.⁵ As defined in Chapter 3, Homi Bhabha’s Third Space enunciates a colonial doctrine that stabilizes a subject-other relationship. Through the agency of Hip Hop, WOR creates an intermediate area allowing a flexible re-presentation of Native identity that simultaneously is constructed, de-

⁴ Chris LaMarr is noted as being the main creator of the lyrics for WOR. Though the other members of the group contribute their prose, it is LaMarr who more often than not is the creator of the lyrics and text.

⁵ Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London/New York: Routledge, 1994.

constructed and re-constructed. In doing so, WOR offers a companion to Chuck D's "Black CNN" in Native Hip Hop.

A Literary Survey of WOR

Mohawk scholar Gerald Alfred states, "It has been said that being born Indian is being born into politics. I believe this to be true; because being born a Mohawk of Kahunawake, I do not remember a time free from the impact of political conflict" (Alfred 1). A deconstructive analysis of the lyrics by WOR illustrates their political awareness of Indian Country. According to William Cobb, MC styles advanced "dramatically" through the 1980s, with the use of literary devices such as rhyming, metaphor, onomatopoeia, personification, simile, analogy, double entendre and comparison. (Cobb 91 - 105).⁶ The selection "Red, White, and Blue"⁷ demonstrates that WOR uses these literary devices to re-present Native identity.⁸

Rhyming

⁶ Each of these literary devices can contain many other sub groupings. For the purpose of this documentation I have elected to illustrate some of the main literary devices and their usage by WOR. Additionally, Alliteration and Assonance are not regularly used literary techniques in the poetry of WOR. Therefore, these poetic devices will not be examined in the following analysis.

⁷ See Appendix for the complete lyrics of *Red, White, and Blue*.

⁸ The use of capitalizations, spellings and other poetic license will be consistent with how the text is presented by WOR. The line numbers of the text will follow in parenthesis.

A wonderful extended rhyming scheme in the final verse deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

White man in blue beating on you what's the clue
 black on black, blue on red, blue on brown
 keeping us down
 got a gat a license to cap
 a power trip how about that beat Rodney King,
 didn't do a thing
 caught it on tape a judicial rape
 a white cop free but if it were me
 where I'd be the penitentiary
 but that's the system set up to miss'em
 if you're white in blue you'll never lose
 so some advice you'd better think twice
 you rolling the dice if you call the vice
 so end of story kinda gory
 it's the red, white, and blue
 straight from WOR to you! (40 – 55)

The rhyming pattern, and internal rhyme, in the first line flows through the entire section of the song: “White man in blue beating on you what’s the clue” This internal rhyme is also evident in other segments of this verse “caught it on tape a judicial rape...so end of story kinda gory”.

A double rhyme is used in the line: “but that’s the system set up to miss'em”. Another literary device used with rhyming is Enjambment. Enjambment breaks the line in a midpoint but still connects the rhyme across the lines. This is apparent in the lines: “black on black, blue on red, blue on brown/keeping us down” and “a white cop free but if it were me/ where I'd be the penitentiary”.

This selection speaks to the political injustice toward people of color. Specifically, the selection deals with the Los Angeles Riot of 1992, as spurred by the Rodney King beating. WOR further signifies on the political displacement of Native people by the U.S. Federal Government.⁹ WOR questions the neglect for people of color that is understood and presented as American. When racist social norms are unchallenged, stereotypes prevail. WOR recognizes the liminal negative attitudes toward people of color in popular media. In order to subvert the racism of the mainstream press, WOR addresses socio-political issues from a Native perspective.

Onomatopoeia

The onomatopoeia offers an interesting insight into the meaning of slang for WOR.¹⁰ In the lines:

I got the lines ready to rhyme
*cuZ*¹¹ now it's the time, for me to get mine
 hold me back and I'll attack
 and you don't want that *cuZ* when I rap
 it's about the truth so how about you
 do you want the facts, a heart attack
 how about a payback
 anyway I'll have my say *cuZ* I'm here to stay

⁹ Chapter 1 and 2 of this dissertation state some of these legal precedents.

¹⁰ This use of slang is similar to other Native Hip Hop artists at the time of this writing. Presently there appears to be a form of "Native Hip Hop Vernacular English" (NVE) being solidified throughout Indian Country with the assistance of urban/reservation Native intercultural connections and the influence of popular culture, namely Hip Hop. The scholarship of Geneva Smitherman in her socio-linguistic work on Black English as well as the current work of H. Samy Alim investigates these developments and their cultural usage.

¹¹ The italics to the word "cuZ" are added for emphasis.

and when I'm through you can say you knew about the true
red, white and blue (4 – 13)

but I ain't trippin' *cuz* they're slippin' (24)

Man in white, thinks he's right
but that I'll fight, *cuz* I'm MC Hiddese
 cuz I know better soon they'll be deader
better change their ways *cuz* we're here to stay
better dead *cuz* this sh** is real (27 – 31)

The word “*cuz*” is used as an abbreviation for the word “because”. The switch between English and slang within this phrase works quite well. No meaning is lost. The sound and use of the letter “z” cuts the word short without losing its meaning. Switching is an understood technique that allows the replacement, or substitution, of terminology without the loss of intent or meaning. This shortening of the word coupled with the sound of the word offers a cultural perspective on these, and similar words that use the letter “z”. For example, the use of “z” in the name “Rezervation”¹² is defined by Chris LaMarr when he states that: “that’s how you say it, “rezzzzz”...there’s an emphasis on the “z”....it’s been shortened a bit, made to fit for Native people and for Hip Hop that is just what it is, ‘the rez’” (phone interview 20 Dec 2008).

Obviously, the use of the letter “z” is an onomatopoeia specific to Native slang and common in the Native community. Geneva Smitherman defines the

¹² Other words like, *Skinz* and *Redz* also make use of this culturally infused Native literary device. Likewise, where Smitherman notes the “r-lessness” (273 – 274) in African-American Language (AAL), there appears to be the formation of an “z-addition” in Native American Language (NAL) or Native Vernacular English (NVE). Future research into Native linguistics will investigate this hyper-potential and perspective of the letter “z”.

Black Experience in language as a form of “Recreolization” of language that works consciously to “recapture and reconfigure” forms of Black speech that will yield an “African-in-America linguistic identity” (Smitherman 38). The spontaneity, concreteness, call and response, rhythmic patterning and signifying (signifyin’) that we see in the poems of WOR are representative of the “Recreolization” discussed by Smitherman.

Personification

In the lines:

we shed no tears instead putt’em in fear
 but that’s today the American way
 where might makes right
 so America prepare to fight (36 – 39)

WOR personifies the object “America.” Taking into account the Termination Policies, as discussed in Chapter 1, the process of assimilation into American culture is represented through the lines “where might makes right” (line 38). The process of assimilation constructs a power struggle between Native/non-Native people where “the American way” (read: assimilation) becomes the dominant political force, (“where might makes right”; the American assimilated way is the correct way to live). In line 39, “America” is personified as an entity that embodies these ideological views. WOR stands as a challenger to “America” in this ideological struggle. “America” is asked to take arms against those who challenge their dominant position, (“America prepare to fight”; if the

American lifestyle is challenged then a violent struggle must arise). WOR is clear not to define any one particular struggle with “America.” Rather, they allow all the possibilities to find support in this legal struggle.

The following poetic forms (Analogy, Simile, Metaphor and Double-Entendre) are related. According to the Handbook of Rhetorical Devices (2008),¹³ a Simile is, “a comparison [using like or as] between two different things that resemble each other in at least one way.” An Analogy then:

compares two things, which are alike in several respects, for the purpose of explaining or clarifying some unfamiliar or difficult idea or object by showing how the idea or object is similar to some familiar one. While simile and analogy often overlap, the simile is generally done briefly for effect and emphasis, while analogy serves the more practical end of explaining a thought process or a line of reasoning or the abstract in terms of the concrete, and may therefore be more extended (Harris 2008).

A Metaphor, “compares two different things by speaking of one in terms of the other. Unlike a simile or analogy, metaphor asserts that one thing is another thing, not just that one is like another.” The Double-Entendre is, “a word or phrase having a double meaning, especially when the second meaning is risqué.”

In Geneva Smitherman’s “Black Semantic” (Smitherman 35 – 72) Smitherman identifies three types of word formation that arise from the socio-historical context of West African language, “words of direct African origin; words that are loan-translations; [and] inflated vocabulary” (Smitherman 43).

¹³ Harris, Robert A. Handbook of Rhetorical Devices, VirtualSalt. 11 Oct 2008.

These “common English words that are direct African survivals” and reflect a “posturing [that] provides the speaker with inflated word choices for ordinary situations” (Smitherman 45 – 46). The “semantic interpretation” allows an interpretation for Smitherman that is originally a “black or white” reading (Smitherman 59). However, the selection of words, their application and persistent use “grounded in ...common linguistic and cultural history” (Smitherman 43) creates a “highly context-bound lexicon” (Smitherman 59). Changing the reference from black-white to Native-non-Native allows a complex reading of this text.

Analogy

The entire poem itself, “Red, White, and Blue” is a larger analogy between Native and non-Native cultures. Stanzas 2 and 3 of the poem each represents a different culture, respectively Native and EuroAmerican. For example, stanza two (lines 14 – 26) refer to Native cultures:

Blood shed red, a bullet to the head
 better off dead that's what they said
 but that was their plan to get our land
 won't you understand
 annihilation of my nation
 my people died, they tried to hide
 all the lies but realize
 that the red in the flag is a blood rag
 a body bag it makes me sad
 what we had to compared to what we have
 but I ain't trippin' cuz they're slippin'
 and we're coming back strong

back to where we belong (14 – 26)

The analogy here between the color red is the Native slang for being Natives “being red”. Smitherman notes this technique as a form of signifyin’ through “Black Semantic language and verbal concepts” (Smitherman 43) that can be categorized in three linguistic formations: words of direct African origin; words that are loan-translations; inflated vocabulary (Smitherman 43). The color red participates in two of these three linguistic formations: “loan-translation” and “inflated vocabulary”. The loan-translation is recognized with the term “red”, that refers to a color, as well as to the skin color of Native people, “red skin.” Through an “inflated vocabulary,” “red” is more meaningful because it refers to a culture of people. This inflated vocabulary is evident in the historical references within this stanza:

annihilation of my nation
 my people died, they tried to hide
 all the lies but realize
 that the red in the flag is a blood rag
 a body bag it makes me sad
 what we had compared to what we have (18 - 23)

This refers to the political and literal termination of Native people through war.

The third stanza refers to the color white:

Man in white, thinks he’s right
 but that I’ll fight, cuz I’m MCHiddese
 cuz I know better soon they’ll be deader
 better change their ways cuz we’re here to stay
 better dead cuz this sh** is real
 I saw LA so whatcha gotta say
 better stop dissin’ take time to listen

if you refuse were all gonna lose
 been this way for 500 years
 we'll shed no tears instead putt'em in fear
 but that's today the American way
 where might makes right
 so American prepare to fight (27 – 39)

Applying Smitherman's three Black Semantic language and verbal concepts once again we see that the color "white" refers to EuroAmerican culture. The line, "Man in white, think he's right" (line 27) refers to white privilege. An acknowledgement of this political situation comes in line 35, "been this way for 500 years", that is alighted with line 37, "but that's today the American way". The analogy here is referring to the dominant political force of EuroAmerica. The color white is subject to a loan-translation that then is inflated through integration. The power-based authority gained through white privilege is challenged by the lines, "I saw LA so whatcha gotta say/better stop dissin' take time to listen" (line 32 – 33). The first part of the line is in reference to the LA riots of 1992. The implied conclusion is that those in a position of authority (read: white) may not be as powerful as once believed. The second portion of the line, "so whatcha gotta say [?]", begs the unanswered question regarding the position of power for the "Man in White" (line 27). How is the "Man in White" going to address and maintain his position of power? How does the "Man in White" retain a hegemonic structure that he (read: white male) has erected for himself? This reading of man as "The Man", or a person in power is an example of Semantic Inversion (aka "flippin' the script") (Smitherman 270

– 282). This literary tool inverts the power structure. Smitherman recounts the same reference of “the man” (read: white) in African-American culture:

Historically, *the Man* was not *any* man but, . . .derogatorily, the white man. In the 1960s and 1970s, the term came to be applied not only to the white man but also to the policeman. Among Hip Hoppers, this script has been flipped again, as *the Man* has come to mean a person with great power, knowledge, skill, and so forth (Smitherman 280).¹⁴

This reading defines “White” as a “man” of power that, in the following section becomes the police.

The last two lines of this stanza recall the historic confrontations for Native people within America, “where might makes right/so America prepare to fight” (lines 38 – 39). This inflated reference to political dominance connects the second and their stanza of the poem.

The fourth and final stanza of this work completes the overall analogy of the red, white and blue through a reference to police violence:

White man in blue beating on you what’s the clue
 blue on black, blue on red, blue on brown
 keeping us down
 got a gat a license to cap
 a power trip how about that beat Rodney King,
 didn’t do a thing
 caught it on tape, a judicial rape
 a white copy free but if it were me
 where I’d be the penitentiary
 but that’s the system set up to miss’em

¹⁴ Italics retained from the original.

if you're white in blue you'll never lose
 so some advice you'd better think twice
 you rolling the dice if you call the vice
 so end of story kinda gory
 it's the red, white, and blue
 straight from WOR to you! (40 – 55)

The color “blue” in a loan-translation refers to the police force. This stanza illustrates the dominance of physical power over non-EuroAmerican culture groups, “blue on black, blue on red, blue on brown” (line 41) where the cultures respectively are African-American, Native American and Mexican American. WOR elects not to refer to any one method of “keeping us down” (line 42), but rather invites the listener to draw from their own experience with forms of social-political oppression. WOR casts police brutality as white (read: blue) privilege through the lines:

White man in blue beating on you (40)
 got a gat a license to cap / a power trip how about that beat
 Rodney King, / didn't do a thing (43 – 45)
 a white cop free but if it were me/where I'd be the penitentiary /
 but that's the system set up to miss'em / if you're white in blue
 you'll never lose (47 – 50).

This poetry here details the 1992 Los Angeles Watts Riots that began after the beating of Rodney King by three police officers that were later acquitted. The inflated vocabulary here is not evident as in the previous stanzas. However, the directness of the words captures a politically charged point in history.

Simile

The simile by WOR is self-evident in this selection. An example of the simile is in the line, “do you want a fact, (like) a heart attach” (line 9). The simile word connective word, “like” is not present, but is implied. The line could be read as implying a severe shock to the recipient of the information, “do you want a fact, (as though you would like) a heart attack”. In line 14, another implied simile is found, “Blood shed red, a bullet to the head” (line 14). This could be read as, “Blood shed red, (like) a bullet to the head”. Replacing the “like” in this line allows the line to be read as a simile. There is also a simile referring to the cultural power-base of America in the line, “but that’s today, the American way” (37). This line then can be read as, “things should be viewed today in the world like they are in America.” Again, the “like” is implied and, when replaced, the line reads as a simile. The simile illustrates an American prominence, first world bias, and hegemony upon global perspectives. This reading points to a simultaneous local/global fuzzy border that Pennycook and Mitchell identify as a “complexity of location” (28) within Hip Hop that Jannis Androutsopoulos coins “glocal” (56).¹⁵

Metaphor

“Red, White, and Blue” provides an interesting metaphor. These colors represent Native and non-Native positions in a political power struggle. As

¹⁵ Glocal and glocalization are defined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

before, the colors are deconstructed as, “Red” being Native, “White” for Euro-American, “Blue” as the police force. These three cultural references (Native, Euro-American, police force) also represent the colors in the American flag. I refer to this as a first step since the continued deconstruction of these “colors” yields a metaphor and a double-entendre.

Here is an interesting display of metaphor:

I got the gat ready to blast
 I got the lines ready to rhyme (3 – 4)
 Blood shed red, a bullet to the head
 better off dead that’s what they said (14 – 15)
 keeping us down
 got a gat a license to cap (42 – 43)

Line 3 refers to a gun (“gat”) that is prepared to shoot (“blast”) and, presumably, cause a murder. Line 4 invokes the poetry (“the lines ready to rhyme”). The “gat” becomes a metaphor for knowledge and the “blast” is the experience of stating the poetry that follows in line 4.

Lines 14 – 15 appear to refer to a legal murder by a gunshot to the head. However, applying the same reading from lines 3 – 4, the “bullet” becomes a metaphor representing knowledge (“a bullet to the head”; knowledge going into the mind). The second metaphor is the “gat” (gun) and the application of the knowledge, (“got a gat a license to cap”; I have ownership of knowledge and the ability to use it to write). These lines refer to the gathering and expression of knowledge. The subtext of EuroAmerican fear (referenced in line 36) is based upon the premise that if Native people gain

knowledge, then they will gain political power through education. In these lines WOR transforms, through metaphor, an act of physical violence into a political act of poetry.

Another metaphor is visible in the lines:

that the red in the flag is a blood rag
a body bag it makes me sad (21 – 22)

These lines refer directly to three colors in the United States flag, red, white and blue. The “flag” as a “blood rag” is a metaphor for America’s oppressive violence. This transposes the U.S. “flag” as an understood symbol of freedom it into a symbol of violence and death. The bloodshed through violence is simultaneously real and a metaphor.

Double Entendre

The example of the colors “Red, White, and Blue” demonstrates that each of these colors developed first through an analogy. The three colors through a loan-translation connect as an inflated vocabulary. WOR uses the American flag as a metaphor in a political critique of the U.S. government. For WOR, the American flag has a double meaning of solidarity with a first world nation, as well as the power-struggle between Native and non-Native people. Double-entendre subverts language as in Smitherman’s Black Semantic

thesis, here exchanging an African with a Native perspective. This signifyin' results in the multiple codes of meaning through a Native perspective.

Comparison

Finally, WOR illustrates the use of comparison in the lines:

I got the gat ready to blast/ I got the lines ready to rhyme (3 – 4)

This line empowers poetry (rhyme) as a weapon (gat), a means of self-defense. Words are aimed and riddle the listener's ears with the social injustices waged against Native people. WOR initiates an act of (re)education of Native issues in an arena that is non-violent but charged with knowledge.

Another comparison is in the lines:

been this way for 500 years (35)

WOR compares the current state of affairs, c. 1994, and the past 500 years. This refers to the arrival of Christopher Columbus to the "new world," the beginning of the historical conflict between Native and EuroAmerican society.

WOR continues, "and when I'm through you could say you knew about the true/ red, white and blue." (lines 12 – 13); "so end of story kinda gory/ it's the red, white, and blue/ straight from WOR to you!" (lines 53 – 55)

Lines 12 – 13 compare "true" to an unspoken truth that underlies the "American way" (line 37). One will know the "true" (read: untold truth, "red") about the American political system ("white") and policing agencies ("blue").

Line 53 - 55 depict a history of violence and brutality, “so end of story kinda gory” (Line 53). The following line compares the American flag once again, “it’s the red, white, and blue” (line 54) to the preceding line that refers to the historic violence. The last line establishes WOR as the author of the truth, “straight from WOR to you!” (line 55). The text compares visible truth (read: American) with an invisible truth (read: Native). The start of line 12 reassures the listener that “when I’m through you could say you knew about the true” (when this text is completed the listener will know an under represented truth about American history, history from a Native perspective).

Born at 18

In *Born at 18*,¹⁶ WOR reaches beyond binary constructions (urban/reservation, Native/non-native, colonized/colonizer) to explore a dynamic Multi-Tribal identity.¹⁷ WOR refutes the simplified insider/outsider binary and resists the temptation to replace this with yet another binary, urban/reservation. For purposes of this analysis, signifiers within this selection

¹⁶ WithOut Rezervation. *Are You Ready For W.O.R.?* Arizona, Canyon Records, 1994.

¹⁷ See Appendix for the complete lyrics of *Born at 18*.

are labeled: [1] Militant/Political/Social, [2] Despair/Demise/Defeat and [3] Optimism/Hope/Empowerment.¹⁸

WOR's signifying text grounds Native identity in Native culture. WOR transposes Hip Hop lexicon into Native culture. The group employs urban slang most often in the breaks between the verses. The introduction incorporates the phrase, "definitely in the house" that positions the entry of WOR, "Ah yeah, WithOut Rezervation is definitely in the house" (Introduction line 1). The group features in Break #3 a more lengthy exchange between two of the members of WOR:

Kevin Nez, "Yeah, you checkin' out the sounds of WithOut Rezervation
(sample, "we were born at 18")
Kevin Nez, "comin' out to ya live and direct from the rez'vation...hey yo MC Hiddie man, waz up' G?,
Chris LaMarr, "waz up' Mo?, MC Hidde WithOut Rezervation
comin' up wit a strong Native American tip, lettin' every body
know what's really goin' on in the Red Nation...so we kickin' this
out to all our brothas and sistas...young and old...let the story be
told...(Break #3)

With the words and phrases "checkin'", "waz up 'G", "wit", "Native American tip", "we kickin' this out", "brothas and sistas" WOR echoes the Hip Hop lexicon of the urban landscape. WOR re-contextualizes the Hip Hop lexicon through a Native perspective. This is most significantly illustrated in the

¹⁸ The bracketed numbers here refer to the larger outline of sections that the text represents: 1. Militant/Political/Social views, 2. Despair/Demise/Defeat 3. Optimism/Hope/Empowerment. These sections are each marked by the appropriate number at the beginning and end of each section. The parenthetical numbers refer to smaller sub-sections within the larger sections. The use of the triple-asterisk (***) at the end of a line represents the cadence point of that particular phrase.

middle of this exchange when LaMarr states, “wit a strong Native American tip” (“with a strong Native American influence”). Acknowledging the fluidity of Native identity as outlined in Chapter 3, this phrase speaks to all three Native identity formations as confirmed in the opening lines, “both in the land and in the inner cities” (Introduction line 1).

MC (re-)naming is viewed in Break #1:

Chris LaMarr, “MC Hidde was born at 18
 Kevin Nez, “Red Shadow was born at 18”
 Corey Aranaydo, “Nazze was born at 18”
 LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, “Natives proud, Native strong...born at 18!...”

The MC (re-)naming of members of WOR reveals another Multi-Tribal dimension that intersects traditional practice and Hip Hop culture. The MC/rapper name is a personal signifier in the toasting/boasting African tradition that informs Hip Hop. The MC names for the members of WOR also function as a re-tribal naming consistent with the vocabulary of Native identity.¹⁹ This allows the names to simultaneously represent a Multi-Tribal identity and MC status in Hip Hop culture.

Other characteristics influenced by Hip Hop culture include: the use of digital distortion as a masking technique (similar to the masking styles and

¹⁹ A further analysis of the MC names in the section on Sermonizing will come later in this chapter.

techniques of the Hamatsa, Tlingit, Yu'pik, et al of the Pacific Northwest),²⁰ the collective shout chorus at the end of a phrase (similar to the technique used within contemporary powwow songs), the inflated-vocabulary of Native language (as coded/re-coded signifiers, i.e., the “z” in “reservation” or “rez”), and the use of samples (placing importance on a single event that has larger meaning).²¹ These semantic characteristics interpret/invert, de-cod/re-code or loan-translate the text reflecting a Multi-Tribal identity. With the application of these literary analytical tools, this text entertains multiple Native voices.

WOR's Multi-Tribal voices engage in a dialogue with the audience. Applying Jannis Androutsopoulos' "system of interrelated spheres," three spheres of influence are recognized: 1. Artistic expression 2. Media discourse 3. Fan/activist response (Androutsopoulos 44). Each sphere bases its influence on their interrelationship. As a result of this interrelationship, the spheres operate on a Multi-Tribal level. The interrelationship in these spheres of influence establishes a platform for audience response to the text.

The lyrics speak to the complexity of Native politics (gender, spatial, tribal, economic, local/global) and how these are re-presented and negotiated. Bakhtin's concept of the Polyphonic Novel allows us to view the text as "representing the multileveled, multivoiced, nonfinalized, dialogical nature of all

²⁰ Berlo offers a discussion of these different styles of mask/masking techniques that lends itself metaphorically to this discussion. See Berlo 57 – 60.

²¹ A much more detailed discussion of the sample will follow later in this chapter.

character, idea, human experience, [and] life itself” (Jackson 271). Multiple voices participate in this deconstructive act. Each of these perspectives encompasses additional multiplicities such as, Native (mixblood), urban (Native and non-Native), political (American government system, tribal governments), gender (male and female). Through the lens of Hip Hop, WOR balances, presents and re-presents the juncture of literary technique and multiple identity perspectives.

The repeating poetic structure of the text demonstrates WOR’s use of repetition on a micro level as well as a macro level.²² The text employs 4 – 5 lines per verse, or stanzas, throughout the work. In the last line of each phrase there is a short sample that functions as a cadence that coincides with the cadence of the text. With a blues inspired sample WOR signifies on an urban Native identity that displays the influence of non-Native music such as rock, punk, blues, etc. (LaMarr phone interview Dec. 22, 2008). The brief blues influenced sample contrasts with a sample of a female powwow vocal. This juxtaposition draws attention to the female situation being addressed in the song. The title itself, “Born at 18,” directly refers to a young woman, just entering adulthood, who gives birth to a child:

We were born at 18, what that means
a child screams, with a life of no hopes and no dreams (14 – 15)

²² Further examples of the micro-macro level of development within “Born at 18” will be seen in later portions of this Chapter.

The decision to use a powwow sample emphasizes the Inter-Tribal reality of the powwow arena for Native people. Further, as discussed in Chapter 3 and will be expanded later in this chapter, the powwow for many Native people is an Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal signifier of their Native identity. The female vocal sample represents the identity formations (Tribal, Inter-Tribal, Multi-Tribal), to use another sample may have run the risk of deflating, marginalizing or even silencing the Native female voice.

WOR states that this selection is for and from the “young and old...let the story be told” (Break #3). The group inverts this reflection on a seemingly negative situation, having a child at 18 years of age into a positive re-presentation of Native culture. This inversion empowers the next generation deflecting a negative stereotype of Native people.²³

Sermonizing, Cut/Mix, Flow/Rupture and Layering

Jon Michael Spencer has identified Sermonizing, Cut/Mix, Flow/Rupture and Layering as underlying theoretical concepts in Hip Hop (Spencer 15). In the following sections each of these concepts will be deconstructed demonstrating how WOR integrates these concepts within a Multi-Tribal identity.

²³ Nagel 335 – 337.

Sermonizing

Jon Michael Spencer discusses the evolution of the sermon and sermonizing in relation to popular Black music. Incorporating Spencer's analysis of sermonizing we see that the Native Hip Hop MC (Master of Ceremony) continues, in a similar tradition. Spencer traces the history of sermonizing from Black worship, particularly the antebellum spiritual:

melodious declamation delineated into quasi-metrical phrases with formulaic cadence was customarily enhanced by intervening tonal response from the congregation. Responsorial iteration of catchy words, phrases, and sentences resulted in the burgeoning of song to which new verses could be contemporaneously added (Spencer 225).

In the tradition of sermonizing, Spencer notes that “favorable creations were remembered and perpetuated through oral transmission” (Spencer 225). It is here, that Spencer speaks about the most important components of sermonizing that remain ever-present in the works and poetry of the Hip Hop MC. Spencer acknowledges that preaching, as witnessed through the Black Church is “truly a manifestation of power” (Spencer 226).²⁴ Spencer cites William C. Turner Jr., who describes theophany as the “manifestation of a deity, some object is present which opens to the transcendent while simultaneously being rooted in the world of the tangible, historical reality” and characterizes the power of preaching as, “there is no modality more indicative

²⁴ Spencer uses first cites the term “kratophany” used by Mircea Eliade (Spencer: 226) and then associates this with the term “theophany” established by William C. Turner Jr. “The Musicality of Black preaching: A Phenomenology.” The Journal of Black Sacred Music 2.1 (Spring 1988), 27 (Spencer 226).

of the presence of deity, power, and intrusion from another order than that of the preached word entrenched in musicality” (Turner 27 - 28). Spencer identifies this concept as, “a word coming from another world” (Spencer 226-7) that Turner previously stated as, “the preacher becomes an oracle through which a divinely inspired message flows” (Turner 4 – 9). Spencer outlines the prime elements used in sermonizing; melody, rhythm, call and response, polyphony, structure/anti-structure, form (rational content) and improvisation (glossal content) (Spencer 227).

Sermonizing within the works of WOR is supported by a Native activist ideology relevant to both urban and reservation contexts. LaMarr notes that he was inspired by political discussions at the Intertribal Friendship House (Oakland, CA). It was here that LaMarr was introduced to the musical, poetic and political works of John Trudell, Nilak Butler, Russell Means and Susan Lobo (LaMarr Phone interview 18 Dec 2008). These poet/activist/scholars would become pivotal mentors for LaMarr as he forged ahead with his own work in Hip Hop. Joining with two other urban Native men, Mike Marin (aka Sice the Merciless) and Kevin Nez (aka Nez the Nemesis) Chris LaMarr (aka M.C. the Messenger) created the Hip Hop group WithOut Rezervation.

In reviewing the MC names of WOR (the Merciless, the Nemesis, the Messenger) with the name of the group (WithOut Rezervations), it becomes apparent that WOR is working on a metaphorical political level. The MC

names, the Merciless and the Nemesis, are representative of the act of toasting and boasting in Hip Hop. They signify on political conflicts that continue to plague Native people within the United States. The metaphorical meaning of the names is subject to semantic inversion/interpretation. The merciless acts of violence perpetuated against Native people are inverted/interpreted to re-present an unforgiving (“mercy less”) rhetorical attack on the American political system (read: the nemesis, the adversary).

The 1982 album *The Message*,²⁵ by Grandmaster Flash and Furious Five, includes Melle Mel’s voice and poetry that has been identified by Hip Hop scholars as establishing the genre of Rap in Hip Hop culture (Rose 55, Nelson 1 – 22, Keyes 39 – 66, Perkins 1 - 48). Following this heritage, “The Message” by Public Enemy’s Chuck D., is one of the signifiers in socially conscious Hip Hop (Ramsey 173 – 180, Kitwana 201). For WOR, and more specifically Chris LaMarr, Public Enemy’s socially conscious message functions as a role model for the presentation of their work (phone interview 14 Dec 2008).

With the name the Messenger, LaMarr sermonizes on the influence and importance of the message for Native people. LaMarr and WOR deliver “the message” (read: conscious Native centered political meaning) to Native people through the expressive and active agent of Hip Hop. LaMarr follows a

²⁵ Grandmaster Flash & Furious Five, *The Message*, Sugar Hill Records, 1982.

model established by Public Enemy, Wu Tang Clan and other socially conscious Hip Hop artists (phone interview 14 Dec 2008). The message expressed is not simple, static or singular, but rather is complex, fluid and multiple. As the Messenger, LaMarr sermonizes on culturally relevant Native themes. Re-presenting these themes through Hip Hop he creates a cross-cultural connection with the non-Native Hip Hop community who hear another “message.”²⁶

These DJ names function in the same Hip Hop DJ lineage, speaking with authority, conviction, confidence and power (Rose 55). The names employ an inflated vocabulary that involves multiple cultural signifiers (American, Africa-American, Native). The loan-translation of these names through a Native perspective presents a sermonizing voice within a Multi-Tribal identity.

The name of the group, WithOut Rezervation (WOR), identifies another form of sermonization. The group originally decided on the name Without Rezervation because it signifies on “reservation.” WOR recuperates this Native signifier through transposition, first in spelling followed by meaning. The capitalized the “o” in “Without” creates the acronym “WOR” (LaMarr phone interview 18 Dec 2008). The substitution of the “s” for “z” within the word “reservation” actively transposes the literal and limited prescription of this

²⁶ Future research will serve to discuss the extension, taking/borrowing or giving of a DJ/MC name and the cross-cultural relationship which this process has in ‘naming ceremonies’ for the different Native communities.

term.²⁷ Tricia Rose remarks that throughout the history of Hip Hop rap groups have reinvented phrases, terminology and words that “emerge from complex cultural exchanges and larger social and political conditions of disillusionment and alienation” (Rose 59). This is an example of Smitherman’s semantic inversion or “flippin the script” of English lexicon (Smitherman 279 – 282). This transposition paves the way for the acronym WOR.

Chris LaMarr relates that the primary “message” of Without Rezervation is to speak beyond the real and imagined structures of the reservation system (LaMarr phone interview 18 Dec 2008). The signification of the name, WithOut Rezervation (WOR) is designed to articulate a contemporary Native identity beyond the imposed restrictions of the reservation.

Upon hearing the word WOR (read/hear: war) one may immediately conjure images of battle, aggression and violence. The group capitalizes on the real/imagined violence that has occurred historically between the U.S. government and Native people. Through the transposition of this term, “war,” WOR inverts, or rather, “flips the script” on the real/imagined violence that has controlled Native people for multiple generations. Chris LaMarr notes that with the appropriation of the acronym and MC names, WOR sermonizes through a Native post-industrial ritual of re-naming. This ritual reflects the complexity of Native and non-Native Hip Hop communities (phone interview 28 Dec 2008).

²⁷ See above discussion of Onomatopoeia.

In 1992, the 500th anniversary of Columbus' "discovery" of the "New World" served as the impetus for critical discourse. WOR began to compose work that spoke to the Grand Native Narratives as referred to by Vine Deloria Jr. (Chapman 152 – 169). The group engaged highly charged topics such as alcoholism ("To The Sellouts"), teen pregnancy ("Born at 18"), criminal injustice ("Guilty 'til Proven Innocent")²⁸, the US political/government system ("Red, White, and Blue", "Time For Some Action"), stereotypes and misrepresentation of Native history ("502 Years", "Was He a Fool? (Columbus)", "Mascot", "Are You Ready for WOR?"), and Native pride ("Skin I'm In").

Nearly half of this recording (four out of ten tracks) focuses on issues of stereotyping and misrepresentation. LaMarr refers to this important time for WOR as crucial to their attaining visibility through numerous features on radio programs and concert performances. This visibility offered WOR the opportunity to rap in the tradition of "conscious Native Hip Hop" that was inspired by the need for education and the political unification of Native people in the late 20th Century (phone interview 28 Dec 2008). Quoting LaMarr:

if we could do something to help the kids through hip hop and rap then we were all for it...we were encouraged by the older generation to do it our way as they saw the kids listening to what

²⁸ It is not stated who the Native is with regards to the criminal justice system. In keeping the Native view gender neutral WOR is able to bridge across a potential gender divide that has already historically worked to separate Native men and women not only from each other but from their culture as well.

we were saying...and we were very aware to say it in a good way... (phone interview 28 Dec 2008).

The political climate of 1992, their visibility on a national stage and the signifyin' transposition of Hip Hop culture through a Native identity helped shape the sermonizing voice that became WOR.

Cut/Mix

The concept of Cut and the Mix, theorized by Jon Michael Spencer, addresses not only the deconstruction ("cut") but also the reconstructive ("mix") in Hip Hop (Spencer 20). Cut/mix deepens the understanding of cultural issues, artistic interpretations and the re-presentation of Native identity. Tricia Rose illustrates the significance of cut and mix to the corporeal of "hip hop's lyrical, musical and visual works" as they "accumulate, reinforce and embellish" (Rose 39) the complex signifyin' aesthetic and cultural lexicon of Hip Hop. Cut/mix juxtaposes cultures (Hip Hop, Popular Music, Native music, et al) and identities (Native, non-Native, Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal, reservation, rural, urban, et al), mixing these components as they are re-presented in music. When flow/rupture is applied to rhymes (Rose 39), the cut/mix re-constructs identity on micro and macro levels. With Cut/mix, Native Hip Hop artists can signify on a specific area (identity, culture or politics).

WOR engages cut/mix through their collective mixblood identities that cut and mix different Native cultures. The members of WOR identify

themselves as Pima, Navajo (Dine) and Pit River/Paiute.²⁹ WOR embraces their diverse tribal and cultural backgrounds and they do not seek to create a unified Native identity or pan-*indian* identity.³⁰ No singularity is reified. This multifaceted dialogue speaks to a diaspora of cultures that freely exchange and cross-connect within the Hip Hop arena.

WOR captures these cross-cultural connections as they cut between their different tribal identities (Pima, Dine, Pit River/Paiute). WOR then mixes these identities together transforming a singular (Tribal) into a plural (Multi-Tribal) representation. For example, a “shout out” to the Aztlan Nation articulates a singular Tribal reference as well as a collectively conscious relationship that contains multiple factors, “aztlan nation, and all our relations” (line 52).³¹ The members of WOR define (cut) as an individual relationship to the Aztlan Nation in a dialogical process via the “shout out” (mix). Through repetition in performance, analytical reading and poetic writing, WOR expresses a re-constructed, fluid identity in Hip Hop culture.

Elvira Pulitano reminds us of the statement by Trinh T. Minh-ha who states that, “fragments of/in life, [are the] fragments that never stop interacting

²⁹ All the present and past members of WOR have openly discussed their Tribal affiliations in numerous fashions: interviews, promotions, record covers, etc.

³⁰ The use of italics and the lower case “i” here is consistent with the application as noted by Vizenor which represents a controlled simulation of Native identity that is subject to and exists within the realm of colonial demands and functionality.

³¹ Line 52 from *Born at 18*.

while being complete in themselves.”³² WOR remains open to numerous Native and non-Native cultural viewpoints, expressions and signifiers. WOR realizes Trinh’s “fragments” in a Tribal, Inter-Tribal, Multi-Tribal perspective that is dislocated and reconfigured.

and all our relations (52)

what’s really goin’ on in the Red Nation...so we kickin’ this out to all our brothas and sistas...young and old (Break #3).

These lines cut through Multi-Tribal identities (“all our relations”, “Red Nation”). The text also features a generational cut and mix, “young and old...let the story be told” (Break #3). The process here is the generational exchange of “[T]he story” that intersects generations and is complicated by a Tribal, Inter-Tribal or Multi-Tribal identity. Identity becomes an on-going activity that is performatively expressed and culturally relevant. Identity is never static as Minh-ha stated, identity “never stop[s] interacting while being complete in themselves.”³³

WOR record cover art demonstrates another example of the “fragments of/in life.”³⁴ *AYRFW?* features a background in concrete that defines the urban center. The members of WOR define two locations of home, one being the

³² Qtd. in Paulitino, Elvira. Toward a Native American Critical Theory. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003: 111.

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ See Appendix A7, Illustration 8.

urban center and their individual reservation³⁵ (LaMarr phone interview 28 Dec 2008).

Embedded within this concrete slab is a fracture, a shard that contains five different Native silhouettes all without eyes. These figures are crossed diagonally with barbed wire that meets in the middle of the shard. WOR uses this image to signify that they are in a state of combat, battling the presumed hierarchy of the US government as well as referencing the imprisoned circumstances of Native people within the U.S. WOR challenges the strategic tactics that the U.S. has forced upon Native people, “both in the land and in the inner cities”.³⁶ The lettering on the album cover features capital block letters in red to signify a war-like (read: WOR) attitude. The use of the color red signifies the cultural representation of birth, the blood of the ancestors and the rejuvenation of life that blood offers (LaMarr phone interview 20 Dec 2008).

The limited use of color represents another aspect of the cut/mix principle, this time in traditional Native and popular culture. The Gourd Dance specifically uses the colors blue and red.³⁷ This Southern Plains dance style comes from the home areas of WOR members, namely the Southern part of

³⁵ Greg Sarris discusses the concept of “Home” and “Autobiography” in Pulitano 122 – 123.

³⁶ Introduction to *Born at 18*.

³⁷ A detailed discussion of the Gourd Dance can be found in Lassiter, Luke E. [The Power of Kiowa Song](#). Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1998., Ellis, Clyde. [A Dancing People. Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains](#). Kansas: University of Kansas, 2003., Howard, James H. “The Plains Gourd Dance as a Revitalization Movement”. [American Ethnologist](#) 3.2 (May 1976): 243-259. and Ellis, Clyde. ““We Don't Want Your Rations, We Want This Dance”: The Changing Use of Song and Dance on the Southern Plains.” [The Western Historical Quarterly](#) 30.2 (Summer, 1999):133-154.

the United States. The Gourd Dance is traditionally a “warriors dance.” One can be initiated into this “society” as a veteran of war and or after serving time in a branch of the armed forces.³⁸ WOR follows this militaristic thread placing an image of a map describing the land from Alaska through Central America on the cheek of the lower silhouette that is mainly in red and blue. These two colors are seen on the Gourd Dance Blankets that Lassiter notes as, “...half red, half blue – draped over the shoulders and hanging to the knees or draped across the chest” (Lassiter 110). James Howard adds more detail to the discussion noting that veterans wear red and blue woolen broadcloth shoulder blankets with “the red end of the blanket over the heart” (Howard 249). The veterans place medals and ribbons on the meeting point of the blue and red (Howard 250). Specifically limiting their color choice to blue and red, WOR signifies on the symbolic re-presentation of these colors, as well as the Gourd Dance itself, as recognized in the contemporary powwow arena.³⁹

The six stars atop the map represent the Iroquois Nation after the addition of the Tuscarora in 1722 and also the six different worlds from Navajo cosmology (phone interview 28 Dec 2008). The lightening bolts that are glazed along the opposite cheek of the larger silhouette are in red and blue, again drawing on the before mentioned representation of these colors. Their

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ Virginia Giglio notes the changes in the Gourd Dance c. 1918, reflecting traditional ceremonial expressions of a veteran’s return home from war that included body painting, dancing, socializing and songs. Giglio notes the attention given to the use of the color red (Giglio 12 – 13).

shape, the lightening bolt, represents the force and power of nature in southwestern Native art.⁴⁰ The lightening bolts are parallel to each other that signifying a balance between two worlds (Native/non-Native, traditional/contemporary) (Berlo 36 – 63). The silhouettes without eyes recall the provocative works of the California mixblood Native artist Fritz Scholder. Scholder's works caught the attention of radical Native and non-Native communities alike.⁴¹ Images with darkened faces and absent expressions create an eerie sensation that speaks to the invisibility of the Native person. The philosophy of the Anishnabe author Gerald Vizenor also defines the "*indian*" as an invented image in literature and history, controlled by constructed structures of Euro-American society (Vizenor 6 – 8).⁴² Finally, the eagle feather is presented as an Inter-Tribal signifier. The large single feather is placed in a prominent position that speaks directly to a collective Native identity, "both in the land and in the inner cities".⁴³

WOR mixes and re-presents a dynamic identity continuum⁴⁴ that embraces Native history, politics, urban and reservation cultures. Native signifiers that are disturbing (i.e., barbed wire, concrete block, "*indian*")

⁴⁰ Berlo 36 – 63.

⁴¹ Scholder, Fritz. Indian Kitsch, The Use and Misuse of Indian Images. Arizona: Northland Press/ The Heard Museum, 1979.

⁴² A further discussion of Vizenor's "indian" can be found in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁴³ Introduction to *Born at 18*.

⁴⁴ This was discussed at length with Susan Lobo in a personal phone interview 9 Feb 2009.

silhouettes) are cut and situated (read: mixed) alongside affirming Native signifiers (i.e., an eagle feather, Gourd Dance colors, lightening bolts, multiple meaning of the color red) that are transposed through a Multi-Tribal logic. The mixing is performed outside restrictions of time, place and Native/non-Native identity. The transposing process performed through a Multi-Tribal identity represents a complex re-contextualization of Native identity.

Flow/Rupture

H. Samy Alim defines “flow” as a “narrative sequencing” that is “defined generally as the relationship between the beats and rhymes in time” (Alim 95). Flow’s foundation is rhythmic but, as Alim notes, “flow” is not a limited concept but assist in creating an artist relationship in congruence with Hip Hop culture (Alim 93 - 101).⁴⁵ The flow is what allows an artist/poet to glide through simile, metaphor, double-entendre, rhyming, et al., while constantly re-shaping and re-mixing the representation of the subject in question. The flow allows the interplay of different signifiers to operate on both an artistic and technical level. Therefore, flow assists a Hip Hop artist/poet in defining and re-presenting his/her work.

Tricia Rose discusses circulation as one of the main functions of flow (Rose 39). Through repetition the Hip Hop artist flows between different strata

⁴⁵ Alim conducted numerous interviews while constructing his definition of flow.

in which they find their works: cultural, post-industrial/urban, artistic, historic, artistry (musical, literate, et al.), etc. (Rose 39 – 61). Native Hip Hop artists embrace the dynamic of flow with their own cultural signifiers across identity (Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal), culture, urban/reservation (consciousness, location), political history, and artistry (musical, literate, et al).

WOR demonstrates their use of flow as they navigate and weave through the complexities of identity. This is evident in the diverse perspectives in *Born at 18: Militant/Political/Social, Despair/Demise/Defeat, Optimism/Hope/Empowerment*. WOR challenges perceived contradictions and limited points-of-view. The flow is re-presented in a fluid form of Native identity that, as phrased by Chris LaMarr, “speaks to the kids on the rez and in the city” (phone interview 18 Dec 2008).

The counterpoint to Flow is Rupture. Rupture becomes a very useful device in that the poet leaves his/her their constructed and sometimes confined literary space in order to draw attention to a word, phrase or sound. William Cobb refers to rupture as the “anti-flow” that is defined as the precise and seemingly out-of-place location of phrasing and text (Cobb 89). The anti-flow normally introduces a different idea for the poet. Elongated phrasing and unstable climactic cadences are two examples of anti-flow. The principle of “anti-flow,” however, neglects the interaction between flow and rupture. Cobb creates a hierarchy that favors flow. The balance between flow and “rupture in

the line” (Rose 39) confirms that rupture does not work against flow, but to functions as an active extension of the line. It is rupture that captures the improvisational moments within flow allowing the artistic work (Rap, DJ-ing, Breakdancing, Graffiti, Aesthetics, Journalism/Writing) to interact within a cultural context. Rupture represents the unrehearsed, unexpected, inconsistent and indeterminate moments that arise in an artistic practice. The DJ, MC, graffiti artist, breakdancer, fashion designer and author embrace these creative improvisational moments as defining the depth of their craft.⁴⁶

WOR embraces the principle of flow/rupture across a multitude of levels: tribal, urban, gender, and political. WOR ruptures from the stereotype of the silent, stoic male warrior and illustrates the persistent complexity of the contemporary Native poetic voice. WOR, or more precisely Chris LaMarr, does not rest comfortably on a predetermined understanding of Native culture or history. LaMarr balances contemporary Native and non-Native perspectives in his raps. The selection *Skin I’m In*⁴⁷, LaMarr writes:

I’m a dog, a rez dog (1)
I’m proud of the skin I’m in (13)
Red brother (14)
coming up strong in the Native race (31)

These lines exemplify LaMarr’s political flow that travels between numerous

Native identities. With the word “dog,” LaMarr ruptures the meaning of a

⁴⁶ Rose illustrates how the balance of flow/rupture function together within each of the three classic modes of Hip Hop culture; rap/mc-ing, breakdancing, graffiti (Rose 40 – 61).

⁴⁷ WithOut Rezervation. “Skin I’m In”. *Are You Ready For W.O.R.?*, Arizona:Canyon Records, 1994.

domesticated animal into one that is “down” (read: up and supportive with the current context) (Smitherman 280). This exhibits Native pride. The “Red brother” and “Native race” do not refer specifically to any particular tribe or Native culture. LaMarr flows between Native identities rupturing any limitations. The representation of a “Native race” acts as a political rebuttal to the EuroAmerican dominant culture within the U.S. This racial signifier localizes WOR’s ideology in a Nativist perspective.⁴⁸ LaMarr embraces the ruptures that extend from cultural and political (mis)representation.⁴⁹ By flowing across the lines of presumed cultural demarcation and rupturing political positions infused with cultural insensitivity, WOR/Chris LaMarr re-presents the complexities of a post-modern Native vernacular.

Layering

“Layering,” as defined by Tricia Rose, is the reaffirmation of the collective strata, discussed above, that resound in Hip Hop culture (Rose 40 – 60). Joseph G. Schloss redefines the concept of “digging” for rare records that assist a DJ in creating an audio identity through samples (Schloss 60 – 80).

⁴⁸ The Nativist ideology and its relationship to identity construction is discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁴⁹ Throughout the numerous email and phone conversations I conducted with Chris LaMarr it became quite evident how aware he and the other members of WOR are to these issues and the national impact which these will have upon Native people. Not only was LaMarr aware of the current cultural and political temperature of Indian Country, but he would also deposit insights and suggest resolutions to the various perplexing situations facing contemporary Native people.

Layering is where antithetical properties coalesce. “Rappers layer meaning by using the same word to signify a variety of actions and objects; they call out the DJ to ‘lay down a beat,’ which is expected to be interrupted, ruptured” (Rose 39).

The selection *Born at 18*, illustrates the concept of layering through the multiple meaning of the term “born”. A literal translation is the act of child bearing, where a metaphorical translation may signify the arrival of an action. WOR is aware of both these meanings and layers poetic text that refers to youthful child birth with the sampled voices from female powwow singers⁵⁰ and the low, booming, distorted voice of John Trudell who repeats (layers) his prophetic statement, “We were born at 18”. WOR builds this song on the fact that Trudell is the “Voice of Alcatraz Island” (Johnson 106).

While working for KPRA as a broadcast/radio host during the Occupation of Alcatraz Island from 1969 – 1971 (Johnson 107 – 113), John Trudell began the legendary “Radio Free Alcatraz” radio program that broadcast world issues and discussed conditions in “Indian Country.”⁵¹ For

⁵⁰ During the interview sessions, LaMarr was always quite cognizant of the impact and importance of the female Native community within his works. We discussed the representation of Native females within popular culture, paying close attention to the images within Hip Hop culture, and why it was that WOR elected to present this work that speaks directly about family issues within the Native community. The layers continued to abound as this selection speaks to/talks back to the stereotypes of the “absent father”, young women raising children, and the repeated context and signifier that *Born at 18* has come to represent and re-present for multiple generations of Native people.

⁵¹ Indian Country as a term refers historically to the areas West of the Mississippi River, specifically Oklahoma, where Native people were forced to migrate after 1835 during the adoption and passing of the Indian Removal Act. The phrase “Indian Country’ has remained

Trudell, the Occupation of Alcatraz Island is the rebirthing place for Native sovereignty, solidarity and unification (personal interview 4 Dec 2008). WOR follows Trudell's lead, layering both the political and social meanings of *Born at 18*.

Chris LaMarr notes that his personal contact in the Bay Area with those involved with the Occupation of Alcatraz Island as integral to the establishment of WOR and inspired the use of positive Native signifiers. LaMarr confirms that WOR's use of samples, Native slang, drumbeat patterns, powwow samples, colors, images, et al collectively create a layered meaning and represent contemporary Native identity in Hip Hop (phone interview 28 Dec 2008 – 2 Jan 2009).

This approach to an entire body of work that stretches through history, unifying dynamic and multiple signifiers is a textbook example of layering. WOR provides a model for the growing genre of Native Hip Hop of how to construct and work within the four critical areas of Hip Hop (Sermonization, Cut/Mix, Flow/Rupture, Layering). This gives Native communities the dialogical framework that represent the omni-present complexities implicit within Native identity.

A summary of the analysis of *Born at 18* demonstrates how the techniques of Sermonization, Flow/Rupture, Cut/Mix and Layering interact.

and been reappropriated and transposed by Native people in reference to the multiple conditions (health, welfare, economics, education, et al.) and physical landscape of the U.S.

The sample of the female powwow voice cuts and mixes between verses of the song. This is symbolic of the collaboration between traditional and contemporary powwow music (LaMarr personal phone interview Dec. 20 2008). The spoken word comments by WOR, and distorted voice of John Trudell (“We were born at 18”), rupture the poetic flow established by LaMarr and the other MCs in this example. However, this rupture does not interrupt the consistent and persistent “heartbeat” of the bass line that flow signifies the heartbeat of the Native community “both in the land and in the inner cities.”⁵² Sermonization is expressed by the poetic text of the MCs, the distorted voice of John Trudell, the female powwow singers sample, and the persistent heartbeat of the music. All of these layers demonstrate how WOR signifies on contemporary Native culture through their cultural appropriation of Hip Hop. Both Schloss and Rose reaffirm these techniques as the Native “blueprint for social resistance and affirmation” (Rose 39), where the “creat[ive] aspiration, moral beliefs, political values and cultural realities” (Schloss 60) “create sustaining narratives, accumulate them, layer, embellish, and transform them” (Rose 39).

Samples and the Beat

⁵² WithOut Rezervation. *Are You Ready For W.O.R.?* Arizona, Canyon Records, 1994.

The technique, art and ideology of sampling work in collaboration with the construction of identity for Native Hip Hop artists.⁵³ The sample is a sound object removed from its original context and repeated by the use of electronic assistance, most often a sampler. Tricia Rose reminds us that, “samples were used to ‘flesh out’ or accent a musical piece” (Rose 73). The practice of sampling itself dates back to the early 1980s (Rose 79).

Sampling, according to Joseph G. Schloss is, “the electronic borrowing and manipulation of recorded sound” (Schloss 29). The techniques of borrowing and manipulation in Hip Hop are not new. DJ Marley Marl refers to the development of the sample as a happy “*accident*” that launched a musical generation (Rose 79). It is important to recall that samples were mostly used in the late 1980s to recreate or rather, “mask the sample and its origin; to bury its identity” (Rose 73). The reality is that the original identity of a sample is disguised and re-presented for a different purpose.

In practice, the sample is a fluid signifyin’ agent in a cross-cultural glocal⁵⁴ arena. The sample is not stable and derives cultural energy from each point of contact. Each contact point for a sample creates another signifyin’ layer. The cultural representation of the sample gains a new identity that is

⁵³ The theoretical concepts of sample/sampling can be viewed in a similar light with regards to all the Six Elements within Hip Hop culture. This discussion intends to not focus on the production or artistry of these techniques, but rather how they are visible within the works of WOR. For other similar discussions about sample/sampling see Schloss 20 - 80, Rose 62 - 99, Keyes 122 - 157 and The Art of Hip Hop Sampling sponsored by Duke University; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YLg5qwfhHnA> reviewed 1 Feb. 2009.

⁵⁴ The term glocal is defined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

multiplied by repetition and context. The choice of what to sample may include signifiers that are appropriated from another culture. The sample re-presents a Multi-Tribal rhizome complicated by its location in sonic culture.

Chris LaMarr refers to the samples originating from powwow culture (phone interview 29 Dec 2008). The use of powwow signifiers for WOR allows them to cross-connect with the complexity of identities that are involved in powwow culture.⁵⁵ LaMarr states that in order to connect with the large (glocal) Native population, both on the reservation and the urban context, it is important to incorporate signifiers that converse within these cultural arenas (phone interview 29 Dec 2008). Once a sample is used it is no longer a static signifier.

A sample highlights a signifier from a culture. A structuralist understanding of a sample requires a signifier-signified binary. This minimizes the complexity and does not allow multiple re-presentations. The repetition and re-contextualization of a sample exists within Androutsopoulos' three spheres of influence.⁵⁶ Therefore, the sample re-presents the complexity of identity in sound.

⁵⁵ This same point has been articulated by other scholars before LaMarr including; Browner, Tara. Heartbeat of the People – Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-wow. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002., Ellis, Clyde. A Dancing People, Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains. Kansas: University of Kansas, 2003., Buff 147 – 170, Fixico 56 – 57, Fixico 156 – 157, Nagel 48 – 54, Weibel-Orlando 95 – 114.

⁵⁶ Androutsopoulos' three spheres of influence were presented earlier in this chapter (178).

The sample encounters a multitude of identities along its dialogical journey. For Native people the meaning of a sample can speak to their own real/imagined understanding of “Indianness”, and also re-present the modern complexity of urban and reservation Native people. Signifyin’ does not abandon nor neglect any of the history, identities, or other signifiers (real/imagined) in Native communities. Hip Hop establishes a dialogue that continues to sermonize flow/rupture, cut/mix and layer as it signifies identity.

AYRFW? has fourteen tracks that include eleven tracks with samples. Like *Born at 18*, a heavy ground bass beat signifies on the idea of the heartbeat in two ways: first, the heartbeat of the people (i.e., the drum) and second, the heartbeat of the newborn child.⁵⁷ Chris LaMarr states this clearly when he surmises that “for Native people that drum is the heartbeat of the people...and it’s the same in Hip Hop where the drumbeat is the beat of the people who are hearin’ it” (phone interview 22 Dec 2008). West Coast Hip Hop of the mid 1980s/early 1990s (i.e., Mobb Music, G-Funk, Gangsta Rap), focused on the “high-lighted bass-and-synth” (Cobb 93) that becomes the groove for rappers/poets to glide, ebb and flow. The Hip Hop “beat” during this time period is transposed into Native Hip Hop with the drum as the “heartbeat” for both the powwow and Hip Hop culture.

⁵⁷ Appendix C contains the rhythmic outline of this bass groove.

WOR repeats a short two bar phrase that represents the persistence of the heartbeat. The signifier of the heartbeat is not limited to any of any particular culture. It remains open to Native and non-Native connections.

The first sample we hear are the voices of female powwow singers.⁵⁸ These voices first enter at the introduction of the song and are repeated during the chorus. The sample fades slowly gliding out of perception similar to female powwow singers (LaMarr phone interview 20 Dec 2008). WOR strategically places the sample at the beginning and juncture points of the song in order to construct a positive view of Native women. The female voices are heard above the male voices as they repeat in a two-cycle phrase.⁵⁹ It is important here to note that female powwow singers can be heard singing high above male powwow singers regardless of the tessitura of the male voices (Browner 66 – 87). The sampled female voices crescendo slowly at the start of each cycle and are cut slightly at the end of the first cycle. The second repeated cycle begins with the same crescendo and is allowed to diminuendo slowly.

The repetition of the sample serves as a foundation for the entire work. When the sample fades leaving only the male voices, who rap or speak rather than sing, their absence is not, at first, noticeable. The female presence

⁵⁸ The placement of the female powwow singers may have a close association to Cheyenne “wolf songs” that later were called “war journey songs” (Giglio 12 – 13). These songs would be the first songs, sung by women, that male veterans would hear upon their return from war. In the modern powwow, these songs have been collected into the category of “veteran’s songs.”

⁵⁹ See Appendix B that contains the selection *Born at 18*.

evades erasure. The first cycle slightly clips the female voices that becoming part of the landscape of the two-cycle phrase. This is augmented by electronic manipulation that in turn becomes a marker for the sample itself.

WOR, as an all male rap group, does not attempt to make a statement for Native women. They recognize the importance of the woman's position in the dynamic of Native culture. The repetition of the sample dismantles the stereotype of the silent, complacent and docile Native female. WOR realizes the importance of the female voice, perspective, and identity as a core component of powwow and Native Hip Hop culture. The song bonds Hip Hop technique (sample/sampling) and Native culture (powwow).

The Scratch

One minute and twenty-six second into *Born at 18* we hear a word "scratched" out of the rhyme, "but you know that we won't go out like that cuz we're too damn strong it's time to take our sh** back"⁶⁰ (19). Hip Hop authors and performers define the technique of the "scratch" as the act of moving a record back and forth in a groove of a record producing a scratching sound (Keyes 2002, Rose 1994, Perkins 1996, X-Ecutioners 1997/98). WOR does not take advantage of the artistic possibilities of scratching but rather uses it

⁶⁰ WOR. "Born at 18." Are You Ready For W.O.R.? Arizona, Canyon Records, 1994.

sparingly. The scratch technique that WOR does involve amounts to little more than editing.

WOR assumes that people from different generations will hear their work. WOR made a conscious decision to scratch out profanity in their selections so that the elder audience would not reject or dismiss the meaning of their songs. This prompted a level of self-editing prior to recording. Consistent with their working ethic, WOR strives to retain Native cultural sensitivity and Hip Hop credibility. According to Chris LaMarr, WOR desired to have their works recognized by, “young Indian kids...who were into Hip Hop...” but also needed to balance these same works “...paying respect to the elders...” (phone interview 14 Dec 2008). Operating with these restrictions explains why scratching is limited in its use.

Conclusion

WOR challenges stereotype re-presenting a contemporary, Native political viewpoint that addresses gender identity. With the four critical Hip Hop devices (Sermonization, Flow/Rupture, Cut/Mix and Layering), WOR engages and deconstructs (mis)representations as it reconstructs Multi-Tribal identities. Through Native ideology, WOR transposes Hip Hop techniques and tools reflecting a multiple tribal reality.

Chapter 5. Conclusion and post-thoughts

“Hip-Hop was the power of the streets and the voice of the voiceless manifested before this art form became Hip-Pop”¹ – Ernie Paniccioli

At the onset of this work I reflected for hours upon the sounds of various Native Hip Hop groups I have known over the years. I selected the group WithOut Rezervation for a few personal reasons: 1. They are situated in California, 2. They are close to my generation in age, 3. They had a very popular recording within the Native community, 4. I basically enjoyed their sound. What I had to understand as a maturing scholar was my area of critical focus. I am interested in how Native identity is formed and re-presented through Hip Hop. With this, I searched for much more than the evolution of Native Hip Hop.

Throughout this dissertation I strived to connect interdisciplinary work that would begin to shed a critical light on the three Native identity formations, Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal, and how these are re-presented through Hip Hop. It became necessary for this dissertation to investigate the process and possible evolution of Native Hip Hop. For the remainder of this chapter I will critically review the theories and hypotheses that I constructed. I will reflect on the group WOR to see if their work advances, or stalls, the evolution of Native

¹ Qtd. from @149st on-line interview with Ernie Paniccioli. <<http://www.at149st.com/ernie.html>>. Reviewed 4 Jan 2009.

Hip Hop. Lastly, I will posit some thoughts on the future direction of Native Hip Hop.

Critical Theory in Native Hip Hop

Chapter 1 offered the hypothesis of “distortion-for-protection” (24). This hypothesis is based on the early work of Native ethnomusicologist Tara Browner and her critical work on the musical Indianist movement at the turn of the 20th century. Noting the historical racism supported by non-Native studies of Native music during the 1890 – 1920s, this hypothesis offers future research a critical tool to an understanding of how Native identity prevailed in an era of musical assimilation and (mis)representation. This hypothesis balances both traditional and concert Native musics at the turn of the century. This hypothesis is particularly applicable to the arena of popular Native music. Applying the distortion-for-protection hypothesis to Native electronic music questions quickly arise. For example, how do electronic instruments (i.e., guitars, keyboards, synthesizers, computers, turntables) express Native identity in music? Is Native identity recuperated or assimilated in electronic music? Does the immediacy of electronic instruments create a level of automatic control (colonization)? How do these instruments shape a positive/negative mimesis of Native identity? This leads to a central question of how Native identity is maintained and/or re-presented within the three forms

of “distortion-for-protection”: rhythmic variation, melodic adjustment, word substitution.

Toward the end of Chapter 1, I present a possible outline for the origin of Native Hip Hop, c. 1988. This is, to my knowledge, the only comprehensive work on the subject by scholars, performers or authors. It will be a vital next step to apply this timeline to other Native artists who are prominent in the creation of Native Hip Hop. Doing so may require further adjustments to this timeline. Without question, there will be a Native Hip Hop group that has been missed. Accessibility to the large data pool of Native Hip Hop artists will be critical to this research. Also, it will be necessary to either focus or broaden this review to Native Hip Hop groups within and/or beyond the borders of the U.S. However, taking note that this work originated within the limits of the U.S., it is logical to continue in this same manner. A larger review can occur once this preliminary research level is secure. New technology will assist in this process, but it is necessary to recall that this research is an ongoing process. It is my hope that this working timeline and sonic outline, that I suggest here, will be useful for future scholars and artists.

In Chapter 2, I present a hypothesis for the transposition of Hip Hop from African-American into Native. This originates from a listing of characteristics of go-go music provided by Lornell and Stephenson (60 – 62). By re-reading this list with a Native Hip Hop focus, the result does not merely

illustrate how these characteristics could be transposed, but also highlights the complexity of Native identity and the postcolonial function of Native Hip Hop. Questions begin to surface such as: Does this essentialize Native identity in music? How is gender negotiated within these characteristics? Do these characteristics apply to other Native popular musics? It is necessary to keep these questions in mind when I address the formations of Native identity and the intercultural exchange between African- Americans and Natives that created Native Hip Hop. Sexual politics and gender identity is not reviewed in this work outside of the female powwow sample in *Born at 18* discussed in Chapter 4. It may be that this reflects the limited influence of gender politics and identity in the work of WOR under review. If this is the case, then a subsequent reading of gender identity within the creative work of WOR is a logical next step. It is my intent that through this discussion, Native popular music will be able to advance, become more self critical, and its study will contribute to the fields of cultural studies, Native studies and ethnomusicology/musicology.

Chapter 2 also presents a reading of the (mis)representation of Native identity in four artists/authors: Powwow, Professor Griff, Powell/Paniccioli and Cowboy. This helped uncover the layers of (mis)representation that I recognize in Hip Hop. Without this investigation, Native identity would have been assimilated into popular non-Native culture. This would then situate

Native identity as a commodity, an historic image that functions only through a colonial perspective of popular culture. In resistance to this oppressive perspective, one must recognize Native identity within Hip Hop. A critical analysis of the (mis)representation of Native identity within Hip Hop is an avenue for resistance. How Native artists re-present the complexity of Native identity within the expressive agent of Hip Hop substantiates this ongoing struggle.

Later in the same chapter an analysis of the sample *Apache* and its importance to the formation of Native Hip Hop is examined. The Sugarhill Gang's "Apache, Jump On It!" (1981) is a racist (mis)representation of Native identity that has persisted in popular music (Sir Mix-A-Lot), T.V. (The Fresh Prince of Bel Aire), film (Alvin and the Chipmunks) and video (Sugarhill Gang).² Though this would at first glance appear to be a step backward in time for this work, the recent revival tour of the Sugarhill Gang, 2008, demonstrates its relevance today and the necessity of a critical reading of this selection. The persistence recognition of the *Apache* beat is another avenue to investigate. In 2000, Rage Against the Machine recorded a version of "Renegades of Funk,"³ that incorporates the *Apache* beat. The placement and use of the *Apache* beat requires a simulation and simulacra analysis or, a

² Each example can be found at: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-lx8cU6-Lg>>. Reviewed 5 Jun 2009.

³ Rage Against the Machine. "Renegades of Funk." *Renegades* Sony Records, 2000.

Vizenor-esque analysis of the sample/song. A critical review of *Apache* will assist in establishing the “distortion-for-protection” hypothesis as an important theory in understanding Native Hip Hop.

Chapter 3 presents the three Native identity formations of Tribal, Inter-Tribal and Multi-Tribal (117 – 120). These identity formations re-present the fluidity of Native identity in Hip Hop and provided a core for this dissertation. This triple-consciousness is the backbone of this theory.⁴ It is my intent to provide a critical tool for future scholars who examine Native identity.⁵

It must be re-iterated that the base term, “Tribal,” does not imply a sub-cultural position with colonial control. Rather, this base term can be substituted, and quite reasonably should be given the current direction of l/indigenous scholarship, for another term applicable to Native people. The argument for the future is, “which term to use for identification?” As Native people, regardless of indigenous land or terminology, persist into the 21st century and act in the global arena, this question will most certainly become more complicated and require further review. This begs other important questions: Why must Native people continue to define themselves through politics? To what degree is there Native sovereignty in the world? Who defines Native sovereignty? How will l/indigenous people identify themselves?

⁴ These identity formations I note as a theory based on the fact that this work has already been in application and undergone critical scrutiny and review by my peers since 2003.

⁵ Eva Marie Garrouette urges Native scholars to continue a critical inquiry into identity politics (Garrouette 101, 121).

These are simply a few of the complex questions that will certainly have to be negotiated at a future time and place in regard to this theory of identity formation.

Chapter 4 applies the work of WOR to the present state of Hip Hop scholarship starting with an analysis of the lyrics. This analysis is primarily based on the work of socio-linguistic scholar Geneva Smitherman. My intent by performing this analytical reading is two-fold: First, I undertake a closer view of the political ideology of WOR and, Secondly, I examine the complexity of Native identity within the work of WOR. In this same chapter, the work of WOR is subjected to the four areas of Hip Hop discourse defined by Jon Michael Spencer (Sermonizing, Cut/Mix, Flow/Rupture and Layering). This obtains a deeper reading of the Multi-Tribal identity of WOR. The chapter reviews how WOR employs samples and re-contextualizes a Hip Hop “beat” within their work. The expressive transformation of the beat, from powwow to Hip Hop, is critically analyzed. An important question arises, “is there an historic precedent for the transformation of the powwow beat (pulse) into popular music?” To the best of my knowledge, there is no research (musicology, ethnomusicology, cultural anthropology, Native studies) that engages this transformation of powwow music into popular music. The work within this chapter begins this analytical.

Are you still ready for WOR?

This dissertation examines the work of WithOut Rezervation (WOR) during the years of 1988 – 1994 with particular interest placed on the years 1992 – 1994 with the release of *Are You Ready For W.O.R.? (AYRFW)*. WOR released their second album, *World WOR Two (WWTwo)*, in 1999, self produced on WithOut Rezervation Productions (WORP).⁶ At the time of this dissertation, 2008 – 09, WOR is preparing to release a third recording that currently is in rough tracks.

AYRFW articulates an urban political struggle in a funk based rap style for Native people.⁷ I would argue that this is successfully accomplished in this work. The music in *WWTwo* is similar. However, the lyrics in this recording are more personal and autobiographical, reflecting an introspective approach to their work.⁸ Given that roughly four years elapsed between the release of *AYRFW* and *WWTwo*, it would be reasonable to expect WOR to progress in both their music and lyrics. Recording on their own label released WOR from critical feedback and outside review. Ironically, their artistic independence produced a stalemate for WOR's creative work. As noted previously, *AYRFW* came at a time of high political visibility for Indian Country in the U.S. *WWTwo* did not have this advantage. The recording uses shorter mix-tape style

⁶ WithOut Rezervation, *World WOR Two*, WithOut Rez Productions, 1995/9.

⁷ WithOut Rezervation, *Are You Ready for W.O.R.?*, Canyon Records, 1994.

⁸ LaMarr phone interview, 3 Jan 2009.

samples and the drums are clearly digitally manufactured. The poetry is more personal and rhythmically is placed more on-the-beat rather than flowing over the pulse as in *AYRFW*. In *WWTwo* the lyrics, technology and music appear flat in comparison to WOR's debut release.

With their forthcoming third release, the group WOR hopes to resume their creative and collected work presenting "new material."⁹ Reviewing this unreleased work, and placing it within the brief oeuvre of WOR, further critical questions begin to surface. A quick summary of this unreleased new work will be helpful to start.

This work unreleased new work (*UNW*) began during 2008 with an anticipated commercial release in 2009. As with *WWTwo*, WOR plans to self-produce this work through their production company WORP. With the advancement of technology in Hip Hop from the time of WOR's second recording, 1999, one would anticipate that *UNW* would embrace these advancements. Instead, *UNW* showcases an even stronger musical reference to Mobb Music¹⁰ along with limited rhythmic variation in the lyrics. The *UNW* is grounded in overtly digital, static and processed sounds (digital drum beats, very short samples, multiple layers of synthesized instruments) that seem pre-packaged. This recording emphasizes high timbres and static beats. The

⁹ LaMarr email interview 3 March 2009. LaMarr has not authorized the release of these tracks as of this writing, May/June 2009. Reference to specific tracks will be made as they are listed on the "unreleased version" recording. I am grateful to Chris LaMarr for advancing me a copy of this unreleased work for this critical review.

¹⁰ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for information regarding Mobb Music.

rhythmic foundation of this work is dominated by 4/4 time presented in predictable loops. All these factors yield a purely digital recording that, by the Hip Hop standards of 2009, is sonically outdated.

The lyrics in this work do not push the envelope either. As with *WWTwo*, *UNW* has an autobiographical approach to the text. The rhythm of the lyrics is static as in *WWTwo*. The rhythmic foundation, the length of poetic lines and phrases, is predictable and creates an average track length of three minutes and thirty seconds. Possibly, *UNW* is being developed with the anticipation of mainstream, Native and non-Native, radio airplay.¹¹ Though no statement has been made about this work by WOR, the basic format of *UNW* appears to be a compromise in favor of entertainment.¹² Is WOR going to release a purely marketable product that stands in contrast to their early political work? If this is the case, was the political “funky rap” of *AYRFW* a work for that time/era, 1994? Has WOR matured into the “Hip Pop” genre as stated by Ernie Paniccioli in the epigraph to this chapter?¹³ Though it will be difficult to address these questions until *UNW* becomes commercially available, one important question to bear in mind is, how will *UNW* challenge

¹¹ A good working list of Native radio stations, both in Canada and the U.S., can be found at <http://www.chinookindian.com/greene/chinook_radio.htm>. Reviewed 5 June 2009.

¹² When I asked Chris LaMarr for an advanced copy of the recording, I was not expecting to receive a rough copy of the unreleased tracks for review. Each of the current members of WOR have retained a silent position with regards to this work as they are still “in the process of recording” these tracks.

¹³ Qtd. from @149st on-line interview with Ernie Paniccioli. <<http://www.at149st.com/ernie.html>>. Reviewed 4 Jan. 2009.

the socio-political dynamics of the current state of Indian Country? In other words, how will WOR continue to debate the areas of Native/indigenous space, location (place) and identity through the agency of Hip Hop? This provides the launching point for further critical inquiry into Native Hip Hop.

In an effort to position the overall work of WOR, we can see that the group has evolved from its inception as a politically conscious Native Hip Hop group into a production based Hip Hop project by Native performers. From this reading, is it fair to state that WOR has become assimilated into mainstream Hip Hop? I do not entirely believe that this is the case. With their failure to evolve, WOR operates outside of mainstream musical assimilation. I do, however, note that it is necessary to understand the work of WOR in concert with other Native Hip Hop artists. This is important in order to locate points of assimilation that may already exist in the Native Hip Hop community. When *UNW* becomes commercially available how will WOR appear in the eyes/ears of the non-Native Hip Hop community? To what degree will non-Native Hip Hop characteristics be highlighted in this work? Based upon the commercial potential of *UNW*, how will this work inspire non-Native Hip Hop artists? These questions can only be answered in time. Finally, will WOR compromise their Multi-Tribal Native identity in their music and socio-political stance? From the identity formation theory outlined in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, their Multi-Tribal identity will remain intact, if only on a purely

academic level, regardless of their future musical output. This questions the viability of a resistant postcolonial voice (spatial, temporal, identity) as articulated by WOR through the agency of Hip Hop. This analysis is necessary in examining WOR as well as the current state of Native Hip Hop.

Future work in Native Hip Hop: The next Powwow

The four Hip Hop technical devices (Sermonizing, Cut/Mix, Flow/Rupture, Layering) are fundamental in analyzing how a Native artist engages Hip Hop as a means for socio-political resistance and identity formation. Native Hip Hop cannot assume that because it is based on a “Native American” ethnicity that it bypasses a critical review as applied to the genre of Hip Hop. Rather, I argue that it is because of the complex indigenous identity that is under constant politically negotiation that Native Hip Hop needs critical review. Without a reflective critical analysis, Native Hip Hop runs the risk of becoming insulated and self-gratifying.

The Native female artist has not received much attention in the field of Native Hip Hop. Canadian Native/First Nations Hip Hop groups have a much stronger female representation. Misty “Lady Poet” Potts from “The New Breed” is one example of a female Native rapper within the U.S. who has a

strong politically conscious and feminist position.¹⁴ I anticipate that Native female artists, within the U.S., will become slowly more visible within the Native Hip Hop community. This slow evolution will involve Native female artists from all three levels of Native identity formation: Tribal, Inter-Tribal and, Multi-Tribal. This prediction is based on the current misogynistic works of Litefoot and other Native gangsta rappers who have gained popularity in the non-Native Hip Hop community. In order to contest this (mis)representation and sexist hegemony, Native female Hip Hop artists will need to surface and re-present their identity and cultural position. I suspect that the first area within the Six Elements of Hip Hop where this struggle will take place is rap.

As stated in Chapter 4, there is a strong female Native presence in the powwow arena. Based on the work outlined within this dissertation, the powwow arena affords Native female artist the necessary technical tools (i.e., singing voice, song/music composition, narrative) to challenge the current sexist (mis)representations constructed by Native male Hip Hop artists. I suspect that breakdancing will arise as the next contested space. The powwow arena once again appears to be an expressive Tribal/Inter-Tribal/Multi-Tribal location that garners community support where an artist can practice ones dance craft and begin to incorporate modern dance movement.

¹⁴ Further discussion of The New Breed is in Lechusza Aquallo. [Raps to Remember, Raps to Re-Present: Native Identity in Hip Hop](#). Western Popular Cultures Conference, Utah/Portland: unpublished paper submission, 2002.

Breakdancing has already been observed in some Native communities.¹⁵ My assessment is that breakdancing will borrow from Hip Hop culture (African-American, Puerto Rican, Latino) and be invested in a fluid, Tribal, sovereign arena (space, location, identity) in order to express the body politic as noted in the African-American and Puerto Rican communities in Chapter 2 (57 – 59) and Chapter 3 (107 – 108).

Within the Six Elements of Hip Hop culture graffiti and clothing are two main areas that remain gender neutral. Presently, there is a strong Native presence in graffiti.¹⁶ I do believe that this will continue to grow in magnitude and visibility as the years advance. Native clothing companies, such as Tribal Gear¹⁷ and Native Threads,¹⁸ have capitalized on this movement in graffiti. Native DJ/production work has gathered momentum.¹⁹ With accessibility to relatively inexpensive technology, Native DJs are beginning to become more prominent. Skateboarding has caught national attention recently with the “Ramp It Up” exhibit at the National Museum of the American Indian in

¹⁵ Deyhle, Donna. “‘Break Dancing and Breaking out:’ Anglos, Utes, and Navajos in a Border Reservation High School.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 17.2 (Jun 1986): 111-127. Also see, Hip Hop Pow. “Hip Hop Powwow” 1 July 2008 <<http://www.hiphoppow.com/hip-hop-pow-wow.html>>. Reviewed 15 Jan 2009.

¹⁶ Snag Magazine. “Beats and Brushstrokes.” *Weapons of Mass Expression* 20 Dec 2007 <<http://www.flickr.com/photos/weekendwakeup/page8>>. Reviewed 15 Jan 2009.

¹⁷ Tribal Gear. Home Page. 24 Nov 2007 <<http://www.tribalgear.com/>>. Reviewed 9 Jan 2009.

¹⁸ Native Threads. Home Page. 24 Nov 2007 <<http://www.nativethreads.com>>. Reviewed 9 Jan 2009.

¹⁹ Inge, Jonathan. “DJ Element.” *Discreet Alpha* 2 Feb 2001 <<http://discreetalpha.com/video/djelement.mov>>. Reviewed 5 Nov 2008.

Washington D.C.²⁰ This exhibition has provided new exposure to a contemporary Native identity.

The area within the Six Hip Hop Elements that appears to be the most lacking is journalism/authors. This surely needs to be critically addressed. The overwhelming task of documenting the Elements within Native Hip Hop requires an author to be interdisciplinary in research and craft. As stated previously, ethnicity alone is not enough to substantiate research in Native Hip Hop. Hip Hop, as an expressive agent, sheds light on the politics of sovereignty (space, location, identity) for Native people. Native Hip Hop artists must become involved in interviews, article publication and multi-media documentation. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's work on decolonizing identity through methodology serves as a highly useful model for this Element.²¹ By engaging this critical task, Native people retain authority over their expressive creative work. It is this collective work that makes Native Hip Hop a politically vital arena for artists. Otherwise, Native artists may be viewed as inhabiting the sphere of Hip Hop, as an ethnic other and, therefore, defining themselves

²⁰ Warminsky, Joe. "Ramp It Up: Skateboard Culture in Native America." *Decider D.C.* 15 June 2009 <<http://dc.decider.com/articles/ramp-it-up-skateboard-culture-in-native-america-at.29158/>> reviewed 15 June 2009. and "Pala selected for Exhibit on Skateboarding." <<http://www.kumeyaay.com/2009/06/pala-selected-for-smithsonian-exhibit-on-native-skateboarding/>>. Reviewed 14 June 2009. I am thankful to Tracey Lee Nelson for an informal interview on June 14, 2009 where I was introduced to this exhibit.

²¹ Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999.

within a limited double consciousness that, as stated in Chapter 3 (107 – 109) does not apply to Native identity.

Hip Hop is a growing academic discipline. This dissertation seeks to find a place within this ongoing area of scholarship. In doing so, it is my desire to create a space for Native Hip Hop that contributes to the growing field of Hip Hop scholarship while expanding the dynamic fields of Native studies, cultural studies and musicology. This becomes possible by uncovering the inherent complexity, and resultant politics, of identity within Native Hip Hop.

Throughout this dissertation numerous theories by scholars from different academic disciplines have been employed to help in this research. In this dissertation, it was necessary to maintain an open dialogue among disciplines and not to place a focus on a single academic area. Though rooted in philosophy, this dissertation seeks to bridge the three academic communities of cultural studies, Native studies and musicology. To position this work within a single discipline undermines the strategy of this dissertation. This dissertation situates itself along the fuzzy borders of each of these academic spheres. These spheres interact and support each other. One could criticize that the decision not to claim a singular academic field would weaken the work. Perhaps, this may be the case. However, realizing the linear trajectory and singular focus rooted in the colonial struggles that have been forced on Native people, I elect to begin my work as a postcolonial theorist in

Native Hip Hop.²² I build on “postcoloniality,” as defined by Kevin Bruyneel,²³ realizing Hip Hop’s ability to contests a colonial prescription of Native identity. This ideological decision moves this work from a limited local to a glocal perspective expanding the possibilities of engagement for Native Hip Hop.

This is an important first step on a life’s journey through multiple powwows as well as through rhyme, rhetoric and reason. The work to be produced next in Native Hip Hop is, as Dead Prez stated, “still bigger than Hip Hop.”²⁴

²² Though starting with the genre of Hip Hop, it will be necessary to expand this level of work into other genres of popular music as realized and expressed by Native artists.

²³ Bruyneel, Kevin. *The Third Space of Sovereignty, The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

²⁴ Dead Prez. [Let’s Get Free](#). Loud Records, Jan. 14, 2000.

Appendices

Appendix A: Illustration 1: Soul Sonic Force



Illustration 1: Soul Sonic Force. Renegades of Funk. New York: Tommy Boy Music, 1984.

Appendix A1: Illustration 2: Soul Sonic Force, 1984



Illustration 2: Soul Sonic Force, 1984. Copyright Zulu Nation, 1984 – 2008.

Appendix A2: Illustration 3: Mardi Gras Indian



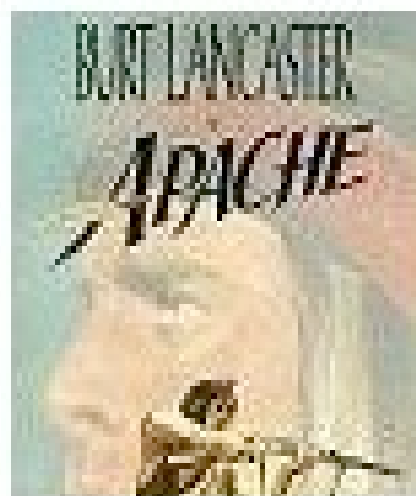
Illustration 3: Mardi Gras Indian

http://blog.nola.com/entertainment/2009/03/photos_mardi_gras_indian_tribe.html

Appendix A3: Illustration 4: Africa Bambaataa



Illustration 4: Africa Bambaataa, 2007. Copyright Zulu Nation 1984 – 2008.

Appendix A4: Illustration 5: ApacheIllustration 5: Apache 1954.

http://www.moviegoods.com/movie_poster/apache_1954.htm

Appendix A5: Illustration 6: Jorgen Ingmann



Illustration 6: Jorgen Ingmann. Apache. Echo Boogie, 1960.
<http://members.home.nl/pmouse1/ingmann.htm>

Appendix A6: Illustration 7: Fort Apache: The Bronx

Illustration 7: Fort Apache: The Bronx. 1981.
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0082402/>

Appendix A7: Illustration 8: WithOut Rezervation

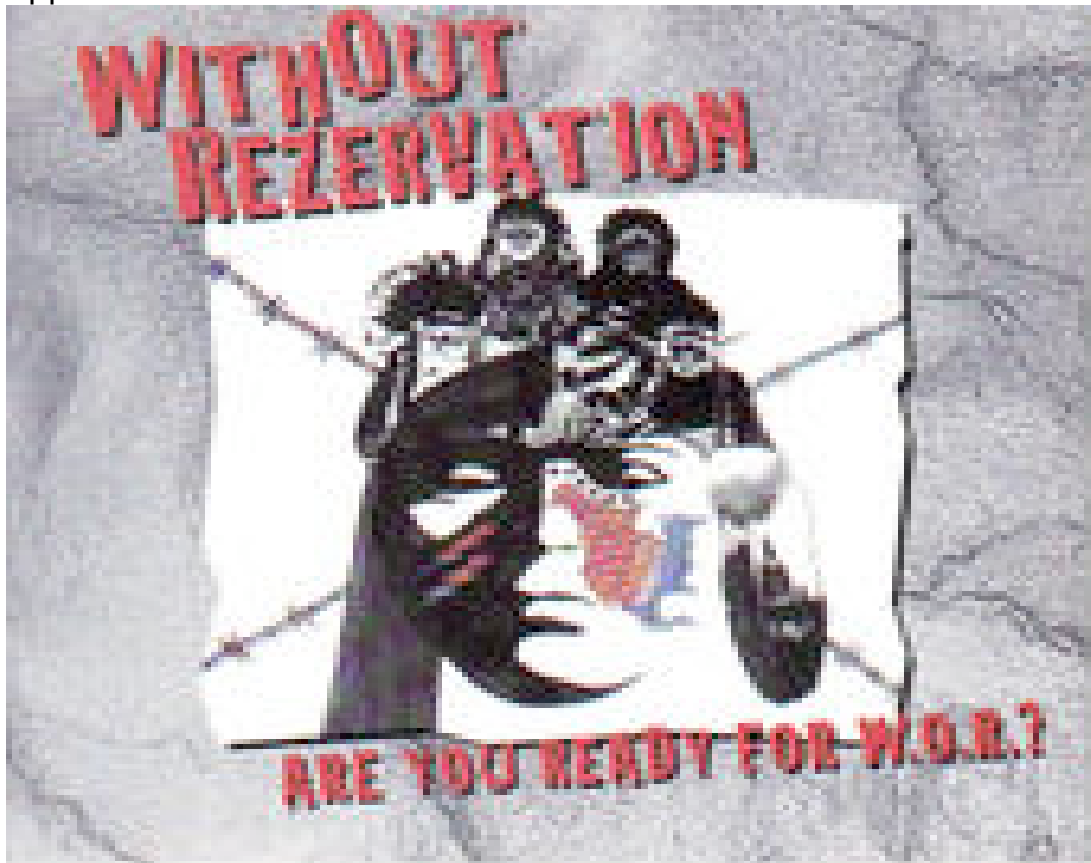


Illustration 8: WithOut Rezervation, Are You Ready For W.O.R.?. Arizona: Canyon Records, 1994.

Appendix B: Born at 18 Lyrics

Introduction

Chris LaMarr, "Ah yeah, WithOut Rezervation is definitely in the house...and we're kickin' this out to all our brothers and sisters living on the reservation..both in the land and in the inner cities, 'cause we know what it's like to be born at eighteen..."

"Born at 18, not a dream, an evil scheme (1)
 America's way to keep our people triple teamed (2)
 but we've been through this damn thing before (3)
 they try to knock us out but you know we always
 come back for more****"

"It's not to say that I like it that way (1)[1]
 cuz we fight and fight to make it through a single day
 but you know that's life on the rez
 original plan was a land that left us for dead***
 makes you wanna ask why it hasta be like that
 cuz I stand for my culture must I stand with a gat (1)
 but you know they wouldn't have any other way
 so I'll say it's hell to be born today [1]****"

Break #1

Chris LaMarr, "MC Hidde was born at 18"

Kevin Nez, "Red Shadow was born at 18"

Corey Aranaydo, "Nazze was born at 18"

LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, "Natives proud, Native strong...born at 18!..."

Chris LaMarr,

"We were born at 18, what that means [2]
 a child screams, with a life of no hopes and no dreams
 it's their plan to keep the good people down
 without a sound, six feet underground***
 but you know that we won't go out like that
 cuz we're too damn strong it's time to take our sh(it)** back [2]
 but like you heard from the first verse [3]
 the battle's on, on 'til the break of dawn***
 cuz their people won't let my people be
 another form of a racist society
 to think their culture's better than mine
 but I'll drop a rhyme justa make you change your mind***
 cuz they know what we got's just to strong

that's why they always try to do my people wrong
 make us struggle and fight just to stay alive [3]
 over they years so many of my people died (2)***
 but you know that's life when your born at 18 (2)
 cuz America always tries to end our dream [3]
 but they can't cuz the strong will survive
 stay alive I got posse on my side [3]****

Break #2

Chris LaMarr, "Yeah, we've been strugglin' since the day we were born

Kevin Nez, ("What's up?")

(sample, "we were born at 18")

Chris LaMarr, "That's what it means to be born at 18, but we've got the Great Spirit on our side"

Kevin Nez, ("I'm with that ya'll")

Chris LaMarr, "given us strength, culture and pride to stay alive"

Kevin Nez, ("Hell yeah!")

LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, "WithOut Rezervation"

(sample, "we were born at 18")

LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, "WithOut Rezervation"

(sample, "we were born at 18")

LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, "WithOut Rezervation"

(sample, "we were born at 18")

LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, "kickin' it hard 'cause this is my Nation."

Kevin Nez,

"Last verse one time I'll kick a funky rhyme (3) [1]
 for my people with the guts and strength justa stay alive
 cuz they've tried and lied for 500 years
 keep my people in fear but no where near***
 knocking us out with their genocidal blows
 but here we stand true and we'll take you on toe to toe
 but you should know not to mess with the red bro
 on the flow, one true Navajo***
 but this rhyme is going back to my people
 lucky that we're stronger than the white man's evil
 our strength, lives, culture, pride
 we were just too tough for them just to push aside***
 but they tried with all their might anyway
 and I'm here to stay and I'll make'm pay [1]
 cuz there's one thing about being born at 18 [3]
 you can't fade my people cuz we've seen everything***
 so peace and shouts out to the red nations,

to those with and without reservations, (LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, unknown woman voice) aztlan nation, and all our relations,
the creator for this grand creation [3]***”

Break #3

Kevin Nez, “Yeah, you checkin’ out the sounds of WithOut Rezervation (sample, “we were born at 18”)

Kevin Nez, “comin’ out to ya live and direct from the rez’vation...hey yo MC Hiddie man, waz up’ G?,

Chris LaMarr, “waz up’ Mo?, MC Hidde WithOut Rezervation comin’ up wit a strong Native American tip, lettin’ every body know what’s really goin’ on in the Red Nation...so we kickin’ this out to all our brothas and sistas...young and old...let the story be told...WithOut Rezervation...

(unknown male voice) “Ah-ho!”

LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, “WithOut Rezervation...WithOut Rezervation...WithOut Rezervation (pause)

LaMarr, Nez, Aranaydo, “WithOut Rezervation...WithOut Rezervation...WithOut Rezervation kickin’ it hard ‘cause this is my Nation.”

The image shows two staves of musical notation for Percussion. The top staff is labeled 'Percussion' and contains a sequence of rhythmic figures: a pair of eighth notes, a quarter note with a slash, a quarter note with a slash, a pair of eighth notes, a quarter note with a slash, a pair of eighth notes, a quarter note with a slash, a pair of eighth notes, a quarter note with a slash, a pair of eighth notes, a quarter note with a slash, and a quarter note with a slash. The bottom staff is also labeled 'Percussion' and contains a sequence of rhythmic figures: a quarter note with a slash, a quarter note, a quarter note with a slash, a quarter note, a quarter note with a slash, a quarter note, a quarter note with a slash, a quarter note, and a quarter note with a slash. Both staves end with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Appendix C: Born at 18 Percussion Rhythm

Appendix D: Red, White, and Blue Lyrics

1 Red, white, and blue, let me tell you
2 who's the fool and who is true
3 I got the gat ready to blast
4 I got the lines ready to rhyme
5 cuz now it's the time, for me to get mine
6 hold me back and I'll attack
7 and you don't want that cuz when I rap
8 it's about the truth so how about you
9 do you want the facts, a heart attack
10 how about a payback
11 anyway I'll have my say cuz I'm here to stay
12 and when I'm through you could say you knew about the true
13 red, white and blue

14 Blood shed red, a bullet to the head
15 better off dead that's what they said
16 but that was their plan to get our land
17 won't you understand
18 annihilation of my nation
19 my people died, they tried to hide
20 all the lies but realize
21 that the red in the flag is a blood rag
22 a body bag it makes me sad
23 what we had compared to what we have
24 but I ain't trippin' cuz they're slippin'
25 and we're coming back strong
26 back to where we belong

27 Man in white, thinks he's right
28 but that I'll fight, cuz I'm MC Hiddese
29 cuz I know better soon they'll be deader
30 better change their ways cuz we're here to stay
31 better dead cuz this sh** is real
32 I saw LA so whatcha gotta say
33 better stop dissin' take time to listen
34 if you refuse were all gonna listen
35 been this way for 500 years
36 we'll shed no tears instead putt'em in fear
37 but that's today the American way
38 where might makes right

39 so America prepare to fight

40 White man in blue beating on you what's the clue

41 blue on black, blue on red, blue on brown

42 keeping us down

43 got a gat a license to cap

44 a power trip how about that beat Rodney King,

45 didn't do a think

46 caught it on tape a judicial rape

47 a white cop free but if it were me

48 where I'd be the penitentiary

49 but that's the system set up to miss'em

50 if you're white in blue you'll never lose

51 so some advice you'd better think twice

52 you rolling the dice if you call the vice

53 so end of story kinda gory

54 it's the red, white, and blue

55 straight from WOR to you!

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