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Indigeneity

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ABSTRACT

The article begins by making explicit its disciplinary standpoint. Research on music in indigenous settings occurs in both ethnomusicology and indigenous studies, but each of these disciplines brings somewhat contrasting expectations to the fore. I then focus on definitions and usages of indigeneity, which are complex, and sometimes apparently contradictory, when viewed from a global perspective. The complexities that emerge from this discussion underpin the main body of the article, which is a consideration of cross-sections of research on musical appropriation and musical enculturation in and around indigenous contexts worldwide. Each case provides an opportunity to touch on concrete practices that music researchers have developed in working to create an environment of justice, mutual respect and equality, which I see as a necessary foundation for peaceful co-existence. Finally, in the Conclusion, I raise two further spaces where the professional music researcher can make distinct contributions to the establishment or maintenance of an environment characterised by greater respect for the world's indigenous peoples and by inclusive engagement with indigenous music.

KEYWORDS

music; peacebuilding; ethnomusicology; appropriation; enculturation

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INDIGENEITY

INTRODUCTION

This is a discussion of indigeneity as it relates to music making and to peacebuilding. It draws on research perspectives and literature from a range of disciplinary positions, including a significant number from ethnomusicology and from indigenous studies. These disciplines share certain positions and focal themes, but also have certain key differences of approach and emphasis. Briefly, the roots of contemporary ethnomusicology can be traced back to (European) folklore studies, comparative musicology, Native American studies and anthropology. Today, ethnomusicologists use a primarily ethnographic approach, including musical participation, to study music and its many roles in human life within set research settings. In proposing interpretations, the ethnographer privileges the voices and experiences of community members but may also engage critically with them such that an account interweaves both local understandings and somewhat more distanced perspectives or cross-references. Human – and local – difference is often implicitly celebrated in this research, and we find few attempts to build global patterns or theories by treating the research content merely as data. If early theoretical constructions gave prominence to studies of the musical traditions of "others", research in one's own home community has become much more visible in recent decades, as have understandings of its particular set of advantages and challenges. It is well recognised that research with indigenous – or other threatened or vulnerable groups – requires deep, prior and ongoing consultation and reflection on matters of power, purpose and representation that go well beyond an ethical ready-check at the start of a new project. While some ethnomusicological studies are intended to lead to change in the social world, many aim at sharing knowledge, disseminated in research accounts to a potentially global readership of researchers.

Indigenous studies shares some of this disciplinary ancestry. It draws widely on other areas as diverse as education, history, religion, law, museum studies, health and sociology, adding a political consciousness directly tempered by the US civil rights and feminist movements and by more recent occurrences such as Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Indigenous studies potentially offers a holistic frame of reference, one that is, at times, deliberately couched in opposition to conventional disciplinary norms. The work of scholars in this area emphasises the recuperation of indigenous knowledge taken on its own terms, rather than as divided up by Western disciplines or as subjected to colonial interests, including those of the present settler population. Decolonisation is a central keyword in this respect (far more so than peacebuilding): scholars of indigenous studies seek the creation of new arrangements and spaces for knowledge building and exchange within the academy and beyond its walls, and they do so to better meet the needs of the indigenous populations residing around them. As all this implies, there is an expectation that engaged scholars will contribute directly through their enquiries to the recovery and empowerment of indigenous communities, a commitment that typically places indigenous researchers at the forefront of the subject area in terms of investigation and publication.

As this comparison suggests, ethnomusicologists and indigenous studies researchers alike share the fundamental recognition that culture bearers invest in and speak about their own ways of life in ways that are distinct from those of external observers. We too share the ensuing thought that, this being so, their voices need to be treated as privileged, whether in devising the research, as interpreters of its content, in relevant social and political spheres, or in directing programmes of

research-led inclusive action. We can differ in patterns of familial affiliation to one's fieldwork site and associated thoughts as to how far this lends us opportunities, obligations or perspectives to work toward the public good, or indeed to step back from "interfering". We can diverge too in our core disciplinary vocabularies and rhetorical frames of reference, even to the point of cognitive dissonance. To give a telling instance, the prominent indigenous studies writer Linda Tuhiwai Smith states, "The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (2012, p. 1). As an ethnomusicologist, I can readily apprehend her broad argument (and appreciate how its intentionally disruptive stance might resonate with her primary intended readers) but I'm simultaneously left uncomfortable by the presentation of an apparently untested universalisation: those indigenous people among whom I've carried out research in Taiwan didn't hold such a view, and my suspicion is that the views of indigenous peoples worldwide on research would be various and probably quite nuanced even within any one setting. In this essay, then, I write as an ethnomusicologist, a disciplinary standpoint that shapes the themes and examples selected, the ways I write about them, and the kinds of engaged action proposed.

I first focus on definitions of indigeneity. These may be presented in local discourse as essentialist identities – you're either indigenous or you're not – but matters are typically more variegated in actual social practice than may at first appear. A series of complexities emerges from this discussion, forming the foundation for a more nuanced understanding of what is at stake in relation to music and peace when indigenous identities are claimed or disputed. This leads to the second part of the essay, which considers a cross-section of research on musical appropriation, most of which involve the music of indigenous peoples being taken up by the wider population around them, and a few research examples where the dynamic proceeds in the opposite direction. I use each case to briefly touch on an opportunity the research suggests for peacebuilding in the shadow of such acts of musical appropriation. I then assess examples from the literature on musical enculturation, which might be seen as the other side of the same theoretical coin to musical appropriation. Here, my emphasis lies on using each example to identify means through which researchers can work with indigenous groups to sustain and develop the musical expressions they consider their own from one generation to the next and thereby experience a greater sense of cultural integrity, which is one component part of feeling at peace with the world. Finally, in the Conclusion, I raise two further spaces where the professional music researcher can make distinct and concrete contributions to the establishment or maintenance of an environment characterised by greater respect for the world's indigenous peoples and by inclusive engagement with indigenous music.

DEFINING INDIGENEITY

The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues notes that while there are "more than 370 million indigenous people spread across 70 countries worldwide" there is neither a universally applied definition of indigeneity nor a single, preferred terminology for such peoples (UNPFII, n.d., pp. 1-2). Nevertheless, there are some commonalities in many recent definitions, which typically present indigenous populations as fulfilling all or most of the following conditions: self-identification as indigenous, or by means of an essentially parallel term (such as First Nations, aboriginal); historical continuity in their present homelands, predating the ingress of colonial or settler peoples; a current reality of dominance by such populations; and a desire to maintain a distinct identity by

drawing on resources of language, culture and beliefs that predate occupation or conquest.[1]

Indeed, while some peoples actively self-identify as indigenous, however defined, others reject the whole notion of indigeneity. In Maximilian Forte's words, conventional definitions represent "an international indigenous rights discourse that furnishes depictions of indigenous peoples as rooted in place, who are cut off yet simultaneously suffering from a modernity that is only now supposedly encroaching on their territories and ways of life" (2010, p. 1). According to this viewpoint, the designation is part of a hegemonic, colonialist project intended to limit the freedom of a subaltern people to adapt to ongoing changes in the world. Adoption of the categorisation appears to legitimise the settler state as vested with the power to define the other according to its own terms. It focuses the energies of those so identified into the making of legalistic claims to identity, benefits or land rights rather than on directly sustaining community and culture, which, after all, gave the group in question its social cohesion in the first place. And it demands that the people in question shoulder an impossible burden: maintaining traditions, language and ways of life that the settlers have violently ruptured, thereby transferring the blame for any shortfall in sustainability onto the shoulders of those who are already oppressed and disadvantaged.

Several significant points emerge from consideration of the critical discourse surrounding these definitions. First, indigeneity as defined here is fundamentally *relational* (one might equally say *oppositional*): the definition relies upon there being a second population present, very often a larger one, that exercises political and economic dominance.[2] From this perspective, the contemporary Irish don't fully qualify as indigenous – they're no longer subaltern to a settler population. But, of course, they could readily have claimed that designation prior to formal independence from Britain in 1921-22 (had the usage been available in its contemporary sense then), and it seems odd that a population might lose their indigeneity with the realisation of independence. Numerous similar situations inhere in the postcolonial world but the definition's relational condition offers little space for those whose histories of domination by others have (ostensibly) come to an end, or for their musical reflections upon such a situation. Instead, the definition suggests that identity-making draws on cultural resources that predate conquest: we can find many such usages in the area of indigenous music-making, but we also find many that draw on newer or imported resources yet which are similarly dedicated to the staking of a distinct identity within the modern world.

A second outcome of definition-making in a context of dominance is the observation that there are situations where an indigenous population's claim to powers of self-identification are contested by those ruling the state within which that population now finds itself. China offers a case in point. There, official discourse prefers to label the various non-Han peoples who comprise around 8.5% of the overall population *shaoshu minzu* (minority nationalities). The vocabulary asserts their distinct status but covers over the idea that these populations might hold prior claim to territory now embraced within the borders of the People's

[1] For in-depth discussions of representative definitions (and of objections to them), see Merlan (2009) and Sarivaara, Maatta and Uusiautti (2013).

[2] In her discussion of global definitions of indigeneity, Francesca Merlan (2009, pp. 304-5) divides them into *relational* and *criterial* types: the former are those where it is the quality of relationships between the people in question and the settlers that is emphasised, the latter are those where the definition rests on whether or not the group meet a pre-existing set of criteria.

Republic of China (see further, Hathaway, 2016). In Taiwan, by contrast, indigenous identity is at present strongly acknowledged by various governmental and non-governmental agencies and through use of the term *yuanzhumin* (original inhabitants), the very term found in China prior to the switch to *shaoshu minzu*. Apart from providing formal recognition to some sixteen peoples who comprise around 2% of Taiwan's population, the designation provides support for an "out-of-Taiwan" hypothesis that argues that Neolithic people from the island migrated to the Philippines, and then across Southeast Asia and Oceania, taking their language and rice-farming culture ultimately to a vast maritime zone embracing much of the Global South, from Madagascar to New Zealand, Easter Island and Hawai'i (see further, Bellwood, 1984-85). Tellingly, this hypothesis has been promoted in contexts where some of Taiwan's settler majority are seeking a distinct national identity for their island that evades any characterisation of it as simply a breakaway province belonging to China. As such, a third point we can observe is that state-level promotion of such classifications, where it occurs, may not necessarily be intended primarily for the benefit of the indigenous population in question. They are, however, delineated in any one location, these classifications are taken up and disseminated by music-related state institutions, such as concert halls, broadcasting stations and schools, and inevitably come to shape perceptions of the particular music selected for presentation in those settings and so too of the people associated with it.

One facet left unidentified in the Taiwanese categorisation is the lengthy history of indigenous-settler intermarriage on the island. By comparison, such matters are inscribed onto the immediate surface of the groupings employed in Manitoba, Canada, as described by Byron Dueck. Here, speakers distinguish not only between settlers and First Nations – the latter are assumed to uphold aboriginal ancestry and ways of life – but also identify the Métis, who are deemed to mix aspects of the other two categories. But, as Byron Dueck observes:

> Many First Nations people have as mixed an ancestry as people who identify as Métis [...]. More confusingly, in 1985 a federal bill registered thousands of people previously considered as Métis as Status Indians, and many of them now consider themselves to belong to both categories. (2013, p. 19)

This situation illustrates a fourth observation, which is that claims to or delineations of indigeneity may obscure, oversimplify or interrelate with other locally important realities and associated systems or articles of belief, all of which may vary from place to place, even while populations all adopt the same headline term. The same occurs in relation to musical practices, where shared categorisations like traditional, folk or popular music may be deployed – or eschewed – according to quite distinct national practices.

Finally, as a fifth remark, we can note that as the relational discourse of indigeneity has become more widely disseminated, selective aspects have been taken up by members of certain other populations to bolster their own claims to visibility. Across much of Europe, for instance, right-wing groups have presented themselves as the heroic guardians of indigenous populations whose ways of life are now threatened by waves of demanding immigrants, a stance that wilfully ignores both demographic and historical realities. Some have sought to co-opt national folk music traditions as part of this project. Meanwhile, some European folk or traditional music practitioners have begun to label their music indigenous as a provocative intervention in national institutional environments that formerly took for granted the cultural primacy of Western art music and that more recently opened

up (somewhat) to diverse global traditions in explicit acknowledgement of the state's present multicultural, postcolonial reality, all this in market economies often very deeply penetrated by foreign or foreign-derived popular musics (see further, Keegan-Phipps, 2017).

We now have numerous studies of the music of peoples worldwide who hold, claim, or reject the status of indigeneity. The following examples hint at the geographical and methodological variety to be found in such work: Allan Marett's writing on the *wangga* genre of Northern Arnhem Land, Australia (2005), Marina Roseman's study of music and healing among the Temiar of Malaysia (1991), Simha Arom's analytical study of Central African multipart music (1985), Anthony Seeger's musical anthropology of the Suyá (or Kisêdjê) of Amazonia, Brazil (1987) and Sophie Stévance's study of experimental Inuit vocalist Tanya Tagaq (2014). Numerous characteristics of the broader musical affordances of indigeneity could be abstracted from this literature but in the subsequent sections of this essay I focus on two primary themes – musical appropriation and musical enculturation. Each of these themes deals with the acquisition of music, whether from external populations or through learning and teaching within an indigenous cultural setting, and together they capture the breadth and vibrancy of available research on indigenous musics much more widely. Moreover, each reveals aspects of music's resource in building peace between indigenous and settler populations, taking peace to mean not simply the absence of violence but rather an environment of interactions founded upon justice, mutual respect and equality.

MUSICAL APPROPRIATION

Appropriation is one of several terms used to refer to the taking up someone else's musical genres, instruments or materials, normally without explicit permission or compensation. Appropriation goes beyond carefully framed quotation: as Steven Feld (1994, p. 238) puts it, there is both admiration and a desire to control in the mind of the musical appropriator. Feld notes that ethnomusicological recordings can play a part in such processes, allowing the appropriator:

> to actively renegotiate the contents – the intellectual and cultural property – of the sounds that have been split form their sources [...]. [F]rom this ability and power stems both conditions for new musical genesis and an escalation in possibilities for musical subjugation. (1996, p. 13)

Nancy Guy (2002) provides an account that exemplifies the taking up by external parties of indigenous music recordings. Guy looks primarily at the legal case that ensued when Taiwanese Amis indigenous singers Kuo Ying-nan and Kuo Shin-chu heard their unattributed voices sampled by Romanian-German musician Michael Cretu on a best-selling track entitled "Return to Innocence", issued in 1993. Finally settled out of court with the singers receiving financial compensation and due artistic credit, the case was complicated by injudicious or inattentive handling of recording and performance permissions by the original researchers. Guy concludes that it is imperative that researchers are fully knowledgeable on copyright issues, for our own protection, for that of those whom we record, and so that we can adequately train and prepare our students (ibid., pp. 208-9; for more on the legal tendrils embracing such appropriations, see Mills, 1996). Understanding a system erected primarily to support the industrial exploitation of music in commodity form is, at best, only a tentative step toward active peacebuilding with members of indigenous communities. The Kuos were in this sense better served by their lawyers – a Taiwanese record company stepped in to sponsor the singers' legal action. Researchers may not themselves be able to act as legal representatives, but we can

help build the alliances necessary to challenge those in the international music industry who see musical appropriation as a viable tactic. Meanwhile, we can also lend our voices to campaigns that seek to reform copyright law so that a wider set of traditional forms of ownership gain legal recognition.

Recordings are not the only objects of musical appropriation by members of settler society. Beverley Diamond, M. Sam Cronk and Franziska von Rosen draw attention to further matters associated with the study of indigenous material culture, such as access to museum specimens for culture bearers, what to do with items collected illicitly in former decades and the belief among some indigenous populations that instruments are themselves living objects, a point that raises both practical questions about how best to communicate that life-cycle in an exhibition space and ethical concerns as to whether such instruments should be confined in museum collections at all (1994, p. 2, 160; see further, Stillman, 2009). Once again, if indigenous people are to be treated as more than a natural resource for the settler population to exploit, then those who work in archives and museums need to involve indigenous people in the reclassification and restitution of materials. Robert Lancefield (1998) and Genevieve Campbell (2014) have both offered analyses of such projects in North America and Australia respectively, exploring the ethical tensions raised when traditional ownership rights come into conflict with copyright law and the practical and emotional challenges of a multistep repatriation project. Aaron Fox (2013) also provides a detailed account of the repatriation of recordings from a Columbia University archive to Barrow, Alaska and the cultural energies released by and around the sharing of the old recordings with the community whose ancestors' performances had been sustained there.

Campbell's study (2014) already made a move from recorded objects to live performance, and, turning to another kind of appropriation, we can readily find situations in which indigenous peoples are represented by others than themselves in live performance. They lose thereby the agency to control the form and content of their own representation as well as the economic proceeds of such acts.[3] In fact, where imbalances of power between settlers and indigenous populations cut deep, even more is at stake over such representations. Anthony Seeger's work on indigenous identities in Brazil offers an instance. Faced with widespread expropriation of their lands, and official disinterest in and public ignorance of their cultural specificities, members of indigenous groups "may adopt the symbols of the 'Indian' that the Brazilians have invented – a generic Indian that does not exist" (1987, p. 136-7). In other words, to generate political agency, indigenous groups are obliged to appropriate a false image of themselves. In doing so, they risk locking themselves into externally devised stereotypes, a practice sometimes labelled "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1985). To confront situations like these, and so build a more just and equitable society, researchers need to create performance spaces within which indigenous people can decide how best to represent themselves. Alongside this, we can usefully collaborate to open up the essential educational channels, structures and contexts within which such performances can be understood rather than misperceived.

If this last example showed, albeit negatively, that indigenous people too turn to musical appropriation in response to their domination by others, many studies have

[3] For a long history of the impersonation of Native Americans by Europeans and settler Americans, see Green (1988); Hokowhitu (2014) provides a case study of the appropriation in New Zealand rugby circles of the Māori *haka* "Ka Mete", originally composed in the 1820s by Te Rauparaha.

traced the turn of indigenous musicians to elements of Western popular culture, listening as they seek to reshape the musical expressions of the settler population to indigenous ends.[4] Research into musical appropriation by indigenous peoples offers well-documented perspectives on indigenous rock and pop in several areas of the globe.[5] A similarly rich set of work on indigenous hip hop has followed, with indigenous performers drawing on perceived commonalities with the African American history of racism, exploitation, inequality, violence and cultural denigration. Lauren Amsterdam provides an example, focusing on how certain Native American performers direct new expressive work "towards securing greater power over self-representation and cultural sovereignty unavailable within the settler nation's designated Indigenous performance spaces, dominant political discourse, or promotion of multiculturalism" (2013, p. 54). When they point to shared histories and propose shared futures, these new creative practices and collaborations foster pan- and extra-indigenous alliances and draw new listenerships toward indigenous subjectivities. Songs like "The Reappearance" (2009) by Californian group BRWN BFLO exemplify the peacebuilding potential of such efforts, painting a picture of connectivity between the dreams of contemporary Chicanos and those of their ancestors, including mestizo and indigenous groups.[6]

The examples given so far present indigenous people primarily as musical creators enmeshed in often unequal forms of contact with external researchers, the multinational music industry or state institutions, but full-scale appropriation also embraces taking up the means through which to shape, distribute and potentially sustain oneself via one's own self-representations in music. This topic was the secondary focus of a themed issue of the journal *The World of Music* issued in 2007 (vol. 49, no. 1, entitled Indigenous Peoples, Recording Techniques, and the Recording Industry). Close-up ethnographic work has provided a series of fascinating insights in such contexts, just one being the observations of Åse Ottosson (2007) on Central Australian Aboriginal men negotiating matters of gender, cultural seniority and technical competence as they work together to produce new studio recordings for a wider market. Analyses like Ottosson's are essential precursors to the formation of informed social policy. Talking with those who shape cultural policy is increasingly recognised as part of a holistic research project, not a subsequent add-on, and is a concrete step many of us could take in our efforts to deliver deeper-rooted equality of opportunity in the vistas of education and employment in and around our fieldwork sites.

MUSICAL ENCULTURATION

Musical appropriation overlaps in manifold ways with musical enculturation, which is a significant theme in the ethnomusicological research of indigeneity in its own right. Enculturation refers to the process through which members of a social group acquire knowledge and experience of in-group practices and norms, including

[4] We see again how confining are the criteria of indigeneity with which I began, specifically that related to the maintenance of a distinct identity by drawing on resources of pre-conquest language, culture and beliefs.

[5] A representative collection is a set of essays on the music, politics and economics of rock, reggae, and hula as taken up by indigenous musicians in Australia, Melanesia and Polynesia (Haywood, 1998). The essays provide detailed case studies of the workings, opportunities and costs borne by such musicians as they seek to project their voices into wider national, regional, or global markets.

[6] See further, "The Reappearance", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RQ46k61nvyY, accessed 9 May 2018.

associated value systems, frames of reference and discursive habits. In music, enculturation can certainly include phases of direct instruction or apprenticeship, but it inevitably extends far before and beyond specialist musicians' formal learning to include the acquisition of music-related knowhow, preferences and habits by all members of society. Ethnomusicological work includes analyses of numerous contrasting situations of musical enculturation, and I discuss three that are relevant to generating spaces for peacebuilding between indigenous and settler populations. In the first, we consider how music may assist indigenous populations as they seek to recover from forced indoctrination into the musical expressions of settler peoples. A second type of musical enculturation occurs when music aids the sustenance of an indigenous population's wider cultural attributes. This can occur with newly created musical expressions as well as with those that have roots in the indigenous culture itself, and I provide examples of each. Finally, a third kind of musical enculturation ensues when indigenous musicians teach their traditions to members of the settler population.

Beverley Diamond provides an instance of the first kind of enculturation. Diamond writes on the history of church-run, state-supported boarding schools in Canada. These schools aimed to "civilize" First Nations, Inuit and Métis children by "removing them from their families, denying traditional lifeways, and forbidding use of their own languages" (2015, p. 268). Diamond found moments where musical activity offered children solace, resilience and opportunities for the playful subversion, but forced enculturation of this kind was nevertheless an indelible act of violence, and it was often personally traumatic, as well as massively destructive on cultural and familial levels. Music has meanwhile contributed to campaigns for justice and for reparations for those who suffered. Careful research of what these children and their communities lost – and on what the students acquired and appreciated – can inform the design of programmes that employ music as a tool, among others, in facilitating the renewal of indigenous personal confidence and powers of self-expression. These attributes are foundational to people's ability to participate in meaningful acts of peacebuilding and reconciliation.

The Sámi in Northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia suffered in somewhat similar ways to their Canadian counterparts, and part of the oppression they experienced involved suppression of their *joik* vocal tradition. Thomas Hilder's study of the revival of the *joik* illustrates a second kind of musical enculturation (2015). His ethnography explores the numerous histories and actions underpinning revitalisation of the *joik*, showing how contemporary Sámi use this musical tradition to shape and share self-representations that are richly laden in contemporary values. That is to say, Sámi enculturate one another in such topics as resistance to Christianity, indigenous views of time or the proposition of environmentalist viewpoints in a wider context of dispossession and ecological threat (ibid., pp. 2, 4). Moreover, they do this in a transnational practice that flows fluidly across the region as a whole. The example illustrates a potential role for the ethnomusicologist as an enabler of other musical revitalisations, which might be inspired by the sharing with interested communities of apparently successful examples from elsewhere. Scholars can additionally utilise their research networks to open channels of contact with musicians, so that – language permitting – indigenous musicians in one locale can directly cross-reference their efforts with those in another.

The *joik* is an age-old tradition transformed to address pressing contemporaneous concerns, but elsewhere indigenous musicians also turn to newer musical means to sustain deep-seated cultural resources. A case in point is the rise of a hip hop scene

around Lake Atitlán, Guatemala, documented by Elizabeth Bell (2017), in which activist-musicians from the marginalised Maya grouping of indigenous peoples aim to enculturate the community's young in Mayan languages and in the history and cultural knowledge offered by pre-Colombian texts. Military dictatorship and civil war have resulted in widespread poverty and ongoing lack of opportunity for the Maya. Formal education, where available, emphasises use of Spanish, and is founded upon settler systems of knowledge. Hip hop's emphasis on oral performativities is thus doubly empowering: it sets aside writing, Spanish and associated colonial outlooks, vaunting instead improvisatory skill in the mother tongue based on indigenous frames of reference (see further, Barrett, 2016). These examples of music employed as a means of inspiring cultural revival offer cases that applied researchers and indigenous activists alike might take up for replication elsewhere, wherever externally imposed boundaries threaten to fragment a former experience of cultural unity or where local language and lore are endangered by settler models. The oldness or newness of the music is not so much at issue, but rather its ability to engage sections of the population in shared action on key challenges in the here and now. As with many of the other instances identified in this essay, this action need not occur as part of a formal peacebuilding exercise. Instead, it is work that may help members of a given population sustain their own cultural integrity through their own creative efforts. This is one step toward building the conditions from which an environment of positive co-existence with others may subsequently emerge.

Aaron Corn (2009) offers an example of the third kind of music-infused enculturation mentioned in my typology above. Corn writes about modules he taught at the Universities of Melbourne and then Sydney entitled "Garma Fieldwork." Taking the Melbourne version as an example here, the module placed primarily settler-population students under the tutelage of senior cultural experts from the Yolŋu people of Arnhem Land, Australia, thereby exposing its students not only to indigenous people in positions of authority but also to indigenous conceptions of knowledge that could not be fully grasped within the frame of reference of any one Euro-Australian discipline (ibid., p. 33). Song, names, dance and design were the media through which Yolŋu culture was passed from generation to generation, and in learning about them students were simultaneously becoming sensitised toward limitations in the Australian state's policies toward its indigenous inhabitants (ibid., pp. 34, 40). Corn's account exemplifies a specific route toward future peacebuilding through the indigenous enculturation of settlers. In contrast to the preceding example, this intervention seeds the ground on the settler side for respectful future negotiations and for the fuller recognition of what might be gained by the nation if action was undertaken to establish cultural equity and respect between all inhabitants. While the scale of participation would need to be massively increased for significant social change to result directly from this intervention, the transformative impact on those involved was apparently significant. For these students, and for some of those whom they live beside or work with in the future, settler certainties will never again be so readily taken for granted.

CONCLUSION: ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL PEACEBUILDING IN INDIGENOUS SETTINGS

Several observations have already been offered on the potential for building, via music, an interactive environment founded upon justice, mutual respect and equality. As noted above, I see this as contributing to the creation or sustenance of a foundation for peaceful co-existence, rather than necessarily part of a formal peacebuilding (or decolonisation) process. Ethnomusicologists have numerous

ways to support, or even initiate, such action, including simply through participation as a musician. Now, as a conclusion, I want to look more directly at what we can do as professional ethnomusicologists. I divide our potential research-based contribution into two parts, one mostly related to writing (but certainly including other communicative acts like speaking and the issuing of films or audio-recordings) and the other that points to our roles as members of institutions – typically universities and museums, sometimes also record companies, broadcasting stations, or arts festivals – where we can push for structural transformations that countermand continuing disadvantage for members of indigenous groups.

First, we saw that a people's decision to identify as indigenous can bring them strategic agency in the struggle for equality and respect within the settler nation and provide them with access to a transnational network of partners or advisors. Acts of performance (including music) are typically fundamental to establishing, asserting and maintaining this identity. However, the concept of indigeneity and these very acts of performance also risk locking the population in question into stereotypical and burdensome expectations that hinder their opportunities for future development and hamper their confident acquisition of new forms of self-expression. This observation suggests that we need to ensure that we do not ourselves contribute to exoticisation by focusing entirely on areas of cultural difference or producing our own essentialisations of those whom we study: we need to keep an attentive ear to the flows of music into, within and out of the population in question, raising questions about the networks and systems that power or problematise these flows and lacunae. In some settings we may be able to contribute by using our research skills to fully uncover the dynamics surrounding the making and challenging of identities and stereotypes via musical performance and their attendant public discussions and "hidden transcripts" (Scott, 1990). Sharing this information with creators, performers and variously positioned audiences may enable them to reflect critically on what is at stake in such self-presentations, not least when they are already open to the notion of searching for alternatives to historical patterns of oppression and victimhood. Likewise, we can inform debates within indigenous populations on the revitalisation, creative transformation, or even abandonment of an instrument, approach or repertory. Doing so involves us in presenting our work in words and formats that are accessible to those with whom we work. In some cases, we may prefer to co-author with one or more of our key research consultants or translate the writing of indigenous scholars. Collaboration with indigenous authors actively repudiates a world model in which other people's knowledge or resources are treated as freely available to be appropriated and presented as one's own.[7]

Second, many of us have a potential role to play in countering specific occurrences of structural and institutional disadvantage and discrimination in wider settler society. Above, I noted in relation to questions of copyright that we can strive to be more than competent cogs in a pre-formed (neoliberal) global economy, one that is

[7] Despite the attractions of such collaborations, they remain relatively rare in ethnomusicology: the production of research writing obviously isn't either possible or of interest to all those with whom we carry out research, and historically ethnomusicologists have mostly worked alone rather than in teams, such that we tend to lack experience of building groups of research partners. For examples of the kinds of discussion and anxieties that lead to a decolonised approach to writing, see Mackinlay (2010); for wider discussions from anthropology and indigenous studies respectively, see Lassiter (2005) and Tuhiwai Smith (2012).

likely to be inherently disadvantageous to subaltern groups, including indigenous minorities. Quite a number of ethnomusicologists have acted as managers, agents, broadcasters or facilitators for recorded or touring musicians (Zemp, 1996 is one example), and many among them have done so in hope of facilitating the kinds of mutual human understandings from which a fairer society may emerge. Others, like Aaron Corn (above), have devoted energies to finding ways for the teaching of indigenous history, language and culture to be mainstreamed within the educational institutions of the settler state. Many ethnomusicologists have worked to establish concert series in their home institutions that more closely reflect the diversity of the population at large or have campaigned for introduction of school curricula that are more appropriately open to repertories and skills from outside the settler norms, to offer just two instances of specific local action that we can undertake toward forming a more inclusive society.

None of these inevitably small (but often bitterly contested) steps provides direct redress for a history of violent dispossession or for the realities of ongoing discrimination. In some circumstances, they may even appear to represent further acts of settler appropriation, and so be better worked toward under the leadership of indigenous activists. Beverley Diamond talks of how workshops with indigenous music-makers shift our attention from an emphasis on identity to one on citizenship, from authenticity to inclusion and from community building to community vitalization (2013, p. 78). This model, which rests on the performance of responsibility and relationality to others, has wide application, given that music remains a key medium through which human beings experience the combination of such qualities in their lives more generally. Each such moment opens a potential pathway toward an environment vitalised by peace and reciprocity rather than violence or discrimination.

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