PUR

Volume II | Fall 2022

Situating Music and Solidarity Within the Yoeme Water Struggle

By Stephanie Jimenez

Undergraduate Student, University of Pittsburgh

The role of music as a tool for promoting political and community solidarity is determined, at least in part, by the stakes. For Indigenous communities facing state repression, cultural survival goes hand in hand with physical survival. How might attitudes toward the role of music have an effect on the Yoemem's water struggle? Acueducto Independencia is a 155 kilometer long aqueduct which began transporting 75 million cubic meters of water per year from the Rio Yaqui to the city of Hermosillo in 2013. The aqueduct breaks a 1937 treaty guaranteeing the Indigenous Yoeme (Yaqui) 50% of the Rio Yaqui's water. The fact that many Yoemem do not have access to sufficient amounts of non-pesticide laced water for drinking, agriculture, or other everyday needs affects health and way of life and is tantamount to an ongoing structural genocide. Many perceive this ongoing threat to their livelihood as a form of low-intensity warfare considering the violent history between the Yoeme, Mexican government and state officials (Personal communication, April 7, 2021). The Yoemem have called upon others to support their fight for basic human rights, cultural and political sovereignty, and environmental justice. This call-to-action has resulted in music becoming a space for promoting Indigenous solidarity–in part. Indeed, the use of music has arguably become widespread recently in environmental justice movements around the globe. This article will explore how music is posed as a form of Indigenous solidarity within the context of the environmental justice movement.

ISSN 2769-724X (online) DOI 10.5195/pur.2022.32 pur@pitt.edu

Situating Music and Solidarity Within the Yoeme Water Struggle

Yoeme refers to the Indigenous people, also known as the Yaqui, who have lived along the banks of Hiak Vatwe (Rio Yaqui, or Yaqui river). Hiakim refers to the traditional territory in 'Mexico' where the Yoeme still reside.

The role of music as a tool for promoting political and community solidarity is determined, at least in part, by the stakes. For Indigenous communities facing state repression, cultural survival goes hand in hand with physical survival. How might attitudes[1] toward the role of music affect the Yoemem's water struggle? Acueducto Independencia is a 155-kilometer-long aqueduct which began transporting 75 million cubic meters of water per year from the Rio Yaqui to the city of Hermosillo in 2013. The aqueduct breaks a 1937 treaty guaranteeing the Indigenous Yoeme (Yaqui) 50% of the Rio Yaqui's water. The fact that many Yoemem do not have access to sufficient amounts of non-pesticide laced water for drinking, agriculture, or other everyday needs affects health and way of life and is tantamount to an ongoing structural genocide[2]. Many perceive this ongoing threat to their livelihood as a form of low-intensity warfare considering the violent history between the Yoeme and the Mexican government (Personal communication, April 7, 2021). The Yoemem have called upon others to support their fight for basic human rights, cultural and political sovereignty, and environmental justice. This call-to-action has resulted in music becoming a space for promoting Indigenous solidarity–in part. Indeed, the use of music has arguably become widespread recently in environmental justice movements around the globe. This article will explore how music is posed as a form of Indigenous solidarity within the context of the environmental justice movement.

In the case of the water struggle for the Yoeme in Sonora, Mexico, it is not for non-Yoemem to define exactly what it means to "cultivate a proper revolutionary attitude[3]" nor to define what the effects of 'revolutionary' music may have on the Yoeme. I cannot encompass the implications of what a revolutionary attitude is for the Yoeme not only because that is not what I am addressing here, but also because any definition of this type of 'attitude' is ultimately subjective. When the stakes are so high (due to facing threats to clean water, food, cultural suppression, and even death), questions can take on existential and moral urgency, even when being framed in broadscale revolutionary terms.[4] The Yoeme are not a homogenous group but are made up of several self-governing towns. I preface that every Yoeme individual may have differing opinions on any of the content discussed here whose opinions contribute to the greater decision-making that each governance of the Yoeme ultimately acts upon. There is also the question of whether protesting in the streets, playing music at solidarity events, or sharing

---

[1] Tyner, J. A., Rhodes, M., & Kimsroy, S. (2015). *Music, Nature, Power, and Place: An Ecomusicology of Khmer Rouge Songs.* GeoHumanities. https://doi.org/10.1080/2373566X.2016.1183464

[2] Wolfe, Patrick. (2006). *Settler Colonialism and the elimination of the native.* Journal of Genocide Research, 8: 4, 387-409.

[3] Tyner, J. A., Rhodes, M., & Kimsroy, S. (2015). *Music, Nature, Power, and Place: An Ecomusicology of Khmer Rouge Songs.* GeoHumanities. https://doi.org/10.1080/2373566X.2016.1183464

[4] Tyner, J. A., Rhodes, M., & Kimsroy, S. (2015). *Music, Nature, Power, and Place: An Ecomusicology of Khmer Rouge Songs.* GeoHumanities. https://doi.org/10.1080/2373566X.2016.1183464

ISSN 2769-724X (online) DOI 10.5195/pur.2022.32 pur@pitt.edu

cultures and knowledge should even be considered revolutionary, but should instead be considered given rights. Defining the Yoemem's struggle as revolutionary may falsely imply that this struggle can be categorized as an act solely in opposition to, rather than also a consequence of the workings of Mexico's westernized politics and culture. Revolutionary musical practice has many forms, of particular interest is the use of music for identity, amplification, unification, and tangibly addressing issues of sovereignty. I am careful to establish that what I synthesize and compare here is not an attempt to set definitions or lay judgment on the strategies taken upon by the Yoemem. Essentially, I am attempting to take this active 'cultivation of an attitude' about the Yoeme water struggle (whether considered revolutionary or not) as an implication for musical environments being overall beneficial spaces for the Yoeme water struggle. What I will discuss involves situating how the Yoeme themselves, as well as others in solidarity, such as jazz scholar and performer Dr. Ben Barson, co-founder of the Afro-Yaqui Music Collective, have utilized music to generate spaces/places that disrupt and therefore organize towards regaining Yoeme control over their water and land, ultimately demanding a place within Mexican governmental decision-making.

Let us first establish that music has power. I will discuss examples of how the manifestation of music's power occurs as a messenger (i.e. expression and education), an organizer (i.e. unification and a means to take over physical space), and additionally touch upon the intersections of music acting as a messenger *and* organizer (e.g. expression while taking over physical space or educating while unifying). I will use cases from other writers to discuss how each example might interpret musical facets of the Yoemem struggle. The noisy, unruly aspects of music can be an attractive tool for organizing people. Social scientist Courtney Brown describes in *Politics in Music* that sounds and music carry energy for movements, lyrically teaching concepts to members of their movement and to the rest of the world (Brown, 2008). Logistically, sound in conjunction with emotion accomplishes this sense of community by actions such as memorizing songs as a group, socializing, and collectively feeling. Therefore, music may play a powerful role in gaining support for a movement. This idea of communal emotional connection goes in conversation with academics Tryner, Rhodes, and Kimsroy from Kent State University's geography department in their case study "Music, Nature, Power, and Place: An Ecomusicology of Khmer Rouge" (examining Cambodia's brutal regime of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, or CPK). It was tradition for CPK to use popular melodies set to new politically relatable lyrics to establish "a crucial relationship between past, present, and future." The melodies provide a connection to the past narratives that are relatable to their present reality, while the lyrics suggest an alternative future. This storytelling via music is what helps support noise and music as a form of public pedagogy, in other words: to organize. For the CPK, music was the force unifying political consciousness and gathering support and legitimacy. Radio broadcasting was "an opportunity for political education" or public pedagogy and organization. The radio played songs that held deeper meanings of the "oppressive, imperialistic educational system that had been initiated and developed by its former colonial overseer" in order to "cultivate a proper revolutionary attitude" (Tyner, J. A., Rhodes, M., & Kimsroy, S., 2015). This strategy of collective consciousness established by music and/or music spaces may work for some communities, but how does this strategy apply to a divided community, especially one that has yet to continually maintain international attention?

I base much of my conceptualization of spaces/places in social movements where music presents itself from Noriko Manabe's book *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Protest Music after Fukushima*. The analysis of music and protest that Manabe performs in Japan can be useful for contextualizing Yoeme in Sonora. Manabe states the following:

> . . .the content, performance style, and role of music in a given social movement vary according to (1) the position of the person playing it, (2) the space in which the music is played, and (3) the political conditions underlying the movement at that point in time. Each space is subject to structural constraints, risks, and opportunities, affecting the participation and behaviors of musicians and citizens. Depending on the person, space, and time, music takes on particular political frames and invites different levels of participation. The methods by which the message is conveyed— direct accusation, oblique metaphor, the reworking of a preexisting song, or a rendition of a known song— also vary by person, place, and time. (Manabe, 2015)

If a message gets spread, it matters how that message gets spread. For example, when the Yoeme themselves use music to share their situation carries different messages compared to a famous musician who may appropriate their struggle.

Jacques Attali, a French economic and social theorist, discusses in *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* how "music runs parallel to human society." Attali's interpretations of music being able to control history and signal aspects of cultural autonomy can be applied to music that has been made in solidarity with the Yoeme where the music lyrically and literally refers to the history and political strategies of the Yoeme. According to Attali, "music is capable of interpreting and controlling history, manipulating culture, and determining or even eradicating differences" (Attali, 1985). Under this lens, music has the power to disseminate interpreted aspects of human society. What gets broadcasted through music (or any organization of sound really), can be used as a *sound signal* acting as a tool to "analyze, mark, restrain, train, repress, and channel the primitive sounds of language, of the body…of the relations to self and others…or consolidation of a community, of a totality" (Attali, 1985). Music's power in this sense lies in organizing. Attali argues that music is an organizing tool capable of 'resisting totalitarianism.' This notion endows noise with the ability to organize identities and even undermine what is expected of these organizations by presenting itself as a refusal and 'demand for cultural autonomy.' While issues of autonomy are central to understanding the Yoeme struggle, music, so far, is not (Personal Communication, April 7, 2021). Not all music created by, appreciated, or used by the Yoeme is an act of calculated refusal and manipulation. If making noise and music were central to Yoeme strategy, Greg Hainge would argue that "noise may announce a shift in the operations of global capitalism" (Hainge, 2004). Are noise and music truly enough to disrupt, resist, and overcome the ongoing practices of dispossession and genocide?

The rest of the discussion about music and solidarity with the Yoeme will not make sense without knowledge of the ongoing practices of dispossession and genocide against the Yoemem. I will start with this metaphor: Imagine there is a thriving fishbowl ecosystem with coral, algae, and caves, with healthy fish and snails crawling around. Now imagine people start drinking from this fishbowl, each with a straw sipping at different speeds. One person is always thirsty while another sips here and there. The water in the fishbowl is refilled as usual; however, the people's

thirst halves the water level. Now imagine a heat lamp is placed directly above the water. The people continue drinking, the tank does get refilled, but evaporation from the heat lamp leaves the fishbowl 30% full. Suddenly, the refilling stops. The depletion of water accelerates dramatically, making the plants and coral sick while leaving the fish with little room to eat and swim. Next door is an identical fishbowl, but someone wants to make it bigger. Without asking the fish, a pump is built to transfer water from the first fishbowl to the one next door. How full is the fishbowl now? We might think of the Yaqui watershed of Sonora, Mexico as the first fishbowl. Except, instead of thirsty humans and heat lamps, it is subject to climate change, drought, and unsustainable distribution of water among residents, business, and the state(s). The fish represent the Indigenous Yoeme (Yaqui) who have resided alongside the banks of the Yaqui river for thousands of years. The transfer of water in the metaphor represents the effects of the Acueducto Independencia, an aqueduct that began pulling water from the Rio Yaqui to the city of Hermosillo (the second fishbowl) in 2013. The environmental crisis can be understood as part and parcel of the centuries-long disenfranchisement of the Yoemem, who have experienced over 500 years of discrimination, including genocidal practices such as forced removal from their land. The valley and the fish are not the only ones being pushed to the brink though. Those sipping from the fishbowl, such as agricultural districts and big cities, are also at risk of a water crisis. While the Mexican government claims there is enough water in the Rio Yaqui to share, the Yoemem say the river no longer runs through their communities.

The Yaqui valley has been dramatically transformed over the past 500 years. The Yaqui watershed spans 850 kilometers of the northwestern part of Mexico throughout the states of Arizona, Sonora, and Chihuahua. Water streaming down from the Sierra Madre Occidental feeds the Rio Yaqui, or *Hiak Vatwe* (Barry, 2014). The entire watershed sits within several types of biologically diverse environments whether following mountain ranges, winding through the Sonoran desert, or heading towards the coast of the Gulf of California. This watershed thrives even through the driest months of this temperate desert, consistently flooding mineral-rich sediments across the northwestern states. Many of the regions along the river exist as wetlands and riparian habitats. Birds of all kinds and other animals such as coyotes, bobcats, mule deer, and javelinas visit the water to bathe and drink. *Hiak Vatwe* holds hundreds of species native only to its waters that are now endangered or threatened. Some have even extirpated from the United States, the previous extent of their habitat. Species like the Chiricahua leopard frog and several migrating fish are some of the last of their kind to float through these waters (Ledbetter & Minckley, n.d.).

The natural areas where the Yoemem live, *hiakim*, is viewed as an "irreplaceable link in a chain which connects their present existence to their ancestral traditions" (Flicker, 2018). This sacred connection of land with human life was forged from thousands of years of working with *Hiak Vatwe* to support the extensive farming done by the Indigenous peoples living on its banks. Before industrial farming, *Hiak Vatwe* was able to support millions of people with over three harvests per year (Flicker, 2018). Thalia Gomez Quintana in her article "Where There is Water There is Growth: Yoeme Land and Water Rights" describes the relationality of Yoeme and water:

> For Yaqui people, relationality to all the beings that share our same decency from the Hiaki Vatwe region is key to understanding our responsibilities to land, water, and otherthan-human beings. Within Yaqui epistemologies, everything exists within worlds or realms called Aniam. These worlds co-exist within one another,

> yet they remain separate entities with their own properties. The first world, the Yo Ania, is called the ancient world. It is the world of the Surem, the Yaqui ancestors. The Yo Ania is also the ancient enchanted world home to special talents, enchanted beings, and Maso Bwikam the deer songs. The Sea Ania is the Flower world the realm of all beauty. The deer, flowers, rain and waters reside in Flower world. The Tuka Ania is the Night world, and the Tenku Ania is the dreamworld, dreams are storied teachings that can bestow gifts and lifelong responsibilities and tasks. Many people live their lives completing the labors they have been requested to fulfill from the dream world. Finally, the Huya Ania is the wilderness world, the world in which we reside. (Quintana, 2020)

One of the earliest descriptions of *Hiak Vatwe* was written in 1764 by a Jesuit missionary named Juan Nentvig who described the river as the Nile of Sonora–the perfect resource for Spanish development (Radonic, 2015). For a brief period, the Jesuit missionaries and colonizers existed as a minor threat to the Yoemem. Over the course of several early battles, the Yoemem were largely successful at repelling land grabs and religious encroachment. By 1617 however, the Yoemem had come more or less to accept the Jesuit presence in terms of syncretizing aspects of each religion and political life. One example of this comes from a story with many 'contrasting interpretations' about a tree voice telling the Yoeme about baptism. The story has many translations that everyday language even between the communities themselves adopts different imagery (Shorter, 2009). Regardless of whether it was a talking tree, a singing tree, enchanted stick, etc., Shorter stresses the point from Evers and Molina "the importance of sound and language when writing about the tree." The translation of the tree voice essentially conveyed that baptism was to arrive in due time and that people would be divided into two groups, those who wanted to be baptized who are now the Yoeme, and those who did not who became the Surem or 'enchanted people.' Thus, understandings of the different worlds that makeup Yoeme cosmology take into account the influence that Surem may have on their present lives which can be translated through music and sound:

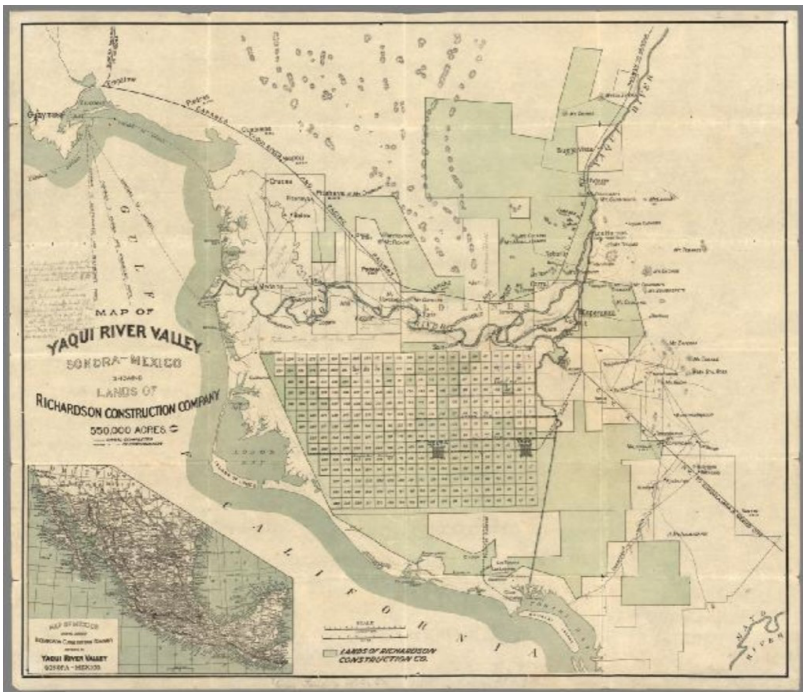
> These people [*Surem*]who became enchanted remained here but no one knows where they are exactly because they cannot be seen. Sometimes a person hears a drum or a violin, and it is probable that this is the music of the enchanted people. Sometimes when a pascola musician is a very good musician it is said that he learned his music from the enchanted people. They, like the Yaquis, are the descendants of the Surem. (Shorter, 2009)

What became of these prophecies includes the creation of eight sacred towns that emerged as a result of the influence of the Jesuits and Spanish. These eight towns, *Wohnaiki pweblplum,* are known as Bácum, Belem, Cócorit, Huírivis, Pótam, Vícam, Ráhum, and Tórim. As the Spanish Jesuits continued to occupy Yoeme territory, ceremonial authority ensured participation within with western structures of governance (Leza, 2015). The evolution of authority would become significant for subsequent years of war and protest; as well as understanding of communal versus private ownership of land and resources.

Syncretizing religion and politics for the Yoemem cannot be definitively perceived as a sign of peace. The Yoemem continued fighting Spanish and Mestizo settlers throughout the 19th century, though they had experienced a great reduction in population due to war and diseases like smallpox. Despite these disadvantages, the Yoemem successfully fought off incursions by the

young Mexican state. Colonial settlement demanded increasing irrigation from the river to support growth in agriculture, mining, and newly introduced livestock (Ledbetter & Minickley, n.d.). The continuing war over the autonomy of land took a major turn when the Yoemem's leverage over their ancestral landscape was robbed during Porfiriato, a political era named after the authoritarian regime of former President Porfirio Diaz from 1876-1911. With an army of a few thousand engaged in guerilla-style warfare, the Yoemem remained in the Bacatete mountains hidden from federal forces who were no longer willing to negotiate land management but were instead looking to exterminate Indigenous control. In 1897, General Torres, who commanded the campaigns against the Yoemem, negotiated the Peace of Ortiz with Tetabiate who was one of the remaining leaders of the Yoeme resistance. This treaty offered to repatriate the Yoemem to their homeland. Juan Maldonado, one of the leaders of the Yoemem, left the mountains with 400 others to sign the treaty (Schmal, n.d.). Though the treaty was signed, Tetabiate continued to lead one of the last resistance groups in the Bacatete mountains until 1900 when Tetabiate was betrayed and murdered by one of his lieutenants (Schmal, n.d.). This seeming end to the violence between the Yoeme and Mexico, what with having the Peace of Ortiz signed and the last rebel groups extinguished, was far from over. Between 1902-1908 around 8,000-15,000 of the 30,000 remaining Yoemem were deported to plantations in the Yucatan Peninsula and southern state of Oaxaca. Some fled north to what is now Arizona to avoid deportation. Hundreds had since walked the length of Mexico from the Yucatan to return to their homeland (Schmal, n.d.). In order to manipulate the federal government's control of land and water resources, Diaz sent his campaign of "order and progress" to remove resisting Indigenous peoples from their homes, dead or alive (Flicker, 2018).

The period of Porfiriato was an age of genocide for Yoemem. Today, the United Nations has defined the population removal from their historical land and territory as a detrimental violation of Indigenous people's human rights (United Nations, 2008). The articles within the UN declaration are built to penalize and recognize malintent behind not only forcible removal from the land, but behind acts of undermining Indigenous self-determination, exclusion from decision-making, or restricting their rights to environmental conservation and protection (United Nations, 2008). Therefore, the age of genocide for the Yoemem is not limited to a singular event, but is structural and currently ongoing (Wolfe, 2006). The threat to life is not only literal in violence and kidnapping, but is structural as poverty, legal rights, and environmental destruction.



With the Yoemem gone, the Diaz regime was able to develop private agricultural investments on land that had formerly been communally owned by the Indigenous stewards. New laws were set in place to justify the government seizing ownership of abandoned, improperly used, or communal land from Indigenous populations and others (Flicker, 2018). The Mexican Revolution (1910-1924) led to a 1917 revision of the constitution that is still used to this day. Article 27 of the constitution effectively made the Mexican government the sole owner of all-natural resources. While the Mexican government now could seize any land it labeled as abandoned or misused, this article also established official characterizations for communal land ownership that were unique to Mexico, such as the *ejido* system (Galindo, 2017). The *ejido* system was created to prevent large private and federal estates from purchasing land that was specifically owned by a community (Gruben & Schmidt, 1992). While the *ejido* system was somewhat helpful to communities who practiced communal ownership, this article was virtually useless to the Yoeme, as the law only really benefited farmers who owned large amounts of land. This article also did not keep the government from improperly seizing land by what was defined as 'insufficient use of resources.' These legal changes to the notions of land ownership constrained the remaining Yoemem who still continued to demand that the government recognize their autonomous rights.

President Lázaro Cárdenas was the first to officially acknowledge the suffering of the Yoemem throughout history. In 1937, Cárdenas wrote a letter justifying Yoeme resistance over the past 500 years. In addition to this recognition, he ordered a presidential decree that created the first and only reservation in Mexico, granting legal communal ownership of 485,235 acres of traditional territory and sufficient water access to the Yoemem. Cárdenas also recognized the ineffectiveness of the 1917 definitions for *ejidos*. He sought to strengthen poor and Indigenous people's control over *ejidos* by creating a bank and redefining modernization plans to include peasant workers as major contributors to the Mexican economy (Galindo, 2017). By 1939, Cárdenas issued a second presidential decree that acted as a treaty promising the Yoemem 50%

of the water past the Angostura reservoir and dam which was built in 1942 (Flicker, 2018). Cárdenas ended up distributing up to 120,000 hectares of land to about 5,000 *ejidatarios* throughout Mexico (Matson, et. al., 2005).

Once the Yoemem received the first legal recognitions of their rights, the Mexican government began officializing national irrigation systems. The National Irrigation Commission, which headed the construction of the Angostura dam, assisted Cárdenas in determining the geographic extent of the Yoemem's water rights (Radonic, 2015). With these definitions established, the board was set for various interests to begin drastically changing the landscape of Hiakim once again. *Hiak Vatwe* was irrigated to support the agricultural industrialization of the region. Canals, drains, ditches and mega-structures were built to redirect the water to the agricultural districts and away from Indigenous territory (Radonic, 2015). The Oviachic dam (1952), and Novillo dam (1964) were strategically placed to support the 'breadbasket' of the northern part of Mexico where wheat and corn were being intensively grown (Radonic, 2015). All the while, the Yoeme were experiencing water shortages that led to slowly losing the ability to support themselves and their traditional agricultural practices. As their self-sufficiency waned throughout the 20th century, the Yoemem became more vulnerable. The water output by the stretch of river near the Yoemem over the 20th century was inadequate. The agricultural districts, however, were booming.

Since the 1900s, political and legal battles over the distribution of land have been compounded by the increased threats from climate change and drought. Multiple studies have been performed across the region to determine whether or not the water use in *Hiak Vatwe* is sustainable. Studies have shown that El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) climatic patterns have caused changes in temperature and precipitation over several years and have negatively impacted water availability in Sonora. Other trends such as increasing rates of evapotranspiration (evaporation of water from soil and plants) and increasing crop demand are also affecting water availability (Cohen Sanchez, et.al., 2020). Throughout the 21st century, precipitation rates have so far been 22-25% below those of the 20th century (Radonic, 2015). Prolonged droughts are becoming expected occurrences. As droughts occur, such as one of the worst most recent eight-year drought of 1994, farmers and cities are forced to use groundwater reserves and ration water usage all around (Matson, et. al., 2005). Delving into groundwater reserves may provide a temporary fix, but doing so threatens the water cycling of the region over the long term (Hallack-Alegria, 2007). As it presently stands, the water distribution that currently supports agricultural business and large cities in the state of Sonora is not sustainable even without granting the Yoemem access to sufficient amounts of water.

By the 21st century, the rights of the Yoemem had been long out of the picture for government officials violating the Yoemem's water rights. In 2010, the state of Sonora proposed to build a 155-kilometer aqueduct carrying water from *Hiak Vatwe* to the city of Hermosillo. The amalgamated pressures of water usage by agricultural districts, climate change, and drought were sucking up enough water to disturb the flow of the Yaqui River all the way south to the Yoeme communities. The aqueduct was proposed as a solution to water rationing in Hermosillo but was also a publicly funded incentive designed to attract Heineken, Ford, and Big Cola factories (Davies, 2013). The shortage of water in Hermosillo was quickly written off as an issue separate from the Yaqui watershed system. Public reports stated that *Hiak Vatwe* in fact had an abundance of water and so the Secretariat of Environment and Natural Resources (SEMARNAT), without

consultation of the tribe, approved the Environmental Impact Statement in 2011 and permitted the construction to begin (Conn, 2014). Simply put, by ignoring the effects of climate change while questioning whether the river had enough water to support irrigation districts, cities, and new industrial plants, the political decision to approve the new development was justified by numbers taken out of context (Radonic, 2015). *Hiak Vatwe* has an average annual discharge of about 2,800 million cubic meters. The aqueduct transfers about 75 million cubic meters of that water out of the watershed to Hermosillo. That is about 3% of the already depleting river suddenly gone.

Yoemem comprised 2.3% of Sonora's population in 2008, around 60,000 people. (Aqua sec, n.d.). After thousands of years of relying on *Hiak Vatwe,* the Yoemem report that water no longer flows by their communities. Without water, the Yoemem's reliance on the river dwindles and members of the tribe are at risk of malnourishment, dehydration, and illnesses such as dengue (similar to malaria) (Barry, 2014). The Yoemem went from working in tandem with the water to now becoming ill from it. Today, 40,000 Yoemem live in 55 communities across 4 municipalities in Sonora. Only 30% can access drinking water (Conn, 2014). Many houses have spigots and use cisterns instead of having indoor plumbing. Indoor amenities are common, but families frequently rely on storage tanks, bucketing water from what's left of the river, and irrigating wastewater to make up for shortages (Routson de Grenade, 2016). As for illness and disease, dengue has spread throughout Sonora since 2014 (Barry, 2014). Toxic pesticides are a major problem in parts of the river that have not dried up. In the town of Tórim for example, many Yoemem are forced to wash their clothes in pesticide-ridden water. These communities have been experiencing a rise in "stillbirths, sterilization, pesticides in mother's milk, forced migrations, skin disease, stomach ailments, and cancer" (Quintana, 2020). For many, using the river's water is not a choice. Water upstream of the eight communities are irrigated and federally/privately sold. Many Yoemem do have the finances to begin buying clean water from companies to drink, or even use to care for the ejidos that would either produce their own food or act as a source of income.

In sum, the Yoeme are struggling to communally own and work their land now that 90% of the water from *Hiak Vatw*e is diverted to two irrigation districts and two of the largest cities in Sonora, Obregon and Hermosillo (Routson de Grenade, 2016). If the water ever does fill the south of the river alongside Yoemem communities, it becomes too salty to use from carrying large amounts of long-neglected sediment. This water shortage means there is not enough to continually support all of the Yoemem's needs. While the communities remain under traditional leadership, the Yoemem are largely kept out of decision-making and lack ample resources to combat changes to the natural environment. The control over water distribution in conjunction with increased drought in recent years has stopped the water from filling the southern area of the river alongside Yoemem communities–this is the result of structural violence. As Lucero Radonic discusses in their paper "Environmental Violence, Water Rights, and (Un) Due Process in Northwestern Mexico," political and economic deprivation is strategic exclusion and manipulation of marginalized positions of power (Radonic, 2015). As Wolfe puts it, "settler colonialism is an inclusive, land-centred project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment, with a view to eliminating Indigenous societies" (Wolfe, 2006). Therefore, equitable distribution of water is not just an environmental cause, but an empowering right for Yoemem culture and society. The fish in the

depleting fishbowl ecosystem have been made helpless by others who removed the water they rely on and claim that they do not need water to survive. Regardless of whether or not clean and sufficient amounts of water get distributed to the Yoeme, climate change and continued mismanagement of irrigation are making the Yaqui valley increasingly inhospitable. For the Yoeme, the fight for their home continues to this day.

Christina Leza described in her article "The Divided Yoeme (Yaqui) People" a model that "is presented as an interconnected matrix of an Indigenous people's language, sacred history, land/territory, and ceremonial cycle, in which all four aspects of an Indigenous people's identity are intertwined and essential" (Leza, 2015). With this in mind, it is useful to demonstrate the Yoeme fight for the health of their communities as an irreplaceable link with the land. "Facing Loss of the Sacred" by Rebecca Dirksen exemplifies a central relationship between the land and Afro-Haitian worldview and community. Dirksen describes how stripping the land strips the figurative value of traditional labor and also strips spiritual understandings of mystical and metaphysical core relationships with land, people, and their environment. Thus, without land there is a strained understanding of spirit and worldview, and this strained connection weakens the community and stunts the transmission of tradition and culture to youth (Dirksen, 2019). What was seen as a literal break in connection by deforestation and environmental destruction (making it difficult to create physical instruments, for example) was also a figurative break by losing value in those traditional jobs that established purpose and community. A Yoeme demonstration of this is given by Lee Productions via his public radio series "Oyate Ta Olowan" visited by Felipe Molina, a Yoeme from near Tuscon, Arizona. Molina describes in the instance that Lee wishes to record his songs that it is "important to keep the songs in the place where they belonged"–the desert. 'Belonging' ties back to the idea of an 'interconnected matrix' that Leza draws from. The desert of which the songs belong is a literal conceptualization of space, but is space for symbols of daily life, culture, and ceremony (Quintana, 2020).

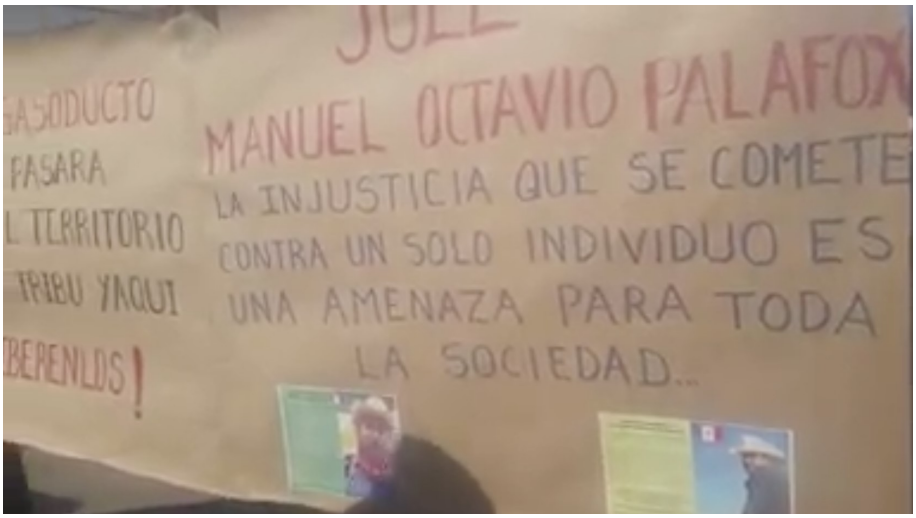
Fed up with the continuing neglect of their own access to water and land which really alludes to a structural neglect in the non-Western ways of being, the Yoemem responded to the proposal of the Acueducto Independencia by filing two lawsuits against the Mexican government. The first requested a halt to construction while the other ridiculed city planners for not having consulted the tribe and breaking their right to 50% of the river's water. On August 24th, 2010, the federal court suspended construction, but this court order was ignored by the construction companies and the state of Sonora itself (Flicker, 2018). The second lawsuit was decided in favor of the Yoemem by the 10th Judicial District of Sonora. The governor of Sonora, however, stepped in and ordered construction to continue in spite of both court orders. The Yoemem argued that water was a fundamental right, not a commodity and that the treaty guaranteed the tribe their rights to 50% of the water from the Rio Yaqui. The government responded by attempting to delegitimize the Yoemem's existence. Mexico's attorney general requested a report to certify that the towns of Vícam and Pótam that filed the lawsuits, were actually Yoeme. The Instituto Nacional de Antropologia y Historia (INAH) refused to complete the report for logistical reasons (due to the complicated nature of determining blood quantum, gaps in record keeping, etc.) which was then read by the court as conclusive evidence that the tribe was in fact, not Yoeme and therefore had no legal or traditional claim over the treaty (Radonic, 2015). Yoemem organized a blockade along the International Mexico-Nogales

highway in response. These protests continued from September of 2010 for the rest of the year and received national attention.

A statement of solidarity was issued in 2013 by the Zapatista General Command (CCRI-CG of the EZLN) and the Mexican Indigenous National Congress (CNI). The letter supported naming water as an inherent right of life and called for an end to attempting to delegitimize the tribe's identity (Davies, 2013). Later that same year, a national and international campaign "Namakasia: for the life of the Yaqui Nation" ran under the Network for Solidarity and against Repression in Mexico City. To no avail, the Acueducto Independencia went up and running in April, 2013.

On May 8th, 2013, the court named a violation of the tribe's right of consultation based on when the Environmental Impact Authorization for the aqueduct was granted. As a result, the court ordered another consultation be held. When no consultation was revisited, the Yoemem organized an additional highway blockade on May 28th, 2013. In June, arrest warrants were sent out for Mario Luna, the Secretary of the traditional authorities of Vícam, and Mr. Tomás Rojo who was another Indigenous leader for the Yaqui community. They were charged with aggravated deprivation of liberty and vehicle theft. As told by Front Line Defenders, Mario Luna was eventually arrested on September 11th, 2014, by a group of men dressed in civilian clothing driving pick-up trucks, who ended up being state police.

A "mega-march" of around 30,000 people ensued on October 10th, 2014, throughout the Hermosillo rejecting the aqueduct and calling for Mario Luna to be released from detention (Conn, 2014). The constitutional limit guaranteed Mario Luna would be released by September 17, 2014, but authorities requested to detain him for longer. He was not released until a year later on September 23rd, 2015. Since the last major protest, several other infrastructural projects in the region have been constructed including gas and oil pipelines. As of the summer of 2020, the Yoemem have continued to demonstrate against these infrastructural changes by shutting off the aqueduct's pump station for up to 12 hours and performing multiple highway and railroad blocks near their communities managing to block thousands of transporting cars (Mexico News Daily, 2020). In addition to protests that were disruptive to business capital, the Yoemem themselves engaged with music and street protests. Sometime throughout my internet searches I came across a facebook post created by an individual I am assuming had actually crossed the path of the particular street protest the Yoeme were conducting. Encinas stated that the protest was in front of the government palace where Yoeme called for Mario Luna and Fernando Jiménez to be released. Both were detained at the time for the Acueducto Independencia and another mega-project–a gas pipeline–that now runs through Yaqui territory. Shown in the video are signs that read:



Left: The gas pipeline will not pass through Yaqui territory ¡Free them!
Right: Judge Manuel Octavio Palafox, the injustices that you are committing against a single individual is a threat to all of society…

The other reads:

The Yaqui tribe supports the fight in Ayotzinapa / They took them alive / We want them back alive.

While some people held up the signs in a half circle in front of the palace, dancers and musicians performed a public version of the deer dances that are typically performed around Easter. I will not discuss the details of the deer dances or discuss why there is a public version of this ritual. Instead, here are a few interpretations of the power this performance may have in a *place*, in this case during a street-protest. Not only are the Yoeme and their supporters literally taking up space in the demonstration, but the music itself fills the space by attempting to both disrupt the place they are taking over. The music is a means to gather more people to fill the space, usually people who are either affected by the disruption, or sympathize with their messaging. Simultaneously, the street protest is directly demanding that Yoeme leaders be released, and addresses the gas pipeline that was being built across Yaqui territory. The Yoeme also used their command over space to stand in solidarity with another human rights case from 2014 where 43 children were

ISSN 2769-724X (online) DOI 10.5195/pur.2022.32 pur@pitt.edu

kidnapped in Ayotzinapa and are missing to this day. This case remains unresolved (Franco, 2019).

Solidarity and music for the Yoeme struggle can very well act as a truth-teller. Ben Barson describes in an interview with me, how the movement sits between instances of "limited political patronage to outright repression. . .at the end of the day, these are nations that don't have self-determination who aren't really able to have their forms of culture and knowledge institutionalized. . .there is so much poverty. . .it's just a different level of oppression and exploitation" (Personal Communication, April 7, 2021). The government's environmental impact statement for constructing the Acueducto Independencia stated that the Rio Yaqui had an abundance of water, yet the Yoemem report it does not flow past their eight communities anymore. The conflation of this fact by the Mexican government manifests as scapegoating, and has been repeatedly used against the Yoemem. In another facebook dive, I found this post and video by famous Mexican photographer, Diego Huerta, whose post aimed to 'set the record straight' regarding the language the Mexican government uses to persecute the Yoemem. His post reads as such:

> *Flojos. Problemáticos. Violentos. Anti progresistas. Bárbaros. Indios. Esto es lo que el gobierno del Estado de Sonora ha querido hacer creer a las personas, esto es lo que la ignorancia de cientos de personas han querido expandir para desacreditar al pueblo Yaqui de Loma de Bácum. . . la realidad es otra, son un pueblo orgulloso de sus raíces, de su cultura, amantes de la naturaleza, de su tierra heredada por sus ancestros, un pueblo espiritual y congruente de lo que creen y lo que hacen.*
>
> Weaklings. Problematic people. Violent. Anti-progressive. Barbaric. Indians. This is what the Sonoran state government has wanted you to believe about these people, this is what the ignorance of hundreds of people have spread to discredit the Yaqui town of Loma de Bácum. . .the reality is the opposite, they are a community proud of their roots, their culture, the love of nature, the land they inherited from their ancestors, and a spiritual town that puts their beliefs into practice. (Huerta, 2019)

The video Huerta produced displayed La Danza del Venado which was filmed with permission from the Yoemem. The cinematography is raw, yet graceful and counters the malintent by attempting to capture the long-standing and beautiful connection between land, music, and Yoeme.

Returning to this idea of actively 'cultivating a revolutionary attitude' about the Yoeme water struggle (whether categorized as revolutionary or not) the conditions for the role of music in social movements (positionality of the performer, location of the performance, and political conditions) are contextually unique, especially within the spaces that Manabe suggests: at street demonstrations, concerts, commercial recordings, and cyberspaces. Each space plays an integral role in spreading messages and unifying those who listen. I will now discuss two examples of music situated in solidarity with the Yoemem's water struggle, the type of power the music/music space each are enacting, and the perceived benefit of this musical environment for their shared cause.

This first case includes Café Tacvba, a Mexican alternative/rock band who has been popular since the 1990s, who invited the Yoeme onstage in front of over 70,000 people at the

music festival "Vive Latino 2016" in Mexico City. The Yoeme came with several representatives holding the Yaqui flag and a hand painted sign with #TribuYaquiEnDefensaDelAgua, #YaquiTribeinDefenseofWater. The festival provides an exclusive physical space that intersects the need for access to a broad (and possibly like-minded) audience, and the need to educate and unify the public for their cause. Here, I will translate the Yoeme participation in the festival:

> **Rubén Albarrán (RA):** Everyone, we have very special guests. They have come to give a word, a word from the heart, a word of truth, some elder authorities from the Yaqui tribe, they have come to share with you all the situation that is happening now, the problem with an aqueduct with their fight for water, the water that belongs to everyone, the water that is blessed. We thank you for your attention to their words. Thank you very much!

It is rare for marginalized groups of people to be seen and heard directly on celebrity platforms like this festival stage. In my experience, I usually hear from the celebrities speaking themselves on issues, raising awareness in music videos, or posting on social media platforms. Rubén, the lead singer of the band, leaves the stage to allow the Yaqui representative to speak. Behind him are others holding up signs, and a deer dancer prancing along the stage. Here, I translate the video:

> **Yaqui representative:** To all of the world, to all of Mexico, to Vive Latino 2016, invited and drawn by the voices and sounds of freedom, from this great nourished heart of many young and rebellious hearts. We have come to recognize each other in that energy, in that resonance of the great word, to make music into song. . .

The beginning of the speech not only establishes relatability with the audience, but educates the audience on the importance of music for life and freedom. It is interesting how the Yoeme are making a distinction between music and song, naming song in this instance as a collective energetic understanding.

> **Yaqui representative:** . . .Our people, originated from infinity, together with everything that life and humanity has propitiated, in that existence as a people originates the Yaqui tribe, as the first inhabitants from the northwest of the country, from that raw and alluring desert, our fight has always been fought for life and existence itself. Today, in these times, where countries have built their economy is a destruction of mother nature. Our Juya Ania, in the expansion of its non-ethical policies, a ruthless aggression and dispossession of those who so much cared for and conserved mother nature, the power supply of our lives and our existence, culture, and identity. We are here today to tell you who intends to kill our people once again after having drawn firearms on the European invasion in addition to the extermination by Porfirio Diaz. Today they are trying to kill us once again by stripping us of our water from the Rio Yaqui with injustice, illegal and criminal work called: Acueducto Independencia. It transports water in an illegal manner from the Yaqui river basin to the city of Hermosillo to leverage speculative businesses. We have understood that the great capital, personified in political laws and politics, has distorted the law of this country. We say this because we have legally defeated Acueducto Independencia. But nevertheless, that project exists by

> the grace of impunity, by the consensus and contemplative attitude of the laws and country's institutions. . .

The bulk of the speech is spent educating the audience about how they perceive their relationship with the land and contextualizing the intent behind historical events that are not unlike what they are experiencing today with the Acueducto Independencia.

> **Yaqui representative:** . . .We have also understood that no-one can win this fight alone. Solidarity is important, the alliance of towns, rural and urban communities, as well as civil society in general. Thus, we are here to guide the voice and sound of you all, just as the Rio Yaqui guided our own people. Water shines the way, because water is life. We, the Yaqui tribe, want to continue existing in the state of Sonora! Thank you, thank you very much.

The speech ends with a call-to-action framed as a responsibility of society to stand in solidarity with them. Profoundly, the Yoeme place themselves as leaders of the crowd, translating how "the Rio Yaqui guided our own people" into guiding the "voice and sound of you all."

> **RA:** Thank you brothers, [to the crowd] thank you for giving us your attention, thank you for your support, all fights are the same fight, water belongs to everyone, water is a blessing gifted to us by Juya Ania, that has been gifted to us by mother Earth, thank you, thank you very much to the Yaqui tribe for joining us.

Rubén then closes with a slew of generic phrases of solidarity. While exiting the stage, another Yaqui representative yells, "y arriba Mexico, que es nuestro" or "and Go Mexico, for it is also ours." Rubén shouts, "Long live the Yaqui tribe," and raises both fists up in the air, then the crowd watches them walk off stage while cheering "Yaqui, Yaqui, Yaqui…" The crowd, the Yoemem, and Café Tacvba create an interesting dynamic. The crowd position is in light-hearted attendance of a music festival that is a temporary place. Their participation within the festival is meant to be a live enjoyment of music within a music festival setting, not necessarily a place made for political protest. Regardless, the crowd participated in the Yaqui's call-to-action momentarily...out of genuine support or courtesy? How was the crowd to show their support for the Yaqui beyond collectively cheering them on once during the speech and as they left? Café Tacvba is known to dedicate music and songs to women's rights, and uplifting rural/Indigenous communities, so we can assume that this particular scene is not so far removed from seeing musicians and celebrities support controversial issues. As the Yoemem relayed, their attendance at the festival was to gain solidarity. What exactly about this created space and musical group was particularly attractive for Yoemem strategy? I do not have information as of right now about who contacted whom when organizing the participation of the Yaqui in Vive Latino with Café Tacvba. Did Café Tacvba contact the Yoemem, or the other way around, or neither? Would the genuineness of the intent behind the opportunity be perceived different in either circumstance? Reaching over 70,000 people in a live audience at a high profile festival must have come with certain can and cannot-dos. This makes me wonder what sort of discussion happened behind the scenes, if there was censorship of what the Yoemem could or could not say. Finally, there is the angle of necessity for the Yoemem. Despite the potential harm done by romanticizing their 'revolutionary' position, their struggle is one dealing with the lingering threat of death and extermination. It is difficult to measure what sort of tangible benefit might have come from engaging with an unknowing crowd, being handed a microphone by a band who is accused of appropriating Indigenous footage and symbolism without permission (Personal Communication,

April 7, 2021). Yet, Café Tacvba identify with and insert themselves in the Yoemem's movement. Was this a one-time performance? How is Cafe Tacvba keeping in dialogue with the Yoemem or using their own music and social status to continue to help the Yoemem?

When asked about the use of the name Yaqui within their name, the Afro-Yaqui Music Collective, Dr. Ben Barson replied that they were in no way trying to market or sell a cultural identity or perform Indigeneity. Aside from at least one member, Gizelxanath Rodriguez, being of Yaqui descent, the group had permission given to them by authorities in Vícam in 2017 to "use the band as a vehicle for building solidarity resources and consciousness raising about their struggle." This group represents a different kind of music and solidarity with the Yoemem by not only having received first-hand approval, but by 'operating as a vessel' for the Yoemem water protectors directly. Barson described throughout the interview various aspects of the mindfulness the music collective tries to maintain and describes its evolution as 'taking orders' from the Yoemem amplifying the water struggle. The collective is not meant to speak for all of the Yoeme people and governing towns. Within the towns and communities themselves, there are varying levels of support. Barson relays that some people support fracking, and others see the protests as undermining national development. Therefore, the Afro-Yaqui Music Collective is a 'political project' that specifically stands in solidarity with the water protectors in Vícam. Other elements the band is mindful of include situating their work on a broader scale while constantly analyzing the effectiveness of their efforts. Their work resonates with movements against environmental destruction, issues of climate change, Indigenous erasure, and the effects of systems such as capitalism, racism, and the patriarchy. With all this in mind, Barson described their music making as an intense project that they could not ethically slack off on.

Tangible solutions should be of central concern for solidarity music. The Afro-Yaqui Music Collective spreads its messages using the internet/social media, recordings, and performances mingling back and forth between all three. Their album *Mirror Butterfly* is an example of a musical imagination of the water struggle with material benefits. The music resulted from their collaboration with Yaqui activists, and mentions themes in cosmology, environmental colonialism, and forced migration to name a few. A school was built on Yaqui territory using money that was fundraised by the CD and musical campaign. Barson described the outcome of this as being a significant step towards replacing the state by creating their own institutions. Music became a part of the curriculum where kids are now learning to play violin. Social media and internet campaigns made it possible to raise enough money to build the school. Music plays different roles in different places; campaigns, facebook, music videos, youtube, magazine articles, collaborations–these all broaden the audience and expand participation. Additionally, updates on the progress of the movement are most easily shared in online settings. Barson expressed that positionality is a particular concern for the Afro-Yaqui Music Collective when 'cultivating a revolutionary attitude.' The group is closely connected to a handful of organizers in Sonora, so any threat to their network, even something as grim as someone being murdered, kidnapped, or jailed, could be detrimental to their work. He mentioned that international solidarity was the only thing that kept the Zapatistas Army of National Liberation in Chiapas from being completely massacred. In his eyes, the work they were doing is a question of gaining (tangible) support and raising consciousness while simultaneously being consistently critical of oneself and communicative enough with the Yoemem to assess possible appropriation and abuse of power and positionality.

Understanding the forms that music and solidarity may take on is a challenge for all those writing about the role of music in Indigenous solidarity and environmental justice movements to not ultimately 'divide and conquer' the concepts that are not so black and white. For this particular issue, we have to centralize the position the Yoemem are in, and be aware of what choice the Yoemem have when participating in, guiding, or accepting solidarity with others. Who is the ultimate audience for the music that is being produced, and can music continue to be a space truly at the disposal of the Yoemem?

If you would like to know more about the progress of this movement visit Námakasia Radio on Facebook and culturayaqui.com.

ISSN 2769-724X (online) DOI 10.5195/pur.2022.32 pur@pitt.edu

References

Admin. (2014, May 9). *El Aceuducto Independencia amenaza le sobrevivencia del pueblo yaqui.* CEMDA. https://www.cemda.org.mx/el-acueducto-independencia-amenaza-la-sobrevivencia-del-pu eblo-yaqui/

Attali, Jacques. (1985). *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. U of Minnesota.

Barreras, C. K. [Cesar Katatui Barreras]. (2020, August 11). *We are Yo'eme: lesson 1, why we call ourselves Yo'eme. #Yaqui Language #Yoeme Language.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hnP7lsiSp5I

Barson, B. (n.d.). *With the Yaqui Water Protectors: A Music Campaign.* Indiegogo. https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/with-the-yaqui-water-protectors-a-music-campaign#

Brown, Courtney. (2008). *Politics in Music.* Atlanta Farsight Press.

Carlos Silva Encinas, Manuel. (2014, December 15). Facebook post. Video. https://www.facebook.com/manuelcarloss/videos/10205439443803938/

Clark, Joe C. (2011). The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Online. *Notes*, *67*(4), 798–800. https://doi.org/10.1353/not.2011.0075

Cocking, L. (2017, February 9). *The Mexican 'Standing Rock' That Nobody's Talking About.* Culture trip. https://theculturetrip.com/north-america/mexico/articles/the-mexican-standing-rock-thatnobodys-talking-about/

Davies, J. (2013, September 9). *Mexico: The Yaqui Tribe Defend their Right to Water.* Upside-down World. https://upsidedownworld.org/archives/mexico/mexico-the-yaqui-tribe-defend-their-right-to-water/

Dirksen, R. (2019). *Facing Loss of the Sacred.* University of Illinois Press on behalf of Society for Ethnomusicology, Vol. 63, No. 1, pp. 43-77. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/ethnomusicology.63.1.0043

Evers, L. (1978). *Seyewailo: The flower world Yaqui Deer Songs.* University of Arizona. https://parentseyes.arizona.edu/node/885

Farisco and Caballero Societies. (1941-42). *The Yaqui Easter Ceremony.* VHS videotape 1989 uploaded to Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Mavi3IdPUI

Garcia, C. (n.d.). *Baa Wehai (Yoeme/Yaqui)-floating gourd water drums.* Indigenous Instruments of Mexico and Mesoamerica. https://indigenousinstrumentsofmexicomesoamerica.weebly.com/baa-wehai.html

Hainge, Greg. (2004). *Come on Feel the Noise: Technology and its Dysfunctions in the Music of Sensation.* To the Quick (5) 42-58.

Huerta, Diego. (2019, February 10). *Maso Jiaki - Venado Yaqui.* Diego Huerta Photographer. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?ref=search&v=392662078214035&external_log_id=56a0a6ba-da37-4ced-b9a8-7dec2d111a31&q=protesta%20yaqui

Irland, B. (2015, June 1). *What the River Knows: Yaqui River, Sonora, Mexico*. National Geographic Society Newsroom. https://blog.nationalgeographic.org/2015/06/01/what-the-river-knows-yaqui-river-sonoramexico/

Lee Productions. (2012). *Felipe Molina / Yaqui (Yeome) from Tucson, Arizona.* Oyate Ta Olowan. http://www.oyate.com/felipe-molina---yeome-yaqui.html

Leza, C. (2018, December 17). *Hip-Hop is Resistance: Indigeneity on the U.S.-Mexico Border.* Music and Modernity Among First People of North America by Victoria Lindsay Levine, and Dylan Robinson. Wesleyan University Press.

Leza, C. (2015). The Divided Yoeme (Yaqui) People. *Wicazo Sa Review.* Vol. 30, No. 2, pp.5-27. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/wicazosareview.30.2.0005

Manabe, Noriko. The Revolution Will Not Be Televised : Protest Music after Fukushima, Oxford University Press USA - OSO, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/pitt-ebooks/detail.action?docID=4310913

Music Festival Wizard. (2016). Vive Latino 2016. https://www.musicfestivalwizard.com/festivals/vive-latino-2016/

Native Voice TV. (n.d.). *Home.* https://www.youtube.com/c/NativevoicetvOrg/featured

Nava, Michael. *The City of Palaces: A Novel.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014. Print.

Pedro Ros, Sergi. (2016). *CAFE TACVBA y Tribu Yaqui Vive Latino 2016 #TribuYaquienDefensadelAgua Vive Latino 2016.* Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Lr7jEC5bSg

Personal Communication, April 7, 2021, Ben Barson.

Quintana, T.G. (2020). Where There is Water There is Growth: *Yoeme Land and Water Rights. Theory & Event* 23(4), 1004-1015. https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/767878.

Shorter, D. (2009). *We will dance our truth: Yaqui history in Yoeme performances.* Retrieved from https://hdl-handle-net.pitt.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.31426

Sinchi. (2018, April 28). *Inside the flower world of the Yaqui deer dance. Where Indigenous and Christian spirituality go hand in hand.* Sinchi. https://sinchi-foundation.com/news/flower-world-yaqui-deer-dance-spirituality/

Tumbaga, Ariel Zatarain. *Yaqui Indigeneity : Epistemology, Diaspora, and the Construction of Yoeme Identity*, University of Arizona Press, 2018. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/pitt-ebooks/detail.action?docID=5234329.

Tyner, J. A., Rhodes, M., & Kimsroy, S. (2015). *Music, Nature, Power, and Place: An Ecomusicology of Khmer Rouge Songs.* GeoHumanities. https://doi.org/10.1080/2373566X.2016.1183464

United Nations. (2008, March). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. United Nations.

Wolfe, Patrick. (2006). *Settler Colonialism and the elimination of the native.* Journal of Genocide Research, 8: 4, 387-409.