Sounding the "6ix": Drake, Cultural Appropriation, and Embodied Caribbeanization

RYAN PERSADIE

Abstract: In ethnomusicological and popular music studies, scholarly accounts of cultural appropriation enacted by musicians have largely focused on white/black and settler/indigenous power imbalances. In this article, I turn to performances of intra-racial appropriation by Canadian rapper Drake. I argue that my conceptualization of "embodied Caribbeanization" provides a necessary framework to interrogate the distinct processes, mechanisms, methodologies, and negotiations by which Drake accesses Caribbeanness as a resource to perform his Torontonian diasporic subjectivity or "6ixhood," albeit often at the cost of exploiting and rendering invisible salient embodied knowledges located within the archive of Caribbean music, dance, language, and vocality.

Résumé : Dans les études en ethnomusicologie et en musique populaire, lorsque les chercheurs mentionnent des appropriations culturelles par des musiciens, ils se concentrent en général sur les déséquilibres de pouvoir entre blancs et noirs, ou entre colons et autochtones. Dans cet article, je me penche sur des performances d'appropriation intra-raciales par le rappeur canadien Drake. J'avance que mon concept « d'incarnation de la caribéisation » procure un cadre nécessaire pour interroger les processus, les mécanismes, les méthodologies et les négociations au travers desquels Drake accède à une « caribéanité » qui lui sert de ressource pour interpréter sa subjectivité diasporique d'habitant de Toronto, celle du « 6ix », quoique cela se fasse souvent au prix d'une exploitation, et d'un renvoi à l'invisibilité, des savoirs incarnés essentiels situés au cœur des archives de la musique, de la danse, de la langue et de la vocalité caribéenne.

Introduction: Soca in the "6ix"

On July 30th 2016, I entered Toronto's Echo Beach, a popular outdoor concert venue located on the Lakeshore, to attend the seventh annual OVO hip hop festival, established by Canadian rapper and producer

This article has accompanying videos on our YouTube channel. You can find them on the playlist for MUSICultures volume 46-1, available here: http://bit.ly/MUSICultures-46-1. With the ephemerality of web-based media in mind, we warn you that our online content may not always be accessible, and we apologize for any inconvenience.

Persadie, Ryan. 2019. Sounding the "6ix": Drake, Cultural Appropriation, and Embodied Caribbeanization. *MUSICultures* 46 (1): 52-80.

Drake.[1] Held under the moniker of his record label OVO Sound, which has recently signed numerous Caribbean/diasporic Caribbean artists including Popcaan, PartyNextDoor, and dvsn, the show I attended was produced as the first of several that would follow throughout the week but was the only one to centre Anglophone Caribbean popular music and live performance.[2] Advertised widely through local social media outlets, promoters, DJs, Caribbean restaurants, and popular newspapers such as NOW Magazine and TorontoLime.com,[3] it was promised that attendees would receive "a heavy dose of soca and dancehall"[4] that would culminate in an exciting performance by the party's two main headliners: Trinidadian soca star Machel Montano and Jamaican reggae and dancehall artist Beenie Man.

Upon our arrival, my soca posse[5] was enveloped in a sea of diasporic Caribbeans. Our collective sensorium was consumed by the smells of jerk chicken, doubles, and curry chicken rotis being sold in numerous food trucks; the instantaneously recognizable vocal stylings of Destra Garcia, Alison Hinds, Fay-Ann Lyons, Patrice Roberts, Bunji Garlin, Spice, Lyrikal, Kes, Beenie Man, and Drake as they permeated the sound system; and festival-goers wining[6] and gyrating their hips ferociously to the music's intoxicating rhythms. Many attendees were dressed in their best Carnival attire — some even donned their Caribana (Toronto Carnival) costumes from playing mas[7] in the parade just hours earlier. Each body in the space was equipped with the flag of their respective homeland secured tightly in hand, indicative of nationalist allegiances to Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Guyana, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and the Bahamas (to name just a few), as fêters took a "jump up" to soca's power rhythms, fiercely turning this otherwise conventional concert venue into a re-imagined Caribbean carnival geography: the soca fête.[8]

As a space inextricably linked to Caribbean Carnival, soca fêtes refer to (usually) outdoor parties in which soca music is performed, danced to, and enjoyed. In drawing upon Carnival histories and legacies of sonic and embodied archives of non-conformity toward (neo)colonial powers, the soca fête is generative of distinct sites of diasporic Caribbean cathartic release or transgressive modalities of "free up" that unsettle and critique regimes of racial, classed, sexual, and gender normativity upheld by Canadian and Caribbean nations, temporarily disrupting the hegemonic, regulatory, and disciplinary ideals of citizenship rendered compulsory.[9] Rooted in such transgressive genealogies, in the fête soca music and artists instruct as well as engage Carnival bodies in exuberant albeit lascivious articulations of bacchanalian looseness and agentive performances of "slackness,"[10] or the epitomized antithesis of respectability (Cooper 2005).

Furthermore, the soca fête offers us a critical terrain to speak diasporic Caribbean subjectivities through sound, voice, and the body within the hegemonic landscape of Canada where assimilation to whiteness continues to legislate one's access to "legitimate" belonging. Indeed, Camille Hernandez-Ramdwar notes that the Toronto soca scene has become "a way of life" for many diasporic Caribbeans residing in the city (2008a: 72-73), offering an ephemeral familial transnational site of belonging and togetherness for numerous racially dissimilar Caribbean communities in Toronto (i.e. Afro-Caribbeans, Indo-Caribbeans, Chinese-Caribbeans, etc.) who are unified by ethnic mutualities. Thus, the power of the soca fête is linked to its capacity to formulate distinct spaces for the expression and performance of transnational Anglophone Caribbean identities (Hernandez-Ramdwar 2008a: 73) despite regulatory regimes of citizenship that continually remind us that not just any *body* can be a citizen (Alexander 1994).

Since Drake is neither Caribbean nor Caribbean-descended, I questioned his personal fascination with fête practices (and Caribbean popular culture on a larger scale), a distinct tradition seemingly foreign to his ethno-racial position as a biracial, black Canadian with no ancestral ties to the region. It is this same curiosity that has caused Drake to be increasingly critiqued for cultural appropriation, a practice defined as the exploitation of specific traits, languages, and other cultural elements from one ethnic group as a resource of identification at the hands of another (Sanchez 2017). Numerous blog posts that address Drake's cultural appropriations can be found across several social media outlets which demonstrate the ubiquity of such critiques among offended Caribbean listeners.[11]

Similarly, throughout my fieldwork within Toronto soca fêtes, the debate on whether or not Drake is a quintessential "culture vulture" is a common topic of discussion. He is often assumed to carry Caribbean ancestry due to the excess of Caribbean language, rhythm, vocality, and timbre deployed in his songs and performances. The frequent and commonplace nature of Drake's appropriations is illustrated by my interaction with an Afro-Barbadian woman attending the OVO fête. "Oh, you didn't know?" she said to me while in line for a drink. "Drake is from the Caribbean now." She concluded with a disapproving *steups*[12] and a giggle as she walked off.

As the event carried on, the presence of Drake's voice was inescapable throughout Echo Beach. Between each live performance, a number of Drake's soca- and dancehall- "influenced" songs such as "One Dance," "Too Good," and "Hotline Bling" played continually. Indeed, these are all songs where Drake's faux-accent, which Buzzfeed contributor Sajae Elder describes as "flat, unfamiliar, and Caribbean-tinged," is readily apparent (2016). Interjected

between different sets of soca and dancehall artists, the looping of Drake's *Views (*his most recent album at the time), self-inserted him into a genealogy of soca, reggae, and dancehall excellence that performed throughout the night: DJ D'Bandit, Black Chiney, Kranium, Olatunji, Kes, Lyrikal, Angela Hunte, and Sean Paul.

During the last hour of the event, Machel Montano, the Trinidadian King of Soca, performed a number of songs from his recent album *Monk Evolution* (2016). As his set ended amidst a sky of colourful fireworks, he thanked Drake for including him in the event and praised him for several minutes. As Montano ended his performance with his song "In We Blood," his words were rendered in unison throughout the Caribbean-Canadian audience as they sang with him: "if dat behaviah is ah part of yuh nature, ah say come forward! It's in we blood!" (2016).

As we left sweaty and tired, I watched Montano hug and shake hands with Drake affectionately. Eyerolls were exchanged among some frustrated attendees while others continued to try and grab a video of Drake to post on social media. As Montano spoke into the microphone, he offered repeated expressions of gratitude toward Drake and encouraged the Caribbean audience to do the same; all-the-while he continued to crack jokes through an intermixed parlance of Trinidadian creole and Jamaican patois. Watching this, I experienced deep discomfort observing one of the biggest stars of soca music, who self-identifies as

Fig. 1. Caribbean-Canadian partygoers "fêteing" at OVO Fest event on July 30th, 2016. Photograph taken by the author.

the "King" of soca and is many years Drake's senior both in age and experience, be so complicit and silent in response to such acts of overt appropriation, especially since none of the artists on stage with him had ever been featured in any of Drake's music. If, like Montano suggests in "In We Blood," soca sounds histories and logics of resistance, emancipation, and liberation that are autochthonous and located within the interiority of Caribbean bodies, how did they find themselves within Drake's rap and hip-hop music? How does he access them as resources of musical identity building?

Despite his international fame and amidst accumulating critiques of cultural appropriation, there has been limited scholarly attention directed toward Drake that addresses the processes, navigations, and methods by which Caribbeanness is accessed, appropriated, and mobilized in his music. Kris Singh and Dale Tracy have explored "niceness" as an element of Drake's persona, self-image, and performance of masculinity, arguing that his characterization as a "decent," "thoughtful," and "genuine" person, or the "nice guy," casts a translucent shield over the ways in which he reinforces stereotypical ideals of black (hetero)masculinities in hip hop based in wealth and virility (2015: 94-95). More recently, Amara Pope has discussed the construction of Drake's musical persona through hybridity; she argues that music videos are utilized to perform his racialized, classed, and gendered subjectivities and offer an ontological expression of self through the multiplicities and intersections of his diasporic identity and through connecting with numerous marginalized communities (2016).[13]

At the same time, previous scholarly discussions of cultural appropriation have generally elided issues of intra-racial appropriation, instead largely focusing on the exploitative pursuits and power imbalances between non-black and non-indigenous musicians, music producers, and engineers who, in continuing (neo)colonial projects of domination, theft, and imperialism, have exploited black and indigenous sound as cultural capital (Meintjes 1990; Porcello 1991; Feld 1996; Zemp 1996; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Kitwana 2005; Chang 2009; Eberhardt and Freeman 2015).[14] However, given Drake's Afro-diasporic subjectivity, the theoretical frameworks established in these scholarly accounts are not able to speak effectively to the complexities of access, consumption, and power performed by Drake.[15]

In this article, I conceptualize Drake's appropriative tactics and methodologies of cultural consumption as "embodied Caribbeanization," a vocabulary I offer to interrogate the processes, mechanisms, and negotiations by which Drake finds/is granted access to Caribbean cultural elements such as music, dance, language, vocality, and gesture as a resource to stylize, self-fashion, and brand his Toronto Afro-diasporic subjectivity — or his "6ixhood."[16] In this

article, I am not concerned with policing Drake for these appropriations, but rather am interested in theorizing the ways in which Caribbeanness has become a central component of his performance practice and, in doing so, acknowledge the stakes and problematics of Drake sounding and performing his Torontoness through activations of Caribbean embodiment.

In this paper, I explore three crucial elements central to Drake's performances of embodied Caribbeanization:

1. Afro-diasporic citizenship and Afro-diasporic homophony
2. The role of Caribbean musical gatekeepers
3. Multivocality

First, I explore how Caribbeanness has become deeply embedded into the cultural landscape of multicultural Toronto. Feelings of black mutuality among multiple Afro-diasporic communities in the city allow for the sharing of various black cultural elements[17] (including Caribbeanness) through projects of community building, coalition, and solidarity that foster forms of "Afro-diasporic citizenship." The resultant musical manifestations of these urban sensibilities provide Drake with various cultural resources to sound the "6ix." Second, I briefly investigate how Caribbean musicians, like Montano, act as musical ambassadors when they collaborate with Drake and provide access to Anglophone Caribbean soundworlds, dance, and, by extension, salient knowledge systems. Third, I suggest that both these points of access to Caribbeanness manifest in Drake's music through code-switching and the emergence of a multivocality that moves between various forms of Black Englishes and Caribbean creole and patois languages. I critique Drake's use of Caribbean language to resist dominant mythologies that intra-racial appropriation is simply a facet of everyday Canadian "multicultural life" and argue that Caribbean vocalities are languages of self in their own right, carrying within them important forms of corporeal epistemologies, historical memories, and ontological archives that become devalued and rendered invisible when appropriated.

Defining and Problematizing Cultural Appropriation

Cultural appropriation has long been a controversial topic in ethnomusicology and popular music studies (Wallis and Malm 1984; Meintjes 1990; Feld 1996; Lysloff 1997; Alleyne 2007; Novak 2010; Sharma 2010) as well as in sociology, journalism, and media and visual culture studies (Sheller 2003; Young 2005;

Rogers 2006; Ellis-Petersen 2016; Sanchez 2017). Broadly defined as the use of a foreign culture's symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies by members of another culture (Rogers 2006: 486), cultural appropriation sees privileged and advantaged figures and communities manipulate the resources of those with less power, advantage, or privilege for other self-driven potentials.

In my experience, arguments are frequently made in Toronto, particularly by pro-multiculturalist logics, that cultural appropriation is a leftist mythology or a non-issue and, rather, global circulations of Caribbeanness are mediated by transnational flows, intra-racial/inter-ethnic (public) intimacies,[18] globalization, and solidarity efforts by diasporic minoritarian subjects that warrant the consumption and "sharing" of culture within intra-racial collectives. These arguments suggest that cultural appropriation should therefore be understood more broadly as (cross-)cultural "appreciation," "borrowing," or "exchange."

However, it appears that an acknowledgment of ethnic difference, even among those who are racially similar, carries much weight in diaspora as, in the case of Drake, multiple Caribbean voices have resisted these dismissions of cultural appropriation and raised awareness of the seriousness of this issue in their communities. As one article in Hypefresh Magazine stated: "Drake is allowed to cherry pick his most desirable traits of [Caribbean] culture and project an image and sound to his huge platform that [overlooks] true Caribbean artists everyday" (Powell 2017). In "Drake's Appropriation Ting: 'More Life' and His Struggle to Connect," Zachary Mason argues that we cannot be silent toward Drake's attempts to become the Torontonian face of Caribbean sound because he often paints a caricature of Caribbeanness, inaccurately reflecting Caribbean lived experiences, narratives, and struggles in diaspora (2017). In addition, to much controversy, popular Jamaican artist Sean Paul has also expressed his grievances with Drake's music, explaining that his Caribbean-infused sound has become less of a homage to Caribbean culture and is rather manipulative and self-driven (Ellis-Petersen 2016).

With these arguments in mind, can any one person, ethnic group, or community claim ownership over a cultural expression, such as a musical genre? In an attempt to offer conclusions to this controversial question, I suggest that intra-racial appropriation is problematic and harmful, not only for engaging in cultural consumption without substantial reciprocity, permission, and/or compensation (Rogers 2006: 477) but also because it miscommunicates and often erases salient sonic and embodied expressions of speaking oneself — constitutive of one's history and ancestral/emotional knowledges — through the voice and the body. Cultural appropriation not only performs structural and hegemonic power imbalances that can harm the economic prosperity of small-

island and diasporic Caribbean creators navigating the imperialist regimes of the North American music industry, but also re-territorializes Caribbean regional and diasporic cultures within hegemonic paradigms in which the appropriator ignores the salient ontological knowledges and meanings music and dance have for Caribbean communities. Extending bell hooks's theorization on the commodification of difference (1992), we must acknowledge how cultural consumption can eradicate difference through a "consumer cannibalism" (31) that not only displaces and erases the cultural signifiers of the original source but also denies the significance of its genealogy, history, and legacy through processes of re/decontextualization.

When appropriated, cultural formations are not simply removed, re-located, and re-attached to foster and coalesce into new creations but rather signal and imply differential access by groups to power (Ziff and Rao 1997: 5). Thus, appropriative acts are always political statements (Sharma 2010: 237). As music scholars, it is imperative that we challenge attitudes and ideologies that so quickly elide the problems of cultural appropriation because appropriative acts and logics are often devoid of an awareness of music's intrinsic connection to people's histories, genealogies, ancestral and emotional epistemologies, and identities. The most troubling aspect of this is that, when taken by foreign subjects, the ethnically coded character of musical culture is reduced to little more than an "innocuous cultural signifier" (Rodriguez 2006: 646).

Urban Intimacies, the Politics of Citizenship, and Afro-Diasporic Homophony

In *Phonographies: Grooves in Sonic Afro-Modernity* (2005), Alexander Weheliye offers diasporic citizenship as a framework to theorize how new forms of black cultural belonging are cultivated in the diasporic place or, as Paul Gilroy describes, the "inner dialectics of diasporic identification" (1993: 23). In Weheliye's words:

> Being a diasporic citizen entails culturally and politically aligning oneself with communities beyond the borders of the nation-state in which one dwells, in addition to negotiating legal and cultural positionalities in relation to … [the] nation-state [in which one lives]. (2005: 148)

Exemplars of the potentials of these black, diasporic, and uniting intimacies are evident in defences of Drake's appropriative behaviour, such as through

arguments made by University of Maryland journalist Lillian Andemicael who suggests that "Drake's respectful attempt to embrace African culture is not wrong at its core. His push for innovation, although mistaken for cultural appropriation … should receive celebration as anthems of African unity" (2017). In providing channels of black togetherness with Afro-diasporic communities, Drake's defenders suggest that Afro-diasporic subjects may, in seeking to cultivate black diasporic citizenships or new ways to belong within the hegemonic space of Canada, lean toward particular identifications in light of their shared histories of racism, anti-blackness, and colonialism and foster new, alternative citizenships cultivated through maintaining important relationalities with each other rather than with the state.

Extending Weheliye's theorizations, I argue that discussions surrounding Caribbean music's facile mobility and consequential access to Drake must first begin by unpacking projects of black intra-racial coalition and solidarity that emerge in Toronto through what I describe as forms of "Afro-diasporic citizenship."[19] As Rinaldo Walcott argues, the Canadian nation-state continues to adhere to a governmentality reflected in official versions of multiculturalism that attempt to produce a linear discourse of heritage that renders people of colour and, in particular, black bodies as always-already peripheral subjects located outside the nation's borders as "not-quite-citizens" (2001: 127).[20] The abjection of the black non-citizen demonstrates how forms of Afro-diasporic citizenship are cultivated to generate modes of alternative socio-political alliances and negotiate channels of Afro-diasporic membership, cultural belonging, and togetherness as a methodology of making place in oppressive geographies. In addition, Afro-diasporic social alliances are also organized according to logics of black-linked fate. These are described by the racial identifications that black diasporic communities may share with each other based on similar historical experiences with anti-black racism and potential unifications under discourses of Pan-Africanism (Nunnally 2010: 338).

Popular music functions as one of the main avenues of communication between Afro-diasporic citizens in Toronto and operates as a crucial medium through which multiplicities of blackness can live, thrive, shift, move, and be exchanged as forms of racial and political identification. The open access of Caribbean sound for use by Afro-diasporic citizens speaks to what Leith Mullings iterates as "transnational cultural matrices for the articulation of new forms of identity … [that] function as a strategy of resistance, with the potential to reimagine an African descendant identity connecting Afro-groups to other communities of African descent" (2008: 15). Evidently, the ubiquity of cultural sharing practices among Canadian Afro-diasporic communities is also representative of the conditions of what Walcott articulates it means to be

in Black Canada (Walcott 2001: 138). The facility to shift, move, and deploy various representations and cultural elements of black Toronto demonstrates a distinct Afro-diasporic sensibility and performance of black Canadianness through multiplicity or, as Walcott suggests, a "complex reworking of heritage and ethnicity … [that] articulates a sense of self that requires a rethinking of national boundaries and citizenship" (2001: 138).

Indeed, such long-standing inter-ethnic intimacies between Afro-diasporic communities in Toronto evidence how Caribbean musical genres have carried great success as forms of exchange, which must also be attributed to the genres' status as "mobile black music" or, as Kennell Jackson describes, the potential of black popular genres to travel, settle, and flourish in niches beyond their points of origins (2005: 6). In addition, they can be broken apart, inserted, reimagined in other forms, and carry the facility to flow and promulgate (6-7). For this reason, I suggest that Drake has been able to move quite freely between varying forms of black cultural expressions in his performances because his appropriations have been rendered legitimate, acceptable, legible, and permissible as ubiquitous and mundane characteristics of life in black Toronto.

Drake's song "Signs," from his 2016 album *Views*, offers one musical example of this Torontoian intra-racial connectedness. *Views* reflects the changing times and seasons of the "6ix." According to an Afro-Jamaican entertainment journalist to whom I will refer as Jade Davis, this album showcases how Drake tends to herald his patriotism to Toronto, or what she called "the foundational city of his worldly culture" (Twitter communication, May 13, 2018). Songs on the album are meant to offer a soundscape of the city and are dichotomized to sonically image Canadian seasons. While winter songs are slower, cooler in timbre, and draw upon other popular Afrocentric musical genres such as R&B to signal this imagery, in other songs "island vibes" and allusions to the Caribbean are used as signifiers to indicate summer, and are seemingly deployed to showcase the Caribbeanization of Toronto that occurs with festivities such as Caribana (Toronto's Carnival), which is held annually every August. These summer songs have also been influenced by collaborating producers, songwriters, and musicians of Afro-Caribbean descent such as Serani, Mavado, Boi-1da, and Sevn Thomas.

"Signs," sung by Drake, is the lament of a man reflecting on a growing romantic relationship with a female love interest. In this song, Drake describes his lover by singing the following lyrics:

> You wanna drink like Bajan and dance like Trini,
> Yeah, you want a supermodel pose like meh real friend Winnie.
> (2016b)

To describe this woman, he lyrically illustrates her through representations of Afro-Caribbean femininity and sexual excess with assumed allusions to the sexy, dexterous, and vigorous rolls, gyrations, and shaking of the hips, pelvis, and buttocks ("dance like Trini") performed by Caribbean women during acts of wining (Jones 2016: 1) and popular figures such as Afro-Jamaican-Canadian model Winnie Harlow.

Before the first verse can start, the track is opened by what Peter Manuel and Wayne Marshall attest is the "quintessential dancehall rhythm" (2006: 457). While first put into mainstream use in the late 1980s and 1990s, this rhythm has become a standardized feature of contemporary dancehall and other popular Caribbean genres such as reggaeton. This musical texture is important as it sonically performs Drake's Afro-diasporic citizenship through what I describe as "Afro-diasporic homophony." This conceptualization draws upon the musicological term for a texture of music in which a subordinate musical line provides harmonic accompaniment and a rhythmic foundation while supporting a single prominent melodic line to demonstrate that Drake's musical identity and subjectivity is sounded through homophony. In "Signs," Drake's use of rap aesthetics and poetics, greatly informed by African-American rap and hip hop traditions, sounds the main melodic line. At the same time, his voice is accompanied by dancehall rhythms to create a mediated and diasporic performance which merges multiple modes of blackness. They work in tandem to perform a soundscape of intra-racial intimacies and effectively sound the multicultural and Caribbean-influenced cultural fabric of the city.

However, it must be acknowledged that Caribbean rhythm is used solely to support Drake's voice. Its background position demonstrates its presence only as an underlying framework to support Drake's prominent rap verses; yet, it functions as the foundation and central rhythmic drive of the piece, providing the song with a dance-like and highly energized quality. Just as how the bassline operates in Western classical and popular music, Caribbean rhythm is used as an underlying structure to hold together these new Afro-diasporic creations and foster them into new imaginings. To reframe arguments made by Jackson, black cultural matter, as seen in this piece, is presented with the ability to reshape itself and to adjust to different circumstances (2005: 5). Here, Afro-diasporic homophony initiates new modes of communication and reconfigures Caribbean sound to represent Drake's 6ixhood, a strategic method of self-branding and sonic fashioning to showcase his affiliation with the city.

In Toronto specifically, these negotiations show us how Canadian black popular culture continually makes reference to Caribbean genealogies (Walcott 2001: 126) and thus supports arguments that suggest Drake's use of Caribbean sound cannot be rendered exploitative because it reflects his Afro-diasporic

sensibilities. Yet, is this enough to provide him with a free pass to appropriate Caribbeanness? How do we account for the Caribbean voices that critique and do not consent to such appropriations? To echo arguments offered by Jade Davis, what are the stakes of such appropriations when, for some, Drake's use of Caribbean sound is "as flattering as it is offensive because he has not acknowledged that the cultural elements he is using are taken from Caribbean immigrants and, rather, wears them as his own" (Twitter communication, April 27, 2018).

Ethnic Attachments and the Politics of Identification

With these politics of appropriation in mind, I also want to suggest that the permissibility of Drake's appropriations is also directly linked to the imagining of the Caribbean as a black geography. African American Studies scholar Tristan Samuels (Temple University) reinforces these ideas by suggesting that "the foundation[al] people and culture of the Caribbean is that of Afrikan peoples" (Twitter communication, July 6, 2017). Such imaginings provide access for the Caribbean region and its diasporas, as Manning Marable suggests, to become a "highway" of blackness for the constant cultural, intellectual, and political exchange of Afro-diasporic bodies that legitimize access to Caribbean culture for Afrocentric collectives (2008: 3). Yet, these Pan-African ideologies can also blur the boundaries of Caribbean ethnic difference and of the histories and ontologies of various Afro-diasporic subjects under the essentializing racial category of "African" and a collective imagination of global blackness.

Ethnicity is a salient marker of difference that distinguishes local identities from larger groupings of race. As Paul Gilroy suggests in *The Black Atlantic*, the saliency of ethnic difference "acquires an incontestable priority over all other dimensions of [one's] social and historical experience, culture and identity" (1993: 3). This asks us to acknowledge that a subset of individuals can be very systemically different in some ways from a larger population to which they belong (Model 2008: 56).

Jennifer V. Jackson and Mary E. Cothran expand this critique by stating that although many diasporic Afro-Caribbean communities carry similar connections to African-Americans, continental Africans, and in the Canadian context multiple Black Canadians, they also hold many cultural, social, and intellectual differences that should cause them to be seen as completely separate people (2003: 579). Posing challenges to arguments suggesting Drake's blackness provides him with license to adopt Caribbeanness, we need to consider the demarcations and differences of black and Caribbean identities

and cultures that shape contemporary diasporic subjectivities, sensibilities, and lived experiences.

For example, as another Afro-Jamaican-Canadian informant (whom I will call Tanisha) expressed to me in an interview, Pan-Africanism does not always offer material benefits as a black identity politic because "colonialism has dislocated and dislodged so many from their early origins in Africa" (Twitter communication, May 20, 2018). Tanisha explained that when she thought of "home," she did not think of Africa or Canada but rather the Caribbean or Afro-Caribbean communities in Toronto. Similarly, Jade and many other Afro-Caribbean informants also expressed discomfort in identifying as "African" for its potentials to elide their Caribbean subjectivities:

> I do not identify as African because the roots I know of are in the Caribbean. I believe many of us suffer trans-Atlantic amnesia and therefore, are currently incapable of tracing our lineage. I would rather call myself Afro-Caribbean. (Davis, Twitter communication, May 14, 2018)

Thornton, Taylor, and Chatters's study exploring African-American and Afro-Caribbean feelings of closeness in the US also supports Davis's critiques, finding that higher levels of cultural proximity via ethnic affiliation were felt among Afro-Caribbeans as opposed to among other Afro-diasporic groups (2013: 814). This is further evidenced in a study conducted by Shayla C. Nunnally. When studying black immigrant groups in the US, she argued that her informants carried lasting connections to their ethnic identities that were prioritized over their racial identifications (2010: 336). As Nunnally argues:

> Current black linked theory ignores the possibility that West Indian and African[-American] Blacks have different experiences with race based on their formative relationships with other racial groups in their native countries, which may prove perceivably disruptive for African-Americans' cross-ethnic psychological linkages and political consciousness with West Indian and African groups in the States. (2010: 338)

With these arguments that outline the importance of ethnic difference among diasporic black communities in mind, do Pan-Africanist logics and feelings of racial mutuality provide Drake with enough license to appropriate Caribbean sound?

Some of the problematics of the elision of ethnic difference in lieu of a global race consciousness were revealed during Drake's acceptance speech at

the 2016 American Music Awards. At this event, Drake was announced as the recipient for Best Rap/Hip Hop Artist of the year and delivered his acceptance speech in a stylized voice that seemed to replicate a form of Caribbean creole:

> For our genre I'd just like to keep things exciting and keep making music. Shout-out to everybody that's trying to do the same thing … more chune fuh yuh headtop so watch how you speak on my name.[21]

While it is logical to assume that he is discussing the genres of rap and hip hop, his use of Caribbean language complicates our understanding of the populations, communities, and identities he believes are constituted within his framing of "our genre." What musical genealogies and archives is he inserting himself into? To which musical traditions is he laying claim?

Anglophone Caribbean popular music genres sound histories of slavery and indentureship, Caribbean discourses of hybridity cultivated in the region, doubly diasporic migrations, and genealogies of resistance specific to the Caribbean. While other Afro-diasporic groups may engage with Anglophone Caribbean music as a resource of racial connection, I argue that we must acknowledge the historical specificities and ontological knowledges that these musics sound. Supporting my claims, Stuart Hall reminds us that discourses of hybridity in the region such as creolization and douglarization and, by extension, cultural products that emerge from these processes of mixture, such as calypso, soca, and dancehall, cannot become loosed from their specificity to the Afro-Caribbean experience (2003). Furthermore, disseminating Caribbean genres as the property of multiple Afro-diasporic communities also works to erase the numerous non-black Caribbean communities — indigenous, mixed-race, Indo-Caribbean, Chinese-Caribbean, Syrian-Caribbean, and Lebanese-Caribbean — that have been salient in contributing to and developing popular Anglophone Caribbean cultural expressions. How does Drake's rendering of Caribbean sound through Pan-Africanist logics inauthenticate the access of non-black Caribbean bodies to Caribbean cultures and important ontological archives of history, place, and being contained within them? [22]

Musical Ambassadors and Corporeal Vocalities

Intra-racial musical collaborations between Caribbean and non-Caribbean Afro-diasporic artists are crucial to the sharing and consumption of Caribbean sound. Particularly, within these relationships, the Caribbean artist functions

as a gatekeeper to Caribbean music and dance, and ultimately acts as a cultural ambassador who provides entry for ethnically dissimilar black artists to access Caribbean resources. Throughout Drake's musical career, he has made numerous alliances with Caribbean artists, including Nicki Minaj, Bad Bunny, Romeo Santos, and, of particular salience to my theorizing here, Afro-Bajan-American pop star Rihanna. Her music video "Work" (2016), which features Drake, provides a revealing reading of how Caribbean ambassadors are complicit in furthering Caribbean cultural consumption.

Filmed in a Caribbean restaurant located in Toronto's east end, the music video for "Work" highlights diasporic Caribbean party cultures as it is set in a Caribbean nightclub that deploys numerous social dynamics found within soca fêtes and Jamaican dancehall spaces. As the song begins, nationalist affiliations to Rihanna's island home of Barbados are evidenced through her continuous use of Barbadian creole as well as a close-up shot of the Barbadian flag wrapped tightly around her leg.[23] The scene begins by showcasing the nightclub, called "The Real Jerk," advertised on a sign displaying the Jamaican national colours. As she enters in a mesh dress styled with these same colours, Rihanna wines and gyrates her waist alongside partyers for almost the entirety of the video, activating historical continuities of transgressive displays of black female agency and erotic autonomy rooted in the Caribbean region. In this moment, performing wining as a form of embodied impropriety, Rihanna draws upon genealogies of transgressive and subversive Caribbean feminist praxis to speak her transnational subjectivity through her body. Indeed, contained within the flow and fluidity of the waistline is an embodied archive of Caribbean feminist resistance and struggle that moves through temporalities of the then and now to speak anti-colonialist/anti-imperialist feminist activism and agitation through the body.[24]

Drake immediately stands out when he enters the scene. While other partyers in the room perform their Caribbeanness through distinct popular dances, Drake enters the club in a full OVO-themed athletic suit. As Drake begins to embrace Rihanna, she "wines up" on him. This is shown while she begs her leading male love interest to stay with her:

> Baby, don't you leave,
> Don't leave me stuck here in the streets, oh oh,
> If I get another chance to,
> I will never, no never, neglect you. (2016)

Drake's position at the forefront of the music video is telling. While multiple groups of Caribbean partyers are shown in the background, Drake is made the focal point of this video alongside Rihanna. The proximity he

shares with her is performative of intra-racial intimacies that have been fostered through the formation of Afro-diasporic citizenships, allowing multiple forms of blackness to enter and move freely and creating a space in which intercultural communication between various black ethnic groups can take place. This is most evidently seen when Drake raps a solo verse following Rihanna, as she allows him to speak himself into this Caribbean geography.

While dancing with Rihanna, Drake attempts to wine according to her bodily rhythm and follow her seamless control and flexibility. Although there is an Afro-diasporic proximity being performed here through the touching of their bodies, which grants Drake insider access, he clearly demarcates himself as an outsider in this space. This is most noticeable when he is physically still as Rihanna bends over and continues to guide his waistline, a clear indication of his visible difference in this context or perhaps his discomfort with wining.

I situate my analysis of this music video not only to demonstrate how avenues of Caribbean sound and dance are opened up to Drake but also to reflect on how Caribbean musical collaborators, who function as Afro-diasporic ambassadors, are complicit in the sharing of important forms of Caribbean knowledge that are spoken and communicated through the body. In these settings, dance, corporeal embodiment, and performance such as the act of wining offer agentive methodologies and vocabularies of communicating one's genealogy, history, marginality, trauma, and joy, as well as one's current realities as forms of knowledge production (Phillip 1997; Chatterjea et al. 2010). Within such processes of feminist bodytalk, these choreographies evidence and are spoken through a visceral, ontological archive crafted through history, ancestral epistemologies, and contemporary intimacies that allow dancing subjects to (re)embody, communicate, and translate contemporary modalities of living and being.

Indeed, with such considerations we are reminded that appropriations of dance and sound cannot be simply argued as neutral forms of exchange or appreciation; we must recognize the misrepresentation and elision of ancestral and contemporary knowledge and identity when they are used by non-Caribbean subjects, as they are transported to new locations and excavated from their site of origin.

Multivocality and Code-Switching

In *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza,* transnational feminist Gloria Anzaldúa suggests that linguistic identity is most representative of ethnic identity through her powerful words: "I am my language" (1987: 81). Her work reminds

us that, for diasporic subjects who are often disconnected and dislocated from ancestral homelands as well as often rendered nationally "improper" citizens in hegemonic spaces of the (white) US and Canadian nations, language becomes the site in which a homeplace can be found. In accordance with her arguments, in Toronto, distinct Caribbean languages such as creole and patois function similarly as languages of self that utter a grammar to speak one's lived experience, collective memory, and past, as well as call into question homogenized forms of Canadianness, national citizenship, knowledge, and identity. Languages of self make possible new ontological visions, imaginations, and futurities — new words and worlds for living (Garcia-Rojas 2017: 258) — constituted by ancestral pasts, contemporary mappings, and cartographies of movement and mobilization that produce new forms of Afro-diasporic relationality.

With this in mind, I suggest that Drake's practice of code-switching between various forms of diasporic black Englishes, including non-Caribbean languages, such as African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), and Caribbean languages, such as creole and patois, is problematically generative of a 6ix multivocality tactically deployed in branding his Toronto musical persona and subjectivity. What I argue as multivocality, or the interchangeable presence of two or more contrasting voices of diasporic blackness, is found extensively throughout his repertoire; however, for my focus here, I am largely concerned with the reconfiguration of Caribbean vocabularies and languages to speak Drake's 6ixhood as a methodology to sound the city.

AAVE, Black Canadian vernaculars, and Afro-Caribbean linguistic variations are commonly considered languages in their own right that illustrate African-American, Black Canadian, and Caribbean points of origin. While AAVE is largely understood as an "Africanization of European language" (McLaren 2009: 97), Afro-Caribbean languages are products of unique Caribbean genealogies and hybridities. However, I suggest that Drakes's multivocality is produced through "schizophonia" which originally refers to cases when sounds in music are split from their original location and are transmitted and reproduced through various samples (Schafer 1977: 90). "Schizophonia" in Drake's work replicates and mediates Caribbean voices and languages through his Afro-diasporic imaginary. In accordance with ideas offered by Vanessa Chang (2009) and Thomas Porcello (1991), we can read Drake's performance of embodied Caribbeanization through multivocality as a form of sampling that plays with people's voices. This is problematic because the replication will take precedence as the origin of the source fades from view. New creations made from acts of recombination reiterate the "death" of the author as languages and vocalities are loosed from their distinct specificities and settings, and are recontextualized through the new memetic, reproductive, manipulative, and

extractive capabilities of these new sounds. Such appropriations can be seen in numerous rap performances by Drake.

In "Too Good" (2016c), Drake reflects on a romantic relationship that is quickly turning sour as he realizes that his emotional labour of love is not being reciprocated by his partner. The track opens with a striking dancehall/quasi-soca rhythm much like "Signs" that evidences musical textures structured through Afro-diasporic homophony. The "party vibe" that this rhythm produces has been argued by ethnomusicologists to embody a "pulse anticipation pattern," performed through the kick drum or bass, that was most likely also strongly influenced by Indo-Trinidadian chutney music (Dudley 1996: 287). As this syncopated rhythm continues, Drake sings/raps in AAVE and black canadian vernaculars. As he trades verses with Rihanna, he describes their romantic encounter by lyrically instructing her to "cock up yuh bumpuh, sit down pon it" in a heavily-marked faux Jamaican patois. Yet, this lyric is not an original of Drake's but rather samples a larger pre-existing verse from Jamaican DJ and musician Popcaan's "Love Yuh Bad" (2014).

In this moment, his sampling of Popcaan's patois lyric extracts a fragment of sound from the Jamaican context and re-inserts it as a diasporic resource. Drake's lyrical appropriation here is an example of "schizophonic memesis," a sonic copy or resonance that is split from its source through chains of audio production, circulation, and consumption to license renegotiations of identity (Feld 1996: 13). As a remediated product, this Caribbean voice is presented through the subjectivity of Drake and renders Popcaan invisible.

Drake's multivocality can also be found in his summer song "Controlla" (2016a). Much like "Too Good," the song begins with an instantly recognizable dancehall rhythm. As the song continues, it becomes evident that one of the verses is also sampled from Jamaican reggae star Beenie Man's original recording "Tear Off Mi Garment":

> Gyal ah tear off mi garment,
> And a bawl fi come inna mi apartment,
> De gyal dem want de length and strength
> Action speak louder than argument well. (1995)

Drake continues to appropriate patois language throughout the song. In the first verse, he uses the Jamaican word for "eye" to describe his lack of sleep and, in effort to proclaim his sexual capabilities, states that he's "never on a waste ting shorty" (2016a). Here, Drake's multivocality comes together into a hybridized form. He code-switches between the creole word "ting" (thing) and the AAVE word "shorty," the term, which carries multiple meanings, commonly used in

hip hop to refer to young women or children (Pough 2007: 97-98), as a cross-cultural lyrical assemblage.

Beenie Man has openly supported and endorsed Drake's remediation of his song, functioning as another cultural ambassador to legitimize Drake's appropriations: "For someone to take a song that I've been done for 15 years, to release and put it out … it's a big deal" (Platon 2016). Although Beenie Man is not credited for his work on the track, he is comfortable with Drake using his verse, perhaps because its circulation will most likely bring larger global recognition to his name. The song ends with Beenie Man's voice as he shouts: "Dis is de summah, summah, controlla, Drake from Canada, Beenie Man from Jamaica!" (2016a).

"Controlla" also produced one of Drake's most defining appropriative moments. Jamaican reggae artist Popcaan was initially featured on the album when it was still in production; however, when the song was released as an official single, Popcaan's verse was removed though sounds and intonations of dancehall influences were upheld in the song.

Responding to his erasure, many active Caribbean observers were quick to defend Popcaan and critique Drake, including Sean Paul. In an interview, Paul stated: "It is a sore point when people like Drake … or other artists come and do dancehall-oriented music but don't credit where dancehall came from and they don't necessarily understand it … they take and take and don't credit" (Ellis-Petersen 2016). In 2017, he extended his concerns by stating: "[Drake] had an album full of dancehall so I think he should have paid a bit of an accolade and told people in the press that is where I'm coming from, I have a love for that music" (Reilly 2017).[25] As the issue circulated through transnational circuits in 2016, a journalist with the *Jamaica Observer* voiced their antipathies for Drake's decisions by expressing the frustrations they felt:

> Yet again someone has befriended us, basked in our culture and ran off with it leaving us behind, angry and confused. Drake has Jamaican influences sprinkled all over his overhyped and substandard album. It is obvious that our culture has inspired him and has added dimension to his work. This is not only an insult to Popcaan, it is an insult to Jamaica and we should all take it seriously. Jamaicans rarely get featured on major projects, only sampled. (Gordon 2016)

Evidently, Drake's efforts to erase Caribbean musicians while circulating their culture produces intra-racial tensions that deserve our attention. With a contextualized understanding of the difficulties to "make it big" in the US popular music industry, it is clear that Drake's engagement with Caribbean culture forces

us to come to terms with how Caribbean sound is valued for its viral potential to attract global audiences, but Caribbean musicians are not.

Conclusions

The focus of this essay has sought to interrogate and theorize the ways in which Caribbeanness has become central to Drake's musical identity, persona, and performance practice. By exploring numerous elements of embodied Caribbeanization that Drake activates to perform the politics of his location, and the processes and diasporic conditions by which he is granted access to Caribbeanness, I have demonstrated how Drake's actions are not just simple attempts at African unity devoid of power imbalances, as some members of his fandom would argue. Rather, performances of his 6ixhood offer us lessons on the saliency, role, and contributions of Caribbean popular culture and communities within representations of diasporic Toronto, while also acknowledging the stakes of misrepresenting, mistranslating, erasing, and eliding important Caribbean languages, vocalities, histories, and important knowledge systems when they are appropriated.

While I do not think Drake will stop appropriating Caribbeanness, nor is this article's only goal an attempt to encourage Drake to be more self-reflexive, I raise these concerns to uplift and amplify numerous critiques made by Caribbean artists and diasporic communities that continue to extend our optics to the problematics of Drake's appropriations, often to ears unwilling to listen. It is my hope that my offerings here will inspire more work that will push us toward recognition of each other within music production and performance among minoritarian diasporic communities and toward cultivating stronger forms of inter-subjectivity/anti-oppressive coalition and solidarity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. R. Cassandra Lord, Dr. Farzaneh Hemmasi, Dr. Jeff Packman, Yun Emily Wang, and Jardena Gertler-Jaffe at the University of Toronto; Darrell G. Baksh at the University of the West Indies (St. Augustine); and Alison Flett at York University as well as Heather Sparling, Nellwyn Lampert, and two anonymous peer reviewers for their generous feedback, encouragement, and deeply constructive comments. In addition, my gratitude also goes out to the Toronto Caribbean community whose voices, narratives, and critiques of cultural appropriation continually reinforced the importance of this work.

Notes

1. "OVO" is the abbreviation widely used by Drake and his production team to refer to his record label. This abbreviation stands for "October's Very Own."

2. Drake's career began as a television actor on the Canadian drama series *Degrassi: The Next Generation*; however, his trajectory as an internationally recognized rapper would begin with the popularity he accumulated in North America after the release of several mixtapes that would attract domestic as well as global recognition, attention, and fame.

3. Torontolime.com is a popular website that caters to Toronto's Caribbean-Canadian demographic. It promotes and advertises Caribbean music, media, music videos, weekly news, and local Caribbean cultural events such as concerts, fêtes, and other Caribbean-centric shows in the Greater Toronto Area.

4. This announcement can be accessed at: https://nowtoronto.com/music/machel-montano-beenie-man-ovo-fest/.

5. The soca posse is the Anglo-Caribbean vernacular term for the group of people with whom an individual travels to fêtes. A soca posse can include partners, family, friends, and other important figures in one's social circle.

6. "Wining" is a common dance move associated with soca, reggae, and dancehall music. It is performed by sensuously moving the hips in circular and side-to-side motions that display the fluid facility of the dancer's waistline.

7. The phrase to "play (ah) mas" draws upon histories of "masquerade" dating back to the 1783 settlement of Catholic Creole planters and enslaved Africans from the French Antilles in Trinidad and Tobago (Hosein 2012: 738). In its contemporary usage, playing mas refers to participating in Carnival by wearing a costume, often given to participants in exchange for payments they make to register with a mas band. In Peter Minshall's words, playing mas is: "Going into the street or onto the stage, and to the accompaniment of sound — a beaten rhythm, a speech, a soca road march, moving, dancing, miming or otherwise portraying the thing, or idea, or mood, or character the costume or structure is meant to represent" (1999: 30).

8. Fêtes are also reflective of a prominent feature of Caribbean diasporic experiences: regular connections between different migratory destinations that produce imaginative new geographies of the region as generated by movements of diasporic Caribbeans between Canada and the US and between different cities in Canada with dominant Caribbean populations (i.e. Toronto, Scarborough, Brampton). These mobilizations do not always rely upon literal return to the Caribbean (Trotz 2011) but, as Rinaldo Walcott importantly points out, these diasporic methodologies of making homeplaces, such as through the cultivation of the diasporic soca fete, allow Caribbean-Canadians to access the Caribbean and, by extension, moments of cultural belonging, outside of the region (2001: 125-126).

9. An example of the regulation and surveillance of Afro-Caribbean bodies can be seen in recent Toronto carnival festivities. In August of 2018, an annual party entitled "Carnival Kingdom" was shut down by the city of Vaughan after a number of

(white) residents complained about the noise levels of the event. The party organizer's permit to host the event was revoked hours before it was scheduled to begin. This caused an outcry from attendees who paid money to attend the show as well as from the wider Caribbean-Canadian community in the Greater Toronto Area. The city of Vaughan's decision was critiqued by many outspoken community members as an overt example of racism, anti-blackness, and the policing of black and Caribbean celebration.

10. Anglophone Caribbean notions of "slackness" carry multiple meanings. Oftentimes, in Carnival settings, it can point to an individual's sexual/erotic autonomy or "looseness" that, especially for Caribbean women, can describe a feminist performance of erotic agency and disruption of heteropatriarchal gender norms. Yet, in relation to dancehall music — the genre in which slackness is commonly discussed — Carolyn Cooper suggests that we can also theorize slackness "as a radical, underground confrontation with the patriarchal gender ideology … [that is also] a contestation of conventional definitions of law and order [and] an undermining of consensual standards of decency" (Cooper 2004: 3-4). At large, slackness is the antithesis of restrictive uppercase "Culture" (3-4). Other dancehall scholars such as Sonja Stanley suggest that the term indicates songs about women's body parts and sexuality that are often "sexually explicit" and carry "violent lyrics" (2005: 58). Concurrently, in her study of sexual abuse and "bling addiction" in calypso and soca music, Camille Hernandez-Ramdwar also defines slackness through songs that can be described as "vulgar" and "offensive" (2008b: 12).

11. See Elder (2016), and Mason (2017) for two examples.

12. "Steups" or cheups is one colloquial term for a gesture of disapproval, annoyance, and frustration made by pushing the teeth against the lips or by sucking air and saliva through the teeth (Winer 2008: 197).

13. In her study of Desi rappers in American hip hop culture, Nitasha Timar Sharma supports Pope's claims, arguing that hip hop scenes offer multiple modes of identification for other minoritarian subjects, such as South Asians, to construct new musical identities based on relationships to "co-ethnics" or other minoritarian subjects who share similar experiences of racism within the white (US) nation. Their engagements with inter-minority solidarity grant them opportunities to construct new musical personas through participating in US black culture (2010: 2).

14. In collaboration with Darrell Baksh and Aruna Boodram (2019), I have co-written another piece that discusses the complexities of intra-racial cultural appropriation between diasporic minoritarian subjects. In particular, we discuss how South Asians (those who, in Toronto, are descended from and typically claim ethic identification with "homelands" such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and sometimes Afghanistan), similar to Drake, consume and cannibalize (Indo-)Caribbean popular elements to signify their Toronto subjectivities. These actions are often justified through arguments of what we term "brown mutuality" and as a product of geographic proximity to Caribbeans in the Greater Toronto area, especially within urban spaces like Brampton, Scarborough, and Mississauga. This article can be

accessed at: https://www.acolourdeep.ca/blog/politics-brown-mutuality-reflections-lilly-singh-cultural-appropriation-and-queer-amnesia.

15. Kai Barratt has discussed initiatives to produce Carnival festivities in Jamaica, a country that does not carry long-standing histories of the tradition. Although she does not use the vocabulary of appropriation to discuss the contemporary Jamaican Carnival, she offers one of few scholarly accounts that interrogates how what she calls the "copy and paste Carnival" in Jamaica erases the geographic specificity and historical rootedness of the tradition in Trinidad and Tobago, as well as the distinct forms of knowledge that can become erased when it is re/de-territorialized in Jamaica.

16. The "6ix" is a popular colloquialism coined by Drake to refer to the city of Toronto in his music. The "6ix" is a play on the telephone area code "416" that is used extensively in the Greater Toronto Area.

17. Drake is also known to often appropriate from numerous racialized communities in Toronto, deploying musical and lyrical cultural elements from Somalian and Latinx communities. While outside the scope of this paper, Neyfakh (2015) provides a brief exploration of these mobilizations of racialized sound in Drake's performances.

18. I am drawing upon Guilbault's (2010) conceptualization of public intimacies. She attests that these moments are performative and embodied practices that reiterate identities and materialize cultural understandings of race, class, gender, and sexuality. Diasporic public intimacies are complicated even further as first- and second-generation subjects draw upon transnational and domestic resources to (re)assemble and (re)signify racialized identities.

19. It is important to also note that the deep fabrication of Caribbeanness within the architecture of Toronto is also inextricably linked to historically large waves of immigration of Anglophone Caribbean peoples into Ontario, in largest numbers from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, and Barbados (Model 2008: 26), during the 1960s and 1970s which consequently resulted in the importation of a number of Anglophone Caribbean cultural practices.

20. Owing to the official multiculturalism policy enacted by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971, Canada is continually imagined as a nation of immigrants that supposedly offers multiple spaces of inclusion, tolerance, and racial diversity. The Canadian state continues to promulgate the mythology that racial injustice does not live in the nation.

21. A video clip of this moment can be accessed at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hM8q4IBkZp0.

22. For instance, Trinidadian ethnomusicologist Mungal Patasar has argued that soca specifically carries strong Indo-Trinidadian influences that are often forgotten and erased. He states that the origin of soca can be accredited to a desire, in the early 1970s, to craft a new Trinidadian national music genre following independence. During this time, Afro-Trinidadian musicians began to imitate the East Indian dholak to create basslines and mediated the dhol through the electric guitar (qtd in. Niranjana 2006: 89).

23. The moment I am discussing here can be observed at 1:51 in the music video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HL1UzIK-flA.

24. Cultivated through the feminist struggles of post-emancipation 19th-century Afro-creole women who lived below the diameter of "respectable" society (and were known as jamettes), such performances in colonial carnival engaged in transgressive and non-normative performances of excessive sexuality and forms of protest on the Carnival road that defied Victorian ideals of normative citizenship, respectable womanhood, and modesty (King 2011: 221).

25. Despite Drake's arguable lack of control over the inclusion of contextual information in relation to the "Caribbean influence" of his sound within print and online material connected to his music, during public appearances and interviews, he has largely been unresponsive in challenging the arguments made against him by fans, spectators, and his fellow rap/hip hop contemporaries regarding his appropriative actions. However, in a recent 2019 interview with BBC Radio, he offered one response to the accusations made against him, particularly in relation to critiques by UK rapper and producer Wiley. During this interview, Drake defended himself by stating: "… culture vulture … I don't know what that means. I'll never understand how supporting somebody's songs … I'll never understand how that isn't admirable, but I guess people have their own outlook on it" (Jenene 2019; Price 2019).

References

Alleyne, Mike. 2007. Singing Caribbean: An Introduction to Caribbean Music. In *Reading the Caribbean: Approaches to Anglophone Caribbean Literature and Culture,* 299-314. Ed. Klaus Stierstorferk. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Alexander, M. Jacqui. 1994. Not Just (Any) Body Can Be a Citizen: The Politics of Law, Sexuality and Postcoloniality in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas. *Feminist Review* 48 (1): 5-23.

Andemicael, Lillian. 2017. Drake is Not a Culture Vulture. *The Diamondback*. April 4. http://www.dbknews.com/2017/04/05/drake-more-life-cultural-appropriation-popcaan/ (accessed April 1, 2019).

Anzaldúa, Gloria. 1987. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Barratt, Kai. 2017. The Copy and Paste Carnival. https://kaibarratt.wordpress.com/the-copy-and-paste-carnival/ (accessed April 11, 2019).

Born, Georgina and David Hesmondhalgh. 2000. *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chang, Vanessa. 2009. Records that Play: The Present Past in Sampling Practice. *Popular Music* 28 (2): 143-159.

Chatterjea, Ananya, Omise'eke Natasha Tinsley, Hui Niu Wilcox, and Shannon Gibney. 2010. So Much to Remind Us We are Dancing on Other People's Blood:

Moving toward Artistic Excellence, Moving from Silence to Speech, Moving in Water, with Ananya Dance Theatre. In *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis,* 147-164. Ed. Amanda Lock Swarr and Richa Nagar. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Cooper, Carolyn. 2004. *Sound Clash: Jamaican Dancehall Culture at Large.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2005. Sweet and Sour Sauce: Sexual Politics in Jamaican Dancehall Culture. The Sixth Jagan Lecture. York University, Toronto. October 22. http://cerlac.info.yorku.ca/files/2016/08/Cooper.pdf (accessed March 30, 2019).

Dudley, Shannon. 1996. Judging "By the Beat": Calypso vs. Soca. *Ethnomusicology* 40 (2): 269-298.

Eberhardt, Maeve and Kara Freeman. 2015. "First Things First, I'm The Realest": Linguistic Appropriation, White Privilege, and the Hip-Hop Persona of Iggy Azealia. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 19 (3): 303-327.

Elder, Sajae. 2016. Where Did Drake's "Jamaican" Accent Come From? *BuzzFeed News.* July 28. https://www.buzzfeed.com/sajaee/some-ting-borrowed?utm_term=.gkBveQoKl#.ndBAvDkPq (accessed April 1, 2018).

Ellis-Petersen, Hannah. 2016. Sean Paul: "Drake and Bieber Do Dancehall but Don't Credit Where It Came From." *The Guardian.* September 5. http://theguardian.com/music/2016/sep/05/sean-paul-drake-kanye-dancehall-bieber (accessed April 1, 2018).

Feld, Steven. 1996. Pgymy Pop: A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28: 1-35.

Garcia-Rojas, Claudia. 2017. (Un)Disciplined Futures: Women of Colour Feminism as a Disruptive to White Affect Studies. *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 21 (3): 254-271.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gordon, Fredrika. 2016. Drake's VIEWS leaves Popcaan Behind. *Jamaica Observer.* April 29. https://web.archive.org/web/20160913211714/http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/Drake-s-VIEWS-leaves-Popcaan-behind (accessed December 30, 2017).

Guilbault, Jocelyne. 2010. Music, Politics and Pleasure: Live Soca in Trinidad. *Small Axe* 1 (14): 16-29.

Hall, Stuart. 1993. What Is This "Black" in Black Popular Culture? *Social Justice* 20 (1/2): 104-114.

———. 2003. Creolization, Diaspora and Hybridity in the Context of Globalization. In *Créolité and Creolization,* 185-198. Ed. Okwui Enwezor. Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz.

Hernandez-Ramdwar, Camille. 2008a. Feteing as Cultural Resistance? The Soca Posse in the Caribbean Diaspora. *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 20: 65-91.

———. 2008b. "Neither Lend Out Your Hole to Achieve Piece of Gold" — Child Abuse, Bling Addiction and Soca Music in Trinidad and Tobago. *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* 2: 1-28.

hooks, bell. 1992. *Black Looks: Race and Representation.* Boston: South End Press.
Hosein, Gabrielle Jamela. 2012. Transnational Spirituality, Invented Ethnicity and Performances of Citizenship in Trinidad. *Citizenship Studies* 16 (5/6): 737-749.
Jackson, Jennifer V. and Mary E. Cothran. 2003. Black Versus Black: The Relationships Among African, African American, and African Caribbean Persons. *Journal of Black Studies* 33 (5): 576-604. DOI: 10.1177/0021934703251107.
Jackson, Kennell. 2005. Introduction: Traveling While Black. In *Black Cultural Traffic: Crossroads in Global Performance and Popular Culture,* 1-42. Ed. Harry J. Elam Jr. and Kennell Jackson. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
Jenene, Tatyana. 2019. Drake Responds to Wiley's Cultural Appropriation Comments. *Revolt.* April 14. https://revolt.tv/stories/2019/04/14/drake-responds-grime-rapper-wileys-cultural-appropriation-comments-0700ad9f6e (accessed June 10, 2019).
Jones, Adanna Kai. 2016. Take a Wine and Roll "IT"! Breaking Through the Circumscriptive Politics of the Trini/Caribbean Dancing Body. PhD dissertation, University of California Riverside.
King, Rosamond S. 2011. New Citizens, New Sexualities. In *Sex and the Citizen: Interrogating the Caribbean,* 214-223. Ed. Faith Smith. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
Kitwana, Bakari. 2005. *Why White Kids Love Hip-Hop: Wankstas, Wiggers, Wannabes, and the New Reality of Race in America.* New York: Basic Civitas.
Lysloff, René T. A. 1997. Mozart in Mirrorshades: Ethnomusicology, Technology and the Politics of Representation. *Ethnomusicology* 41 (2): 206-219.
Mauel, Peter and Wayne Marshall. 2006. The Riddim Method: Aesthetics, Practice and Ownership in Jamaican Dancehall. *Popular Music* 25 (3): 447-470.
Marable, Manning. 2008. Introduction: Blackness Beyond Boundaries: Navigating the Political Economies of Global Inequity. In *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Colour Line,* 1-8. Ed. Manning Marable and Vanessa Agard-Jones. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Mason, Zachary. 2017. Drake's Appropriation Ting: "More Life" and His Struggle to Connect. *Medium.* March 28. https://medium.com/in-the-cut/drakes-appropriation-ting-more-life-and-his-struggle-to-connect-36bcd4206dc1 (accessed April 11, 2019).
McLaren, Joseph. 2009. African Diaspora Vernacular Traditions and Dilemma of Identity. *Research in African Literatures* 40 (1): 97-111.
Meintjes, Louise. 1990. Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa and the Mediation of Musical Meaning. *Ethnomusicology* 34 (1): 37-73.
Minshall, Peter. 1999. To Play Mas. *Caribbean Quarterly* 45 (2/3): 30-35.
Model, Suzanne. 2008. *West Indian Immigrants: A Black Success Story?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Mullings, Leith. 2008. Race and Globalization from Below. In *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Colour Line,* 11-18. Ed. Manning Marable and Vanessa Agard-Jones. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Neyfakh, Leon. 2015. Peak Drake: In a Rare Interview, Drake Explains the Uncanny Gifts that Have Made Him a Cultural Giant — and a Target. *The Fader.* September 24. https://www.thefader.com/2015/09/24/drake-views-from-the-6-cover-story-interview (accessed April 11, 2019).

Niranjana, Tejaswini. 2006. *Mobilizing India: Women, Music and Migration Between India and Trinidad.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Nunnally, Shayla C. 2010. Linking Blackness or Ethnic Othering? African Americans' Diasporic Linked Fate with West Indian and African Peoples in the United States. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race.* 7 (2): 335-355. DOI: 10.1017/S1742058X100000305.

Novak, David. 2010. Cosmopolitanism, Remediation, and the Ghost World of Bollywood. *Cultural Anthropology* 25 (1): 40-72.

Persadie, Ryan, Darrell Baksh, and Aruna Boodram. 2019. The Politics of Brown Mutuality: Reflections on Lilly Singh, Cultural Appropriation and Queer Amnesia. *A Colour Deep.* March 5. https://www.acolourdeep.ca/blog/politics-brown-mutuality-reflections-lilly-singh-cultural-appropriation-and-queer-amnesia (accessed April 10, 2019).

Phillip, Marlene Nourbese. 1997. African Roots and Continuities: Race, Space and the Poetics of Moving. In *A Genealogy of Resistance and Other Essays,* 202-233. Toronto: Mercury Press.

Platon, Adelle. 2016. Beenie Man Talks Drake's "Controlla" Sample: "Dancehall is a Culture Everybody Wants To Be Part Of." *Billboard.* May 4. http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/hip-hop/7356849/drake-views-beenie-man-controlla (accessed December 30, 2017).

Pope, Amara. 2016. Musical Artists Capitalizing on Hybrid Identities: A Case Study of Drake the "Authentic" "Black" "Canadian" "Rapper." *Stream: Culture/Politics/Technology* 9 (1): 3-22.

Porcello, Thomas. 1991. The Ethics of Digital Audio-Sampling: Engineers Discourse. *Popular Music* 10 (1): 69-84.

Pough, Gwendolyn D. 2007. What It Do, Shorty? Women, Hip Hop, and a Feminist Agenda. *Black Women, Gender + Families* 1 (2): 78-99.

Powell, Marcus D. 2017. Is Drake "For the Culture" or a Culture Vulture? *Hypefresh.* March 20. https://www.hypefresh.co/drake-culture-vulture/ (accessed December 30, 2017).

Price, Joe. 2019. Here's Wiley's Reaction to Drake Responding to His Culture Vulture Criticism. *Complex.* April 15. https://www.complex.com/music/2019/04/wiley-reaction-drake-responding-culture-vulture-criticism (accessed June 10, 2019).

Reilly, Nicholas. 2017. Sean Paul Calls for Drake to Give "Accolades" to Dancehall Music. *Metro News.* May 28. https://metro.co.uk/2017/05/28/sean-paul-calls-for-drake-to-give-accolades-to-dancehall-music-6668367/ (accessed May 30, 2018).

Rodriguez, Jason. 2006. Colour-Blind Ideology and the Cultural Appropriation of Hip-Hop. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35 (6): 645-668.

Rogers, Richard. 2006. From Cultural Exchange to Transculturation: A Review and Reconceptualization of Cultural Appropriation. *Communication Theory* 16 (4): 474-503. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00277.x

Sanchez, Daniel. 2017. Drake Nothing But a Culture Vulture, Says Jamaican Rapper Sean Paul. *Digital Music News.* June 2. https://www.digitalmusicnews.com/2017/06/02/drake-culture-vulture-sean-paul/ (accessed December 30, 2017).

Schafer, R. Murray. 1977. *The Tuning of the World.* New York: Knopf.

Sharma, Nitasha Tamar. 2010. *Hip Hop Desis: South Asian Americans, Blackness and a Global Race Consciousness.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Sheller, Mimi. 2003. *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies.* New York: Routledge.

Singh, Kris and Dale Tracy. 2015. Assuming Niceness: Private and Public Relationships in Drake's *Nothing Was the Same*. *Popular Music* 34 (1): 94-112. DOI: 10.1017/S0261143014000671.

Stanley, Sonja Niah. 2005. "Dis Slackness Ting": A Dichotomizing Master Narrative in Jamaican Dancehall. *Caribbean Quarterly* 3 (4): 55-76.

Thornton, Michael C., Robert Joseph Taylor, and Linda M. Chatters. 2013. African American and Black Caribbean Mutual Feelings of Closeness: Findings from a National Probability Study. *Journal of Black Studies* 44 (8): 798-828. DOI: 10.1177/0021934713516978.

Trotz, D. Alissa. 2011. Bustling Across the Canada-US Border: Gender and the Remapping of the Caribbean Across Space. *Small Axe* 15 (2): 59-77.

Walcott, Rinaldo. 2001. Caribbean Pop Culture in Canada; Or, the Impossibility of Belonging to the Nation. *Small Axe* 5 (1): 123-139.

Wallis, Roger and Krister Malm. 1984. *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries.* Suffolk: St. Edmundsbury Press.

Weheliye, Alexander G. 2005. *Phonographies: Grooves in Sonic Afro-Modernity.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Winer, Lise, ed. 2009. *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad and Tobago.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

Young, James O. 2005. Profound Offence and Cultural Appropriation. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 63 (2): 135-146.

Zemp, Hugo. 1996. The/An Ethnomusicology and the Record Business. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28: 36-56.

Ziff, Bruce and Pratima Rao. 1997. Introduction to Cultural Appropriation: A Framework for Analysis. In *Borrowed Power: Essays in Cultural Appropriation*, 1-30. Ed. Bruce Ziff and Pratima Rao. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Personal Communications

Davis, Jade. 2018. Twitter communication with author. May 18.

Samuels, Tristan. 2017. Twitter communication with author. July 6.
Tanisha. 2018. Twitter communication with author. May 20.

Discography

Beenie Man. 1995. "Tear Off Mi Garment." *Blessed.* Island Jamaica [n.n]. Compact Disc.
Drake. 2016a. "Controlla." *Views.* Young Money Entertainment, Cash Money Records, Republic Records [n.n.]. Compact Disc.
———. 2016b. "Signs." *Views.* Young Money Entertainment, Cash Money Records, Republic Records [n.n.]. Compact Disc.
———. 2016c. "Too Good." *Views.* Young Money Entertainment, Cash Money Records, Republic Records [n.n.]. Compact Disc.
———. 2016d. "One Dance." *Views.* Young Money Entertainment, Cash Money Records, Republic Records [n.n.]. Compact Disc.
———. 2016e. "Hotline Bling." *Views.* Young Money Entertainment, Cash Money Records, Republic Records [n.n.]. Compact Disc.
Machel Montano. 2016. "In We Blood." *Monk Evolution.* MONK Music [n.n.]. Compact Disc.
Popcaan. 2014. "Love Yuh Bad." *Where We Come From.* Mixpak Records [n.n]. Compact Disc.
Rihanna. 2016. "Work." *Anti.* Westbury Road Entertainment [n.n.]. Compact Disc.

Videography

American Music Awards. 2016. "Drake Wins Best Rap/Hip Hop Artist - AMA's 2016 Award." YouTube Video Clip. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hM8q4IBkZp0
Rihanna. 2016. "Work (Explicit) ft. Drake." Music Video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HL1UzIK-flA