Check for updates

Received: 18 September 2023 | Accepted: 19 September 2023

DOI: 10.1111/aman.13963

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Special Section: Amplify

Introduction

Matt Sakakeeny[1] | Alex E. Chávez[2]

[1]Department of Music, Tulane University, New Orleans, USA

[2]Department of Anthropology, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, USA

Correspondence
Matt Sakakeeny, Department of Music, Tulane University, New Orleans, USA.
Email: mattsak@tulane.edu
Alex. E. Chávez, Department of Anthropology, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, USA.
Email: achavez3@nd.edu

This special issue began with a casual meeting at a conference in 2018 and has continued through conversations about sound, politics, public assembly, and urban space with our collaborators in anthropology, music studies, and sound studies as well as Asian, Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and Middle Eastern studies. One instructive moment along the way was a virtual meeting organized by the American Anthropological Association in 2020 called "Raising Our Voices." Invoking voice as a metaphor for political participation would not be noteworthy save for the fact that the event included little direct engagement with voice, sound, and music as political phenomena worthy of "raising our voices" about. While the 2020 conference had been scaled back in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, it is nevertheless telling that the roundtable we organized with many of the contributors to this issue was the only session on the program that dealt explicitly with music or sound.

There is a tradition in anthropology of relegating sound to an epiphenomenal realm, as grounds for the study of language and culture, especially, but whose aesthetic, performative, and embodied dimensions only figure as "political" when bundled with explicitly political texts. Our work is part of a growing body of anthropological and ethnomusicological study that foregrounds sound as an analytic in and of itself, in relation to language and discourse but not as an afterthought. Engaging with the field of sound studies, and specifically the role of sound in "culture," we are concerned with what sounds *do*—sound as epistemology, as refusal, as history and liberation, as commoning and in common, the semiology of sound—and the many possibilities for politicizing the sonorous. The practices of making sound and listening to sound are theorized as manifestations of the political that are entwined with, but not reducible to, semantic content or metaphorical utility. Toward this end, we collectively draw inspiration from fields of study perennially invoked as supplemental to anthropology or marginalized for a supposed lack of analytical rigor, yet whose insights consistently yield fruitful transformations within the discipline (Allen and Jobson, 2016; Cattelino and Simpson, 2022; Chavéz and Pérez, 2022).

The authors gathered here pursue how the politics of sound are enacted within and upon aggrieved communities in urban spaces across North America: Latinxs in Chicago, Black New Orleanians, Indigenous Americans in Vancouver, and alliances between Asians, Latinx, diasporic Africans, and Muslims in Los Angeles. At a dance club, a performance site, or in a funeral procession, sound has the potential to draw individuals into assembly, to create spaces of belonging or mobilize various forms of political action and collective witness, whether influencing formal politics, kindling alternative civil societies, or simply making social life in opposition to the biopolitics of individualization and atomization. We proceed from Jacques Rancière's ([2001] 2010, 36) overarching fusion of the aesthetics of politics and the politics of aesthetics, wherein "the police-principle at the core of statist practices" is "the dividing-up of the world and of people," while aesthetic practices have the potential to create "dissensus," a disruption of the police-principle that points toward a "redistribution of the sensible," namely equality (see also, Moreno and Steingo, 2012). To voice, to pick up the mic, to make some noise, and to be heard are metaphors for political participation that have a basis in the materiality of sonic practice. Because sonic and bodily enactments of assembly hold emancipatory potential, they are then made targets of dislocation and fragmentation—divide and conquer—with comparable metaphors of silencing, muffling, or voicelessness. The authors witness courtroom hearings where sound technologies are deployed to stifle dissent and visit museum galleries where sound objects are "incarcerated" in silence.

The unifying theme of our collaboration is *amplify*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "amplify" first as "To make large; in space, amount, capacity, importance, or representation," and second as "To augment in volume or amount." In strict materialist terms, amplification moves the needle, literally, increasing decibels so that a signal is stronger and thus more readily audible by a wider audience. Amplify's meanings extend from this physical augmentation of sound to include metaphors of intensifying circulation ("turn up the volume") and enlarging spheres of influence ("lift up her voice") (Weidman, 2014). To amplify is to address with some degree of intent who is heard and who is drowned out, which platforms grow followers and which fail to resonate with audiences. Speeches, chants, musical rhythms, and other sonic formations can be effective mechanisms for

 © 2024 by the American Anthropological Association.

multiplying circulation, perhaps most evidently in public assemblies. This power to suture collectives then makes sound into a target for attenuating, turning down, unplugging, enforcing quiet, or dispersing energy.

At the nexus of political participation, public assembly, and urban space, our work extends anthropological dialogues on social identity and difference, language and speech communities, space- and place-making practices, social movement organizing, resistance, statecraft, and technological mediation. By foregrounding analysis of sound within this nexus, we give primacy to a topic that—unlike, say, linguistic or multimodal anthropology—has been largely incidental to the production of anthropological theory. Ethnographic research on sound is concentrated in the satellite field of ethnomusicology, a site where theory has traditionally been *applied to* a specific object of study ("music") and its practitioners ("musicians") and audience ("listeners"), but not a site where theory is understood to *generate from*. The formation of AAA's Music and Sound Interest Group in 2009 and the publication of the review article "Soundscapes: Toward a Sounded Anthropology" (Samuels et al., 2010) in the *Annual Review of Anthropology* mark a moment of institutional recognition. But sound had already been central to a sector of anthropological thought, even if that sector resided in the margins of the discipline at large.

Starting in the 1970s, Steven Feld led a shift away from music and language as conceptual categories and toward sound and voice, drawing together cultural anthropology, linguistic anthropology, and ethnomusicology with media and communication studies into what is now recognized as voice studies (Feld and Fox, 1994; Feld et al., 2004; Keane, 2011; Kunreuther, 2014; Ochoa Gautier, 2014; Weidman, 2014). Early formulations of the anthropology of sound also privileged the resonance of sound in space, extended in debates about the possibilities and limitations of "soundscape," "acoustic ecology," and "acoustemology" as capacious conceptual linkings of sound and spatial environments (Allen and Dawe, 2016; Born, 2013; Eisenberg, 2015, 197–98; Feld, 1996, 2015; Helmreich, 2007; Ochoa Gautier, 2016; Samuels et al., 2010). Increasingly, ethnographers have attended to the politics associated with specific sounds in specific spaces performed by racialized, gendered, and otherwise dominated peoples subject to state-sponsored displacement and/or containment (Cardoso, 2019; Chávez, 2017; Eisenberg, 2013; Kheshti, 2015; Kunreuther, 2019; Limón, 1994; Martin, 2021; Novak, 2019; Paredes, 1958; Sakakeeny, 2013, 13–64; Zanfagna and Werth, 2021). The authors in this special section draw out theorizations from these and other vectors of the "sonic turn" and present them as central, rather than peripheral, to understandings of contemporary governance, civil society, and the public sphere. In doing so, we aim not to position anthropology as a universalizing project or the final arbiter on these matters. By listening beyond the discipline, we demonstrate how "other" scholarly areas exist as sites of negotiations with the coloniality of knowledge and power, provoking, challenging, and exposing anthropology's colonial history through a range of methodological approaches.

What role, then, does sound play—or the sensorial more broadly—in constructing political subjectivities in place? Feld (1996, 97) refers to this potential for acoustic knowing as acoustemology, or the "exploration of sonic sensibilities … in which sound is central to making sense." Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2014, 3) has written of sound's appearance "simultaneously as a force that constitutes the world and a medium for constructing knowledge about it." Sensory-oriented perspectives—particularly those centered on questions of affect—are long-standing in the field of anthropology, yet these foci have recently attained greater significance in renderings that explore how institutions affect the fabric of the social: how institutions see, listen, and read self and others in ways that shape subjectivities, map out constituencies, and inform the horizons of imagination, politics, and life trajectories. In *The Sonic Episteme*, Robin James (2019) considers how sound is wielded as a way of organizing oppression, particularly the biopolitical management of populations through hegemonic discourse that uses sonic metaphors, concepts, and languages to buttress processes of neoliberalization. Sound, she argues, organizes the neoliberal fetishization of enterprise as creativity and innovation as imagination, at the center of which "resonate" the epistemic "frequencies" of both the profit-motivated rational actor and algorithmic calculus. Elsewhere, Jennifer Hsieh (2021, 53) offers up "sono-sociality" to analyze the "sounding practices that crystallize through relations between humans, technologies, and institutions." Drawing on Paul Rabinow's (Foucault-inspired) "biosociality," Hsieh (2021, 53) examines how "the material qualities of sound and hearing" shape bonds of sociability and political life in the face of the state's sono-disciplinary methods, including surveillance, weaponry, and attempts to model citizenship according to vectors of commoditization.

Our particular focus is on public assembly as an act of political participation that is organized through sound. A drastic curtailment in gathering together became something familiar to all in the moment of global lockdown and social distancing that began in March 2020. In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, we witnessed two particularly spectacular disruptions when collectives chose to assemble in spite of enforced isolation: the protests in the wake of the police killing of George Floyd in the summer of 2020 and the attack on the US Capitol on January 6, 2021. Ubiquitous at such demonstrations are speeches amplified through loudspeakers and chants led by organizers with megaphones. Noriko Manabe's (2019) ethnographic study of the 2017 Women's March in New York shows how the act of singing familiar chants, with internal rhythmic structures and repetitive rhyme schemes, ideally works to synchronize singular bodies into collectives. Despite the communicative expediency of slogans like "Black Lives Matter," "This is what democracy looks like," or "Stop the Steal," the potential of assembly to bring about a shared purpose and sense of belonging exceeds language. Attending the "Project Fukushima!" festival in post-311 Japan, David Novak (2017) finds that the collectivity of the performative assembly arose through music and discourse that was purposely more ambivalent than a typical protest. Novak cites Judith Butler's book *Notes toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* in a way that speaks to several of the articles in this special issue:

> we have to ask whether it is right that verbalization remains the norm for thinking about expressive political action. Indeed, we have to rethink the speech act in order to understand what is made and what is done by certain kinds of bodily enactments: the bodies assembled "say" we are not disposable, even if they stand silently (Butler, 2015, 18).

15481433, 2024, 2, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/aman.13963 by Matt Sakakeeny - American Anthropological Assoc , Wiley Online Library on [09/04/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

Sakakeeny's contribution is one of several that engages directly with events where politics are articulated through sound and bodily assembly, here through a comparison between a Black Lives Matter demonstration and a "jazz funeral" procession in New Orleans. From the church to the gravesite, the sound of the brass band organizes people into a moving collective, like a protest march, but without the overt political discourse. The instrumental texture of the trumpets, trombones, saxophones, and marching drums articulates a political valence by virtue of Black bodily and sonic presence in built environments permeated by white supremacy. Sakakeeny places his ethnography in dialogue with theorizations from Black studies about the relation of music and sound to structures of anti-Blackness.

Lipsitz, too, locates the emancipatory potential of sound in the "loud and proud performance" of communities of color gathered in solidarity. At the FandangObon festival in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo neighborhood, Japanese, Mexican, and Afro-diasporic "artivistas" stage the collective co-creation of song, drumming, and dancing to call into being a polycultural community with shared histories of social justice struggle. The goal of putting *fandango*, *obon*, and *egungun* performances into conversation is not so much solving a political problem but "amplifying the value of under-valued people and inviting them to rehearse the creation of a new world by joining the dance" (Lipsitz, this section). In both Lipsitz's and Sakakeeny's contributions, musical rhythms, improvisations, and textures open up possibilities for fugitive spaces of belonging. A religious processional or cultural festival can be linked to protests, blockades, and sit-ins as a type of public outpouring, a type of recognition, a type of claiming space, that goes against a type of containment, surveillance, or atomization.

Complementing these, the articles by Chávez and Kheshti balance the open and public nature of protests, processionals, and festivals with more nomadic assemblies at nightclubs, house parties, and other spaces of intimacy. Kheshti takes us to the Los Angeles–based "Discostan" and San Francisco–based "1002 Nights" dance parties where queer Southwest Asian and North African (SWANA) migrants stage a performative reckoning with diasporic melancholia. SWANA-themed interior design, movie projection, and performance art conjoin with globetrotting DJ sets to create a multisensory immersive space where "the private grief of melancholia is transferred into a publicly politicized grievance through performance" (Kheshti, this section). Drawing upon queer and feminist studies of psychoanalysis and affect, Kheshti shows how the shared experience of dancing to recorded music can create forms of postcolonial belonging.

Chávez is attuned to Latinx sites of convergence as he follows the material artifact of the vinyl record across racialized urban territories in Chicago. In one episode, Chávez enters a nightclub in the Wicker Park neighborhood where Latinx DJ crews spin vinyl records—*discos* in Spanish—that "do the cultural work of announcing a vital Latinx presence" by creating a palimpsestual layering of multiple experiences of difference, placial attachment, and migration onto Chicago, "thus pointing us toward a politics of sound that imagines citizenship in the city beyond state-sanctioned political rights and instead privileges place-making aesthetics" (Chávez, this section). In another episode, Chávez excavates the "Disco Demolition Night" at Comiskey Park in 1979, where spectators chanted "disco sucks" while a popular rock-radio DJ destroyed records associated with gay Black and Latinx dance clubs. The connection between the two assemblies and an unbroken history of racialized othering of Black and brown communities in Chicago points to the structural conditions that overdetermine the liberatory potential of sonic and bodily enactments. Yet, gathering on the dancefloor is not necessarily or even likely intended as resistance or a political act; following Rancière, social cohesion in nightclub spaces permits people to imagine what shared emancipation feels like and thus is "political" because people act as though they are equal.

Chávez, Kheshti, Lipsitz, and Sakakeeny tease out the potential for assembly to disrupt neoliberal orderings of society as nothing but—in Margaret Thatcher's infamous phrase—a mere collection of individuals. The coalescence of a precarious and diverse plurality, in Butler's (2015, 18) words, "cuts across … categories and produces potential alliances among those who do not recognize that they belong to one another." There is risk, here, in idealizing the political efficacy of assembly to crystallize popular sovereignty, since assemblies, like sounds, nearly always face constraints in amplifying their potential.[1] "Limited mobility is the short- and long-term condition of political movements," writes Benjamin Tausig (2019, 7) in *Bangkok Is Ringing: Sound, Protest, and Constraint*, "and it is also the general condition of sound." Tausig's overall intervention can be condensed in his analysis of the prolonged protests of 2010 in Bangkok, when the insurgent Red Shirts were eventually put down by extreme military violence. In a poetic and microcosmic passage, he describes a caravan of protestors in cars and trucks subsumed within an endless traffic jam, the music and sounds of dissent masked by the roaring engines, "no one [able to] broadcast further than the sphere around their own vehicle" (32). The episode is indicative of the circumscribed sphere of political action against the militarized government, the spatialized confinement of gatherings, the limited range of their megaphones, the muted echoes of their revolutionary message:

> Sonorous material did not break down borders, nor create a resonant equivalence between politically neutral bodies. Sound's movement, rather, was governed by channels and relations that sound itself could not easily escape, no less reshape. (14)

Two contributors to this issue take up the theme of constraint and confinement in relation to Indigenous voices and testimonies, musical instruments, and archival recordings in Vancouver, British Columbia. Veeraraghavan theorizes what is and isn't "heard" at public hearings for the Enbridge Northern Gateway and TransMountain pipeline projects through First Nations lands. The National Energy Board of Canada formatted the Northern Gateway proceedings to allow publicly accessible testimonies from Indigenous intervenors, but effectively rendered them legally and audibly mute. The verbal testimonies were limited to 10 minutes and the content largely confined to the domain of "oral tradition," refusing scientific evidence, so that Indigenous "voices" were "heard," but solely "in terms of the past, tradition, and collective identity" (Veeraraghavan, this section). At a different hearing, the proceedings were broadcast live in a separate viewing room, using technocratic means to substitute active dialogue with

15481433, 2024, 2, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/aman.13963 by Matt Sakakeeny - American Anthropological Assoc , Wiley Online Library on [09/04/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

passive spectatorship "as disembodied eyes and ears whose capacity to speak was nullified." Veeraraghavan stages an interdisciplinary conversation between studies of media and sound technology, on the one hand, and the polity of the Indigenous, on the other, to interrogate how the Canadian state regulates sound to constrain voices of dissent.

Robinson situates Indigenous material culture within the carceral logics of museum curation that separate descendants from the voices of ancestors, captured as wax cylinders, digital audio files, and Western music notation and placed behind glass, in drawers, and in museum storage. Curators attempt to "un-silence" Indigenous voices by displaying "cultural belongings," but such exhibitions remain removed from "the larger haptic, proprioceptive context," imprisoned in sterile confines "underpinned by colonial ontologies and epistemologies of visual display as public education" (Robinson, this section). Against romantic accounts of the unrestricted circulation inciting social cohesion, Robinson and Veeraraghavan foreground colonial technologies of capture and control. We begin this special issue with their interventions as a way of asking not only what changed in the wake of COVID-19 and the mass enforcement of quarantine and social distancing, but what had always sat uneasily with the notion of a liberatory politics of assembly that become illuminated in their absence.

Despite the authors' different stances, we are each committed to amplifying "the political" through sound and grappling with the question of efficacy that haunts all social movements, if not all studies of music, sound, and politics. In a recent study by Michael Birenbaum Quintero (2019) of Afro-Colombians caught between state neglect and paramilitary violence, he asks if political action should not be measured according only to its "potential impact on the sphere of political mobilizations" (138). In Buenaventura, the excessive loudness of blasting stereos, televisions, and cell phone speakers in densely packed alleys and yards is an active projection of independent sonorities into shared environments. In this sound, Birenbaum Quintero hears "a form of civil society that is different from a Habermasian bourgeois public sphere" (145).

> It is tempting to take the pessimistic view that people are exiled entirely from the sphere of the political by the brute violence of necropolitics. But I find that exclusion from formal politics, suspicion or agnosticism about social mobilization, and the precarity of everyday life are instead the conditions under which loudness practices can be understood as a bid for a certain kind of sovereignty, in that the simple act of psychic survival at a level beyond the barest of bare life becomes in some way political… . It is not that everyday sounded practices are apolitical, or, conversely, that they are reducible to politics, but that they are political in unrecognized ways, at times even to their own practitioners. (138–39)

The examples from Tausig and Birenbaum Quintero gesture toward the broadness of the scope of the political: one a cautionary tale about the limits of sound in impacting the sphere of formal politics, the other describing "unorganized" assemblies that nevertheless convey a political valence through sociality and sheer survival in necropolitical spaces.

There is resonance, here, with the speculative worlds imagined through Afrofuturism and Black music more broadly, what Ashon Crawley (2017) has put forth as "otherwise possibilities," what both Sun Ra and Stevie Wonder envisioned as a space of refuge on Saturn, the place where George Clinton's Parliament would deliver residents of Chocolate City on the Mothership Connection, what Fred Moten (2003) hears in the otherworldly saxophone shrieks of Albert Ayler's "Ghosts" or the vocalizations of Abbey Lincoln in the "Freedom Now Suite." These are forms of cultural production that voice claims of belonging and existing, or what Alexander Weheliye (2005) terms phonographies—epistemic and aesthetic practices that Black people have used to build alternative realities amid white-supremacist patriarchy. To create otherwise worlds is to fashion a line of escape (Deleuze and Guattari, [1980] 1987); it is to map a way out of existing ontologies and structures that aim to capture by unleashing creative forces and producing new conditions that the existing context "would otherwise reduce to nonexistence" (Koerner, 2011, 164).[2] The recognition of sound as a potentially radical autonomous force requires that we trace its flows beyond imposed political orderings and "against the constraints of monocultural … citizenship, disturbing the national aesthetic of unisonance" (Chávez, 2017, 42). Once more, such aesthetic and performative enactments are not necessarily overt forms of political action intended to influence formal politics; they instead propose assemblies different from the sovereign collective of Rousseau or the bourgeois public sphere of Habermas, and in each of them sound can amplify those assemblies.

"Amplify" is an organizing principle for approaching sound as material vibrations with metaphorical lives (Novak and Sakakeeny, 2015). As a particular keyword, it offers an analytical model of research that draws power from its source, feeding back into circulations of discourse and practice. Through methods of close listening and ethnographic engagement, scholarly production can act as a megaphone for amplifying dissensus. We offer not a universalizing theory of amplification but a constellation of site-specific forms of listening that invite reflection on locality, embracing what has elsewhere been referred to as "weak theory" (Stewart, 2008). In tension with amplification is suppression; unsilencing amplifies/exposes colonial projects that veil their own source of power by pushing voices and narratives to a place of silence. The sounds of those straining against domination are not presented as raw material for generating theory but as always already theories for creating alternative modes of being and belonging.

The disinterested scholar, Kandace Chuh (2014) has written, has had a vested interest in maintaining the supremacy of his subjectivity, the objective of his supposed objectivity. The ideal scholar is an "exemplary figure of the rationalist, disinterested subject," who ultimately enables and reproduces the bourgeois liberalism that organizes the academy (129–30). Rachel V. González-Martin (2017, 21) critiques the oppressive practice of "self-imposed erasure" that minoritized groups must endure in the academy in order to masquerade one's work as "dispassionate research and practice" in the name of true "scientism." She calls instead for a "critical Latinx folkloristics"—a perspective that foregrounds "a subject position that seeks to both establish and challenge expected practices of gendered, classed, and racialized norms of ethnic minority personhood" (28).

15481433, 2024, 2, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/aman.13963 by Matt Sakakeeny - American Anthropological Assoc , Wiley Online Library on [09/04/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

15481433, 2024, 2, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/aman.13963 by Matt Sakakeeny - American Anthropological Assoc , Wiley Online Library on [09/04/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

These calls from ethnic studies are amplified in recent meta-critiques of anthropology. Writing about the rise of populism in the West, William Mazzarella (2019, 48) outlines how "a vague, generic liberalism has long served anthropologists"; for Ryan Cecil Jobson (2020, 261), maintaining a commitment to the "comforting register of ethnographic sentimentalism and cultural critique" is cause "to let anthropology burn." We humbly see our work as part and parcel of an abandonment of disinterest as an ideal and call for nurturing the potential of music, speech, and other sound to be at once rebellious and reparative, disrupting sites of entrapment and nurturing spaces of belonging. To amplify is to ask the reader to listen more creatively, reorient attention, engage with a disposition attuned to the sonorous in order to trace how power works through sound. At base, this is a question not only of whose voices populate academic research but what the "writing up" of that research is intended to perform. The aesthetic qualities and ephemeral dimensions of sound assemble an anthropology capable of contextualizing the intentionality of listening as a vital ethnographic modality. To amplify is not merely to raise the volume, for the transmission is not passive but active and agentive, ideally enabling new resonances.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We want to thank all the contributors for sharing insights that have shaped this entire issue through presentations and virtual dialogues. The ideas of George Lipsitz and Lee Veeraraghavan, in particular, have redirected our introduction in generative ways and we are grateful for their generosity. Collectively we are indebted to the individual reviewers of each essay and especially Elizabeth Chin for her guidance and dedication to steering us through the editorial process. Thanks also to our colleagues who joined us for presentations and helped us workshop our materials: Marïe Abe, Davy McDonald, Ana María Ochoa Gautier, and Ben Tausig.

ORCID

Matt Sakakeeny https://orcid.org/0009-0004-2042-1336
Alex E. Chávez https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7088-6527

ENDNOTES

[1] Writing about music and the environment, Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2016, 128) critiques a "a prevailing Euro-American ontology of music, sound, and listening" in which "the political value of music (understood as that which enables the social) gets enmeshed with the affective potentialities of sound (as a taken-for-granted positive political outcome of acoustic potentialities)." Ochoa Gautier continues: "In the understanding of sound/music and listening as that which eminently enables (communitary) relations, conflict is excised from an imagined (musically) unified community, and by that fiat the political emerges as an outside of music" (130). We see our volume as exploring the tensions inherent in this prevailing ontology of the political in music studies and sound studies, though we do not engage directly with her intervention.

[2] In making the argument that Deleuze's "line of flight" is influenced by his encounter with George Jackson's *Soledad Brother*, Michelle Koerner (2011, 163) writes: "It is above all for this reason that Deleuze and Guattari insist that society be thought of not as a 'structure' but as a 'machine,' because such a concept enables the thinking of the movements, energies, and intensities (i.e., the lines of flight) that such machines transmit. The thinking of machines forces us not only to consider the social and historical labor involved in producing society but also the ongoing potentials of constructing new types of assemblages."

REFERENCES CITED

Allen, Jafari Sinclaire, and Ryan Cecil Jobson. 2016. "The Decolonizing Generation: (Race and) Theory in Anthropology since the Eighties." *Current Anthropology* 57(2): 129–48. https://doi.org/10.1086/685502

Allen, Aaron S., and Kevin Dawe, eds. 2016. *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature*. New York: Routledge.

Birenbaum Quintero, Michael. 2019. "Loudness, Excess, Power: A Political Liminology of a Global City of the South." In *Remapping Sound Studies*, edited by Gavin Steingo and Jim Sykes, 135–55. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Born, Georgina, ed. 2013. *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Butler, Judith. 2015. *Notes toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cardoso, Leonardo. 2019. *Sound-Politics in São Paulo*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cattelino, Jessica R., and Audra Simpson. 2022. "Rethinking Indigeneity: Scholarship at the Intersection of Native American Studies and Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 51(1): 365–81. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-101819-110339

Chávez, Alex E. 2017. *Sounds of Crossing: Music, Migration, and the Aural Poetics of Huapango Arribeño*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Chávez, Alex E., and Gina M. Pérez, eds. 2022. *Ethnographic Refusals, Unruly Latinidades*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Chuh, Kandice. 2014. "It's Not About Anything." *Social Text* 32(4): 125–34. https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-2820496

Crawley, Ashon. 2017. *Blackpentecostal Breath: The Aesthetics of Possibility*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. (1980) 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizo-phrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Eisenberg, Andrew. 2013. "Islam, Sound, and Space: Acoustemology and Muslim Citizenship on the Kenyan Coast." In *Music, Sound, and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, edited by Georgina Born, 186–202. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eisenberg, Andrew. 2015. "Space." In *Keywords in Sound*, edited by David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny, 193–207. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Feld, Steven. 1996. "Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea." In *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith Basso, 91–136. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Feld, Steven. 2015. "Acoustemology." In *Keywords in Sound*, edited by David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny, 12–21. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Feld, Steven, and Aaron A. Fox. 1994. "Music and Language." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 25–53. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.23.100194.000325

Feld, Steven, Aaron A. Fox, Thomas Porcello, and David Samuels. 2004. "Vocal Anthropology: From the Music of Language to the Language of Song." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by A. Duranti, 321–45. Malden, MA: Blackwell

González-Martin, Rachel V. 2017. "A Latinx Folklorist's Love Letter to American Folkloristics: Academic Disenchantment and Ambivalent Disciplinary Futures." *Chiricú Journal: Latina/o Literatures, Arts, and Cultures* 2(1): 19–39.

Helmreich, Stefan. 2007. "An Anthropologist Underwater: Immersive Soundscapes, Submarine Cyborgs, and Transductive Ethnography." *American Ethnologist* 34(4): 621–41. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2007.34.4.621

Hsieh, Jennifer. 2021. "Making Noise in Urban Taiwan: Decibels, the State, and Sono-Sociality." *American Ethnologist* 48(1): 51–64. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13003

James, Robin. 2019. *The Sonic Episteme: Acoustic Resonance, Neoliberalism, and Biopolitics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jobson, Ryan Cecil. 2020. "The Case for Letting Anthropology Burn: Sociocultural Anthropology in 2019." *American Anthropologist* 122(2): 259–71. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13398

Keane, Webb. 2011. "Indexing Voice: A Morality Tale." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21(2): 166–78 https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1395.2011.01104.x

Kheshti, Roshanak. 2015. "On the Threshold of the Political: The Sonic Performativity of Rooftop Chanting in Iran." *Radical History Review* 121: 51–70. https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2799908

Koerner, Michelle. 2011. "Line of Escape: Gilles Deleuze's Encounter with George Jackson." *Genre* 44(2): 147–80. https://doi.org/10.1215/00166928-1260183

Kunreuther, Laura. 2014. *Voicing Subjects: Public Intimacy and Mediation in Kathmandu*. Berkeley: University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.14506/ca33.1.01

Kunreuther, Laura. 2019. "Sounds of Democracy: Performance, Protest, and Political Subjectivity." *Cultural Anthropology* 33(1): 1–31. https://doi.org/10.14506/ca33.1.01

Limón, José E. 1994. *Dancing with the Devil: Society and Cultural Poetics in Mexican-American South Texas*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Manabe, Noriko. 2019. "Chants of the Resistance: Flow, Memory, and Inclusivity." *Music & Politics* 13(1): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105

Martin, Alison. 2021. "Plainly Audible: Listening Intersectionally to the Amplified Noise Act in Washington, DC." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 33(4): 104–25. https://doi.org/10.1525/jpms.2021.33.4.104

Mazzarella, William. 2019. "The Anthropology of Populism: Beyond the Liberal Settlement." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48: 45–60. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102218-011412

Moreno, Jairo, and Gavin Steingo. 2012. "Rancière's Equal Music." *Contemporary Music Review* 31(5–6): 487–505. https://doi.org/10.1080/07494467.2012.759415

Moten, Fred. 2003. *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Novak, David. 2017. "Project Fukushima! Performativity and the Politics of Festival in Post-3.11 Japan." *Anthropological Quarterly* 90(1): 225–53. https://doi.org/10.1353/anq.2017.0008

Novak, David. 2019. "The Arts of Gentrification: Creativity, Cultural Policy, and Public Space in Kamagasaki." *City & Society* 34(1): 94–118. https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12195

Novak, David, and Matt Sakakeeny, eds. 2015. *Keywords in Sound*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ochoa Gautier, Ana María. 2014. *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ochoa Gautier, Ana María. 2016. "Acoustic Multinaturalism, the Value of Nature, and the Nature of Music in Ecomusicology." *boundary 2* 43(1): 107–41. https://doi.org/10.1215/01903659-3340661

Paredes, Américo. 1958. *"With His Pistol in His Hand": A Border Ballad and Its Hero*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Rancière, Jacques. (2001) 2010. *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. Edited and translated by Steven Corcoran. New York: Continuum.

Sakakeeny, Matt. 2013. *Roll With It: Brass Bands in the Streets of New Orleans*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Samuels, David W., Louise Meintjes, Ana María Ochoa, and Thomas Porcello. 2010. "Soundscapes: Toward a Sounded Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39: 329–45. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-022510-132230

Stewart, Kathleen. 2008. "Weak Theory in an Unfinished World." *Journal of American Folklore* 45(1): 71–82. http://doi.org/10.2979/grandtheory.0.0.11

Tausig, Benjamin. 2019. *Bangkok Is Ringing: Sound, Protest, and Constraint*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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

Weidman, Amanda. 2014. "Anthropology and Voice." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43: 37–51. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102313-030050

Zanfagna, Christina, and Alex Werth. 2021. "Introduction: Soundscapes of American Gentrification." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 33(4): 64–77. https://doi.org/10.1525/jpms.2021.33.4.64

How to cite this article: Sakakeeny, Matt, and Alex E. Chávez. 2024. "Introduction." *American Anthropologist* 126: 227–232. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13963

15481433, 2024, 2, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/aman.13963 by Matt Sakakeeny - American Anthropological Assoc , Wiley Online Library on [09/04/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License