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The Graying of the Immigrant Dream The Sounds of Latinidad: Immigrants Making Music and Creating Culture in a Southern City . (Social Transformations in American Anthropology). By Samuel K. Byrd. New York: New York University Press, 2015.

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Chávez, Xóchitl C

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bidinal economy of world music. Potential listeners are promised aural pleasure with the exotic, erotic other.

Resonant with queer theory, psychoanalysis, sound studies, and media theory, *Modernity's Ear* provides a critique of the WMCI through discussions of desire, race, gender, and listening. While some anthropologists might hope for ethnographic elaboration of the day-to-day activities at Kinship Records or within world music industry sites, such as festivals, the book's strengths lie in its theory-making and concept work. Kheshti expresses a critique of ethnography in her fascinating discussion—which I return to later—of Zora Neale Hurston's ambivalence toward anthropology and comparative musicology, ethnographic refusals, and deliberate "sonic infidelity" in recording. Although nondisclosure agreements may have shaped Kheshti's limited use of ethnography, I also suspect this was a conscious decision, an ethnographic refusal akin to Hurston's. Ethnographic elaboration—beyond the occasional vignette—might have added further depth to the book's tendency to rely on critical readings and various texts. Instead, *Modernity's Ear* offers radio interviews with the label's president, transcripts of world music listening sessions, lengthy quotations from popular musicians on their experiences listening to records, and analyses of liner notes, office artwork, and listener reviews on websites such as Amazon.

Modernity's Ear concludes with a reflection on the possibility for radical, queer listening. Ultimately, however, the imagined unions—within the feminized ear and between "masculinized" technology and "feminized" voices—brought about by Kinship Records' commitment to musical (and ethnoracial) hybridity remain stubbornly heteronormative. In a fascinating epilogue, Kheshti explores an alternative, perhaps even radical, mode of listening against the archival grain. Zora Neale Hurston—a student of Franz Boas who worked with Alan Lomax as folklorist of the Works Progress Administration—unlike the silent songcatchers of the time, included her own voice within recordings of folk(lore) from the American South. Through her "sonic infidelity," Hurston introduced a "deliberate double-consciousness on record" (137). Instead of obsessively recording difference, Hurston recorded herself singing folk songs and commenting on and reacting to performances. The author suggests that Hurston occasions reflection on the possibilities of a queer utopian practice of listening, always on the horizon, not here yet, in "the ongoing search for modernity's radical ear" (142).

The Graying of the Immigrant Dream

Xóchitl C. Chávez

Department of Music, University of California, Riverside, 900 University Avenue, Riverside, California 92521, USA (xochitl.chavez@ucr.edu). 17 VI 16

The Sounds of Latinidad: Immigrants Making Music and Creating Culture in a Southern City. (Social Transformations in American Anthropology). By Samuel K. Byrd. New York: New York University Press, 2015.

The start of the twenty-first century ushered in questions regarding a national comprehensive immigration reform in the United States. As anti-immigrant (read anti-Latino) sentiments ran rampant across the southwestern United States, we also witnessed a sharp rise in the number of proposed (some implemented) local laws targeting Latino populations in the US South. As noted in Samuel Byrd's *Sounds of Latinidad*, local immigration policies, such as the 287(g) program, significantly impacted Latino communities and how they interacted with each other and with the city of Charlotte, North Carolina, through music. More specifically, Byrd argues that the music-making process—as is the case with other forms of cultural production—is an important and critical topic of study in relation to politics, labor, and economics, especially within landscapes fraught with racial segregation, the racialization of immigrants, and rigid cultural boundaries. In so doing, it becomes clear why the Queen's City, Charlotte, is an ideal case study to address the "gray immigrant dream."

Sounds of Latinidad is theoretically grounded and written in an accessible manner for readers to comprehend canonical anthropological and sociological theorists, while also acknowledging fundamental studies within borderland studies that address Latino identity and community formation. In essence, Samuel Byrd provides extensive historical, economic, and political context regarding shifts that have occurred in Charlotte, North Carolina, as a result of globalization.

Byrd presents an ambitious and innovative case study that asks what it means to be a Latina or Latino musician in Charlotte, North Carolina. How are musicians central to the formation of a southern *Latinidad*? Who specifically are the music producers, and what place and agency do they have in the city? Interviews with musicians and observations of concerts and festivals reveal the intimacies of music-making processes for Latina and Latino communities within each respective site. Byrd rightfully highlights the everyday local musicians, audience members, and "musical brokers" as evidence of the impact immigration has on cities and music. I applaud the author's ethnographic method and subsequent analysis of three musical genres (regional Mexicana, música tropical, and Latin rock) within three districts of Charlotte (Eastside, Uptown, and Intown), totaling to 11 musical groups. While focusing his lens on each district, Byrd sheds light on how notions of nationality, class, and language are articulated differently within the respective musical genres.

By taking an active role in his field site as a volunteer with the nonprofit Latin American Coalition and as a stage manager for three festivals, Byrd was granted critical access to concert and festival settings. From this vantage point, the author details several interactions between Latino musicians and audiences to illustrate how a southern *Latinidad* is created, in addition to the development of what he calls "musical community." Based on his study of Charlotte's diverse Latino communities, Byrd asserts that a musical community can form on the basis of common social ties and interests, even during live performances. However, he notes that this sense of community proves to be

fleeting at times when the multiple identities that exist within Latino communities converge.

Byrd further evaluates the idea of “diversity” among Charlotte’s Latino community, as the term does not always mean unification or solidarity. In his analysis of the musical genres of regional Mexicana, música tropical, and Latin rock, Byrd reveals fissures along class lines, taste, and language as points of contention that transcend musical genres.

According to Byrd, cultural boundaries, in terms of musical arrangements and the language in which songs are sung, become a site of contention among Charlotte’s Latino musicians. For example, when the música tropical singer Leydy Bonilla, who is also the only female musician highlighted in this study, mixes her native Caribbean genres of bachata and merengue with R&B and regional Mexican and begins to sing in English, questions arise about maintaining an authentic sound. The section entitled “¡Que Naco!” speaks directly to the classism that exists not only within the Mexican community but also within other Latino communities. The term *naco* is used to refer to the behavior and style of dress of working-class communities. Although the author’s objective is to draw attention to the class-based dissonances that are present among the Latino musical groups, it nonetheless becomes clear that his strongest reference points originate from the five Latin rock groups. In fairness, an equal amount of effort to discuss musical groups and audience members deemed as *naco* is warranted to avoid any furthering of stereotyping. Unfortunately, an opportunity is missed to expand on the conversation regarding class, modernity, the regional Mexicano genre, and how bands like TecnoCaliente are successfully pushing cultural boundaries. The adept musicianship required in reinterpreting and arranging two musical styles challenges the notion of unrefined *nacos*.

Byrd raises two thought-provoking points about Charlotte Latino musicians in regard to labor and political activism. When does “play” become “work,” and are Latino musicians ambivalent to politics? His analysis on the “working musician” encourages the reader to think about the varying conditions and scales of labor for a musician. Ethnographic examples illustrate how musicians perceive work and play. Political activism can manifest in varying forms. How one chooses to participate in political movements can be negotiated due to the precarious and vulnerable legal status of some Latino musicians and thus be seen as ambivalence. However, Latino musicians use their lyrics as a form of political commentary that, in essence, fosters solidarity among immigrants, immigration status, and everyday struggles.

A festival can be produced by and for a community, providing a space where members may present, explore, and experiment with the groups’ identity and meanings. Byrd offers an important discussion on the production of Latino festivals in Charlotte. As a result of his active participation with three festival-organizing committees, Byrd outlines how a southern Latino identity is constructed through the lens of event producers and sponsors. In a well-played move, he also draws attention to how festival goers assert their agency as consumers

and negotiate what it means to be “Latino, Mexican, Immigrant, Latin American, and American” (16).

Sounds of Latinidad is timely, fresh, and adds significant insight on cultural production and identity formation in Latino communities of the US South to existing areas of research in anthropology, urban studies, Latina and Latino studies, sound studies, and ethnomusicology. Byrd’s study of Charlotte as a musical city offers a robust analysis of musicians (their process in making music), audience members (ways in which they locate and consume music), and finally musical brokers. Despite the “gray skies” that may loom above in the form of the threats and surveillance of anti-immigrant policies in the US South, this study illustrates the vibrancy and resiliency of the diverse Latino communities that are constructing a southern Latinidad.

Performing Black “Self-Recognition” in Cuban Hip Hop

Michael Birenbaum Quintero

Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Latin American Studies, and African Americans Studies, Boston University, 855 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215, USA (mbq@bu.edu). 22 VI 16

Negro Soy Yo: Hip Hop and Raced Citizenship in Neoliberal Cuba. By Marc D. Perry. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.

A book about music is not necessarily a book about sound. Music is a particular kind of patterned sound, but it is only partly an aural phenomenon. Music is also a form of knowledge, a disseminated media of mutable materiality, and an item of intellectual property; beyond its sound, investigators can glean much from its articulation of communities, its erotics, the synchronizing effects of its temporality, its diffusion through social and geographic space, and its mediation of identity and political claims. Marc D. Perry’s *Negro Soy Yo* frames Cuban hip hop less in terms of how it is sounded or embodied than by examining it as a social practice, a sphere for the performativity of evolving notions of blackness in turn-of-the-millennium Havana.

Perry’s fieldwork covered the crucial period (roughly 1998–2006) that saw the easing of Cuba’s post-Soviet economic crisis and the increasing encroachment of neoliberal measures, such as the emergence of tourism and remittances as important sources of revenue. The same time span coincides with the incorporation of hip hop into state institutions out of more ad hoc spaces of youth socialization, the boom years of its international tours and festivals, and its gradual attenuation, making Perry’s account far more longitudinal than previous work on Cuban hip hop.