Chants of the Resistance: Flow, Memory, and Inclusivity

NORIKO MANABE

Abstract

Participating in the Women's March in New York in 2017, this author was struck by how quiet the march seemed, relative to Japanese protests. This essay considers the ways in which policing shapes the sound of protests. In Japan, heavy policing renders protests less visible, compelling Japanese protesters to use sound to make their claims known; chanting, recognized as important in building solidarity, is often led and planned. The Women's March in New York was privileged by light policing; it didn't need sound to be seen. The leaderless atmosphere of the Women's Marches led to a high rate of innovation in chanting. Drawing from ethnography and videos of thirty protests, the essay analyzes the chants of the first six months of the Resistance. Using a combination of humor, references to recent events, interaction with popular music, and intertextuality with historical protest culture, these chants and songs engage protesters and issues in memorable fashion. Aiding the construction of these new chants is their tendency to follow the familiar musical forms of sentences or periods, and their frequent use of pre-existing text patterns. The essay ends with a critique of the decline in intersectionality seen in the 2018 Women's March in New York and a call for agonistic democracy.

My experience in the Women's March differs from my colleagues in this forum: I participated in the Women's March in New York, rather than in Washington, DC. My decision was partly pragmatic: for the past several years, I have been conducting ethnography on sound in Japanese social movements, centering on Tokyo, where the densely packed, tall glass buildings in Shibuya, a neighborhood favored by protesters, resembles the urban landscape of Fifth Avenue; on the other hand, Washington's urban layout, with its monumental scale and lower density, has little in common with Tokyo. While I had participated in many marches in Japan, as of January 2017, I had only attended a few antinuclear marches in the US. I wanted to make comparisons of protest sounds given similar urban settings. I was hence struck by how different the sounds of the Women's March were from those of protests in Tokyo. These sounds, in turn, impacted my affective response. I subsequently attended several other marches and rallies of the Resistance—a concatenation of actions to oppose Trump and his policies—in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, including the March for Science, March for Truth, March for Our Lives, and the Women's March of 2018, and observed over two dozen other Resistance protests on the internet, both live and in playback.

This article explores the sounds of the Women's March in New York and the many protests that followed. I consider the march as both a single event and the opening salvo of the Resistance. As David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow note, the United States is “in the middle of a major cycle of contention.”¹ First, I continue the conversation about policing started by Shayna Silverstein to compare the ways in which the

¹ David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow, *The Resistance: The Dawn of the Anti-Trump Opposition Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 5, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190886172.001.0001>.

police control the use of public space in Japan and the US, and the impact that these differences have on protest sounds. By police, I consider Rancière's sense of "an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task," i.e., all the structures and logics of society that keep everyone in their places.² I pay special attention to the actions of the uniformed police force in public spaces. As occupations such as Tahrir Square, Occupy Wall Street, and Euromaidan have shown, urban space is increasingly the forum in which the people who have no voice—the "part of those who have no part"³—can emerge as a single subject, composed of equals.⁴ When the uniformed police keep order in these public spaces, they act in ways that reflect the underlying beliefs of the hegemonic police, as broadly defined by Rancière. As protesters commonly chant and sing, I focus on these sounds, for the act of raising one's voice is a visceral experience, "a metaphor for political participation."⁵ Chanting and singing are participatory music, as Thomas Turino has defined,⁶ which forces us to listen to each other and promotes bonding. I analyze the musical and textual characteristics that make the chants memorable and the processes by which chants are created. Finally, I consider my affective responses to the Women's Marches of 2017 and 2018, as impacted by sound, space, and dissensus. For Rancière, dissensus is "the essence of politics" itself: it "is not a confrontation between interests or opinions," but "the demonstration of a gap in the sensible itself."⁷ The structure of society creates a "sensible" world and a world marginalized by this order. Dissensus occurs when the people who have no voice challenge the logic of exclusion.

Policing protests in Japan

As Rancière says, "everything in politics turns on the distribution of spaces. . . political action always acts upon the social as the litigious distribution of places and roles."⁸ But re-figuring of space, particularly physical space, is difficult in Japan. First, wide-open public spaces are in short supply, especially near symbols of power; there is no Tokyo equivalent to the Washington Mall, a vast space in sight of the Capitol. As a result, many Japanese demonstrations take place through shopping districts, where they must deal with the police. Second, the police force seems disproportionately large at Japanese protests, sometimes outnumbering the protesters. Police intimidate protesters by lining up in large numbers and staring them down; they ride in elevated cars; they take notes and photos of protesters, which are filed. Police may arrest protesters for "interfering with a public servant" or other dubious charges and can legally keep them in jail for up to twenty-three days without an indictment; in contrast, protesters arrested in the US are typically released within a day. Such actions intimidate many people, particularly students or employees of well-known corporations, from joining protests.⁹

² Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 29.

³ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁴ See Mark Davidson and Kurt Iveson, "Occupations, Mediations, Subjectifications: Fabricating Politics," *Space and Polity* 18, no. 2 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.1080/13562576.2013.879775> for an application of Rancière's ideas to occupations of urban space.

⁵ Laura Kunreuther, "Sounds of Democracy: Performance, Protest, and Political Subjectivity," *Cultural Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2018): 1.

⁶ Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

⁷ Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 36.

⁸ Jacques Rancière, "Politics and Aesthetics: an interview," *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 8, no. 2 (2003): 201, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0969725032000162657>.

⁹ For more on how Japanese police control demonstrations, see Noriko Manabe, *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Protest Music After Fukushima* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 56–59, 152–154, 164–166, 181, 188–192.

The Japanese police attempt to minimize the visibility of the protest. At most protests I have seen, they surround the protest, making it invisible to passers-by. Instead of letting protesters take up an entire avenue, as many American protests do, the Japanese police restrict the protesters to one lane of a multilane road. In a protest march, the police break up demonstrators into smaller groups, typically of a few hundred people maximum, spaced several city blocks apart. Bystanders are often unaware of the entire extent of the protest. Such police control of the people's movement (or Lepecki's choreopolicing¹⁰) could make it difficult for Japanese protests to transform the "space of moving along, of circulation, into the space for the appearance of a subject," which, for Rancière, constitutes the essence of politics.¹¹ But Jodi Dean argues that aggressive policing—barricading, pushing—and the confinement it forces unite protesters against the police as a common enemy, and this antagonism allows the subject to appear.¹² Additionally, Donatella Della Porta notes that overpolicing can tilt public opinion: "When the police are perceived as 'overreacting,' a process of 'solidarization' is set in motion between those who are the direct target of repression and larger—often more moderate—forces."¹³

Japanese protest organizers compensate for the police's actions by dividing the protesters into blocks that are predetermined by the expected *sound*. There is often a drum-corps block; a family block, with wind bands like Jinta-la-Muta;¹⁴ a sound truck block, with DJs and rappers performing on top of a truck; and a "traditional" protest block, with unionists and megaphones. These blocks encourage protesters to participate sonically, but they also partition people in ways that reflect (albeit not absolutely) their socioeconomic class, age, or family status. The block system—a consequence of choreopolicing—reduces the potential conflict in a multifaceted voice in favor of greater consensus within that block.

Structuring sound in Japanese protests

What becomes clear from the block format is the centrality of sound in Japanese demonstrations. Japanese protest marches I have seen are much louder than the American ones I have attended. This loudness makes tactical sense: if the police limit the visibility of a protest, activists can compensate by making the protest as loud as possible, occupying the streets with sound.

Sounds can be effective in calling attention to the invisible. While a person can only see what is in front of them, they can hear in other directions. Sound is exaggerated in an urban setting, in which tall, contiguous glass buildings form a sound canyon, allowing the sound to propagate farther and resonate longer than in a less densely built environment.¹⁵ Most passers-by hear a demonstration before they see it. The sheer volume of a demonstration can redefine the behavioral boundaries imposed by the structural designs of the city and the actions of the police. Particularly powerful in Japanese protest marches are sound trucks, which are piled with amplification equipment, and feature musicians, DJs, and activists

¹⁰ André Lepecki, "Choreopolice and Choreopolitics," *The Drama Review* 57, no. 4 (2013): 13–27, https://doi.org/10.1162/DRAM_a_00300.

¹¹ Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, 37.

¹² This comment comes from a discussion of my work at the Fisher Center for the Study of Gender and Justice at Hobart and William Smith Colleges on December 5, 2018. I thank Jodi Dean and Charity Lofthouse for the invitation, and the seminar participants for their thoughtful comments.

¹³ Donatella Della Porta, Herbert Reiter, and Gary T. Marx, "Introduction: The Policing of Protest in Western Democracies," in *Policing Protest*, eds. Donatella Della Porta and Herbert Reiter (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 18.

¹⁴ Marié Abe, *Resonances of Chindon-ya: Sounding Space and Sociality in Contemporary Japan* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2018).

¹⁵ Jian Kang, *Urban Sound Environment* (Abingdon, UK: Taylor & Francis, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781482265613>.

performing on top of them as they roll down the street with the protesters. The bass-heavy sound of the hip-hop and dance music they play carries over longer distances, expanding the demonstration's aural horizons. Sound trucks have become a staple in Japanese protests since being introduced in the anti-Iraq War protests of 2003.¹⁶

Differences between Japanese protests and the Women's March in New York

In contrast to the separated blocks of Japanese protests, the Women's March in New York was one continuous mass of 400,000 people, occupying not just one lane, but the entire width of Fifth Avenue. Meanwhile, the police seemed few and far between—a light-touch showing that was often not afforded to Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter, immigrant marches, and other protests. Despite New York City's reputation for heavy-handed policing of protests,¹⁷ this light policing was not surprising: the police tend to use harsh tactics when the perceived threat is high, such as when the protesters use confrontational tactics or are advocating for radical goals;¹⁸ a nonviolent march of women in pussy hats hardly fit these criteria. Furthermore, according to Della Porta et al., positive public opinion and media attention encourage more tolerant policing, and the media coverage ahead of the march would have pointed to a warm reception in deep-blue New York.¹⁹ The light policing allowed the Women's March to reimagine Fifth Avenue, that bastion of high-end real estate, as a diverse multitude.

The protesters spent much time walking silently, which contrasted sharply from the loud sounds of Japanese protest marches I had attended. The march lacked the cacophonous sound trucks of Japanese protests, and while drum corps and brass bands were present, I did not see them in my two walk-throughs of the march;²⁰ they did not seem as ubiquitous as in Japanese protests. As a long-time New York resident

¹⁶ Noriko Manabe, "Music in Japanese Antinuclear Demonstrations: The Evolution of a Contentious Performance Model," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, no. 42/3 (October 21, 2013), <https://apjif.org/2013/11/42/Noriko-Manabe/4015/article.html>; *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Protest Music After Fukushima* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹⁷ Protests in New York City are said to be more policed than protests in other US cities. Up to the 1970s, the American police responded to protests with "escalated force," which tried to quell protests through arrests, beatings, tear gas, and weapons. From the 1970s, the police applied a softer approach called "negotiated management," which emphasized joint planning with protest organizers. By the 1990s, as urban public space became more privatized and more protests began to be held in such spaces, the police shifted to "strategic incapacitation," focused on managing risk by controlling access to space. The response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, accelerated the adoption of these tactics (Patrick F. Gillham, Bob Edwards, and John A. Noakes, "Strategic Incapacitation and the Policing of Occupy Wall Street Protests in New York City, 2011," *Policing and Society* 23, no. 1 [2013]: 81–102, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2012.727607>), particularly as cities became increasingly intolerant of disruption around privatized spaces (Patrick Rafail, "Protest in the City: Urban Spatial Restructuring and Dissent in New York, 1960–2006," *Urban Studies* 55, no. 1 [2018]: 244–60, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016661464>). Alex S. Vitale asserts that the New York police have a more micro-managed approach to demonstrations that he calls "command and control," with clear and strict guidelines and little negotiation with protest organizers (Vitale, "From Negotiated Management to Command and Control: How the New York Police Department Polices Protests," *Policing and Society* 15, no. 3. [2005]: 283–304, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439460500168592>). This philosophy took hold and became predominant during Rudolph Giuliani's terms as mayor from 1994 to 2001. According to Vitale, Washington, DC and San Francisco usually deploy a few hundred police officers to deal with demonstrations of 100,000 or more, while New York City has called on up to 4,000 ("From Negotiated Management to Command and Control," 294). Even so, this ratio of police to protesters of 1:25 seems much lower than what I have typically seen for protests in Japan. (Similar statistics are difficult to calculate for Japan, given widely differing counts of protesters between the police and protest organizers.) Furthermore, the severe ramifications of arrest in Japan would make the police more powerful there.

¹⁸ Jennifer Suzanne Earl, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy, "Protest under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest," *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 4 (2003): 581–606, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1519740>.

¹⁹ Della Porta et al., "Introduction: The Policing of Protest in Western Democracies," 18.

²⁰ When I conduct fieldwork at a protest march, I typically walk up and down along the march on the sidewalk to get a sense of its extent and sounds, then walk through the march with other protesters at least once, and often twice. After the march, I check social media and video sites to see what I missed. At the Women's March New York in 2017, the heavy crowds and barricades made it difficult to move quickly alongside the march, so I marched through the route twice.

who is accustomed to the noisiness of the city, I found this silence jarring, almost eerie, as the footsteps of the crowd formed a low-level hum in the sound canyon of Fifth Avenue, made doubly resonant by the tall, contiguous glass buildings.²¹ However, the silence was not surprising, given that many participants were new to protesting: according to a survey of protesters at the Women's March in Washington, DC, by Dana Fisher's team, 35 percent were attending their first protest, while 25 percent were attending their first protest in five years.²² But the Women's March didn't need sound: the huge mass of people and pussy hats were an unmissable spectacle.

Chanting is a key activity at most protests. Short, rhythmic, and repetitive so that anyone can join in, chants fit Thomas Turino's description of participatory music: they ideally involve as many people as possible.²³ Chants encourage participants to shout and step together with others in "social synchrony," which underpins feelings of social belonging.²⁴ William McNeill has noted the "muscular bonding" that occurs when a group "keeps together in time, moving big muscles together and chanting, singing, or shouting rhythmically."²⁵ Indeed, chants in non-protest contexts, such as soccer stadiums, also "incite intense feeling of social cohesion, belonging, and bonding."²⁶ This synchronized activity heightens the feeling that the chanters are united as one.

Japanese protest organizers understand this importance of chanting for strengthening social bonds and solidarity among protesters, and they have sought to encourage chanting through the accompaniment of drum corps or the prompting of rappers and DJs on a sound truck.²⁷ In addition to allowing Japanese protesters to voice their frustrations, they are also compensating for the fact that passers-by may not see the protests but hear the chanting, making them aware of the issues being raised.²⁸ At Japanese protests, there is usually a designated call leader with a megaphone or microphone, who calls out chants to which the protesters respond.²⁹ Sometimes Japanese protesters chant spontaneously, but more often, the organizers with the megaphones control the message, making policy goals clear. When the Japanese activist group Students Against the Secrets Protection Law started organizing protests in 2014, the leaders Okuda Aki and Ushida Yoshimasa constructed their chants in advance and rehearsed them with cohorts who would attend, to enhance protesters' participation.³⁰

²¹ See Manabe, *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*, Chapter 5.4, for a discussion of the impact of the urban landscape on protest sounds.

²² Dana R. Fisher, Dawn M. Dow, and Rashawn Ray, "Intersectionality Takes It to the Streets: Mobilizing across Diverse Interests for the Women's March," *Science Advances* 3, no. 9 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aao1390>. I was not able to locate demographic data for participants in the Women's March in New York. Given the high attendance and my observation of the crowd, I believe it also attracted a large percentage of participants who were new to protesting.

²³ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 28–37.

²⁴ Ibid., 41–44.

²⁵ William Hardy McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 2.

²⁶ Eduardo Herrera, "Masculinity, Violence, and Deindividuation in Argentine Soccer Chants: The Sonic Potentials of Participatory Sounding-in-Synchrony," *Ethnomusicology* 62, no. 3 (2018): 483, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2012.727607>.

²⁷ Manabe, *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*, 201–226.

²⁸ Yasumichi Noma, (TwitNoNukes), ed. *Demo iko! Koe o agereba sekai ga kawaru. Machi o arukeba shakai ga mieru* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 2011), 20. Chanting is also an effective way of protesting when the protesters want to be heard but not seen, as in the case of nighttime rooftop chanting in Iran (see Roshanak Kheshti, "On the Threshold of the Political: The Sonic Performativity of Rooftop Chanting in Iran," *Radical History Review*, no. 121 [January 2015]: 51–70, <https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2799908>).

²⁹ Not all Japanese protests have had a designated call leader. During the flowering of the antinuclear protests in Tokyo in June–July 2012, when between 150,000 and 200,000 protesters were attending each protest, the lines of protesters, which snaked through the entire central government district of Kasumigaseki, became so long that the organizers could not place call leaders for every area. Protesters spontaneously shouted slogans, which were repeated in unison by the crowd.

³⁰ Ushida Yoshimasa, interview with the author, Tokyo, August 20, 2015. Japanese names are presented family name first.

In contrast, I saw no designated call leaders and no megaphones at the Women's March in New York. Instead of the large, generally unified chorus of chanters at Japanese protests, individual protesters spontaneously chanted here and there. Sometimes the chants would inspire a group of people nearby; at other times, they quickly died. They rarely seemed to engage the entire mass of protesters. Unlike the Tokyo protests, where one chant quickly segues into another in a continuous flow of chants, the protesters at the Women's March would stop after a few iterations and cheer.³¹ Nonetheless, the atmosphere was convivial, and the proximity among the protesters and synchronized slow walking fostered muscular bonding among us. In one glorious moment, the sound canyon of Fifth Avenue did fill: as we protesters were stopped one block away from Trump Tower, everyone chanted, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Donald Trump has got to go," the voices behind me muffled, rumbling, roaring in the resonance of the buildings. While the lack of organized leadership led to long silences, the leaderless atmosphere fostered individual initiative in starting a chant and innovation in producing new chants.

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>

Caption: Chanting near Trump Tower

Chants of the Resistance

Intrigued by this phenomenon, I began to transcribe protest chants of the Resistance, which I put into a blog at <https://medium.com/@norikomanabe>. This formed a database of chants that I had recorded while participating in protests in New York and Philadelphia or heard on videos posted online, encompassing about thirty demonstrations. During the airport protests in late January, I followed several protests live online. Colleagues and friends also sent me chants they'd heard. I transcribed them in Western staff notation to preserve the rhythms and inflections, as well as to make them understandable to a wide audience. I transcribed and counted each chant only the first time I heard it, and made a note when I heard it repeated at another protest. The analysis pertains to those collected from January to June of 2017. I make no claims of having a definitive database or a scientific sampling.

Framing current events

Framing—the shaping of meaning and interpretation of conditions and events—is a key aspect of social movements; the more an individual's interests intersect with movement goals, the more likely she will participate in the movement.³² The organizers of the Women's March in DC had framed the march around the eight unity principles of ending violence, reproductive rights, LGBTQ rights, workers' rights, civil rights, disability rights, immigrants' rights, and environmental justice;³³ in their study of protest signs at the DC march, Weber et al. identified five additional action frames: unity, women as agents of

³¹ Chanting seems more pervasive and continuous in heavily policed or confined protests, such as Ferguson, confrontational episodes during Occupy Wall Street, or the airport protests a week after the 2017 Women's March.

³² David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization," *International Social Movement Research* 1, no. 1 (1988): 197–217.

³³ The wording of the unity principles has changed over time, e.g., to include Jewish women and Asian/Pacific Islander women, who were omitted from the 2017 version. At the time of the 2019 march, the organizers of the Women's March in New York had disassociated themselves with Women's March, Inc., and were calling themselves the "Women's March Alliance." At the time of the 2017 and 2018 marches, however, the New York march was listed as a sister march on the Women's March website.

resistance, reappropriation of the word “pussy,” criticisms of Trump, and critiquing feminism.³⁴ At the New York march, signs addressing these various issues were in abundance. Among chants, however, the most frequently mentioned topic was Trump, and they were noteworthy for their humor in indexing recent events. For example, the chant, “We want a leader, Not a creepy tweeter,” humorously pointed out the incongruity of having an incautious Twitter troll as a national leader. Such humor in chants attracted the protesters’ attention and helped them to be recalled in later protests. Several chants, like “Keep your little hands off my underpants,” referred to Trump through the emasculatory metonym of hand size, a nod to his exchange with Marco Rubio during a debate (Figure 1).³⁵

Figure 1: Chants related to Trump’s behaviors and appearance

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>

Caption: “Keep your little hands off my underpants”

Along with the pussy hats, chants like “Pussies pounce on things that tweet” reappropriated the word in reaction to Trump’s infamous *Access Hollywood* tape. Other chants were more outraged; the chant, “[You’re orange, you’re gross, you lost the popular vote](#),”³⁶ expressed anger over not only the fact that a

³⁴ Kirsten M. Weber, Tisha DeJmanee, and Flemming Rhode, “The 2017 Women’s March on Washington: An Analysis of Protest-Sign Messages.” *International Journal of Communication*, (May 2018): 2289.

³⁵ A song of a similar theme, Fiona Apple’s “Tiny Hands,” was released shortly before the 2017 Women’s March.

³⁶ Recording from Women’s March in Washington by Maria Sonevitsky, https://soundcloud.com/nmanabe/chant_youre-orange-youre-gross.

candidate who had lost the popular vote by three million could still become president, but also his refusal to recognize this fact. Six months later at the March for Truth in New York, a man cleverly quoted both the Constitution (“We the people”) and Trump’s tagline from *The Apprentice* (“You’re fired!,” Figure 2). This focus on Trump is not surprising, given that protesters, particularly first-time and infrequent protesters, named opposition to Trump as a major motivation for attending the DC march.³⁷

Figure 2: “We the people” chant, March for Truth, New York, June 2017

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>

Chants in sentence form

In addition to these novel chants, many new chants are constructed out of pre-existing patterns that have been previously used in other movements. These patterns are easy to remember, easy to adapt to the issue at hand, and easy to repeat. The most common patterns are:

<u>Basic idea</u>	<u>Basic idea, with variation</u>	<u>Continuation</u>
Hey, hey,	Ho, ho,	X has got to go
No X,	No Y,	Z
Say it loud,	Say it clear,	X

These recurring chant patterns are popular; in my database of about sixty chants, I have eight “no X, no Y” chants, six “hey, hey” chants, and three “say it loud” chants. Examples of chants in these patterns are given in Figure 3.

As shown in Figure 3, these chants are in the musical form of the sentence, wherein a short basic idea is repeated once (with variation), followed by a longer continuation, typically twice as long as the basic idea. This structure is very popular among chants: about 60 percent of the Resistance chants I transcribed are sentences. One reason for their popularity may be that chants seem to favor eight-beat patterns. Out of my database of sixty chants, forty-eight, or 80 percent, are comprised of eight beats. (The rest are mostly in four beats.) Eight-beat cycles fit well in a marching context, given their duple symmetry.³⁸ Sentence structures fit naturally into eight-beat patterns: in a protest chant, the basic idea is typically two beats (at around 108 bpm, a half note in Figure 3), the repeat of the idea is two beats, and the continuation is four beats.

³⁷ Fisher et al., “Intersectionality Takes It to the Streets.”

³⁸ 8-beat cycles also allow for syncopated patterns, like 3-3-2, which commonly occur in African-American and Caribbean musics. Syncopated patterns like 3-3-2 occur regularly in US chants.

♩ = 108

"Hey, hey" pattern

Basic idea Basic idea' Continuation

Hey hey! Ho ho! Don-ald Trump has got to go!_ Hey

Hey hey! Ho ho! This Mus-lim ban has got to go!_ Hey

Hey hey! Ho ho! These ICE raids have got to go! Hey

"Say it loud" pattern

Basic idea Basic idea Continuation

Say it loud! Say it *clear*! Ref - u - gees are wel-come *here*!

Im - mi-grants

Ev - ery - one is

"No X, no Y, no Z" pattern

Basic idea Basic idea Continuation

No Trump! No K - K - K! No fas-cist U - S - A! No

No hate! No fear! Ref - u - gees are wel-come here. No

No *ban*! No *wall*! - Sanc-tu - a - ry for *all*! No

Figure 3: Examples of chants in sentence form

Furthermore, the repetition of the basic idea creates an expectation of a further repetition, building momentum to the continuation.³⁹ This momentum is also supported by the anticipated end-rhyme between the second basic idea and the continuation. This combination of building rhythmic excitement and the familiarity of the eight-beat cycle lends stickiness to sentence-form chants.

The anticipation for sentence structures is so strong that shorter chants can spontaneously morph into sentences. On the weekend of January 28, 2017, protests erupted at airports throughout the country over Trump's first travel ban, which temporarily banned entry of nationals from seven predominantly Muslim countries. Watching the protest at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York, live over Facebook,⁴⁰ I saw the call-and-response pattern, "No ban, no wall," evolve naturally into a sentence (ca. 51:00–52:30). As momentum built up from repetition, someone cried out, "Sanctuary for all!" The crowd gradually picked this phrase up as a continuation, forming a sentence structure: the basic idea, "No ban," is repeated, "No wall," followed by the continuation, "Sanctuary for all." (Figure 3, last system).

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>

Caption: Protest, JFK International airport, January 28, 2017

In musical sentences, the words of the basic idea do not have to match; it is rhythmic similarity that is important. Figure 4 gives examples of such sentence-style chants. In the first chant, the basic idea is the upbeat-downbeat rhythm, which is set to two different sets of words: "It's time" and "to fight." This rhythmic basic idea is then followed by the continuation, "Nasty girls, *unite*." The rhythmic repetition has the same anticipatory impact as the word repetition in the previous examples.

Figure 4 displays four musical staves, each representing a sentence chant. The staves are written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. Brackets above the staves indicate the structure of the chants: the first two measures are labeled 'Basic idea' and the last two measures are labeled 'Continuation'. The lyrics for each staff are as follows:

- Staff 1: It's time to fight. Nas-ty girls, u-nite! It's
- Staff 2: The peo-ple u-ni-ted will nev-er be de-feat-ed. The El pueb-lo u-ni-do ja-más se-rá ven-ci-do. El
- Staff 3: We will not! go a-way! Wel-come to your ev-ery day!
- Staff 4: Don-ald Trump! Go a-way! Ra-cist, sex-ist, an-ti gay!

Figure 4: Sentence chants with non-matching texts

³⁹ Christopher Hasty has theorized that listeners project a potential duration of a second event based on the duration of the first (*Meter as Rhythm* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997], 84). Musical sentences with basic ideas of equal duration that call for a continuation, such as these chants, would fit well with his theories.

⁴⁰ MoveOn.org, "Live from JFK Airport," Facebook, January 28, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/moveon/videos/10154107148410493/>.

Chants in period form

The second most-common pattern of chants—28 percent of chants in my database—is the period, which has an antecedent followed by a consequent in a call-and-response-like structure. In applying the concept to chants, I am considering two textual phrases of equal duration, with each phrase comprised of two- or four-beat patterns. Usually the two phrases have textual or rhythmic similarity. A common two-beat (x 2) pattern is “No X, no Y” (without the continuation as in the sentence), such as, “No justice, no peace.” (Figure 5). Another pattern places similar texts at the end of the phrases, as repetitions (e.g., “Whose streets?/ ‘Our streets!’”) or end-rhymes (“We want a *leader*, Not a creepy *tweeter*”). In some cases, the texts of the phrases differ, but their rhythms are similar (e.g., “Hands up/ ‘Don’t shoot’” from Black Lives Matter protests). In other, contrasting periods, the rhythms of the antecedent and consequent also differ (“Stop the wall,’ ‘We’ll tear it down”). Given the two-part structure, period chants lend themselves to calls and responses that engage protesters. Some common patterns are listed below, with the responses in brackets.

Antecedent

What do we want? [X!]
When X is under *attack*,

Consequent

When do we want it? [Now!]
what do we do? [Stand up, fight *back*.]

Perhaps the most famous period chant is, “Tell me what democracy looks like.” The popularity of this chant, explained in further detail below, is attributable not only to its message, but also to its construction. Structured as a call and response, the chant is delivered with a catchy syncopated rhythm that is echoed in the consequent, which repeats all the words but the first two, to redirect attention to the protesters: “THIS is what democracy looks like.”

antecedent consequent

No jus - tice, sci - ence, No peace! chance! No

antecedent consequent

We want a lead - er, Not a creep - y tweet - er stu - pid

Stop the wall! We'll tear it down!

Stand up, fight back!

When sci - ence is un - der at - tack, what do we do? When
clean air
clean water
public health

Tell me what dem - o - cra - cy looks like!// This is what dem - o - cra - cy looks like!
A - me - ri - ca A - me - ri - ca

Figure 5: Chants in periods

Intertextuality of protest songs and chants

The adoption of pre-existing chant patterns is an example of intertextuality, a common tactic in social movements. Songs, chants, and symbols flow among movements. According to Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, such sounds are “channels of communication” that enter “the collective memory” and “conjure up long-lost movements from extinction, as well as reawakening forgotten structures of feeling.”⁴¹

Many songs that have been sung in protests since Ferguson in 2014 and Trump’s election in 2016 were also sung during the American civil rights movement. Songs I have heard in such gatherings include “We Shall Overcome” and “This Little Light of Mine.” These songs are sung partly because many people know them, making it easier to start a singalong. They are adaptable to current issues: at a pro-immigrant singalong at Washington Square Park in February 2017, “[This Little Light of Mine](#)” acquired the line,

⁴¹ Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 161, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511628139>.

“Refugees are welcome here”; in the Moral March in Raleigh in 2017, Rev. William Barber led protesters in singing, “[Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around](#),” substituting “no president” for “nobody.”⁴² These songs also remind protesters of past movements. Despite differences in circumstances, aspects of the civil rights struggle in the 1960s—racism, barriers to free movement, socioeconomic marginalization, violence, threatened loss of civil liberties—resonate with the plight of minorities and immigrants during Trump’s term. Singing these songs pays homage to these past movements and remembers the struggles that those people experienced.

Chants, too, circulate from movement to movement. One chant at the Women’s March New York in 2017 and other Resistance protests is, “The people united will never be defeated” (Figure 4). The original chant, “*El pueblo unido jamás será vencido*,” came from a speech in the 1940s by the Colombian politician and populist, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán.⁴³ It came to be chanted in Chile at rallies for Salvador Allende and the Unidad Popular. It inspired Sergio Ortega to compose the song in June 1973.⁴⁴ Following Pinochet’s military coup that resulted in Allende’s death, the exiled *nueva canción* groups Quilapayún and Inti Illimani made it famous around the world. Since then, both the song and chant have circulated internationally, including Occupy Wall Street and antinuclear protests in Japan.

Similarly, the chant, “Tell me what democracy looks like,” has a long history. The chant grew out of the global justice movements that first garnered attention at the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle in 1999. It has since been chanted in protests against the war in Iraq and Afghanistan in 2004, the Wisconsin protests and Occupy Wall Street in 2011, and others. Its appeal lies in the ideals it embodies—horizontalism, equality, unity among diverse participants, and the voice of the people. When Japanese student leader Okuda was studying YouTube videos of Occupy Wall Street and heard this chant, he felt that it epitomized the essence of democracy. Leading protests against the Secrecy Law and the Security Law,⁴⁵ his activist group SEALDs adopted the chant in the original English. It caught on in Japan and became a byword of the movement. SEALDs also made a Japanese paraphrase of the chant—“Minshu shugitte nanda,” or “What is democracy?” (Figure 6).

Figure 6: “Minshu shugitte nanda” (What is democracy), SASPL/SEALDs protest call

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>

⁴² See 2:35 onwards on the video embedded at <https://medium.com/@norikomanabe/protests-week-4-moral-march-on-raleigh-protests-against-ice-raids-5dab22e525e9>.

⁴³ Ernesto Wong Maestre, “¡El pueblo, unido, jamás será vencido!,” *Aporrea*, February 3, 2009, <https://www.aporrea.org/internacionales/a71712.html>.

⁴⁴ Sergio Ortega and Frederic Rzewski, “The People United Will Never Be Defeated,” liner notes for NA063, New Albion Records, February 4, 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120204150218/http://www.newalbion.com/NA063/>.

⁴⁵ The Secrecy Law, which passed the Japanese Diet in December 2013, made it possible for anyone who is not a government employee and reveals a state secret—including journalists, legislators, activists, citizens—to be jailed for up to five years. However, what is a state secret is itself a state secret. Critics fear that it suppresses investigative journalism and fact-finding. The Security Laws, passed in 2015, made it possible for Japanese troops to fight overseas for the first time since the end of World War II, when a constitution that renounces wars of aggression was put in place during the Allied Occupation. Both have been opposed by a large majority of the population.

At the airport protests against the travel ban, the chant morphed into “This is what *America* looks like”—a comment on America’s identity as a nation of immigrants, and a challenge to the ideology underlining Trump’s slogan, “Make America Great Again.” The pattern has become a template, into which protesters can insert various ideals—community, resistance, resilience, justice (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Formulations of “Tell me what democracy looks like”

Interaction with recorded music

As seen from the example of “El pueblo unido,” chants and songs often interact. The hook to Kendrick Lamar’s “Alright” (2015)—“We’re gon’ be alright!”—has been chanted at several Black Lives Matter protests. Songs do not need to be inherently political to be the source of chants. On January 29, 2017, during the airport protests, this chant was heard at the Dallas Ft. Worth airport (Figure 8).

Figure 8: “Move, Trump” chant

The chant comes from the hook of “[Move, Bitch](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oIbztWsY8g)” (2001) by Ludacris ft. Mystikal and I-20,⁴⁶ whose video opens with a traffic jam. The exasperated affect fit the protesters’ sentiment toward the president (now semantically equated with a traffic jam), while the bouncy syncopation, repetitive text, and lively imitations of Ludacris’s gestures made the chant infectious.

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>⁴⁷

Caption: “Move, Trump, Get Out the Way,” January 29, 2017

Protest chants have become incorporated in music. Another chant from the airport protests was, “Love, not hate, that’s what makes America great,” which inverted the exclusionist implications of Trump’s slogan, “Make America Great Again.” It also borrowed the rhythm from “Tell me what

⁴⁶ “Ludacris - Move Bitch” (Official Video HD)(Audio HD)(Dirty)(Ft. Mystikal, I-20), accessed March 13, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oIbztWsY8g>.

⁴⁷ The video, which was uploaded by Central Track on January 30, 2017, has been mislabeled as being from September 29. I saw this video via a CNN livestream from Dallas-Ft. Worth airport on January 29, 2017.

democracy looks like,” thus embodying its idealism. The chant quickly spread to the other protests around the country (Figure 9).

Figure 9: “That’s what makes America great” chant

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>

Caption: “That’s what makes America great,” JFK International airport, January 2017

This chant was paraphrased in “[That’s What Makes Us Great](#)” (2017), an anti-Trump, pro-immigration song by Pittsburgh rocker Joe Grushecky featuring Bruce Springsteen. The chorus expands on the idea of the chant, urging citizens to mobilize and continue to believe in diversity as the source of the country’s greatness.

It’s up to me and *you*,
Love can conquer *hate*.
I know this to be *true*,
That’s what makes us *great*.

Watch video: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0013.105>

Ending notes

The performance of democracy, in the form of participatory chanting and singing in protests, differs according to cultural or political circumstances. The Japanese police attempt to minimize the visibility of protests, leading Japanese protesters to develop distinct sonic strategies to assert their presence: fragmenting marches by type of sound, performing from sound trucks, and having organizers rehearse and lead chants to encourage participation. The less-policed Women’s March did not need to depend on sound for visibility, leading to a more leaderless format that fostered innovation in chanting. Both sets of protests were less embodiments of an idealized democracy so much as a manifestation of the democracy that society, via the police, allows. At protests, chants and songs are a kind of folk praxis as described by Eyerman and Jamison; like folk music, they borrow familiar patterns and tunes that make it easy for people to participate and create anew through incremental changes. This plasticity affords the dynamism that often characterizes protest culture. But in the US, there are flip sides to leaderlessness in a diverse country.

Sounds and inclusivity

On January 20, 2018, I attended the second Women’s March in New York, which had a different atmosphere. In 2017, the organizers distributed tickets with timed entries to control the crowd, leading to a smooth flow of people through East 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue. In 2018, there were no timed entries.

Instead, a main stage was set up at West 60th Street and Central Park West for a pre-march rally that exceeded an hour; meanwhile, the police severely restricted movement, forcing the crowd into jammed, motionless positions up Broadway and Central Park West past West 80th Street. The side streets became so packed that it took me over an hour to go one block on West 64th Street to join the march. Few could hear what was happening on stage at the rally. Many people became frustrated and left.

As the crowd had dispersed, the march itself felt a little sparse, which had an affective impact. Edward T. Hall posits that a person's physical proximity reflects their feelings of emotional closeness, with intimate space being eighteen inches and personal space encompassing up to four feet, where one can feel another person's presence and see her emotions.⁴⁸ In the 2017 march, the dense crowd was within an intimate-to-personal space, inspiring camaraderie. In the 2018 march, the sparser crowd drifted into small clumps of friends, more than ten feet away from others on Sixth Avenue. The call-and-responses were being chanted among these self-contained groups, making it socially awkward to join them, and the chants were not catching on. The sound was quickly dispersing: the office buildings on Sixth Avenue are set considerably back from the sidewalk and do not form the resonant chamber of the glass storefronts on the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue. Except for bursts of interaction in front of the Trump International Hotel ("Shame!")⁴⁹ and Fox News' offices ("Fake news!"), the calls did not involve us protesters, and the sound did not envelop us. I did not feel the unity I had felt in the 2017 march.

My sonic alienation seemed a metaphor for my discomfort with aspects of the 2018 Women's March. The 2017 march seemed a glorious multitude: it felt diverse and inclusive, with many people of color, Mexican flags, and placards about immigrant rights and Black Lives Matter in addition to feminist messages. I had chosen to attend the New York march partly because I had expected it to be more diverse than the Washington march, and as a woman of color and immigrant, I thought I would feel more aligned with protesters in New York.⁵⁰ At a nationwide level, the dissensus was really about an electoral system that allowed the election of a candidate who had received three million fewer votes than his competitor—a woman with more experience in government—and whose rhetoric opposed ideals of human equality. Many at the 2017 march expressed concerns about equality;⁵¹ universal ideals were at play. For me, the apex of this dissensus was the airport protests of early 2017, when people of diverse demographics gathered spontaneously, in solidarity over an urgent, actionable cause, and naturally began chanting in unison, generating highly original chants. Even watching via a Facebook video feed, I could feel the protesters' passion.

The 2018 Women's March in New York felt less inclusive, as the concerns of people of color were not well represented. Legislation regarding DACA was a hot topic,⁵² but I saw only one placard and heard one chant about it. The previous week, Trump had reportedly said, "Why do we want all these people

⁴⁸ Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966).

⁴⁹ protestresearch, "Women's March New York, January 20, 2018 - 'Shame!'," accessed March 12, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lfz8gu5ss6k>.

⁵⁰ According to the survey by Fisher et al., 77.4 percent of participants in the Women's March in DC in 2017 were white. While I have no comparable statistics for participation in the New York march in 2017, my observation was that it was more diverse.

⁵¹ Fisher et al., "Intersectionality Takes It to the Streets."

⁵² Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals is a policy that provides work permits and deferred action on deportation for people who had entered the United States illegally when they were children. The program was started by President Obama. The Trump administration announced plans to phase it out in September 2017.

from ‘shithole countries’ coming here?” in regards to immigrants from Haiti and Africa,⁵³ yet I spotted just two placards referencing these remarks, both held by self-identifying black immigrants. The overwhelming majority of placards I saw were insults to Trump. While they were comic relief in 2017, I thought that by 2018, the movement needed to shift the framing away from venting on Trump toward proposing corrective measures, such as tactics for the 2018 midterm elections or specific legislation. The continued focus on Trump inadvertently seemed to corroborate his cult of personality. Another large group of placards were assertions of femininity according to a heteronormative, bodily interpretation.⁵⁴ I saw no placards about bills, then working through Congress and state legislatures, which would hurt Planned Parenthood. Black women suffer high maternal death rates, yet I heard no one chant, “Black Lives Matter.” These observations seemed to resonate with many black women’s perceptions that the Women’s March was primarily a vehicle to protest Trump’s election, especially his pussy comment, rather than a sustained effort to promote social justice, and that white women could not be counted on to support black women’s concerns.⁵⁵

Participation in the 2018 Women’s March New York halved from the previous year to about 200,000.⁵⁶ Many seemed to believe that women’s marches were for cis white women, and minorities seemed to have taken themselves out.⁵⁷ In 2019, two separate Women’s Marches were being planned in New York, one by the original organizers of the Washington march⁵⁸ and another by [those who organized the first New York march](#).⁵⁹ I thus return to Maria Sonevsky’s themes of discomfort and agonistic democracy. As Chantal Mouffe has described, an “‘agonistic’ democracy requires accepting that conflict and division are inherent to politics and that there is no place where reconciliation could be definitively achieved as the full actualization of the unity of ‘the people.’”⁶⁰ Only by accepting discomfort and confronting these conflicts can the Women’s March, and the Resistance, be more than a democratic performance.

⁵³ Eli Watkins and Abby Phillip, “Trump Slurs Immigrants from ‘Shithole Countries,’” CNN, January 12, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/11/politics/immigrants-shithole-countries-trump/index.html>.

⁵⁴ See Boothroyd et al., “(Re)Producing Feminine Bodies: Emergent Spaces through Contestation in the Women’s March on Washington,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 24, no. 5 (2017): 711–21, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1339673>, for a critique of the Women’s March as not entirely inclusive of women of color and non-cisgender women.

⁵⁵ Sierra Brewer and Lauren Dundes, “Concerned, Meet Terrified: Intersectional Feminism and the Women’s March,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 69 (July 2018): 49–55, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2018.04.008>; CindyAnn Rose-Redwood and Reuben Rose-Redwood, “‘It Definitely Felt Very White’: Race, Gender, and the Performative Politics of Assembly at the Women’s March in Victoria, British Columbia,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 24, no. 5 (2017): 645–54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1335290>.

⁵⁶ In some other cities like Chicago, participation in the Women’s March grew in 2018 relative to 2017. See Diane Pathieu and Evelyn Holmes, “About 300K Attend 2nd Women’s March Chicago, Exceeding Last Year, Organizers Say,” ABC7 Chicago, January 21, 2018, <http://abc7chicago.com/politics/about-300k-attend-2nd-womens-march-chicago-exceeding-last-year-organizers-say/2970801/>.

⁵⁷ See S. T. Holloway, “Why This Black Girl Will Not Be Returning to the Women’s March,” *Huffington Post*, January 19, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/why-this-black-girl-will-not-be-returning-to-the-womens-march_us_5a3c1216e4b0b0e5a7a0bd4b.

⁵⁸ “Third Annual Women’s March: #WomensWave,” Women’s March National, accessed March 13, 2019, https://actionnetwork.org/event_campaigns/third-annual-womens-march-womenswave.

⁵⁹ “Official Women’s March on NYC Site,” Women’s March Alliance, accessed March 13, 2019, <https://womensmarchalliance.org/>.

⁶⁰ Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (New York: Verso, 2000), 15–16.

Bibliography

- Abe, Marié. *Resonances of Chindon-ya: Sounding Space and Sociality in Contemporary Japan*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2018.
- Boothroyd, Sydney, Rachele Bowen, Alicia Cattermole, Kenda Chang-Swanson, Hanna Daltrop, Sasha Dwyer, and Anna Gunn. "(Re)Producing Feminine Bodies: Emergent Spaces through Contestation in the Women's March on Washington." *Gender, Place & Culture* 24, no. 5 (2017): 711–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1339673>.
- Brewer, Sierra, and Lauren Dundes. "Concerned, Meet Terrified: Intersectional Feminism and the Women's March." *Women's Studies International Forum* 69 (July 2018): 49–55. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2018.04.008>.
- Davidson, Mark, and Kurt Iveson. "Occupations, Mediations, Subjectifications: Fabricating Politics." *Space and Polity* 18, no. 2 (2014): 137–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13562576.2013.879775>.
- Della Porta, Donatella, Herbert Reiter, and Gary T. Marx. "Introduction: The Policing of Protest in Western Democracies." In *Policing Protest*, edited by Donatella Della Porta and Herbert Reiter, 6:1–32. The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- Earl, Jennifer Suzanne, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy. "Protest under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest." *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 4 (2003): 581–606. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1519740>.
- Eyerman, Ron, and Andrew Jamison. *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511628139>.
- Fisher, Dana R., Dawn M. Dow, and Rashawn Ray. "Intersectionality Takes It to the Streets: Mobilizing across Diverse Interests for the Women's March." *Science Advances* 3, no. 9 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aao1390>.
- Gillham, Patrick F., Bob Edwards, and John A. Noakes. "Strategic Incapacitation and the Policing of Occupy Wall Street Protests in New York City, 2011." *Policing and Society* 23, no. 1 (2013): 81–102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2012.727607>.
- Hall, Edward T. *The Hidden Dimension*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.
- Hasty, Christopher. *Meter as Rhythm*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Herrera, Eduardo. "Masculinity, Violence, and Deindividuation in Argentine Soccer Chants: The Sonic Potentials of Participatory Sounding-in-Synchrony." *Ethnomusicology* 62, no. 3 (2018): 470–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2012.727607>.
- Itō Yōichi. "Japanese Kūki Theory." In *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, edited by Stephen W. Littlejohn and Karen A. Foss, 574–575. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009.
- Kang, Jian. *Urban Sound Environment*. Abingdon, UK: Taylor & Francis, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781482265613>.
- Kheshti, Roshanak. "On the Threshold of the Political: The Sonic Performativity of Rooftop Chanting in Iran." *Radical History Review*, no. 121 (January 2015): 51–70. <https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2799908>.
- Kunreuther, Laura. "Sounds of Democracy: Performance, Protest, and Political Subjectivity." *Cultural Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2018.): 1–31.

- Lepecki, André. "Choreopolice and Choreopolitics." *The Drama Review* 57, no. 4 (2013): 13–27.
https://doi.org/10.1162/DRAM_a_00300.
- Manabe, Noriko. "Music in Japanese Antinuclear Demonstrations: The Evolution of a Contentious Performance Model." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, no. 42/3 (2013).
[http://japanfocus.org/-Noriko MANABE/4015](http://japanfocus.org/-Noriko%20MANABE/4015).
- . *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Protest Music After Fukushima*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- McNeill, William Hardy. *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Meyer, David S., and Sidney Tarrow. *The Resistance: The Dawn of the Anti-Trump Opposition Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190886172.001.0001>.
- Mouffe, Chantal. *The Democratic Paradox*. New York: Verso, 2000.
- Noma Yasumichi (TwitNoNukes), ed. *Demo iko! Koe o agereba sekai ga kawaru. Machi o arukeba shakai ga mieru*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 2011.
- Rafail, Patrick. "Protest in the City: Urban Spatial Restructuring and Dissent in New York, 1960–2006." *Urban Studies* 55, no. 1 (2018): 244–60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016661464>.
- Rancière, Jacques. *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- . "Politics and Aesthetics: an interview." *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 8, no. 2 (2003): 191–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0969725032000162657>.
- . *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. New York: Continuum, 2010.
- Rose-Redwood, CindyAnn, and Reuben Rose-Redwood. "'It Definitely Felt Very White': Race, Gender, and the Performative Politics of Assembly at the Women's March in Victoria, British Columbia." *Gender, Place & Culture* 24, no. 5 (2017): 645–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1335290>.
- Schafer, R. Murray. *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1993.
- Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization." *International Social Movement Research* 1, no. 1 (1988): 197–217.
- Turino, Thomas. *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Vitale, Alex S. "From Negotiated Management to Command and Control: How the New York Police Department Polices Protests." *Policing and Society* 15, no 3. (2005): 283–304.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10439460500168592>.
- Weber, Kirsten M., Tisha Dejmancee, and Flemming Rhode. "The 2017 Women's March on Washington: An Analysis of Protest-Sign Messages." *International Journal of Communication*, (May 2018): 2289–2313.