

Collaborative Intimacies

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Since the practice of the performing arts can be an important factor in social change, study of the anthropology of the performing arts can, and in my opinion should, be directed toward changing, as well as understanding, the world.

—J. Blacking, Introduction to *The Performing Arts: Music and Dance*

This book considers the spatial, bodily and ethical dimensions of sound and movement, as well as their methodological significance in anthropological research. In exploring forms of sonic practice and expressive movement across multiple registers, we seek to examine ethnographically their distinctive importance in everyday life. Patterns of sound and movement sequences are intrinsic elements of the ways we live and conduct ourselves in different contexts. For example, as Stokes (1994a) argues and as DeNora (2000) has demonstrated, it would be hard to imagine our everyday lives without the presence of musical sound. Similarly, dance, which is sometimes presented as art on stage, as leisure in dance halls or as part of religious rituals, is used to create intimate relations between individuals and to enhance the solidarity of a group, thus becoming an inseparable part of human sociality (Kaeppler 1978; Reed 1998). While we do not postulate a homological view of music, dance and society, we find Blacking's proposition in the opening quote attractive because of his framing of the performing arts as resolutely and primarily social in nature. Therefore, the accounts included in this collection begin from the premise that sound and movement comprise *prima facie* social practices and processes. These may convey the activities of performers or of subjects whom we do not designate as 'musicians' or 'dancers'. In addition, the lack of thematic and geographical foci that would

neatly map onto musical and dance categorizations allows for greater conceptual heterogeneity and methodological open-endedness, while underscoring the volume's ethnographic diversity.

The latter element relates to the fact that various conceptions of music and dance cross-culturally do not necessarily correspond with the assumption that they are interrelated but essentially separate entities. Nevertheless, we do not propose to treat dance as 'simply a part of music' (Kaeppler 1978: 33) or vice versa. Rather, we think that there is a lot to be gained by focusing empirically on the specificities of these different domains of creative practice. Yet we believe that highlighting the mutually constitutive nature of sound and movement and their diverse uses in particular contexts will be equally beneficial. In short, we do not presume that 'acoustemology' (Feld 1996), 'sounded anthropology' (Samuels et al. 2010) and the 'primacy of movement' (Farnell 2012) are a priori distinctive spheres. Having said that, we do not suggest that all sound is 'music' and that all movement is 'dance', but we do embrace the need for a plural and expansive understanding of music and sound, dance and movement and their role in social life.

After all, the realms of music and dance cannot be disentangled from their multiple social functions, while it would be inappropriate to approach music and dance based on definitions that disregard native categories. Rather, our interpretations should depend not so much upon the formal properties of sound and movement and their systematization, but on how people perceive and make use of them. By focusing upon specific genres, then, many of the chapters grapple primarily with modes of conduct and practical arrangements relevant to the enactment of music and dance, but also with discursive attitudes and explicit debates about their enactment. In doing so, the authors aim to explore the intimate ways in which places, selves and bodies coalesce through sound and movement. As a result, in adapting Blacking's suggestion (1979b: 10), our task here is to explore music and dance with reference to sound and movement, but *in terms of* their spatial, corporeal and ethical features.

It is the capacity of sound and movement to engender, evoke, inform, transform, contest and negotiate a sense of place and thus locate subjects in space that exemplifies their inherently social nature. As such, our initial premise should be complemented by the conviction that they also represent spatial practices. What is more, sound and movement engage and envelop the body in its totality. For instance, music and dance 'move' us. By this we do not only mean that they have an emotional effect, but also that they orchestrate bodies. Music, specifically, demands attention: the body cannot escape it because sound vibrates and penetrates it – sound affects bodies. Thus, sound and movement also emerge as fundamentally bodily practices. Anthropologists have further suggested that the somatic investments that underpin ethical projects within specific traditions of disciplinary practice highlight the idea that vocal sounds and bodily movements may

facilitate or impede processes of self-fashioning (e.g., Mahmood 2005; Hirschkind 2006). It follows that, in specific contexts, music and dance, too, can be conceived of as ethical practices that encourage the formation of particular subjects.

In addition to the aforementioned themes, we also intend to address methodological questions that stem from intimate fieldwork collaborations between ethnographer and participants and to problematize the relation between motion, sound and the fieldworker's body. In doing so, we emphasize the sheer physicality of the ethnographic encounter and the forms of sociality that gradually emerge between self and other. Researchers' immersion in sonic events and the flow of movement induces bodily responses that render fieldwork an intensely visceral experience. By employing their bodies as tools of research, ethnographers find themselves in spaces of sonic and kinetic intimacy and reciprocity with their informants, which articulate what Rouch called 'shared anthropology' (*anthropologie partagée*) (2003). In turn, this plurosensory emplacement reflects the nexus between bodies, space and relational self-becoming.

It is worth noting that several contributors to this edited volume are music and dance practitioners affiliated with relevant institutions. Yet, as we discuss later on, the expectation that this would be so may reflect disciplinary biases about privileged forms of ethnographic participation. This reinforces ethnocentric assumptions regarding the 'special' nature of music and dance practices, seen as detached from everyday life. However, we hold musical and dance 'knowledge' to be yet another instance of the personal qualities and skills of each researcher, which to various degrees may or may not have facilitated the collection of specific kinds of ethnographic data. Therefore, we would like to underscore the fact that musical and dance training, or lack thereof, is of secondary importance in appreciating the arguments put forward in this book.

Similarly, we do not attempt to trace disciplinary genealogies or solve the conundrums relating to the place of music and dance within anthropology. We do claim, however, that an exclusive and narrow focus on music and dance per se would deprive us of the opportunity to tackle certain pressing ethnographic questions. As Bigenho explains when discussing the divergent approaches of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, making music our object of analysis would result in 'many compelling anthropological and theoretical questions' being 'swept to the sidelines' (2008: 28). Perhaps unsurprisingly, we find similar disciplinary boundaries in the case of dance. Thus, it has been argued that what makes movement studies either dance-anthropological or ethnochoreological is how researchers try to locate meaning in the dance or its social evaluation (Grau 1993: 21; Kaeppler 2000: 120). Yet dance events do not restrict the focus only upon dance; they also comprise the social circumstances in which it is both practised and performed (Thomas 2003: 179). Therefore, as Giurchescu suggests (2001: 109), the two approaches should not necessarily be kept separate.

In highlighting the diverse social character of music and dance, we also aspire to transcend certain ambiguous classifications, such as ‘the popular’ (e.g., Dodds and Cook 2013). Moreover, this volume builds on previous ethnographically informed collections on sound and music, dance and movement (e.g., Spencer 1985; Keil and Feld 1994; Stokes 1994b; Farnell 1995; Desmond 1997; Thomas 1997; Buckland 1999; Davida 2011; Born 2013; Dankworth and David 2014), but also differs from them in that it mainly foregrounds not the role of performers but that of individuals and groups that make music and dance possible. In particular, we place under ethnographic scrutiny the invaluable but rarely considered efforts of music promoters, *animadores*, choreographers and audiences, among other actors, vis-à-vis musicians and dancers. The aforementioned works consider in great depth some of this book’s individual themes and questions and, therefore, have informed various parts of the analyses presented here. Yet a third contribution of this essay collection lies in the convergence of music and dance practices at the crossroads of space, ethics and the body, while providing an associated commentary on certain methodological implications of doing ethnography in sound and movement. For the purpose of clarity, however, we have separated the remainder of this Introduction into four sections that explicitly deal with the book’s main themes, followed by a fifth section that provides an overview of the chapters.

Making Place, Forging Pathways

Imagine gentle currents of energy, flowing freely through and beyond your body, forming warm pools of movement in the space just around you.
—S.A. Ness, *Body, Movement, and Culture*

The musicologist Sheila Whiteley states that ‘[a]s well as providing the socio-cultural backdrop for distinctive musical practices and innovations, urban and rural spaces also provide the rich experiential settings in which music is consumed’ (2004: 2). Likewise, the dance floor and the extension of it, the dance event, is a space where people come together to dance and socialize. The range of spaces employed for music and dance performances is remarkable and this volume attests to the fact that everyday dancing and music-making are framed by an array of contexts, ranging from urban sites and rural places to cinematic spaces and digital environments. Of course, this is not a novel proposition (see e.g., Williams 1991; Bennett and Peterson 2004), but instead of taking these spaces for granted or considering them merely as blank canvases, one of our main aims is to interrogate the processes through which space interacts with sonic modalities and moving bodies.

As Lefebvre points out in *The Production of Space* (1991), we should attend not to the ‘givenness’ of space but to the ways in which it is produced, lived and transformed. Therefore, we need to take into account the ways in which music and dance contribute to such processes by observing how they convert spaces

into places, as the former are progressively experienced and endowed with value, thus acquiring ‘definition and meaning’ (Tuan 1977: 136). Stokes argues for attention to how places are musically constructed and delineated (1994a), and he writes that music itself can be ‘considered as a “context” in which other events happen, and without which they cannot’ (idem 1997: 674). Along similar lines, Cowan notes that the dance event is a ‘temporally, spatially, and conceptually “bounded” sphere of interaction’ (1990: 4), while Born (2013) highlights the powerful potential of sonic events to change the spaces within and through which they occur. By drawing and building on these insightful contributions, we seek to tackle questions regarding the configuration and mediation of music and dance practices as they blend with what Born calls “‘exterior” spatialities’ (ibid.: 16); that is, their physical, virtual and social settings.

The musical and choreographic rendering of spatial territories through performance and other related activities underpins feelings of belonging, while imposing boundaries between different groups. Consequently, by constituting spaces of access and exclusion, sound and movement become political tools. Pipyrou (2015) has revealed how the dance performances of *Ndrangheta Mafiosi* in Reggio Calabria in southern Italy can become a vehicle for public engagement, territorial patronage and embodied governance during important religious city celebrations. Correspondingly, Sara Cohen maintains that ‘[t]he production of place through music is always a political and contested process and music has been shown to be implicated in the politics of place, the struggle for identity and belonging, power and prestige’ (1995: 445). Nevertheless, contested places should not necessarily be perceived as sites of direct conflict, opposition or resistance (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 18), but as concrete examples of people’s sustained efforts to negotiate on their own terms and alter from within the spaces they inhabit.

Music not only creates the necessary space for its enactment but ‘it also *fills* it’, writes Finnegan (1989: 336), while dance instils new meanings in space and at the same time is transformed by it (see Royce 2004). Thus, in addition to marking a particular area, sound and movement infuse spaces with particular sensations, feelings and experiential qualities. This further underscores their potential to elicit particular ‘capacities’ and become the context of agentive action (see Corsín-Jiménez 2003). In focusing upon the inherently transient but distinctive spatial faculties of music and dance practices (Chapters 3, 4, 7, 8 and 10), we approach places not as bounded geographical entities but as a series of ‘*spatio-temporal events*’ (Massey 2005: 130).¹

The conjunction of space and time in sound and movement highlights the usefulness of Finnegan’s notion of ‘pathways’ (1989: 305–7), which alludes to a sense of place characterized by ‘routes rather than roots’ (Cresswell 2004: 53). Nevertheless, as Finnegan notes, pathways do provide a sense of spatio-temporal structure in people’s lives through the repetitive enactment of music practices taking place across the city (1989: 317). What the idea of pathways captures so

well is that music has first and foremost an important *value* in people's lives. By extending the concept of pathways to include dance practices and an array of different contexts, we suggest that sound and movement produce and constitute spatial settings as assortments of activities with their own intrinsic temporalities (see also Telban 1998).

Our ethnographic examination of the ways in which particular locations impinge upon music and dance and, in turn, are sonically and kinetically constructed and experienced, offers a lens into processes of place-making and self-fashioning. As Appadurai observes, anthropologists 'have taken locality as a ground not figure, recognizing neither its fragility nor its ethos *as a property of social life*' (1995: 207). This calls for a reconsideration of space as a generative modality and not as contextual ground, and begs the question of how spatial practices produce specific kinds of subjects. To return to Lefebvre (1991), music and dance not only provide us with ways to examine how subjects cultivate themselves in space – or with space – but also how the production of space brings into focus the manifold ways in which people strive to realize an ethical self (Baxstrom 2008).

Sound and Movement as Ethical Resources

The sense of music always exceeds whatever is or can be expressed by its means, and it is here that we can trace a specific musical or sonic ethics.

—M. Cobussen and N. Nielsen, *Music and Ethics*

To say that there has been a recent resurgence of interest in ethics and morality within anthropology would be an understatement (e.g., Zigon 2008; Lambek 2010; Faubion 2011; Fassin 2012; Laidlaw 2014; Keane 2015). However, with few exceptions, ethnographic data explicitly on the constitutive role of music and dance in ethical life is lacking, both within and outside of anthropology.

Among the scholars who have addressed the topic is the sociologist Tia DeNora (1999, 2013), who has explored music as a 'technology of the self' and more recently has elaborated on the therapeutic capacities of music-making and its potential to create ethical spaces or 'asylums'. In addition, Duranti and Burrell (2004) have examined the nexus between jazz improvisation and the quest for an ethical self underpinned by honesty and modesty, and Wilf (2015) has tackled questions of self-making in relation to the development of particular sensory skills in the context of jazz music education. Furthermore, Chrysagis (2013, 2016) has drawn attention to the plural ethical dimensions of 'do-it-yourself' (DiY) music-making in Glasgow, while Butterworth (2014a, 2014b) has focused on processes of subject formation among commercial *huayno* pop stars in Peru. Finally, Bramwell (2015) has considered the relationship between ethical values and the aesthetic features of rap music in London, Skinner (2015) has coined the term 'Afropolitan ethics' to capture the ways in which professional musicians in Mali employ music as a form of moral expression, and Senay (2015) has scrutinized

the ethical significance of verbal instruction in the practice of *ney* (reed flute) learning in Turkey. Dance scholars have also considered ideas relating to ethics and morality. Kringelbach's ethnography in urban Senegal (2013), for example, describes how dance is intimately tied up with processes of Dakarois self-making and social mobility and the ways in which dance performance becomes a medium for the embodiment of gendered moral norms and social hierarchies. Similarly, Wulff's examination of Irish dancing (2007) highlights the historical conjunction of bodily attributes and moral virtue. According to Wulff, in the Irish context, appropriate bodily postures in dance performance signified a virtuous self, thus foregrounding the dancing body as a site for the simultaneous embodiment and acting out of social values. Anthropologists working outside of the fields of music and dance have also provided important insights, by focusing on the interface between affective audition and ethical self-formation (Hirschkind 2006) and between bodily movement, self-constitution and the active acquisition of a pious habitus (Mahmood 2005).

While existing ethnographies on music and dance focus on performers, the ethical role of other actors is seldom considered. We endeavour to address this lacuna by delving into the ethics of subjects that are neither musicians nor dancers, but are nevertheless essential to the organization and successful execution of events and performances. We shall argue that practices such as reflecting on the ways in which a music event should be set up and promoted, consuming alcohol, or simply 'being in sound', can be powerful ethical techniques in specific contexts. Although certain contributors focus on particular figures, such as the choreographer (Chapter 3), the *animador* (Chapter 5), the music promoter (Chapter 6) or the anthropologist herself (Chapters 1, 2 and 4), the common underlying objective is to underscore the relational characteristics of ethical trajectories. As Pandian observes in his evocative ethnographic portrait of a single individual, ethical selfhood 'highlights the relationship between personal biographies and shared collective histories' (2010: 66).

The authors approach the ethical as an everyday mode of conduct and a form of self-fashioning and personhood. In doing so, our ethnographic examples emphasize sonic and corporeal practices that encompass the role of affect and emotion in ethical life, but also stress the salience of reflection, judgement and exemplars. By illuminating the pedagogies of self-making as an integral aspect of music and dance, they also point to the internalization of virtuous dispositions, capacities and sensibilities through external practices and comportment. Finally, the authors avoid the association of ethical action with moral obligation and notions of 'right' or 'wrong', by highlighting the idea that ethics is the object of continuous formation and reformation. In other words, we remain cautious towards the Durkheimian conflation of morality with society that, until recently, hindered the development of a concerted anthropological approach to ethics (see Laidlaw 2002). Notably, we have not confined our empirical descriptions within

instances, acts and utterances that our informants explicitly framed in terms of ‘ethics’ or ‘morality’. This would dramatically diminish ethnography’s potential to elucidate the ethical pluralism and ambivalence of sound and movement. It would further inhibit us from tracing the complex interrelationships and encounters that pervaded ethical discourse and practice in our informants’ effort to occupy, negotiate and expand specific ‘subject positions’ (Faubion 2011).

Exploring the nexus between music, dance and ethics might seem counter-intuitive in the sense that we normally search for the ethical in other domains, such as religion and its associated practices and beliefs. Yet we suspect we are not alone in taking for granted that music and dance are forms of human activity that bring plenitude and have self-evident benefits for musicians, dancers and audiences alike, to such an extent that they normally go without saying. In other words, music and dance practices are so attached to our experience of everyday life and so close to our definition of ‘the good’ (Robbins 2013) that we tend to forget or disregard their ethical value and that, when playing or listening or dancing to music for its own sake, this value is internal to these practices (MacIntyre 1981). Yet there is nothing inherently ethical (or, for that matter, unethical) in music qua music or dance qua dance, waiting to be revealed by the ethnographer.

In contributing to the emergent anthropology of ethics and morality, we intend to trace how sound and movement can distinctively contribute to our understanding of ethical personhood and projects of self-constitution. As Born writes, music materializes identities, although ‘musical sound is non-representational, non-artefactual and alogogenic’ (2011: 377). This is because identity is not conferred through music in a visceral, prereflective manner. Rather, sonic encounters index an active self. Thus, as Frith contends, the musical experience ‘is best understood as an experience of this *self-in-process*’ (1996: 109).

Kinaesthesia and the Resounding Body

As I dance I feel the shifting of my weight and the changing shapes of my body. I see my surroundings and I sense the rush of air past my skin; I hear, and
I feel, the percussive rhythms of my footfalls.

—C.J.C. Bull, *Sense, Meaning, and Perception in Three Dance Cultures*

Understanding the ways in which music and dance activities bring about particular selves and contribute to the formation of certain kinds of persons also requires consideration of the embodied dispositions actively cultivated through various practices. For example, Farnell asserts that there is a need to attend to the ‘*moving* body – to the person as physical actor in the social world – so that an anthropology or sociology of the body develops which truly transcends Cartesian limitations’ (1994: 931).

An influential contribution at the nexus between music, body and dance is Blacking’s work (e.g., 1977). Blacking examined the corporeal qualities that

underpin musical ability and performance within an analytical framework that integrated body and mind, thought and practice. As Grau (1993) has established, his writings have been instrumental in the emergence of the anthropology of dance. By contrast, as Grau further remarks, ethnochoreologists view 'the dancer's body as an instrument moving in time and space, in some ways separated from the dancer's mind' (ibid.: 21). Echoing the need to abolish such a dichotomy, Finnegan (2003) suggests that the study of musical experiences should cut across a mind–body dualism, in order to encompass emotional, affective and expressive registers, and convey how these come into play in different socio-cultural contexts.

In resorting to the body's capacity to be affected by sound and movement, the contributors to this volume endeavour to substantiate the convergence of corporeal registers, sensuous articulations and mental processes. Because of the multisensory ways in which individuals relate to sound and movement and to the world as such, music and dance should first and foremost be conceived of as bodily practices. These consist of instances in which haptic, aural, visual and kinaesthetic elements, among others (see e.g., Potter 2008), merge in what is a profoundly visceral experience. Nevertheless, this physicality is not distinguished from social interaction or personal reflection. In the dance event, for example, 'individuals publicly present themselves in and through celebratory practices – eating, drinking, singing, and talking, as well as dancing – and are evaluated by others' (Cowan 1990: 4). The hyper-density and intensity of physical intimacy that music and dance events afford may also facilitate a sense of unity, community or 'communitas' (Turner 1969) among members of the audience, as well as between audiences and performers. Keil (1966: 137) has elegantly documented the interaction between blues performers and audiences, by revealing how the expression of common problems through elaborate gestural, oral, aural and visual symbols promotes a catharsis, a sensuous resolution that fosters solidarity.

Music and dance essentially become aesthetic experiences, in the sense that they elicit a particular 'aesthesia' – a sensual involvement (Mazzarella 2009: 293). Among jazz students, for instance, embodied practical mastery and the acquisition of particular sensory capacities become open-ended processes informed by an aesthetics of differentiation, in addition to normative dimensions (see Wilf 2010). Also, Hirschkind (2001: 628–29; 2006: 101) draws on Collingwood's classic *The Principles of Art* (1938) to argue for a synaesthetic understanding of bodily affects in the nonmusical context of sermon listening. In dance contexts, the term 'kinaesthesia' is frequently employed to convey such sensory pluralism (e.g., Bull 1997; Sklar 2000, 2008; Farnell and Varela 2008; Foster 2011; Sheets-Johnstone 2011). Kinaesthesia, according to Sklar, is 'the reception of stimuli produced within one's own body' (2000: 72). For example, the Anlo-Ewe-speaking people in southeastern Ghana give importance to 'kinaesthetic sensations' and there is a 'clear connection, or association, between

bodily sensations and who you are or who you become' (Geurts 2002: 76). In general, it has been suggested that dancers are able to 'read' each other by employing their dance skills and 'kinaesthetic empathy' (Parviainen 2002: 20), because individuals who focus on disciplined bodily training and awareness are more proficient in deciphering their own and others' corporeal traits and movements (Ness 1996: 135, 136; Kohn 2008: 108–10; Skinner 2010: 117–18; Bizas 2014: 11).

Various forms of sensory 'interplay' (Classen 1993: 136) find ethnographic expression in subsequent chapters of this book (Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9 and 10). In most cases, the ethnographer's body emerged as a methodological tool and the means to attain cultural knowledge. Such awareness was at least partly gained *through* sound and movement, but we cannot disregard that our particular positioning in the field, among other factors, conditioned and largely determined the ways in which we listened or put our bodies into motion. Nevertheless, cultural information passed down as embodied knowledge by virtue of our mere presence and participation in unfolding events should not be deemed irrelevant or misleading. Rather, important questions can be put into perspective by paying attention to our own bodily responses. Although many of the authors do not explicitly address the tacit knowledge obtained through their resonating and moving bodies, somatic appreciation and conscious reflection following their exposure to intense field experiences have largely shaped their accounts (see also Kohn 2010). Therefore, we can only agree with Csordas (1993: 138) and his injunction to attend "with" and "to" the body' and explore how this can enrich our ethnographic analyses. The felt dimensions of fieldwork deserve at least an implicit recognition, especially when the subject matter directly relates to the sensorium. As one of Chrysagis's interlocutors put it when the former was describing why his presence in music events was important, an anthropologist had to 'get the *feel* for it' in order to be able to write about it.

Between Participation and Collaboration

It was almost always in singing that I forgot my place as an anthropologist.
—M. Engelke, *A Problem of Presence*

One can feel the sound and go through the motions, but how does one write about it? As Rice notes, 'while recognizing the sound might be easy, describing it is evidently more difficult' (2010: S45). And what if even the sound recorder is not enough (see Chapter 1)? Issues of sonic representation have been dealt with exhaustively elsewhere (e.g., Erlmann 2004; Feld and Brenneis 2004; Samuels et al. 2010), but the problematic nature of the trope of sonic 'immersion' and its subsequent transduction into written form remains (Helmreich 2007). Dance anthropologists have confronted similar issues (see Chapter 3). This is partly because movement-notation systems are quite complex, while relevant training is

rare and time consuming (Royce 1977). Video recordings provide an accessible alternative, but ultimately they raise additional methodological and ethical issues (see e.g., Dodds 2001; Pink 2007).

If sound and movement raise issues of representation they also exemplify processes of fieldwork collaboration. There is a tendency nowadays to conceive of ethnographers and research subjects as collaborators (e.g., Marcus 1997; Lassiter 2005; Holmes and Marcus 2008; Konrad 2012). However, in contrast to collaboration as an explicit and deliberate form of coproduction of ethnographic knowledge, the collaborative dimension of the relationship between researchers and their informants explored in this book is a direct, pragmatic response to the contributors' fieldwork experience: a process that has fostered a genuine, mutual interest in each other's work (Chapters 3, 6, 8, 9 and 10). This emergent collaboration has taken many forms. For example, several informants actively contributed to our research by introducing us to or contacting potential interviewees on our behalf; they invited us to specific events that they thought were related to our fieldwork; they made suggestions on relevant readings and offered friendly advice on what to include (or not) in our fieldnotes; they were keen to engage in dialogue with us, to debate and learn from what we had to say about their practice; they relied upon our cultural knowledge in the absence of readily available information; they offered insightful comments on our research reports and also expressed their interest in reading our published outputs; last but not least, they shared with us the experience of moving together in space and listening to sounds we had collectively produced.

It would not be far from the mark to claim that collaboration, in its many facets, has become a *sine qua non* of anthropological research. This is especially true for dance and music ethnographies because it is rarely the case that a comprehensive account of any performance could be based exclusively on observations and fieldnotes, except if the anthropologist has the opportunity to repeatedly witness the same event (see Wulff 1998). Nevertheless, the objective here is not accuracy in the sense of measurable outcomes in representation or, for that matter, in execution (Farnell and Wood 2011). Rather, embodied collaboration, such as dance, can become an important vehicle for the researcher's introduction into the field (Skinner 2010: 114; Pateraki and Karampampas 2014: 155–56), but it can also act as a space of knowledge exchange with research participants by creating a shared experience. Therefore, through dance, anthropologists are able to build rapport and foster relations that are vital to ethnographic research (Skinner 2010: 117–18).

Central to this process is participation. A participant observer – or observant participant (see Chapter 4) – oscillates between the two poles of participation and observation, while most anthropologists would situate themselves somewhat ambiguously in the middle of the spectrum. However, participation is frequently restricted due to issues of access. Yet lack of physical access is only one factor

that determines accessibility and thus opportunities for participation in music and dance activities (see Eisentraut 2013). This problem is further exacerbated by the unavoidable unevenness in the distribution of ethnographic attention in our effort to account for at least some of the diverse practices we encounter while in the field.

What is more, although dance and music knowledge can ease ethnographic participation, it is also fraught with ambivalence. Koutsouba (1999) discusses the issues that emerge when the fieldworker is already a ‘dance expert’. While this clearly has benefits, Koutsouba professes that her status as a dance teacher had the potential to disrupt local hierarchies between teachers and dancers and, therefore, she decided to place her role as a researcher before that of a dance teacher. By contrast, Karampampas (see Chapter 9), a goth specialist and DJ, was repeatedly approached by other Athenian goths during his six-year field research for advice relating to various goth-related topics. Consequently, he opted to share his knowledge with other members of the goth scene. Finally, in her discussion about employing dance notation for research purposes, Van Zile (1999: 91–92) addresses several advantages and disadvantages of the different positionalities of dance ethnographers.

Bigenho (2008) further stresses the implications of a singular focus on participation during fieldwork and offers a compelling argument that disavows privileging music participation over other forms of ethnographic engagement. Notably, she resists a narrow definition of the role of music ethnographers as participating musicians and thus as complete insiders. After all, it is rarely the case that one is either an insider or an outsider. As Narayan (1993) has forcefully argued, the insider/outsider distinction should be rather perceived as a complex continuum. We have already alluded to the idea that musical or dance training is not a prerequisite for anthropological research in music and dance or participation in relevant events and performances. Therefore, we approach participation in actual music and dance events in the sense of ‘participatory performance’ (Turino 2008: 26), which undercuts a sharp distinction between audience and performers. In doing so, however, this book also seeks to capture the palpable characteristics of sound and movement that conjure up expansive and eventful forms of ethnographic participation and collaboration.

The Chapters

The volume is organized into five parts. Part I is devoted to musicians’ narratives and the autoethnographic examination of sonic practices. The ways in which they exemplify issues pertinent to self-awareness and corporeality raise particular methodological implications, among others. Part II shifts the focus from sound to movement and from music to dance. In particular, the contributions in this section explore the collaborative dimensions of choreography and ethnography through an intimate look into the creative ideas and everyday routines of dance

practitioners, as well as the ethnographer's own mode of conduct in dance spaces. Part III returns to sonic territory, with an explicit focus upon social actors who organize and facilitate music events and performances. By considering the ethical value of their practices, the authors advance the proposition that ethical self-formation is often an integral component of music-making processes. Part IV describes the crafting of particular experiences and identities within dance contexts. Specifically, the authors scrutinize local and cinematic dance spaces as sites for the articulation of national(ist) discourses, authenticating narratives and tourist imaginaries. This is not a straightforward process, however, because dancing bodies moving in heterogeneous space-time continua may produce, resist or mediate between competing points of view. Finally, Part V conveys the idea not only that song and dance enable people to fashion themselves and their lifeworlds in relation to the spaces they inhabit, but also that there is a profound sense of irony in the manner that sound and movement engender relationships, express sociality and cherish what it means to be human.

Part I: Sound, Meaning and Self-Awareness

In their contribution, Tamara Kohn and Richard Chenhall examine the distinctive sonic and kinetic elements that constitute one's experience of 'being in sound' in the practice of aikido and shakuhachi respectively. By drawing upon their own bodily and sensory experiences and the digitally recorded sounds of their training sessions in Japan, they provide two compelling autoethnographic narratives that interrogate the limits of sonic knowledge and understanding. Their analysis begins from the premise that sound is the outcome of social interaction rather than an object of passive reception on the part of the listener. By expanding the notion of 'aural sensibility' to include the manifold ways in which the ethnographer's body participates in sonic production, Kohn and Chenhall raise important methodological questions. They contend that sonic representation should refer not only to the experience of the *other*, but also to one's own capacity to fully immerse oneself, feel and reflect upon the complex nature of sound-making processes. Such an approach challenges the objectivity of recorded sound, as opposed to the subjective nature of sonic experience and embodied memory, qualifies the use of recording media for sonic representation and underscores the participatory qualities and somatic dimensions of doing fieldwork in sound and music. According to the authors, listening with one's whole being versus searching for 'meaning' reflects the basic difference between 'being in sound' and after-the-fact sonic analysis. This begs the fundamental question: can we really 'listen' without the need to 'understand'?

In a similar vein, Yuki Imoto draws on autobiographical and reflective techniques, as well as interviews, in order to account for different modes of self-conception among Japanese classical musicians in London. Having spent several years studying music and anthropology in the U.K., the author embarks on a

close examination of how ‘Japaneseness’ is played out in the musicians’ narrations of their migration experiences. Through a concerted critique of simplistic models that enforce a sharp dichotomy between ‘collectivist’ Japan and the ‘individualist’ West, her analysis raises more questions than it answers. As Imoto exclaims: ‘So what then *can* be represented and analysed?’ The answer is that looking into Japanese senses of identity and how they are mediated through ‘language about music’ provides useful insight into pluralistic ideas regarding ‘national character’. For example, her interviewees perceived the characteristics of sensitivity and perfectionism, strict forms of discipline and education, a sense of lyricism and the passivity of audiences to be quintessentially Japanese. Yet, while classical musicians mobilized a series of elaborate oppositions to convey the distinctiveness of the Japanese self, these were ultimately intertwined with Western-influenced and diffused notions of creativity and musicianship. Their narratives further attest to a process of ‘self-orientalism’ as a response to their migrant status – the appropriation of Zen philosophy and practice is telling. Far from being embedded within rigid cultural schemata, therefore, the contours of Japanese identity are being assembled within a ‘cultural supermarket’ offering a range of lifestyle choices.

Part II: Pedagogies of Bodily Movement

Brenda Farnell and Robert Wood skilfully demonstrate how processes of collaboration that induce ‘kinaesthetic intimacy’ can be reversed through a ‘hyper-visceral’ exploration of choreographic practice. Their chapter outlines Wood’s artistic vision by tracing his diverse influences, ranging from New Zealand’s landscapes and Japanese *butoh* to New York City in the 1980s and his relationship with Merce Cunningham and John Cage. By placing emphasis on Wood’s oral narratives, the analysis outlines his multifaceted choreographic ethos, revolving around procedures of spatial and temporal manipulation, a profound sensuousness and an intense physicality that obliterates dualistic ontologies. Wood’s ‘movement explorations’ constitute a wordless pedagogy through a sharp focus on kinaesthetic awareness and an ongoing affective feedback between choreographer and dancers. Against an array of techniques that privilege the authoritative voice of the choreographer-master, Wood’s approach to his dancers as people and as ‘fundamentally *moving beings*’ transcends a narrow conception of the dancing body as the means to predefined ends. Rather, choreographer and dancer become mutually attuned to one another, seeking artistic excellence through reciprocal participation and self-discovery. Such values accomplish a particular mode of being and animate choreographies even in the absence of material or other external rewards, such as status or prestige. Farnell and Wood point out that dancers’ embodied understanding of their craft results in the lack of verbal articulation about their practice in public contexts. However, as movements and sensations are transduced into words for the anthropologist, interesting repercussions emerge for ethnographic representation.

Bethany Whiteside examines another important dimension of dance ethnography by exploring the dual role of researcher/participant in a range of contexts across the city of Glasgow, U.K. By adapting Goffman's model of dramaturgy (1990 [1959]) she orchestrates an interdisciplinary critique of the notion of participant observation par excellence. Her account tackles uneasy realities about ethnographic access and participation in dance educational contexts and addresses issues of collaboration and 'reflexivity', etiquette and comportment. The author employed her classically trained dancing body as a data collection tool. She says: 'I was able to, willing and happy to dance'. In certain contexts, however, such as the salsa club, she ended up dancing 'on the periphery'. In focusing upon dance knowledge transmission and embodiment through pedagogical instruction, her analysis also offers a glimpse into the role of the dance teacher as an authority figure and the enforcer of discipline. According to Whiteside, dance pedagogues and performers alike make use of 'dramaturgical discipline' in order to assert their authority, regardless of any errors that may occur during a class or performance. Ethnographers-cum-dancers, too, stand in a pedagogical relationship to their informants, but in a mutual and much more nuanced manner than what the seemingly unquestioned authority of dance instructors might suggest. Consequently, while dancing one's way through the field may provide valuable insights, it appears that when dance pedagogy is pervaded by the teacher's authority it cannot provide a model for doing ethnographic research.

Part III: Music Practices and Ethical Selfhood

James Butterworth takes up the theme of subject formation among Andean working-class migrants in his examination of *huayno* music spectacles in Lima, Peru, to explain how audience experiences are ethically framed and mediated by the figure of the *animador*, a type of compere. A flamboyant, quasi-pedagogical character, the *animador* ensures a continuous flow of alcohol and his theatrics play a decisive role in eliciting audience responses. As Jaime Ponce, an *animador*, explains: 'An artist without an *animador* does not have much to deploy on stage'. Butterworth persuasively argues that for many audience members the meta-identity of being an Andean migrant encompasses various other subject positions that they come to inhabit during *huayno* events. Crucially, the state has perpetuated and amplified this identification, which has culminated in the marginalization of and a sense of 'existential anxiety' among Andean migrants based in Lima. *Huayno* spectacles, by contrast, become spaces where positive endorsement and acknowledgement of their migrant status may help neutralize such concerns. This is intensified by drinking, affect and the sentimentality invoked by song lyrics and expressive modes of vocal delivery. Excessive alcohol consumption emerges as a technology of the self that appears to be essential for the consolidation of subjectivation processes. Alcohol and its intricate social and moral connotations accompany a sensory overload and a surplus of emotional

expression. This forcefully manifests, inter alia, the role of the body in bringing about an ethical self. What is of primary concern here, then, is an emphasis on the corporeality of *huayno* music spectacles.

In contrast, Evangelos Chrysagis traces the ethical trajectory of a former Glasgow-based music promoter based on the seemingly paradoxical views, reflective attitudes and practical judgements surrounding his adherence to a 'do-it-yourself' (DiY) ethos. In drawing attention to the improvisatory nature of music promotion and its attendant values, practices and conventions, his account construes extramusical activity as a critical site for the study of self-fashioning and offers an argument that resonates with and builds on certain developments in the anthropology of ethics and morality. By ethnographically operationalizing James Faubion's insights in his book *An Anthropology of Ethics* (2011), the author explores the promoter's effort to occupy and alter particular subject positions. In doing so, he considers the salience of exemplarity and judgement in the organization and execution of DiY music events and the ways in which promotional practices encourage the cultivation of specific dispositions. Although the narrative chronicles the ethical transformation of one individual, the ethnographic exposition of the promoter's entrepreneurial development through various forms of collaboration discloses the resolutely intersubjective nature of ethics. Spanning issues of financial moderation and excess, ethical conversion and informal pedagogy, the analysis foregrounds the fundamental role of music in shaping the personal, professional and ethical identities of promoters vis-à-vis material considerations and ideas about commercial sustainability. Thus, Chrysagis also opens up a space to examine the significance of ethics in relation to cultural policy and employment in the creative industries, by revisiting the tension between artistry and commercialism at a critical economic and political juncture for the U.K.

Part IV: Dancing in Time and across Space

Ruxandra Ana's lucid account of the Cuban rumba is a prime example of a music/dance complex and how it fosters and expresses ideas about politics and belonging. By tracing the emergence of rumba as a cultural commodity and an authenticating tool for local populations and tourists alike, the author provides a fascinating ethnography of *rumberos* in Havana and Matanzas. She asserts that rumba is at the forefront of the expansion of the tourist sector and the commodification of Cuban cultural heritage. However, *rumberos* do not reap the full benefits of such international attention, while many see this 'heritagizing' as a politically motivated process. This conviction is intimately related to the racialization of the dance and its perceived 'blackness'. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the actual spaces where rumba is danced. Becoming the nexus where tourists, rumba aficionados and locals meet, dance venues encapsulate antagonistic ideas about rumba, blackness and Cubanness. Venues are also the contexts in which bodily assets are transformed into economic capital and where

the bodies of *rumberos* come to stand for ‘roots’ and the ‘authentic’. As Ana succinctly observes, ‘the rumba appears to function as an embodied souvenir that makes “Cubanness” available’ to tourists. Within a globalized tourist industry, blackness seems to take on ‘positive’ connotations. But rumba is further linked to other domains of Afro-Cuban tradition, such as religion, which contributes to its ambivalent position, while explaining rumba’s deliberate racialization on the part of the state.

In her exploration of the recent financial downturn in Greece, Mimina Pateraki examines Hellenic cinematic history and its wealth of music and dance resources. The author suggests that paying attention to these films will enable us to fully grasp how inhabitants of Korydallos, an Athens suburb, use cinematic dance as the means to articulate a critical response to ‘the crisis’. The chapter focuses on two iconic scenes from the early 1970s films *Evdokia* and *Oratótis Midén* to demonstrate how cinematic dance endows current narratives of the recession with cultural meanings. The author contends that, through these narratives, Greeks manage to enact a transtemporal understanding of their national history by reworking embodied memories. The significance of cinematic dance, therefore, dwells in its capacity to animate an assemblage of historicities. Yet, on a more mundane level, local dance events also afford people the opportunity to get together, share a dance, engage in acts of solidarity and collectively work through the conundrums of ‘the crisis’. So, while economic hardship is experienced as a form of stasis or ‘stillness’, dance puts things back into motion. As Alkis, one of Pateraki’s informants, explains, it is the ‘*zeibékiko* of *Evdokia*’ that ‘can put in motion the whole world for me It’s an “antidote” to the crisis’. The contemporary situation is seen as the ‘point zero’, which is similar to the predicament of the main character in *Oratótis Midén*. Having reached their nadir, the country and its people seek a way out.

Part V: Motion, Irony and the Making of Lifeworlds

Panas Karampampas demonstrates how Athenian goth performances on the dance floor and in everyday life can be apprehended through notions of ‘nihilistic’ and ‘liberal’ irony. His analysis draws on social media and audiovisual resources, while bringing together ethnographic works that have explored irony in relation to language and politics in Greece. An important ethnographic particularity is that in modern Greek the word ‘irony’ is used interchangeably with sarcasm, parody and mockery and, therefore, the chapter also addresses issues of incommensurability between existing theoretical frameworks and native categories. The author examines irony from two interrelated perspectives: first, the ways in which it is embodied in actual goth dance performances and, second, how goths employ irony when they reflect on their own and other people’s dance practices. The reader also learns about methodological complexities stemming from the discrepancy between research participants’ verbal statements and their

somatic postures, which result in an array of contradictions. Ironically enough, Athenian goths do not always practise what they preach. Based on the terms of nihilistic irony, goth ideas are realized in action, whereas from the standpoint of liberal irony, goth ideology and Athenian goths' practices occasionally clash and diverge from each other. This brings us to the analysis of inclusion and exclusion in relation to stereotypes, three notions that are directly related to the use of liberal irony. Ultimately, Karampampas argues that, even when goth practices seem antithetical and self-contradictory, the whole spectrum represents the embodiment of liberal irony.

Borut Telban explores the dancing, singing and drumming of Papua New Guinea's Karawari-speaking people by describing an all-night ceremony in the Ambonwari village of the East Sepik Province that facilitates the enactment of beauty, morality and love. His delightful storytelling and ethnographic account of *yamin siria* (song-dance of the house) encompass a host of cultural ideas and cosmological beliefs, such as the interrelation between sound, movement, image and the natural environment, the association between body decoration and the spirit world and the affinity between song-poetry and cultural memory. The author also points towards the alliance between movement/stasis and the recreation of landscape through treading specific paths. The link between the flow of song/dance and the ceaseless formation of the Ambonwari lifeworld is further exposed by the ceremony's potential to initiate sexual liaisons. The explicit content of the song lyrics attests to that, while the all-night dances become a ritual reevaluation of gender roles. Telban's captivating account demonstrates a depth of knowledge that only long-term fieldwork is able to impart and traces the ethnographer's gradual transition from sympathetic outsider to cultural facilitator and producer. For example, the author remarks that, after 2001, he was the only person that had access to the complete songs of *yamin siria*. As a result, when imported music and dance genres seemed to have captured the imagination of Ambonwari youth, the anthropologist emerged as the mainstay of tradition, partaking in what Telban, following Sahlin's (2013), calls the 'mutuality of being'.

By grappling with these issues, we intend to illustrate the benefits of dissolving sound and movement into everyday practice. This retains the primacy of musicality and expressive motion in the lives of our informants. Essentially an agglomeration of bodily practices, technologies of self-fashioning and forms of place-making, sound and movement open up social pathways and conjure up life trajectories that are neither predetermined nor teleological, but generative and in flux. As people adjust such pathways and trajectories and in turn become attuned to them, anthropologists should continually adapt to fleeting circumstances and embrace the imagining of alternative futures. We hold that musical sounds and dance moves have the potential to spark our imagination and transform it

into creative action, thus providing novel ways of being, becoming, doing and relating.

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Note

1. Unless otherwise stated, italics in quotations are used by the original author.

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