

Anthropology of Music Masterclass \*\*\* 26<sup>th</sup> - 29<sup>th</sup> of June \*\*\* Prof. Steven Feld

## Forest Scapes

*Sophia Bauer (Artist)*

Forest Scapes is a project that researches the impact of colonialism on landscape through sound.

I am re researching at two concrete forests in Kenya: The Kereita Forest Block, a plantation of Cypress, an exotic species to Kenya introduced by the British, the colonial power in Kenya from 1895-1964. The second forest is an indigenous forest, the Arabuko-Sokoke Forest, a biodiversity hotspot on the Kenyan coast, which has traces of the past still visible, like the former paths to take logs from the forest. The aim is by listening into these two forests to rethink the relationship between colonialism, people, places and plants and to reassemble their hierarchies in history. Forest Scapes considers different aural material, like interviews with people today living with and in the forests, Forest Reports from the National Archive of Kenya from as early as 1902, the voices of the trees recorded with ultrasonic microphones and super sensitive contact mics and ambient recordings of the places. Through these materials I try to compose an ambivalent picture of the past, taking in account the agency of the different players in the constellation.

How can a place, a situation be known through sound and through the methods of listening? And how can this knowledge shape discourses? With Forest Scapes I try to find a way of rethinking colonialism in Kenya through sound. This history often seems one-sided and very much told by the powerful and surrounded by a discourse, which I often feel excluded from. Although the impact of the colonial period in history is shaping the life on a global scale in the past and also in the present, economical, social, individual, environmental, psychological, I find its discourse is exclusive and not very present. Reflecting on that history is of global importance. So how can we find a new rhythm for discussion?

Sound and listening as a practice is a reflective method which centers around the self but in a inclusive manner. „Deep listening“ is a term coined by the composer Pauline Oliveiros which is the art and practice of listening together and respond to the conditions around you. Sound

makes you aware of your surrounding by placing you in time and space and therefore re-evaluate your position in your environment. Hence sound can be thought of as medium that requires relations. It articulates the listening body as a relational being.

This very much opposes the ideology of European imperialism of the 16th century onwards which established a clear hierarchy amongst humans, plants, animals. Its concept is based on division not relation. This ideology of division is deeply induced in the European society and is shaping the way how people sense the world around them up to today. Listening is therefore a practice and sound a medium that questions the core ideas of the divisional concepts of the European imperialism and colonialism.

As an artist I try and put ideas into a form which can be of different shapes. In “Forest Scapes”, I work with the sound of two forests as material, which is composed and shaped in a particular manner. In a composition of the different sonic materials that I have recorded I try to create a space that encourages a listening practice that produces knowledge that is informed by context, process, between-ness, interrelated-ness. The listener should experience the sonic environment of the forest which is shaped not only by its present but also by its past. It is not only the wind that is travelling through the trees but also the people living in the forest and their voices and their stories that shape this particular landscape. All these sonic materials are collected in an archive that is accessed in different ways and played out on 5 speakers. “Focus”, “Intermingle” and “Interrupt” these terms of access are modelled on modes of listening which I have experienced in the forest. The different sonic materials are put into relation with one another and create a sound mesh that is exploring the forest landscape its past and its present.

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## **Sounds of Labor and the Labors of Sound: Acoustemological Archaeologies of Industry and its Afterlives**

*Cynthia Browne (Harvard University; Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies)*

For my presentation, I plan to begin with a short clip of Steve McQueen's *Western Deep* (<http://www.criticalcommons.org/Members/andydancer/clips/western-deep/view>), whose opening foregoes any visual image in favor of an immersive sonic environment of descent into the gold mines of South Africa. I then move to discuss a certain paradox, or existential irony, in which it is the very acoustic attunement of miners to their environment that is necessary for them to alert themselves to various dangers, such as falling rocks in the mine, yet at the same time, it is this attunement—due to the amplitude of the machinery and noise in the mining environments—that slowly leads to their loss of hearing. This example raises one tension of axis within acoustemological archaeologies of industry and its afterlives that I aim to discuss in the course of my presentation: the tension between seemingly “documentary” approaches, mediated through forms of technology, and the transmission of phenomenological experience.

I then move on to provide a short overview of different sound recordings, compositions, and installations related to the sounds of industrial (and post-industrial) landscapes of labor in order to explore shifting artistic and anthropological representations of such “sounds of labors” (and the tension outlined above between more presumed “documentary” approaches vs. phenomenological/aesthetic ones) that is also attentive to different strategies and technologies of making sound (i.e. the labor of sound). Examples to be discussed include samples from the Klangarchiv of Richard Ortman, who was influenced by Murray Schaeffer's “World Soundscape Project” and who has sought to document the Ruhr's process of structural change through auditory means since the beginning of the 1980s the use of factory recordings in 20<sup>th</sup> century musical composition, such as Luigi Nono's *La Fabbrica Illuminata*, composed in 1964 for voice and four-channel sound as part of a new form of “virtual sonic theatre” that was to focus on condi-

tions of factory workers contemporary collaborations between composers, artists, and anthropologists in the post-industrial ghost towns and High Arctic landscapes of Nevada and Svalbard respectively.

I will then relate this overview to the specific challenges and interests I have in acoustemology<sup>1</sup> with respect to understanding and communicating my research on post-industrial transformation in the Ruhr region. In my work, I am interested in the potential acoustemology bears towards understanding questions of sensorial memory and its role in how knowledge of a landscape based on lived experience is communicated, both by the anthropologist as well as the people to whom and (ideally) with whom he/she listens and collaborates. How might these acoustical dimensions be brought into the Ruhr's current spaces of heritage through sound walks and other forms of mediating acoustic experience to the public via forms of technology? What possibilities does sound hold for attuning us to aspects of "slow violence" and legacies of environmental toxicity in the Ruhr, which often remain invisible or imperceptible due to their recalcitrance into forms of spectacle, as Rob Nixon (1992) has persuasively argued? What potential does the capacity to simultaneously layer different sounds or acoustical threads of varying length hold for expressing and translating the palimpsestic nature of such landscapes, in contrast to the predominantly visual and spectacular modes of representations that dominate in representations of the Ruhr's post-industrial landscape<sup>2</sup> (Browne 2018)?

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<sup>1</sup> This interest comprises of both formal training as an affiliate of the Sensory Ethnography Lab and as an alumni of the Critical Media Practice program at Harvard University, as well as my use of media—both visual and acoustic—in my ethnographic research on the Ruhrgebiet.

<sup>2</sup> For more discussion of such predominantly visual and spectacular modes of representation, please see my doctoral thesis "Utopic Wastelands: Site-Specific Art and the Re-making of Germany's Ruhr Region."

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## **Studio music production as kinship practice: Technology and the making of Lisu religiosity in contemporary Myanmar**

*Ying Diao 刁颖 (Postdoc Research Fellow, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity)*

The twentieth-century social change among the Lisu, a transnational ethnic group spreading across the mountainous regions of southwest China and Southeast Asia, is characterized by their large-scale conversion from animism to Protestantism, which has become essential in the making of Lisu ethnic identity today despite of the marginalized status of Christianity in their main populated areas. From the 2000s onwards the indigenous religious practices in Nujiang Lisu Nationality Prefecture in the northwest of Yunnan province were tremendously impacted by the import of Lisu Christian pop music recordings and online materials produced outside the region. When these ethnic-language gospel audiovisual products were circulated throughout Nujiang, the local government accelerated ethnic cultural production to compete with the Christian soundscape in the village. Combining part of my doctoral research on the role of new media practices in construction of cross-border religious networkings with the ethnographic data collected from my recent fieldwork in Myanmar's Kachin state (Myitkyina) and Yangon—the centers of Lisu music and media production—this paper examines how over the last three decades the Christian revival and sustaining of the Lisu have been affected by their self-organized engagements with “old” and “new” media technologies. In particular, I study how the Burmese Lisu musicians use new sound technologies to establish and inhabit what I call a “studio kinship” for making Lisu pop music in the studios and beyond, based on which an audiovisual world of Lisu Christianity and a specifically indigenous domain have emerged.

More recently, affordable home recording and mastering technologies have afforded Burmese Lisu musicians from rural areas who lack substantial financial support to work at home with the most rudimentary recording equipment in compensating for professional facilities. Historically shaped by American missionaries' transnational media (radio) evangelism and further de-

veloped through the interactions with both Burmese and *tain-yin-tha* (ethnic minority) pop musicians in a thriving Burmese pop music industry, the low-budget production of Lisu-language music recordings has been virtually unknown to the non-native audiences. What have been recorded in those so-called “home studios” for circulation within Lisu transnational communities are short original pop songs of three types according to the lyrics: love songs, gospel songs, and ethnic songs. The majority of them are performed by solo singers and accompanied by heavy electronic sounds that are generated either on synthesizers or by the instrumentation of an electronic guitar, a bass, a drum kit, and a keyboard. Despite all the obstacles they’ve encountered, this small group of marginalized ethnic minority musicians have been motivated to continuously write and perform Christian and ethnic pop songs in their own language with great enthusiasm.

Unlike Burmese pop music industry where virtually all recordings are made in professional studios in Yangon (MacLachlan 2011: 3), Lisu pop music production is carried out in the transnational, multi-sited spaces. Lisu musicians who wish to make a professional career in music have to move to Yangon or Myitkyina away from their village communities. A small portion of recording sessions are completed in the Lisu-run radio ministry based in the city of Chiang Mai. Generally speaking, the production is realized through what I call in this paper “studio kinship” rather than isolated activities separated from kinship networks and community life. My analysis of “studio kinship” underlying Lisu music production takes inspiration from Steven Feld’s concept of “acoustemology” (1992/2015) —particularly aligning with its logic connection to relational ontology—to suggest a relational understanding of the studio space as being defined by and connected with a host of human (singers, musicians, engineers, producers, vendors, etc.) and non-human actors (mobile technologies, studios and spaces beyond, etc.). In the ensuing discussions, I use case studies to analyze the mechanism of Lisu studio production through affective kinship practices to ensure the mobility of people and musical objects that are often constrained technically, economically, temporally, and spatially. The current study shows that the Lisu model of “distributed music production” (Eliot Bates, 2016) necessitates a re-evaluation what the (home) studio actually is beyond what is commonly perceived. I argue that in addition to its technological affordances the home studio is better understood as a resilient space of what transcend its physical limits for a cumulative and interactive process of socio-religious participation, and thereby an analytic of “studio kinship” is useful to do justice to the mechanics of studio production as an assemblage of spaced-out nodes in which notions of ontological determinism and human agency are largely downplayed.

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## **Echo and Narcissus: Searching for Voice in Academic Speech**

*Caroline Gatt (Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen)*

### **Overview**

In this presentation I cobble together the works of Steven Feld, the philosopher Adriana Cavarero, historian Mary Carruthers, anthropologist and education theorists Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, anthropologists Tim Ingold and Bruno Latour. In stumbling tones I suggest that considering academic ways of thinking and making arguments in terms of a community of practice, even if a long established one, makes it possible to historicise academic ways of knowing that otherwise appear as necessary, correct, natural, and all other ways of knowing secondary.

As Feld (2015) argues listening is always a relational history of listening, therefore I attempt to listen to the traces of how previous anthropologists listened and learned to attend to the world. I draw on the experience of being taught academic ways of thinking, in particular how to create a coherent line of argument. In this pedagogy and subsequent ways of knowing, the musicality of language is explicitly considered secondary. I contrast this to the concerns of research theatre, whose practitioners strive to devise ways of knowing that are responsive to emergent ecologies of experience. Here musicality is considered in terms of responsiveness, and the aesthetic of sound is secondary.

These two ways of knowing converge in my personal experience, having trained in both. Through a performance/presentation I explore how this onto/epistemological convergence might revive voice in academic speech.

### **Formative qualities**

In my recent research, called “Crafting Anthropology Otherwise”, I have explored the question: How can the ways of knowing of anthropology and research theatre mutually inform each other

in valuable ways? This question led me to studying the formative qualities of the craft of anthropology in relation to those of research theatre. In this presentation I will explore one formative quality from each of these distinguishable ways of knowing and I'll suggest one way in which they might work together.

One formative quality of anthropology, as in academia more widely, is the *logos*. This is a shorthand for a multitude of tasks that include analysis, rationality, and argument of various forms, but is also a label that carries with it a history of epistemological hierarchy with very real and serious effects in the world. In research theatre one formative quality that I will focus on in this presentation is the interest in exploring emergent ecologies of experience. Research theatre is a complex and multi-stranded ecology of practice and I will introduce the field through how I came to be engaged in it, relating my collaborative work with Ang Gey Pin, influences by Jerzy Grotowski.

### **The Logos**

Firstly in relation to the *logos* in anthropology I present an autoethnographic example of learning how to organise sentences and paragraphs. What this pedagogical example draws attention to is how learning the discipline of anthropology shapes thoughts and narratives especially for the purposes of writing in a particular form – analysis and argument. In anthropology the late Dwight Conquergood was critical about this emphasis on writing, not because of writing itself but because of the way anthropological work participates in a system of logocentrism – in which the knowledge is assumed to be ‘true’ if it is in the register of the *logos*, reason, it also participates in the political systems by which people are controlled by how states read people, and this bleeds into anthropology in subtle ways, such as in Geertz influential understanding of culture as text to be interpreted.

In this logocentrism the musicality of language is explicitly considered secondary. If writing can be poetic great, but first and foremost the argument has to be clear. I ask why this has come to be so.

Adriana Cavarero writes that in the history of metaphysics any serious attention to the acoustic qualities of language, of *logos* was silenced as a result of being contrasted to vision.

One major stumbling block here is that the ancient philosophers Cavarero refers to developed their ideas by means of speech, through oratory. In retrospect Cavarero argues that the problem was dealt with by co-opting one aspect of *logos* into this rubric of truth to the exclusion of any

others. By varied processes *logos* loses its voice, and logocentrism becomes a system of knowledge that values rationality and reason above all else. However, Carruthers in her study of reading and memory in the medieval monasteries in Europe provides examples of the changeable historical continuity of this visualism.

To bring this back to anthropology, in the way anthropologists refer to the practice of thinking visual metaphors are still prevalent. This is also apparent in the description of thinking as reflection and self-awareness as reflexivity. And this even though for decades there has been an overwhelming interest in the senses. Both reflection and reflexivity are of course visual metaphors that depend on how mirroring works. Haraway has criticised the use of this optical metaphor of reflection because it extends the assumption that what scholarship is for is to understand and faithfully represent the world as it really is. That knowledge should hold a mirror up to the world. Her proposal is to shift to 'diffraction' instead of reflection, because diffraction generates multiple possibilities.

So on the one hand we have Haraway suggesting other visual metaphors, and Cavarero suggesting attention to the possibilities of acoustic grounding. Here I argue instead for attention to ecologies of experience based on my work in research theatre which I argue allows anthropologists to take other ways of knowing seriously precisely by extending the importance given to building relationships in fieldwork to the entire orthopraxy of anthropology.

### **Research theatre demonstration**

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## **Ethnography at home: listening to the sonic historiography of the Mascarene islands of the Indian Ocean**

*Pyndiah Gitanjali (Department of Media, Communication and Cultural Studies Goldsmiths University of London)*

This paper looks at the Indian Ocean as an aesthetic space and presents the Creole language and the *sega* – a polymorphous performative art form consisting of dance, music and songs in Creole – which are common across many islands of the region. Different varieties of the language and *sega* have been recorded: *Moutia* in Seychelles, *sega tambour* in Rodriguez, *sega* with *makalapo* from the Chagos islands performed by exiled Chagossians and *maloya* at Reunion. They are accompanied by similar but different dance moves and instruments. A preliminary study shows that these islands share a similar history of colonization, slavery and creolization.

This research will present three *sega* from the Mascarene islands of the Indian Ocean (Mauritius, Rodrigues, Réunion): 1) the Mauritian *sega* 2) Rodriguan *sega Tambour* and 3) Reunion *Maloya* which have similar but different soundscapes. This paper speculates that these Creole creative practices were produced from the memory of ancestral sounds and instruments (African, Malagasy and Indian) as well as from other cultural influences and the different processes of creolisation which occurred on each island. This paper presents some initial findings on the Creole culture of the Mascarene islands in the Indian Ocean and the preliminary development of a methodology for an empirical study on its sonic aspect.

In the last two decades, there has been a surge of literature on the sonic turn in Sound and Cultural Studies which has invigorated the field of anthropology, linguistic and musicology (Back & Bull, 2003, Henriques, 2011). Back and Bull (2003) bring together a range of scholars exploring the theoretical concept of ‘deep listening’. This requires paying attention to the sound of the space, the accent, pitches and rhythm of language, immersion in musical practices and developing the hearing faculty of understanding beats, tempo and bass culture. My research highlights the oral-aural contribution to the construction of cultures that are predominantly sonic, by drawing from Henriques (2011) who explores the evolution of the music scene in

Jamaica and concludes that the Caribbean culture is predominantly sonic and cannot be analysed from our habitual thinking through images or music that is bound up with language, notation and representation. He develops ‘thinking through sound’ as a method of inquiry and argues that Jamaican music represents a ‘technologizing’ of different ‘folk’ sound, in the sense that the music carried forward ancestral traditions of music – the orality of improvisation for example – and was adapted with technology such as the mixing of sound. This research starts from the premise that the Creole culture is also sonic. This aspect has not been studied within the linguistic/literary/anthropological fields from which Creole Studies has often drawn from.

While cultural theorists have written about the relevance of researching sonic cultures and provided a theoretical foundation, there is a limited literature on methodology to conduct an empirical study of sonic cultures (Nettl, 2005). In that sense, part of the set of methods proposed for this research draws from the work of Steve Feld who explains that by writing and circulating other peoples' histories through their voices (speech, sound, music), there are more opportunities to build narratives that are not authorial based on one language, one voice or one narrative. Feld proposes ‘acoustemology’, as a method to study, so as not to focus on categories and things (instruments, texts, and composers), and find other criteria other than virtuosity, melodic and rhythmic complexity, sophistication, which are developed in the field of music studies. It allows me to think how a practise of listening to my own Creole tongue inform ethnographic work? How to listen to the music in the language as a method of writing new genealogies? Can a sonic way of knowing, being and living on the islands inform a historiography of the region?

I will also present what I am still developing around what I call a Creole sonic historiography. The term ‘sonic historiography’ is borrowed from Holm-Hudson (2001) who looks at rock music in the 1970s and argues that a sonic historiography is a reflection of a decade when music became increasingly imbued with a sense of its own history. This paper will lastly demonstrate the connection between islands’ sonic aesthetics, history and memory and query whether an alternative historiography can be written from the sonic culture of the Creole people. It aims at proposing a framework to understand how musical/sonic practices embody sensuous relational histories spread across the Indian Ocean space.

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## **Sound Sources. Thoughts on the dynamic relationship of acoustic environment and the perception of music**

*Vanessa von Gliszczynski (Weltkulturen Museum<sup>1</sup>, Frankfurt am Main)*

How are environmental sounds and soundings reflected in music? Do listeners used to a dense acoustic environment prefer acoustically dense styles of music? Is the development of musical styles like Techno, Industrial or Metal a reaction to the sounds of an industrial environment? In a nutshell: Is music perception influenced and shaped by multiple environmental sounds and soundings? These are the basic questions of my research project *Sound Sources*.

The idea for *Sound Sources* came about through my daily confrontation with material culture at the Weltkulturen Museum in Frankfurt, where I work as curator for the Southeast Asia department. Preparing an exhibition on barkcloth, I became aware that every object in our collection contributes to its local soundscape and thus transports knowledge. In the case of bark cloth production in Poso, Sulawesi it is even documented that one can recognize the stage of production by the frequency and sound of the beating (Aragon 1990: 40). The soundscape of Oceania is also strongly characterized by the beats of barkcloth production which often comes together with the use of slit drums – a coincidence, maybe. This was the initial moment, where I started to think about the role of material culture in the local soundscape. Material culture thus plays a central role for the *Sound Sources* project as it will also be the starting point for an exhibition about the dynamics of acoustic environment and the perception of music at the Weltkulturen Museum.

The sounds of material culture characterize the local soundscape in the same way as the sounds of the ecosystem. At the same time material culture depends highly on the natural environment from which it is produced: e.g. on Flores bamboo zithers or flutes are a simple manipulation of the available resources. Instruments and objects alike are produced out of the natural environ-

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.weltkulturenmuseum.de>

ment and contribute to the local soundscape. These sounds – charged with knowledge and meaning - constitute the primary hearing experience of the individuals living in this soundscape. This leads to the central question of the research project: Does the local soundscape influence individual audio and therefore music perception, and if it does so - to what extent? Based on this question I understand the individual (and constantly changing) soundscape as the starting point for acoustic knowledge and the basis of any kind of music perception and consequently also music production. Thus the dynamic between soundscape, man, music perception and production is a cyclic one.

To research this dynamic relationship, first it needs a theoretical approach for a classification of soundscapes. Starting from both, Murray R. Schafer's *Soundscape Studies* (2010) and Steven Feld's *Acoustemology* (2015), I define two aspects of soundscape which I understand as correlated, but for the sake of theoretical classification will be treated separately. These interacting spheres of the acoustic environment are based on the resources which produce the sounds and soundings involved: this is what I call the natural and the cultural soundscape. Sounds produced by the ecosystem – like waterfalls or birds singing – belong to the natural soundscape, while sounds produced by humans and their material culture – like barkcloth beating or striking the slit drum – belong to the cultural sphere. Yet, the distinction in a natural and cultural soundscape shall not refer to the nature-culture-divide. Rather, I understand them as interlocking and influencing each other. Also, I will discuss the need to add a third classificatory sphere: the 'social soundscape'. Hereby I mean specific soundscapes of different social strata or scenes within one major culture – especially in urban contexts.

The theoretical part of *Sound Sources* will be supported by case studies from Indonesia, Oceania and Europe. One example will be Bamboo Metal from Bandung in Western Java, where traditional bamboo instruments are combined with Metal music referencing the soundscape experienced. Contemporary music from Western Europe is also of large interest - like the *musique concrète* or *musique acousmatique*, in which recorded sounds are manipulated to create new musical experiences. I will explore how these examples possibly refer to the soundscapes involved and thereby create (trans)local soundscapes. As, for example, *musique concrète* is a predecessor of today's sampling culture and electronic music.

As soundscapes are experienced very individually I will additionally explore individual perceptions of soundscapes with theme-focused Interviews, and use these 'acoustic biographies' to

verify my theoretical approach. Interviews planned at this stage are with Kimung from the Metal band *Karinding Attack* from Bandung and with Ufitia Sagapolutele - a New Zealand based dancer and choreographer with Samoan background. The interviews will focus on (primary) hearing experiences and the perception of the individual soundscapes, and music preferences today.

My research project aims at combining case studies, interviews and objects from the Weltkulturen Museum's collection. It is also meant to lead to a future exhibition on the dynamic interaction of man, environment, sounds and music.

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## **Soundwalk through Mainz**

*led by Katerina Talianni and Cornelia Günauer*

Starting off from the idea of the soundwalk as pedagogic device promoted by Acoustic Ecology pioneers such as Hildegard Westerkamp, we aim to expand the praxis of soundwalking as a research method and a tool for artistic experimentation. For this, we invite you to a different kind of a city tour. During the guided tour we will together listen to Mainz and explore how our ears, our movement, and imagination take part in creating our imagination of and relationship to a place. The soundwalk is followed by a group discussion during which we want to reflect on our experiences and on soundwalking as a research method.

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## **Premodern Gods in Postmodern Kerala: The special sense of place and musical phenomena in *theyyam* rituals**

*Lisa Herrmann-Fertig (Institute of Music Research, Lecturer in Ethnomusicology, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, Germany)*

*Theyyam* (*deyvam* = god), one of the ritually, mythically, and performatively richest traditions of South Indian popular worship, performed by members of *Scheduled Castes and Tribes*, can be proven in North Kerala since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Media of local deities, spirits, heroes, and animals wear elaborate costumes, recite liturgical stories to the accompaniment of local folk instruments, and dance. Their goal is to enable a visual and acoustic, easily accessible revelation of the deity through transformation, to interact as an incarnated deity, and to give blessings. *Theyyam* can therefore be understood as an interaction-based religious evolution, mirror of hierarchical social structures of North Kerala, and as an indispensable part of religion.

The roles of musical phenomena, present throughout *theyyam* and assuming decisive functions, remain extensively unexplored. Besides dance consisting of a plurality of defined and codified steps (*kalasams*), *tottam* songs—descriptive, narrative songs performed for worship in early Malayalam forms or in Sanskrit, attributable to folklore—represent important elements of the tradition. One can understand them as mirrors of social and cultural life, as well as a catalyst; they emphasize man's dependence on the physical and social environment, and his confrontation with it. The medium (*kolakkaran*) gives the *Scheduled Castes and Tribes* a voice, and bridges the divine with the human, the country with the people, the hidden with the present. The local *soundscape* is taken up in the costumes and make-up of the media, made from locally available materials, and contributes to an emotional and aesthetic connectedness.

In *theyyam*, the idea of sound as cultural system becomes audible and visible, because musical phenomena are included in the ritual in a form the medium can share with the participants. A feeling of place and identification is ensured by constantly keeping the phenomena alive, and by passing on knowledge as well as skills from generation to generation. Through religious beliefs, patterns of relationships between people as well as between people and the environment

are embodied in a special sense of place—as in *theyyam*, the land, musical phenomena, and myths nurture each other. *Theyyam* becomes culture, tradition, and environmental relationship—an expression of the being of all participants in the world, whereby environment functions as multifaceted resource and sound as *a way of knowing*.

The question arises whether and why the described convictions, which can only lead to success through faith and emotional as well as aesthetic patterns on the basis of the local idea of sound, are still valid today. To what extent do faith structures, ritual practices, and social forms from premodern South India find a place in modern, globalized Kerala, and what is the special function of musical phenomena within the tradition? In order to pursue these statements from an ethnomusicological perspective, to study them with regard to their sensory and symbolic intertwining of culture, sound, as well as place, and to understand the situatedness of actors as well as their modes of action, social research on musical phenomena is required. Thus, we are able to discuss their functions and the extent of faith structures, ritual practices, and social forms from premodern South Indian environments of Kerala in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The approach contributes to contextualization by seeking emic perspectives of the believers.

The research project requires a discussion of (1) the concept of *Acoustemology*, and (2) the role of musical phenomena in forms of popular worship in South India as well as in tribal animism. These theories are to be broadened by discussion approaches initiated by (3) the interdisciplinary field of *Human-Animal Studies*, since in *theyyam* human-nonhuman-interactions expressed through musical phenomena are an important issue. Characteristics of a tribal culture, having their backbone in myths and legends of the region, are to be reflected, whereby the way musical phenomena are used depends on how participants relate to nature.

My reflections and questions, a work in progress, I will discuss within my presentation are based on two field research trips around Kannur, Kerala. I participated in *theyyam* rituals for different gods and goddesses in January 2017 and 2019; I undertook initial research through participant observation, and collected ethnographic data. In my presentation, I will introduce my audio and video recordings, as well as photographs.

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## **Musical Practices of Afro-Descendant in the southwest of Colombia: Alliances and Negotiations in the Political Dimension of an Acoustemology**

*Paloma Palau Valderrama (Musical Studies Group, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul)*

The local musics of the afrocolombian population in the southwest of the country build a heterogeneous framework of actors and practices that articulates a territoriality and a memory of collective knowledges based on corporalities, oralities and audible sensibilities of their world. In the sense proposed by Feld (2015), an *acoustemology*, where the sound is a way to know and to be in the world through contextual experience. The musical knowledges were formed in a process in which black people was subjected to the racialization of modernity, which counterpart is the coloniality, and both are the basis of capitalism (Quijano, 2000).

The local musics tune in with the process of building an ethnicity that afrocolombian population has experimented with the multicultural Political Constitution of 1991, in which it was acknowledge as a cultural difference in cosmological tie with a territory. Thus, territoriality and memory articulate around some ideas: a permanent fight for the life and the autonomy in a postcolonial context in front of capitalist projects of spoliation that have interests in the wealth of the territory that they inhabit, as agroindustry, multinational mining, and the proximity with an armed conflict of a weak “post conflict”; in a regional level, an ancestrality, to live in the same territory as their enslaved predecessors since the sixteenth century working at the mining farms and domestic labor. The modernization at the beginning of the twentieth century with the urbanization and the expansion of media were crucial in the imagination of a global connection, transforming visual and auditive sensibilities. Thanks to the cacao commerce black peasants during the first half of the twentieth century were successful, however, in mid of that century the growing of sugar cane agroindustry at north, in a flat zone of the valley happened through the unequal fight between owners of sugar mills and small land peasants.

The fest of Worship of Child God where it is sung, danced and recited verses in his honor comes from an appropriation of Catholicism, mechanism of evangelization during the Spanish colony,

and carries ancient spiritualities of African west. The most relevant local musics “*fugas*” or “*jugas*” have place in the Worship and other occasions. The ambivalence of the pronunciations of *fuga/juga*<sup>1</sup> displays the discursivity in several meanings, besides the religious one, *juga*, similar to *jugar* (to play) as collective enjoyment. *Fuga* (run away), highlighting the dance as a chance of enslaveds in past for running away. The Worships are rituals of community participation that convoke friends and relatives who live in other villages, where it is created a social tie in performance. A space where sonorous sensibilities vivid in dancing bodies build a territoriality, affirm the ecology that they inhabit and the vital space that they experiment as one that is in permanent risk. The *fugas/jugas* in Worships alternate with moments of massified recorded musics in sonic encounters at the same time, tense and complicit, where all the actors demand participation.

In the last decades, ritual musics have begun an autonomy process guided by a neoliberal agenda of cultural industry. In particular, a spectacularized festival of afrocolombian musics stimulates the revitalization and transformation of musics to a western ear, where afro local musicians knit alliances with other of academic formation to participate with them. However, in performance tentative of alliances become weak and lose resonance at the festival frontiers. Besides, groups formed by most of peasants that live in the eastern could mountains have more difficulties to go due to the distance and the outlined problematics.

In this text I intend to explore the borders of this diverse acoustemology, focusing on its political dimension. In that sense, I sketch the idea that the local black musical knowledges of the Colombian southwest were configured through alliances and negotiations with various actors in its ecological, social and cosmological world as strategies for its reinvention and survival as a political acoustemology. This interpretation had its seed more than a decade ago, in subsequent journeys and grows with the ethnography I am doing since 2016 with my thesis in the interdisciplinary field of (ethno)musicologies. I am based on a collaborative or dialogic ethnomusicology, looking for the horizontality with the interlocutors, vigilant of the different positions and recognizing their knowledge production processes, to think *with* the people (Cambria, Fonseca, Guazina, 2016), just as they already have done it, by establishing alliances beyond their territorialities, expanding their worlds.

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<sup>1</sup> The “J” has the sound of an “H”.

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## **“I like jazz, but it is too complex for the atmosphere here”: The transformation of modes of individual listening in Czech prison**

*Mgr. Lucie Poskočilová (Department of Musicology, Charles University)*

In the title of this paper I quote a convict from one of the Czech prisons who told me during my excursion to the prison clergy circle: “I like jazz, but it is too complex for the atmosphere here. I have no patience for that.” This sigh belonged to a prisoner who – unlike most others – had an opportunity to own a discman and a "library" of CDs (which the family sent to him on request) and unlike most of his fellow prisoners, could listen to music of his own choice. Despite this opportunity, he couldn't even imagine listening to his favorite jazz. Why? What is the "atmosphere" in jail that jazz does not suit? Does listening to jazz require a way of listening that a convict cannot achieve or even afford in prison? Does listening to music such as jazz demand any special attention that makes the activity incompatible with staying in prison where it is perhaps necessary to use ears for something else?

Based on my current research I can say that staying in prison can influence the way people listen to music. In order to understand this transformation between “outside” and “inside” it is important to address some aspects that effect convicts’ acoustic experience. I therefore try to capture what music makes it into prison, how it works in this specific setting, what kind of acoustic environment it enters and what prisoners experience. In my presentation, I will present findings of my own and other authors in order to show how a stay in prison impacts hearing and listening to acoustic stimuli, and how it transforms individual listening and experiencing music. The study is based on my ethnographic research of music and acoustemology in Czech prisons, that I started as a master’s student and have been further developing as a doctoral student at Charles University in Prague, Department of Musicology, where I am in my first year.

In my master’s thesis, it was just music that was my primary focus. Since it is completely uncharted terrain in the Czech Republic where even the Prison Service does not know what music gets performed or listened to in prisons, it was necessary to map the overall situation. I

began by trying to answer several simple questions: What kind of music, how, and when can convicts listen to and perform? Are prisoners allowed to play musical instruments in prison? What are or supposed to be functions of music in Czech prisons? How does the prison service use music? And how do prisoners experience it? Is the way of experiencing music transformed by imprisonment in any way?

I conducted ethnographic research in four prisons in the Czech Republic. It turned out that music enters prison in three different forms such as recorded music (radio, television, CD), live music (concerts) and active music making. When thinking about the effects of music on convicts, I had assumed that musical experience is transformed by imprisonment. In prison one inevitably faces a lack of sensory stimuli and listening to music on the radio, for example, becomes something extraordinary and the sensory experience it triggers tend to have sharper features effects than listening to it “outside”.

During this initial research, I came to the realization that in order to understand ways of listening to and experiencing music in prison, I must consider the very sound environment into which the music enters. I assume that, first, already the prison soundscape itself influences the prisoner and, second, this effect fundamentally impacts any hearing experience including listening to music. The specificity of the prison institution that I observed in the case of listening to music is equally reflected in experiencing its non-musical sound environment. The convicts are imprisoned not only in the area bounded by walls of the prison but also forced to stay in a certain acoustic environment they can neither control nor escape. In order to "survive", all prison sounds require to be attended to and analysed for meaning, and the convicts must learn to negotiate with that sound environment.

Respectively, my current research suggests that convicts are surrounded by different types of sounds to which they must devote different kinds of attention in order to survive, and that also structure their days. Prison environments consist of sounds that they actively listen to (clinking keys, opening/closing doors, sounds of impending danger), sounds calling for action they must obey (call of the guard, buzzer), sounds they try to escape from (shouting of fellow prisoners, sounds of daily use) and sounds structuring their days ("buzzer", "clinker"). The acoustic environment clearly is an integral part of prison daily life and routine. It constitutes an important part of convicts' experience and an ultimate backdrop against which all sounds that enter, including music, need to be studied.

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## **Walking-with-sounds: Creative agency, artistic collaboration, and acoustic communities**

*Katerina Talianni (University of Edinburgh; Architecture and Landscape Architecture Reid School of Music; Music PhD)*

The title of my presentation is “walking-with-sounds” and focuses on mobile sound art works such as sound walks and sound maps while considering sounding arts in general. I will discuss case studies of sound art in public spaces that demonstrate the development of the social interactions taking place in the networks formed by the interlacing of spatial, acoustic and informational layers, mixed realities and digital landscapes. These sound art works employ mainly field recordings and soundscape compositions that are coproduced by artists and audiences that eventually form acoustic communities. They exist in - real, imagined, or hybrid - space, and are technologically mediated, geo-located and experienced through headphones. In this presentation I will argue that thinking about our experience of space through the filter of the sonic provides a new and extended vocabulary for the discussion of both space and sound on which anthropologists, ethnomusicologists and others increasingly draw.

I will debate about the use of an interdisciplinary research methodology that firstly triangulates ethnographic tools, and experimental auditory phenomenology, and secondly understands sound walks and sound maps as a method for knowing soundscapes. As such, a research methodology for the artistic practices that use mobile audio devices, can contribute to the development of a new interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological framework for researching the social and cultural study of sound and sounding arts. Both my theoretical and epistemological considerations are informed by Steven Feld’s theory of “acoustemology” (Feld, 2015) that brings acoustics and epistemology together. In employing an acoustemological approach my aim is to theorize ecosophical thinking about sound further and explore the potential of acoustemology to advance ethnographic studies of both space and sound.

My research is based on the concept of the soundscape and its multiple uses for capturing and studying the sonic environment, as well as the ways we exist as social agents within it. Therefore, in my presentation I will ponder over phenomenological listening as a form of collective belonging to a place that has the potential to generate feelings of equal participation to our everyday sonic experience. I will thus expand upon a case study of collaborative sound walking/mapping that will enable me to explore the relation between body and physical space, and the local conditions of acoustic sensation, knowledge, and imagination. I call this method experimental sonic-social phenomenology (Born, 2013) that draws from social phenomenology and hermeneutics of senses of place, to address sound as a condition of and for knowing, creating, and developing, both a sense of place and an acoustic community. The implication of sensual bodily presence and of perceptual engagement in the context of a sound walk enlivens situated modes of listening, and sonic ways of knowing, sensing, animating, and sounding place; and these are potent shaping forces that inform how people make sense of their sonic-spatial experiences.

Ultimately, I will present a definition of acoustic communities through a sound art outlook. I am interested in how acoustic communities emerge in a sound art context, and how this informs the ways these communities perceive, document, and share their experience of space. Again, the coming together of acoustics and epistemology “to investigate sounding and listening as a knowing-in-action” will allow me to consider the application of playful, collaborative and creative sonic affordances in urban design and in the right to the city that is a product of “a knowing-with and knowing-through the audible” (Feld, 2015, p.12). Departing from “metaphysical or transcendental assumptions surrounding claims to ‘truth’ [acoustemology] [...] engages the relationality of knowledge production” (ibid) and understands listening as “relational and contingent, situated and reflexive” (p.15). In this sense, acoustemology can animate the experience and agency of artistic acoustic communities. In this framework, sound art may inspire a revised understanding of space and of representation according to a performative non-representational perspective (Timeto, 2016). My aim is to show that the development of a sound art practice, where everyday and artistic listening practices intertwine with agency and creativity, assembles inclusive acoustic spaces. In those spaces artistic acoustic communities emerge through the performativity and the situatedness of knowledge in sound art practices and through the prevailing of situated listening in engagements with place and space-time.

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## **Listening for “g Harmony” at the Gibbon Conservation Center: Acoustemology and the Compulsory Reproductive Biopolitics of an Endangered Species Breeding Program**

*Tyler Yamin (University of California Los Angeles)*

Although recent scholarship has debated the ethics of endangered species breeding programs, this work stops short of engaging with the role of listening, or sound more broadly, in either reproducing or complicating what Thom van Dooren calls “the violent-care of captive life” (2014; c.f. Chrulew 2012; Parreñas 2018). Drawing on two years’ fieldwork at the Gibbon Conservation Center (GCC), a private gibbon sanctuary located in Southern California, in this presentation I examine the distinctive, if overlooked, “acoustemology” intrinsic to the practices of care for severely endangered animals famous for their vocalizations. Unique among non-human primates, as mated pairs gibbons (*Hylobatidae spp.*) devote hours each day to singing elaborate vocal duets articulated in challenge to, and coordination with, the analogous songs of other pairs, in order to renegotiate each group’s territory and strengthen their individual pair-bonds. As gibbons initiate and maintain their monogamous relationships through these complex, paired songs, at the GCC their reproductive viability within captive breeding programs is chiefly monitored aurally, entailing a significant investment by the caretakers in interpreting the social information and potentialities indicated within the gibbons’ vocalizations.

But rather than taking the hylobatid chorus of the GCC for granted as a space of sonic relations between entities, in this presentation I treat the GCC’s “soundscape” as a productive, cosmopolitical force, in which sound does not indicate pre-constituted relations as much as it acts as the medium in which both intra- and interspecies relations are simultaneously forged and contested alongside the very versions of nature in which they operate. By attending to the sonic “ontics and antics” (Haraway 2008) of the gibbons and their caretakers, I discuss both the potentials and perils sound offers as a mechanism to hold open a space for multispecies flourishing in the face of contemporary tendencies to reduce nonhuman animals and the spaces they inhabit to material and/or semiotic resources for human extraction. This acoustemological approach to

multispecies ethnography reveals sound not only to facilitate the compulsory reproductive biopolitics enforced “when the survival of a few individual members of endangered species is at stake, [and] their lives come to stand in for the entire species” (Parreñas 2018:85), but further, as an epistemological device in those animals’ own taxonomic individuation and speciation, to constitute the terms by which gibbons are conceptualized, apprehended, and evaluated.

My presentation is divided into two sections; in the first, I devote ethnographic attention to the particular auditory dimensions of care for these animals at the GCC. While Palmer and Malone (2018) have shown that gibbon management in captivity is shaped by assumptions about what counts as “natural” behavior, I argue that the GCC does not simply enact the gibbons as scientifically determined entities; rather, the specific listening practices and techniques deployed to manage the gibbons co-constitute them and their caretakers within a number of “competing philosophies of nature” (Thompson 2002). Putting recent acoustemological studies of science (e.g., Roosth 2009; Helmreich 2016), in dialogue with work that insists on the ontological multiplicity of scientific knowledge and practices (e.g. Mol 2002; Bertoni 2012)—including primatology (e.g., Rees 2007; Alcayna-Stephens 2012)—I show that successful care entails hearing gibbon vocalizations simultaneously as articulations of individual agency and desires, romantic expressions of monogamous mate-choice, and the innate utterances of interchangeable members of pre-constituted biological categories. Each of these practices, then, locates gibbon song as the property of a different taxonomic entity—the individual, the family, or the species—and therefore directs care towards a distinct level of conservation that ontologically subsumes the others.

In the second part of my presentation, I use the GCC caretakers’ tongue-in-cheek nickname for the computer matchmaking algorithm that regulates the genetic diversity of the captive population, “gHarmony,” as a springboard to ask after the implications of the concept of “harmony” as a positive value in the context of nature, environmental conservation, and the Anthropocene more broadly. By referencing the American online dating platform eHarmony, the type of harmony anticipated and regulated at the GCC implies, as in the work of Jacob von Uexküll, that heteronormativity is composed into the “score of Nature” (2010:186), a preordained state waiting to be fulfilled by any given gibbon pair’s duet. I argue that by portraying emergent relations between entities as the results of such a preordained telos, tropes of harmony—whether serious or humorous, sonic or social—implicitly reproduce the underlying, conservative nomos of hierarchical, natural difference so critical to the advent of the current ecological crisis. By following the development of a newly introduced pair’s duet, I show that their eventual attainment

of acoustic and affective “harmony” was an *achievement*, rather than the fulfillment of potentials latent in those gibbons’ very genetic material, and as such was as political and contingent as it was instinctual.

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## **I Used to Hear You, But Now I Cannot: An Urbanization Case in Istanbul**

*Burcu Yaşin (MA student at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University)*

This paper focuses on the impact of the recent urbanization policies on the soundscape and daily communication ways of the residents of the Sarıgöl neighbourhood in Gaziosmanpaşa district in Istanbul, by comparing their past and present sound environments. Despite its long history in the urban memory of the district and its highly talented musicians from Roma origin who have contributed to the entertainment sector of Istanbul for fifty years, since 2005 Sarıgöl has been facing urbanization mainly because of its unplanned settlement. However, beyond urban planning, there are also political and aesthetic dimensions, such as the drug sellers in the neighbourhood as well as Sarıgöl's wedding ceremonies and henn nights – mainly perceived as “noisy” and “non-aesthetic” by the public, since these are mostly practiced on the streets. On the one hand, these activities have negative effect on the reputation of the community but on the other hand, these are the elements that make the Romani people audible in the Gaziosmanpaşa district.

Therefore, similarly to Barry Truax's “acoustic community” definition, while Romani community constantly creates acoustic signals in order to “keep the community in touch”, at the same time, for the outsiders who hear or ear-witness the Romani community it creates a sonic sense of knowing them, as defined by Steven Feld. However, the recent urbanization policies not only made the community invisible in the urban memory of the district, but also inaudible.

Building on Barry Truax's “acoustic communication” and Steven Feld's “acoustemology” theories and literature about Romani people and Sarıgöl district, comparing Sarıgöl's sound environment before and after the urbanization based on empirical data obtained from the residents of the neighbourhood and the nearby areas, this paper will demonstrate how the soundscape of Sarıgöl shifted through the urbanization process and as the result, how it made the Romani community inaudible in the acoustic life of the district.

In the literature, the Romani community residing in Turkey have been mostly defined with the terms of sound and music (Duygulu, 2006; Girgin, 2015; Seeman, 2019). Similarly, in the semi-structured interviews, that were conducted with Roma based individuals (7 people) and residents of the nearby areas (7 people), the majority of the interviewees determine the Romani identity predominantly with the same terms as well. One Romani interviewee described the importance of sound as follows: “Music is a vital element for our everyday life and identity. This is not only music, but this is also how we communicate with each other. Even when we demonstrate our love to each other or our kids, we improvised little poems with music in 9/8 rhythm. Music is in our blood.” During the interviews, not only Romani people but also neighbors pointed out that the rapid urbanization has been shifting this “sounding (Titon, 2015) or acoustic community (Truax, 1984)” to inaudible one. Majority of the participants specified that before the urbanization process, they were capable of hearing the ceremonies, everyday life practices, and rehearsals of musicians of the Romani community. However, with the urban policies of the government, these sounds tail off from the soundscape of the district. In this respect, one non-Romani interviewee stated that “I used to hear their wedding ceremonies, rehearsals, as well as and even fights coming from the open windows. Now, these are fading away with the urbanization. They still arrange their wedding ceremonies on the streets but not as much as the old days.”

In addition to these, the results show that the sound was not only conveying information about Romani community to the outsiders but also functioned as a communication tool among the Romani individuals. For instance, Romani participants emphasized that before the urbanization, they did not use cell phone as effectively as today since they used to hear each other's sounds from the open windows and doors. According to one participant “Our windows and doors were always open especially during the summer time. That is why we never needed to call each other on the phone. We didn't have Whatsapp groups to communicate with each other. For instance, I would hear one of my neighbors having a conversation with the other one, and I would join them, then others would join too. After a while, there would be over 10 women chatting from window to window. But now everything has changed; it is not like the old days.”

To sum up, it can be said that the Romani community that lives in Sarıgöl represents an example of an acoustic community by claiming their existence through sound and music. However, the urbanization policies have a crucial impact on this community as they are becoming inaudible in the urban history of Gaziosmanpaşa neighborhood day by day. Besides the soundscape, the urbanization also affects the communication ways of this community.

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## **Histories of Listening in Ghana's Postcolonial Cinema Halls**

*Katie Young (Royal Holloway, University of London)*

In late colonial and early post-colonial Ghana, cinema was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in the region: youth from all parts of the country gathered to watch a range of Hollywood and Hindi films in urban cinema halls. Stories about audience interaction in Ghana's postcolonial cinemas reveal multiple histories of listening, as differing generational, religious, and educational ways of listening intersected with new forms of mediated sound. Drawing on archival evidences and oral histories sourced in London, Accra, and Tamale, I tease out three practices of listening evidenced in Ghana's cinema halls, related to theatrical, literary, educational, and religious listening practices already established in Ghana's urban centers at that time. The presentation not only outlines these differing listening practices, but also considers how they layered onto and worked in tension with each other.

The first portion of this presentation explores the cinema as a site for enacting practices of listening already established through Ghanaian theatre traditions, with a focus on the Ghanaian Concert Party theatre tradition. Ghanaian concert party theatre, a form of musical theatre that emerged in the region in the early twentieth century, hinged upon a continual sonic dialogue between performers and audience members: audiences showed appreciation and interest in a performance by ringing bells and playing instruments, applauding, singing along, weeping, and speaking with performers on stage. As audiences moved from theatre performances to cinema halls, those familiar with this theatre tradition carried their sonic practices with them, engaging with film characters through sonic engagement, singing, talking, and playing instruments throughout a given performance.

Such practices of auditory engagement were contested by largely middle-class Christian communities, whose letters to newspaper editors at the time called into question such "noise disturbances" regarding singing, playing instruments, and conversing during film screenings. I situate this response in relation to practices of listening taught in Ghana's mission school edu-

cation: Christian cinemagoers who attended mission schools were trained to engage with literary texts through silent listening and reading, and applied these practices while watching majority English language films. For mission students, engagement with narrative was about critical, contextual understanding. As African studies scholar Stephanie Newell suggests, students learned “a set of Christian literary expectations and Christian interpretative conventions, adapted by their African and European teachers to suit local classrooms” (2002, 87). As such, the tensions that arose between theatre-going audiences and Christian mission audiences related to contrasting practices of listening to and engaging with stories through sound.

Finally, Hindi films were largely patronized by Ghana’s Muslim communities, within Ghana’s Zongo urban neighborhoods in the South, and in majority Muslim cities in the North, such as Tamale. Particularly in Hindi film showings, Muslim viewers phonetically memorised and recited highly ornamented and melismatic film songs aloud, despite not understanding Hindi. I relate such practices to classical Qur’anic school training: in Ghana’s classical Qur’anic schools, teachers championed recitation and audition of the Qur’an and the hadith as the foundation of Islamic learning. As most Qur’anic school teachers in Ghana did not teach the Arabic language, youth learned to associate sound patterns with Arabic script, reciting through aural/oral transmission with careful attention paid to emulating the quality of the voice. In this context, listening was understood as an experience of the resounding voice over and above the practice of understanding the contextual meaning of text. In contrast to archival notes related to Hollywood films, where Christian practices of listening existed in tension with Concert Party practices, Hindi film viewership is discussed in archival notes and interviews with regards to a careful listening to and memorizing Hindi film song melodies, that were taken home by youth, families, and even Islamic school teachers, who used these melodies while teaching in Qur’anic schools in the days that followed.