

Djembe in the field: An exploration of the evolution of the djembe habitus and the emergent djembe paradigm within Facebook.

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Abstract of Thesis

The thesis addresses the evolution of West Africa's djembe drumming, with particular reference to the changing habitus of the djembefola. It investigates how the djembe has developed from the rural system of tribal ritualistic music intended for ceremonies to a practice enacted in the Western world, in both geographical and virtual spaces, including the social networking platform Facebook. It also highlights how, at present, djembe-related activities are subject to business transactions orientated towards generation of profit for both the djembefola and other parties.

Conceptually, the thesis draws on Pierre Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972), Victor Turners approach to liminality in *The Forest of Symbols* (1967) and *The Ritual Process* (1997) and the concept of cultural paradigm, as used in anthropological studies (Douglas, 1985; Rogoff et al., 2014). Additionally, it explores the implications of the evolution of djembe drumming over time for our understanding of the organisation of the djembe. This is discussed in the context of the political, economic, social and technological conditions underlying djembe practice. Empirically, the research adopts an interpretive, ethnographic and netnographic approach, comprising four case studies. Fieldwork was conducted in the Gambia and in the virtual space represented by social media. The data included material obtained through interviews with djembe teachers and students, as well as Facebook posts contributed by members of djembe-related interest groups. The analysis demonstrates that, at present, the djembe habitus has entered a new phase, which the thesis identifies as a fourth cultural paradigm, concomitant with the most contemporary version of the djembe habitus.

Key words:

djembe, habitus, field, capital, paradigm, liminality, social media, Facebook, netnography

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Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where reference is made.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

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Chapter 1 Introduction to thesis

1.1 My Background

I am a mother of three grown up children, and a nanni to four beautiful grandchildren. My relationship with the djembe began some 17 years ago. Here is my story:

Picture the scene; a lovely sunny day at a local music festival in Suffolk. People smiling and laughing together. My husband and I were wandering about, eating organic ice-cream, listening to incredible music from many countries around the globe. Finally we spotted some vacant hay bales, so happily sat down to rest our weary feet. In the distance, we heard the sound of a festival parade coming our way, there was drumming, whistle blowing, singing, clapping and cheering from the gathering crowd. As the cacophony of sound rounded the corner, we were met with a wonderful sight, lots of tall silver coloured drums, being played with sticks or beaters. People of all ages and creeds were involved, dancing and singing. It reminded me of the Pied Piper. We were both amazed, and eager to learn more about this music. While we were watching the parade, a good friend had joined us. She explained that it was a Samba Parade, and that the sound originated from Brazil. The drums at the back, called 'djembes' were different however, they were from West Africa. It was the sound of the djembes which caught our attention. Our friend said that she taught beginners how to play the djembe. I immediately asked for details, and organized for my husband to have six lessons as part of his birthday present. Naturally I accompanied him. We were officially hooked! Over the years, we gradually began to integrate into the social side of the djembe, we met lots of people who were both teachers and students of the instrument. We began to travel further afield to learn from West African djembefola (Masters). When we reached an intermediate level of learning, we decided that it would be

nice to have our own djembes. We began learning in earnest, from many different teachers, both European and West African. The more we learned, the more apparent it became that there was much more to playing the djembe, there were the stories and dances associated with each rhythm.

During the year of 2000, we had heard of a local world music festival held in July, in Suffolk, called Drum Camp, and decided to book our tickets for the entire event, rather than just the weekend. The festival was held once a year, and regularly sold out to people attending predominantly from the UK, but also from Europe. The festival attracted extremely talented musicians from across the world, with a large contingency coming from West Africa. Highly respected djembefola were present, and were teaching the attendees djembe drumming at all levels from beginner to advanced. They would stage elaborate performances during the evenings, which often involved dancers and other accompanying musicians. Once the festival was over, my husband and I vowed to attend the following year. After attending every year for the next ten years, we had become great friends with many people involved in the djembe culture, both in the UK and in West Africa. During early 2011 we were offered the opportunity to become part owners of Drum Camp Ltd. The decision to become integral to the event was undertaken for several reasons. Firstly, we had come to respect the values associated with djembe drumming, and were keen to preserve this. Secondly, we had built a solid friendship with many people, and this was enabling me to ensure that we would be able to continue to bring musicians from West Africa to the UK to perform and teach the craft. I was also directly involved in the creation of a bespoke Drum Camp Facebook group, which additionally allowed people who were attending the event to be able to chat online. This facility allowed the event to be present both on and off-line. Djembefola were able to advertise other workshops where they would be teaching, or post information about musical products for sale. While Drum Camp is an example of an

ancient tradition evolving into a commercial event, it also a way that I can preserve a link with the tradition. It is personally important to me to note that while the djembe culture spreads across the world, there is a phenomenon occurring which I see as the ‘artificial’ djembe. Synthetic djembes which are mass produced, by global companies such as Remo Percussion Inc. are sold on a global scale. There is no symbolic meaning to these djembes at all. This is in direct contrast to my own desire to preserve an ancient tradition, which in turn benefits local communities in West Africa.

The West African djembe tradition has evolved over time from a purely oral narrative to one that is notated and documented in both physical and digital realms. It was during my in-depth study of the djembe that I decided that I would attend the University of Suffolk and enroll on the BA (Hons) Photography undergraduate degree. This was in 2008. I knew that I wanted to focus on documentary photography, which would enable me to document my own journey into the djembe world. I graduated in 2011, and wanted to continue my academic journey. I was accepted onto the MA Communication Design course at Norwich University of the Arts in 2011 and completed this in 2012. The skills I learned could directly transfer into what was becoming an obsession for me – the djembe. I was using design and photography to document my progress as I learned. I felt that my academic journey was far from over however. I wanted to immerse myself in the literature and theory surrounding West African djembe music and the players. I interviewed for a PhD candidacy at the University of Suffolk in 2012, and was accepted. This thesis is the result of my academic and personal journey. I explored the djembe habitus, and the evolution of the djembe over time, in both physical and virtual spaces.

My involvement and interest with the djembe has been longstanding and I have experienced the djembe culture in many different roles; as a tourist, as a learner, and as an organizer.

Enjoy.

1.2 Introduction

Traditionally considered to be an instrument played only for celebrations, rites and initiations within rural villages in West Africa, the djembe is now considered to be a world-class percussion instrument (Charry, 1996). Crucial to the understanding of the practice of the djembe is the figure of the djembefola, the master drummer, who not only teaches the djembe to students but also uses his/her mastery to convey traditional knowledge. Throughout the history of the djembe, the djembe instrument itself, the practice of drumming and the practice of teaching and learning the djembe have always been connected to particular people and especially to the djembefola. This has always been the case and yet it has evolved over time with changing political, economic, social and technological conditions. What is interesting is exactly how all these aspects, including the role and perception of the djembefola, have changed.

There are many myths and legends surrounding the birth of the djembe, most originating from ancient oral stories and never written down. The following story was relayed to me during an extended conversation with Nansady Keita, during my field trip to Kobokoto, The Gambia:

‘It concerns the womenfolk – big bums... no, no, not the men! [hearty laugh from Nansady] – of the villages, pounding and grinding the millet and repairing the mortar [a hollowed-out log] when a hole appeared at the bottom. The repair was made using goaty skin, and the drum was birthed’ (Field note).

Other stories tell of the baby chimps beating their chests and the sound being replicated using wooden tree trunks and skin to establish male dominance within the tribe. Again no

proof of any of these stories exists. Stories were recounted orally from generation to generation.

I explore the evolution of the djembe through reference to the concept of cultural paradigms. Anthropologist, Mary Douglas makes reference to the cultural paradigm in her research which investigates culture as being something which everyone is creating, affirming and expressing (Douglas, 1985: xxiii). Furthermore, Rogoff et al (2014: 151) identify the notion of the cultural paradigm as being central to the evolving nature of the cultural paradigm, and state that: 'such variation in the persistence of cultural practices points to the historical processes involved in stable or shifting constellations of cultural practices of individuals and communities'.

It is important to understand that the way I use the notion of the cultural paradigm in terms of identifying historical periods where certain practices take place, is different from how the idea of a paradigm is typically applied within organization studies, where it tends to be referred to in terms of research paradigms.

While the djembe has existed for centuries and is an historically established practice which nowadays also has a global reach, very little is known from an organisational stance about how the djembe has changed over the centuries, especially from the perspective of how the djembe is taught and learned.

My analysis of the djembe and its organisation is a historical analysis. I discuss on the evolution of the djembe and my research contributes to the historic turn in management and organization studies.

Clark, P., & Rowlinson, M. (2004) discuss the emergence of the 'historic turn' that has transformed the way other branches of the social sciences and humanities 'go about their business'. They suggest that the term 'historic turn' may prove useful in marshalling support

for calls for more history, and a different approach to history, within organisation studies, rather than subsuming it under labels that do not emphasise the historical aspect. This perspective is particularly attractive to me, as I firmly believe that the historical turn does indeed have a valid place within organisational studies. The research conducted within the thesis relies upon historical memories, and the evolution of a practice over time. There are a number of examples within organisation research that draw on history, which resonate with the research I am conducting.

My perspective is similar to that of Wooten and Hoffman (2016) who discuss the historical evolution of the organizational field and relate it to Bourdieu's perception of the 'field' (1990, 1993) where an agent's actions within the political, economic, or cultural arena were structured by the network of relationships within which it was embedded. They note that initially examples of organizations such as banks, welfare organizations, churches, businesses, and boards of education were used, however as studies of inter-organizational relations evolved, scholars have now included the field to include organizations that were not necessarily bound by geography or goals, but instead made up a recognised area of institutionalized life, such as organisations which produced similar products or services, suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies and others. The djembefola can be characterised as product consumers, offering for sale their services as musicians as well as the instruments, opportunities for djembe tourism and education.

The evolution of the djembe and its transmission from teacher to student has not been explored through scholarly research. What is clear is that this practice still exists today and is, in fact, more popular than ever on a global scale. Over the past twenty years, some consideration has been given to West African music, in terms of the creation of books with notation included, or historical accounts of the West African music (Billmeier and Keita,

2004; Charry, 2000). To date, however, none has investigated the evolution of the djembe, both historically and currently, in terms of its emerging presence and practice within digital media, in particular Facebook.

The thesis investigates the evolution of the djembe from its origins, in terms of cultural practice, to the present day. It discusses how the djembe evolved from its roots as a tribal and ritualistic system of music, through three identified stages, each interspersed by a transitional phase, to its emergence within a technological society as a globalised, commodified product. It traces the evolution of the djembe using a conceptual framework to be able to discuss what is happening within the djembe habitus at present.

The representation of the djembe from past to present has changed significantly, thus establishing its worthiness for scholarly investigation. The process of this change is established through the identification of cultural paradigms, interspersed by liminal stages.

Although West African Dance is not the focus of the thesis, it is important to note the relationship which dance has with djembe drumming. In this sense my research adds to the existing body of work on organisations and music/dance.

Recently there has been some interest in dance amongst organizational studies scholars, in particular Brigitte Biehl (2017: 1) states that:

“Life is dance because the world is full of movement. Organisations in particular are full of embodied interaction that has largely been ignored in a management tradition that focuses on the rational mind and overlooks many elements that are in the moment and in motion.” She further suggests that in organisation the felt. Sensory and emotional aspects have become increasingly relevant with regard to how we situate ourselves in the world and how we interact with others.

She additionally adds that studies on organisations can be linked to dance studies, using a bridge aesthetic approaches and studies on the body. The longer tradition of using movement for research is examined in terms of “Dance as a Method (research) which is explained as dance as a research method, inspired by research in the area of performance

studies and social sciences. She suggests that ‘Dance’ stands for constant change, temporary structures and dynamics. As mentioned earlier, the focus of the thesis research is not on the dance itself, however it is important to note that the importance of the dance linked to the djembe rhythms is undisputed. Originating from an ancient oral tradition, the dances are derived from the stories told generation to generation. The importance of dance within this research has to be understood for the overall understanding of the djembe and the habitus of the djembefola. Her research has led to dance being applied to embodiment research, and phenomenological approaches that promote the body as a central source of data and that have led to a general increase in dance as a methodological tool. In other disciplines (Biehl, 2017: 6).

Earlier research conducted in 2016 by Matzdorf and Sen, suggests that leadership and followership are relational, mutually constructed and mutually enabled. The authors use dancesport as a metaphor and medium, and focus on the embodied, corporeal aspects and dynamics of leading and following. This is related to lead/follow roles and tasks of people in organizations. The use of embodied cognition is implemented as a basis to argue that dance provides a vehicle for immediate, implicit insights through bodily experiences. Stelter (2000: 66) states that:

“perception and cognition are part of the process of interpretation, a process where movement and action are always included. They work as an embodied unity where body and mind have been brought together and function together (Stelter 2000: 66).

The djembe dancers constantly interpret the dance, lead the dance, and are responsible for the decision-making process which occurs in order to slow down or speed up the dance.

Their bodily movements relay information to the djembefola, who is required to follow their lead.

The dances which accompany specific djembe rhythms are complex and sophisticated, and regionally specific. Gore, (1994: 265) states that to speak of West African Dance, is in fact a

misnomer. Further she adds that “the ethnocentrically European term ‘dance’ is not applicable to systems of structured human body movement of non-European peoples. Who have their own terms of reference for conceiving of such activities”. However, for ease of understanding the term ‘dance’ will be used to refer to body movement with drumming, by both men and women in West Africa. The importance of dance in societies which are traditionally based on oral and performance modes of communication and forms of knowledge. Connerton (1989: 102-4) has observed that dance can store all kinds of embodied information for transmission through performance. These include occupational activities, historical narratives, moral precepts and a host of other symbolic, emotional and social codes. Ozar (2010) notes in her article ‘Can we dance together? gender and performance space discourse in Égwú Àmàlà of the Ogbaru of Nigeria’ that music constitutes an integral part of the collective existence of the Ogbaru people, and like other cultural domains, music is efficiently utilized to initiate and socialize members in groups, such as age-grade groups (out ogbo), encourage marriages, and maintain moral standards and respect in the society. Particular occasions of rituals, life, and yearly cycles are celebrated with music and dance. Many dances are performed by only males or females, indicating strong beliefs about what being male or female means and some strict taboos about interaction. Dances celebrate the passage from childhood to adulthood or spiritual worship Welsh-Asante (2004: 19-21).

These observations can be directly applied to the people of Gambia, Senegal, and Guinea, indeed most of the West African Countries. Gates and Appiah (1999:556) note that dances are often segregated by gender, reinforcing gender roles in children and other community structures such as kinship, age and status are also often reinforced.

Interestingly, the rigid gender rules for the dances were not adhered to during my fieldwork trip to The Gambia. When particular djembe rhythms were taught to the participants, it was

usually the men who were accompanying Nansady Keita on other instruments, who would laugh and mimic the dance, even if it was meant to be a dance for women. However, during the dance classes, it would always be a woman who taught the dance. The men sometimes joined in if they were not working. In a globalised and contemporary world, it appears that the routine is that the story of the rhythm is told along with its name, followed by the teaching of the dance, and the song. The dance would be learned by the participants on the workshop, male and female. In the traditional village setting, men would not dance a women's dance, for example a birthing dance, and women would not dance a man's dance, for example a hunting or circumcision dance.

In order to map out the paradigm shifts occurring through organizational processes, practices and structures which are identified within the thesis, an examination of the djembe over time was undertaken. The first cultural paradigm identifies the ancient and ritualistic beginnings of the role of both the djembefola and the djembe as a percussion instrument. Here the djembe is localised, and the djembefola's practices are associated with locally based rural life, reflecting the changing seasons and events within the life of the village and its inhabitants. The role of the djembefola was to play the djembe for ceremonies and rituals, as well as for farming activities, such as planting, harvesting and village feasts. The djembefola exhibited a respected, yet slightly feared status within the village, due in part to his relationship with the chief of the village, the witch doctors and his place within the secret numu clan. The training of the djembefola was carried out by elders who were also djembefola, and usually associated with the blacksmithing trades. This practice was sustained for many generations. The impact of political interventions within West Africa can be documented as being significant in altering the trajectory of djembe culture for all time. The paradigm shift itself was defined as the period where the movement from the first

cultural paradigm into the second cultural paradigm occurred, meaning that the role/habitus of the djembefola and the djembe was changing, resulting in the processes and practices of the djembe also changing.

This identification enables the changes in the djembe practice to be tracked continuously as change occurs due to political, economic, social or technological influences. What is particularly intriguing about the djembe is that the instrument itself is an ancient artefact and yet how it is used, and by whom, has altered along with other external changes. What has also emerged is how the core knowledge of how to play the instrument is transmitted these days, and how the movement of players is organised. Before moving on to explain the key concepts and objectives of the research, a historical overview of the djembe, along with its emergence as a contemporary instrument, is discussed.

1.3 History of the djembe

The overview of the historical development of the djembe presented below will explain how it has become a globalised and commodified phenomenon.

According to the Bamana tribe in Mali, the name djembe is derived from an old saying, ‘Anke djé, anke be’, meaning ‘everyone gather together in peace’ (Charry, 1996 [online]).

The old saying illustrates the use of the djembe as a community percussion instrument, played for and to the village for ceremonial rites. This is identified as the first cultural paradigm which is examined, where the organisation of the djembe is centered within village life. There are many spellings and varied pronunciations for the word ‘djembe’, depending on the geographical area in which it is being played, both locally and globally, including: djembé, djembe, jembe, jenbe, djimbe, jimbe, or dyinbe. It is generally accepted that the ‘d’ appeared because of French colonisation. The most common form of spelling is

‘djembe’ and this appears to be widely accepted by both local Africans and the Western world (Charry, 1996).

Up until the late twentieth century, the whole tradition of the djembe was of an oral nature, and it was not until 2004, when Billmeier and Keïta’s book *Mamady Keïta: A Life for the Djembé – Traditional Rhythms of the Malinké* was published, that an oral culture of music was produced in a written format. For those interested in the djembe, the book provides a set of instructions on how to play, with annotations which will be understandable for a Westerner, together with a CD recording. However, while being the first book about the djembe, Billmeier and Keïta’s (2004) book says very little about how the djembe tradition has changed over the centuries.

According to Billmeier and Keïta (2004: 12), the Wangara tribe are believed to have been the first peoples, travelling from the banks of the Nile in about 2760 BC, to arrive in the region which would become known as the Malian – and later Mandinka – Empire.

Eventually, in 1235 AD, after many changes, King Sundiata began to vastly increase the size of the empire. Between 1448 AD and 1880 AD, millions of Africans were abducted and sold into slavery in other countries around the world, resulting in cultural heritage and tradition becoming diluted and in some areas lost entirely (Billmeier and Keïta, 2004). The relocation of such vast numbers of local inhabitants was to have a devastating effect upon the tribal communities within West Africa (Niane, 2005). Africa was to enter a new era, where local preservation became crucial to ensure the survival of native traditions. During the late 1880s, the French colonisation of West Africa began, trading posts became established along the coastlines of Guinea and, by 1893, the country was governed by French administrators and a French Lieutenant-Governor. Local villagers were forced to assimilate many aspects of French culture, including education and music, and gradually their local customs and rituals were forced underground and declared illegal (Niane, 2005).

French was to become the dominant language. In 1958, Guinea proclaimed itself to be independent. The then Chairman of the Parti Démocratique de Guinée (the Democratic Party of Guinea), Sékou Touré, stated, ‘We [Guinea] prefer poverty in freedom to wealth in slavery’ (Billmeier and Keïta, 2004: 11–26).

With this open rejection of its governance, France reacted immediately by withdrawing all administrations, staff and French nationals, as well as closing hospitals and schools (Billmeier and Keïta, 2004). Touré responded by engaging relations and allying Guinea with Russia. With this alliance, Touré began to inflict a dictatorial rule. Radio stations bombarded people with propaganda twenty-four hours a day, people who were found to disagree with Touré mysteriously began to disappear, rumours abounded of murder, torture, or imprisonment. However, it was during Touré’s rule that the largely destroyed heritage, culture and musical traditions were to take a radical path and evolve into a new genre of music and performance (Mekuria, 2006). Festivals were held every two years in Conakry and the best of the musicians were then given the title of cultural functionaries. Touré wanted the music of Guinea to be known further afield and he commanded the musicians to choreograph new-style performances, which no longer demonstrated the sacred rites and were designed purely for engagement with an audience. The musicians had little time to learn and were severely punished if they failed (Mekuria, 2006). They were paid a very low wage and were removed from village life and separated from their families for long periods of time. Touré’s dream of the national festivals continued until 1975; he demanded that the villagers reveal their centuries-old rituals to audiences around Africa and beyond (Mekuria, 2006). In 1964, the Djoliba National Ballet, also known as Les Ballets Africains, and the National Ballet of the People’s Army were formed (Mekuria, 2006). Initially, traditional music was unchanged, but later it was adapted and transformed from the ceremonial and ritual roots of the interactive event to an evolved and radically altered performance style of

music – from the sacred to the commercial, similar in technique and sound, but at a far remove from the sacred, voodoo-based and animistic beliefs from which the music was originally derived (Mekuria, 2006).

The second paradigm shift, took place as a result of political intervention by President Touré. In terms of the organization of the djembe, and the structuring of the practices and the processes associated with the djembe, we observe an increasing level of professionalization.

Djembe culture was to emerge as a performance style of music, for the first time. This was enacted by a group of djembefola playing together, rather than singularly as previously seen within the villagers. The group of djembefola would perform previously sacred rhythms to a fee-paying audience. The rhythms quickly became homogenised, into a series of short highly choreographed pieces, rather than the hours or even days long processes of ceremonies and rituals. The capital exhibited by the chosen djembefola increased due to the ability to travel initially around West Africa, and then on a global scale. The economic benefit from this performance schedule, which was designed to represent the culture of Guinea, was significant, in terms of the djembefola being paid a salary for the first time. This enabled them to send remittances to their families, which in turn aided the local economy. The second identified cultural paradigm shift involved a movement from one person to a number of people playing the djembe; from the cultural meaning of what was played (e.g. from the sacred rhythms previously played for ritual and ceremonial purposes, to playing for a fee to entertain an audience) The professionalization of the djembefola became recognized as a person who received a salary for their work, resulting in cultural and economic shifts for the djembefola themselves, as well as increasing the economic capital.

Touré's dictatorship changed the actual 'form' of the music from ritual to ballet, and the younger generations began to learn the new style, believing it to be more dynamic. Their teachers were the members of the Ballets. A legacy of traditional music, song and dance was to be almost entirely eradicated. After Touré's death in 1984, many of the older Mandinka were happy as they could revive the old ways once again without fear. Now, two distinctly different styles of djembe practice have been identified: the traditional/rural, which symbolised the ritualistic elements of djembe practice, and identified as the characteristic of the first cultural paradigm, and additionally practices within the second cultural paradigm, the ballet/concert which demonstrated no ritualistic traits at all, and was purely for performance to represent Guinea as a cultural leader.

Traditional-style drumming is performed for ceremonial or ritualistic purposes only, such as birth, death, marriage, circumcision, rites of passage, harvesting and Ramadan. Ballet-style drumming is choreographed to align itself with an audience, cultural base and teaching style. Today, there are relatively few authentic djembefola (master drummers who purely teach the old ways). New generations of West African musicians are encouraged to learn and revere the authentic old ways as well as the new. They are taught that the two styles must not be mixed, but preserved as separate entities. The new djembefola are becoming more geographically widespread, with the ability to travel around the world. By following the oral tradition of storytelling, and learning by listening and repeating, there is hope that the more traditional style of djembe music will remain an important and relevant part of the musical genre in the twenty-first century.

Contrary to popular belief, the Mandinka tribe never used the djembe as a signalling drum, rather they used it as a communicational musical instrument to converse with the spirits of the elements around them and the tribal members who no longer walk the earthly plains, to relay the meaning of the rhythm being played to the dancers and singers (Doumbia and

Wirzbicki, 2005). All the villagers, from tiny children to the elders, were included in the ceremonies with hand clapping and dancing seen as being essential parts of the rhythm itself and of the ceremonial rite (Doumbia and Wirzbicki, 2005). Traditionally, women did not play the djembe, as the male elders of the village considered that their other duties were more important. Interestingly, today this is no longer the case, the onset of globalisation has enabled the myths surrounding women and djembe playing to be dispelled. Currently, women are often seen playing the lead djembe, often within women-only groups, which are as well-respected and successful as any of the male-only groups.



Figure 1.1 First all-women percussion troupe – Nimbaya!

‘A daring response’ to the centuries-old taboo against women playing the djembe in West Africa is Nimbaya! the first all-women percussion and dance troupe originating from Guinea. The group, formerly known as Amazones Women Master Drummers of Guinea, was created in 1998 by Mamoudou Condé of Les Ballets Africains fame. (See Figure 1.1) The process of change from the traditional male dominated djembe practice to both a male and female djembe practice can be characterised through globalisation, and the effect of

globalisation upon the practice itself. The commodification of the djembe habitus is informed by the shift in the perception of the initial ritualistic music to the well-rehearsed and choreographed concert.

The globalisation of the djembe and its culture is identified as a shift towards the third cultural paradigm, where the concert/ballet style is much more available to a wider range of audience, on a global scale. The structures, practices, and processes surrounding the djembe can be referred to under the umbrella term; globalisation. Travel was common for the new cosmopolitan djembefola. He was able to teach the djembe music to young and old, male or female, black or white. Interestingly, as more people across the world became exposed to this rich music, the increase in women learning and playing the djembe was notable. Female djembe players began to emerge as performers, and in some cases teachers of the djembe. The term djembefola is still at this point referencing only male drummers. Djembefola, originating from West Africa were relocating to other countries, to live and work teaching and performing djembe music. The djembe is considered these days as a world percussion instrument.

The third cultural paradigm shift was characterised firstly by a notable geographical spread of djembe culture, as a result of the globalisation of the djembefola, and the djembe culture. Secondly the widespread djembe culture was also available to women, something not previously recognised, within West Africa, and thirdly, the djembe culture was also available to people outside the original field, for example; white people from western countries.

The djembe was thought to have been constructed only by the Mandinka tribes, although recently there has been evidence of similar drums around North Africa (Charry, 2000). The blacksmiths of the Mandinka tribal villages, known as *numu*, would have been the master

drum makers responsible for crafting the drums for ritualistic village ceremonies and celebrations. The drum is crafted from a single length of hardwood, usually from the lenke tree (Charry, 2000). Hardwood is preferred as it produces a better-quality sound. The lenke is considered to have strong connections with tribal spirits and it is believed to ‘speak’ to the musician through its connection to the spirit world.

The actual construction of the traditional djembe is a ritual which has not altered for many thousands of years (Charry, 2000). The shell of the djembe is carved soon after the tree has been felled and a secret ritual is performed by the local witch doctor or healer, essentially thanking the spirit of the tree for allowing itself to be used in the creation of sound in sacred rites and ceremonies. Many parts of this ritual continue to be secret even today, as only the witch doctor/healer can perform it and he is prohibited from speaking of it outside his tribal caste. Hackett (1986: 3) comments on the communication and transmission of African religious art and artefacts, noting that the spiritual elements are believed to ‘represent, channel or transform spiritual energies or beings’. Furthermore, Thompson (1983: 117) notes that:

Not only do such art forms convey meaning and evoke an aesthetic experience, they also have efficacy. Some power objects (such as charms, amulets, statuettes, stools, or even medicines) are not mere epiphenomena of ritual; they are perceived to have agency as “spirit-embodiment and spirit-directing forces themselves.

1.4 Contemporary djembe

The way in which djembe is taught, learned and represented has altered significantly compared to what it was like in the past, especially due to the development of communication technology, predominately the Internet, and in particular the emergence of social networking sites.

The fourth cultural paradigm is identified with the emergence of the Internet and in particular, social networking sites. Here the current form of commodification practice takes place through the means of technology.

Djembe culture is now able to co-exist in both a physical space as well as in a virtual space. Access to like-minded people who are interested in studying the djembe, or just interested in attending concerts led by globally recognised djembe players, including djembefola from West Africa is easy and fast. Social networking allows people to join groups which focus on the djembe, or on a particular djembe teacher or djembefola. Goods can be bought and sold, arrangements can be made to meet in a physical space, and information about djembe related topics accessed easily. The role of the djembefola djembe teacher, or djembe band within the social networking site can be elevated, as more people join his or her group. Business transaction can be conducted, and physical events on a global scale can be attended.

The cultural paradigm shift from the third cultural paradigm to the fourth cultural paradigm involved both the djembefola and students from around the globe adopting different methods of teaching and learning. Information was able to be accessed through digital media at any time. Digital versions of musical notation could be posted within the social networking platform, and accessed by social media users. Visual media could be observed, and used as teaching aids, with no concerns over location of the djembefola, in terms of geographical location. Groups of like-minded people were able to organize themselves around the globe and converse potentially large numbers of people also interested in djembe culture, within Facebook groups.

Van Dijck (2013: 65) proposes that networks are managed by large corporations such as Facebook, and connect users in order to use all the collected data for commercial purposes, and that 'Facebook increasingly serves as a gateway and identity provider to selected

services and goods'. However, this online connectivity is also used by fellow members of Facebook groups, communities or individuals to instigate communication and to advance knowledge in terms of sharing information about common interests. The awareness of the djembe is growing, due to established djembefola, such as Mamady Keïta, continually performing and teaching students on a global scale. In 1991, a documentary entitled 'Djembefola' was made, illustrating Mamady Keïta's return to his native village after twenty-six years (Keïta, 1991). The documentary afforded him international acclaim, while at the same time increasing the awareness of the djembe (Juang and Morrissette, 2008). Of particular interest is Mamady Keïta's e-book, entitled 'Nankama'. This book, available for purchase only from Keïta's website (<http://ttmda.com/mamady-keita>), addresses historical and contemporary djembe music, meanings of rhythms, old and new, and the importance of modern technology and recording techniques available in order to observe and participate in the evolution of djembe practice (Keïta, 2014).

With the increasing demand for djembes growing faster now than ever before, due to online marketing, online djembe tourism and online information sites, as well as groups, communities and advertising within social media, more companies worldwide, such as the world-renowned percussion factory Remo Percussion Ltd., are manufacturing the instruments, resulting in a significant reduction in the production of instruments within Africa. The Remo website states that:

Remo djembes combine the traditional tone and design of the original djembe drums of West Africa with modern advances to create a quality drum with a unique sound. Modern materials allow Remo to create djembes that are lighter, more durable, and weather-resistant, making them perfect for travel and for playing in both indoor and outdoor environments (Remo, x8 drums, n.d.)

The thesis is investigating the evolution of the djembe over time in response to political, environmental, social and technological influences, however, on a personal note, I cannot equate the artificial djembe with the traditional djembe, but do acknowledge that for some it

may be a more practical solution, in terms of mobility and reproduction of sound. The Remo djembes are easily ordered online and can be delivered quickly. They are accompanied with a guarantee, and spare parts such as new synthetic heads (instead of traditional goat skins) can be very easily acquired. The popularity of these artificial drums, in my experience is having a direct effect upon the livelihood of the traditional djembe maker in the villages and in the towns of West Africa.

As the djembe grows in popularity around the world, and becoming widely accepted as a professional percussion instrument, students of African music are discovering a need to return to the authentic instrument both in its native homeland in West Africa and through the tutelage of relocated master djembefola across the globe. Significant contributions by notable percussionists or dancers turned scholars (Charry, 2000; Diallo, 1989; Tiérou, 2013) have aided the understanding and awareness of traditional African drum and dance, substantiating a communal as well as academic means of continued preservation and teaching of the African and African diasporic aesthetic of rhythm and movement (Juang and Morrissette, 2008: 540). This is demonstrated by the fact that there is an increasing trend for djembe students to travel to West Africa to learn from their masters. Charry (1996 [online]) states:

‘There is much more to that tradition than the physical act of moving hands to recreate rhythms (as challenging as that preliminary task may be), for those rhythms and their associated dances have vital meanings in Africa. From the clearing of fields, the celebrations of marriage and the passing into adulthood, to the secret rituals of the all-powerful Komo society, the *jembe* is there to guide. African *jembe* players teaching abroad are charged by their legacy with faithfully communicating their traditions to foreign students. It is up to us to seek them out, to learn about their culture, to study the

sounds of the masters, and perhaps even to visit them in their towns and villages.

Otherwise, their tradition may become so diluted that its very essence is lost.’

As stated earlier in this section, the birth of the Internet and the emergence of social networking sites have enabled both students and teachers of the djembe to communicate more effectively, with geographical location no longer a consideration. The concept of place and authenticity can be corroborated by simply clicking on a link within social media. Images, videos and narratives can be accessed immediately where there is a network connection.

1.4.1 From physical communication to social networking

Although much of the cultural history surrounding the djembe has been transmitted orally, this is beginning to evolve through the emergence of the Internet.

The reshaping of communication methods is occurring at an unprecedented rate, through the development of technological advancement and the use of the Internet. Technology is fundamentally changing the way we all interact with and depend on each other, resulting in new opportunities for people to communicate, learn and adapt the old traditions to the new conditions within contemporary culture (Schmidt and Cohen, 2014).

Ortner (2013) and Sewell (1999) both note that the last half-century has indeed heralded competing understandings of culture and how it affects individual and collective actions, and how these competing understandings have both risen and withered within modern social disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and political science. Schmidt and Cohen (2014: 6) suggest that ‘the vast majority of the population will exist in two worlds at once: the virtual world where connectivity is fast, and available through a variety of means and devices, and the physical world’. This observation is relevant for the understanding of the

djembe as a particular form of cultural practice, which still exists in the rural communities within West Africa, while at the same time having a virtual presence.

1.4.2 Why Facebook?

The digital world relies upon technology to provide connectivism between communities and societies as well as between individuals. This is achieved through creating connections and developing networks to connect and share information with the people in your life. People can network together thus gaining access to information that they may not otherwise have access to. Importantly, personal engagement with the information narratives allows for exposure to other opinions on the topics being discussed, thereby increasing learning opportunities. Due to technological advancement, new tools have been developed through which accumulated knowledge no longer rests solely with an individual but can be shared quickly and easily. Within the digital world are social networks, web-based applications which feature user-generated content, such as text posts, comments, images, links to external web pages or groups and group and community-generated data and business content such as marketing and advertising (Obar and Wildman, 2015). One of the most important social networking sites currently is Facebook, in terms of its popularity and ease of use on a global scale. It is recognised that Facebook's popularity has grown exponentially over recent years, from 5.5 million users worldwide in 2005 to over 1.1 billion active users during the last quarter of 2014 (McPherson, 2015). During the twenty-first century, the Internet has become an essential component in the navigation of everyday life, influencing all aspects of human endeavour, from consumerism and lifestyle to communication, and the ability to seek out and spread information in an instant is perhaps the biggest transformation of all time (Hamburger and Ben-Artzi, 2000; Hamburger and Vinitsky, 2010). Social networking sites (SNS) can be defined as 'virtual collections of user profiles which can be shared with others', and are the most popular and fastest growing types of Internet sites

(Hughes, Rowe, Batey and Lee, 2011: 561). This observation is particularly relevant to this research study in that it demonstrates the digital replication of oral communication, and the sharing of information with others. Djembe-related information is easily communicated with, and to, other users, without a physical presence being required. Visual recordings are a further example of communication and representation. Social networking sites and virtual communities are still evolving. Within Facebook, for example, there is now the possibility of linking Facebook with other applications, which adds to the opportunities for communication. Connectivity between users within the social media platform Facebook was noted by Siemens (2005: 1) as having many implications for social culture. Technology, he observes, 'has reorganised how we live, how we communicate, and how we learn'. Vaill (1996: 42) emphasises that, 'learning must be a way of being – an ongoing set of attitudes and actions by individuals and groups that they employ to try to keep abreast of the surprising, novel, messy, obtrusive, recurring events'. This is of particular interest to this research in terms of the 'relocated djembefola' in the twenty-first century. The procurement of historical djembe knowledge, which has for centuries traditionally been taught and learnt, djembefola to student, within a village setting, is now replicated through communication within connected communities on Facebook. The djembefola diaspora has evolved from a physical space into a virtual space. Facebook users who are interested in the West African musical culture can access examples of written notation, as well as virtual classes, which may also feature video links. Historical information pertaining to particular rhythms, in terms of their meanings and reason for being played, are uploaded to Facebook and can be 'shared' or downloaded, thus evolving from an oral tradition to a written tradition (Mamady Keïta Djembefola – Official Facebook Page). The use of advertising within Facebook by both djembefola and students is extremely profitable. Djembe practice has evolved through organised stages, from its ritualistic beginnings to a commercial and global setting present

within physical and digital spaces. People can access information and purchase access to learning and/or concerts by globally recognised djembefola. Workshops, classes, performances and djembe tourism all create financial revenue, as well as highlighting the djembe as a global and commodified percussion instrument. Djembefola, relocated physically worldwide, are able, through the use of the chat or comment facility within Facebook, to communicate with friends and family in their native villages as well as with an audience on a global level. This digital communication occurs in a variety of ways: communication with communities of practice, personal networks and through complex organisational commercialism. Essentially people connecting with other like-minded people on-line. In some ways, this replicates traditional village communication and practice, in terms of the organisation of village festivals, weddings and rites of passage. Teaching and learning, traditionally occurring within the village itself, now appears in a virtual world. The ability to connect in a virtual arena with other djembefola around the world, as well as with potential organisers, further supports the commodification and commercialibility of the instrument and its player on a global level, where opportunities arise for learning and teaching, and/or performing can be instigated, or responded to at any given time.

This section has discussed briefly the history of the djembe and demonstrated how the practice and tradition have survived over the centuries. However, it has also been demonstrated that there has not been a systematic investigation of the changing field of practice and the role of the djembefola. This points to a gap in knowledge. This thesis is concerned specifically with the evolution of the djembe, which it sees as a particular practice that has changed both historically and in terms of its geographical spread and its cultural significance. This evolution of the djembe, as well as current organisation of djembe practice, is the primary focus of this thesis. In order to explore the evolution of the

djembe from its historical roots within a West African village, I draw on a number of key concepts, which I present below.

1.5 Conceptual framework

This thesis draws on Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1972). Bourdieu was a critical French sociologist whose work was mainly based on observations of French society and discussion of social practices. Of particular relevance for the understanding of the djembe, and how it has changed over time, are Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, capital, hysteresis and doxa. Bourdieu defines habitus as 'a structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices' (Bourdieu, 1984: 170). An individual's habitus is created through the understanding of the world around them, in terms of their thoughts and beliefs, and, according to Bourdieu, has the potential to influence the actions of the individual and to construct the social world they inhabit, as well as being influenced by external conditions (Bourdieu, 1984: 170). The habitus, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 133), can be interpreted as 'being durable but not eternal, resulting in the habitus not adapting to modified field conditions', which Bourdieu (1977) calls the *hysteresis effect*. He cites the example of generational conflict, where the habitus of agents has been developed at different points in time, leading to different understandings of which practice is 'reasonable' for one generation versus 'scandalous' or 'unthinkable' for another generation. The field is defined by Bourdieu as a setting in which agents and their social positions are located, and a relatively autonomous domain of activity that responds to rules of functioning and institutions that are specific to it and which define the relations among the agents. Bourdieu also suggests that the social world is divided into a variety of distinct arenas or 'fields' of practice such as art, education and religion. Each field has its specific rules, for instance the political field must maintain a close relationship with the individuals

external to the field, because political agents derive their legitimacy from the representation of the citizens (Bourdieu, 2000). Within the field, according to Bourdieu (1984: 471), is the ‘doxa’, which is defined as being the limits of social mobility within a field. It forms a sense of our place and the feeling of what is possible and what is not, within the field. It is the taken-for-granted, the unstated assumptions, or ‘common-sense’ behind the distinctions an individual makes. Bourdieu’s concept of capital refers to the collection of symbolic elements by an individual, such as skills, taste, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings and credentials. These elements are acquired through belonging to a particular social class. The sharing of similar elements of cultural capital with others creates a sense of a collective identity and group position (‘people like us’) with others (Nash, 1990: 439). However, Bourdieu (1986) also recognised that social inequality can result from certain cultural capitals being valued over other forms of cultural capital, thus helping or hindering the individual’s social mobility.

Bourdieu (1986) notes that cultural capital can be observed in three different forms:

- embodied – accents or dialects;
- objectified – luxury goods; and
- institutionalised – credentials and qualifications, which symbolise cultural competence and authority.

In summary, Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice (1972) comprises three main elements: *habitus*, *field*, and *capital*. The interplay between the elements results in *strategy* or *practice*.

The djembe and its evolution over different points in time are investigated through the application of Bourdieu’s concepts of the habitus, field, capital, doxa and hysteresis.

Djembe is seen as a practice within a field by djembefola, the practitioners, who have a particular habitus. In order to be successful within the field, djembefola are required to have a particular combination of capitals, including social capital, cultural capital and economic

capital. When these capitals are combined, they are transformed into symbolic capital as the djembefola enters the field. The notion of habitus especially refers to the changing role of the djembefola. As djembe practice has been changing over time, there have been relatively stable periods, where the players in the field understand and acknowledge their role in society. I refer to each of these periods as a cultural paradigm. In order to understand the meaning of the term paradigm in relation to the djembe, I make use of the notion of paradigm as studied by scholars in the spheres of culture and anthropology (Rogoff et al., 2014; Gaudette, 2013). In anthropology, a paradigm is considered as the existing beliefs, practices and general perspective of a discipline (Douglas, 1985: xxiii). In addition, it is important to understand that, within a particular paradigm, there is a specific djembe habitus, field and capital. I also investigate how and why these changes occur. To explore the dynamics of the change or transition from one paradigm of the djembe to another I use the concept of liminality. French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep (1908) is recognised by scholars as being the first anthropologist to study the significance of the rituals accompanying the transitional stages in a person's life – birth, puberty, marriage and death. Van Gennep recognised three successive, but separate, stages in human rituals: separation, margin and aggregation. Later, Victor Turner (1967) focused on van Gennep's central transitional stage, the marginal or liminal phase, for examination. Turner terms the liminal phase as the 'betwixt and between'. Turner (1967) believes that a person within the transitional or liminal phase has nothing – no status, property, rank or kinship position. He describes this condition as being one of 'sacred poverty'.

Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, the notion of the cultural paradigm and Turner's approach to liminality are brought together in order to understand how the djembe habitus evolves within different fields present within different cultural paradigms, and I also examine the cultural capital required by the djembefola in order to successfully function within each

cultural paradigm. In this way I will be able to trace both continuities within the djembe practice and the ruptures or crises, referred to as liminal spaces, which lead to the next emergent cultural paradigm.

Although the history of the djembe has been discussed by a number of authors (Billmeier, 2004; Charry, 1996; Polak, 2000), to date the changing role of the djembefola and the evolution of the djembe has not been explored through a Bourdieusian lens, to identify continuity and change in a digital space. Little is known about contemporary djembe practice as it is enacted not only in physical but also in virtual spaces. A culture steeped in oral practice and the passing down of rituals, ceremonies and culture, has radically altered over time in response to political, economic, social and technological changes and the recent emergence of social networking platforms.

1.6 Research question and objectives

Against this background, the thesis addresses the following research question and objectives:

1.6.1 Research question

How has the djembe habitus evolved over time to reach its current form, and what are the implications of these changes for our understanding of the organisation of the djembe under different political, economic, social and technological conditions?

1.6.2 Objectives

- To undertake a thorough review and analysis of the existing literature on the history of the djembe, in order to explore the evolution of the djembe habitus from its rural origins up until the present.

- To investigate how the habitus of djembefola in the contemporary world is changing within both physical and virtual spaces.
- To build an understanding of the changes in the organisation of the djembe under different political, economic, social and technological conditions.

1.7 Significance of the study

This study is important for several reasons. One is to identify how the ancient cultural practice has changed and to discover what has altered within the ancient practices as the Internet changes their meanings. Also significant from an organisational perspective, is to see how new ways of teaching and learning are recognised within the contemporary representation of the djembe. The thesis also demonstrates, both theoretically and practically, how the progression of a rural roots and ceremonial djembe drumming practice can become a successful economic and organised commercial commodity.

Both the evolution of the djembe and its current practice within the digital community are discussed, using the concepts of habitus, field, capital, hysteresis, paradigm and liminality. Although there has been much research upon the subject of the djembe, both as a percussion instrument and as a cultural artefact, none has in any sense to date utilised paradigm theory in order to distinguish distinct stages identified during the evolution of the djembe, in particular within digital communication, and how the organisation of the djembe evolves in response to the historical and technological conditions.

1.8 Thesis structure

1.8.1 Chapter 1 – Introduction to thesis

The Introduction chapter addresses the historical background, significance and limitations of the study. It positions the research in the context of the history of the djembe and the current technological changes, in particular in the wake of the emergence of social media

platforms such as Facebook. It introduces the theoretical aspects of Bourdieu's theory of practice and the notions of both paradigm and liminality that are used throughout the thesis in order to examine the evolving nature of the djembe, as well as outlining the research question and objectives. It also introduces the theoretical framework through which these three theoretical concepts are connected.

1.8.2 Chapter 2 – Conceptual framework

Chapter 2 is divided into four sections and provides a discussion of certain aspects of key concepts pertaining to the study. Here, I first introduce the concepts that underpin the analysis of the evolution and the current practice of the djembe. In particular, in Section 2.1, I discuss the meaning and also the application of Bourdieu's habitus, field, capital and hysteresis. Section 2.2 discusses the notion of the cultural paradigm. Section 2.3 comments on the concept of liminality with reference to Turner's work. The final section of the chapter brings together the key concepts to show how together they build a framework, in order to analyse the evolution and the practice of the djembe, both historically and today.

1.8.3 Chapter 3 – The evolving djembe habitus

Chapter 3 applies the conceptual framework to analyse existing literature on the history of the djembe, in order to identify the djembe habitus from a historical point of view. It identifies three distinct paradigms in which there used to be different kinds of habitus, as well as three transitional spaces.

1.8.4 Chapter 4 – Research methods

Chapter 4 introduces the rationale behind the empirical research, incorporating four case studies, semi-structured interviews, and fieldwork (conducted in both physical and virtual spaces). It introduces the interpretive, ethnographic and netnographic methodological

processes applied to investigate the evolution of the djembe tribal village roots to social networking sites.

1.8.5 Chapter 5 – Findings and analysis

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the empirical research, and analyses them in the context of the main research questions.

1.8.6 Chapter 6 – Discussion

Chapter 6 combines the theoretical concepts, the conceptual framework and the qualitative approach used to identify the djembe habitus and the emergence of a new fourth cultural paradigm within the social media platform Facebook. Each cultural paradigm is discussed in separate subsections, in terms of the application of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice. The transitional liminal spaces are also discussed.

1.8.7 Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The background to this study is briefly revisited, thus restating the gap in current knowledge. The findings of the research are brought together, in order to answer the research question and its objectives. The study's contributions to knowledge are articulated, and directions for future research are suggested. The study's limitations are also acknowledged.

Chapter 2 **Conceptual framework**

This chapter introduces the conceptual framework used for the investigation of the evolution of the djembe and is divided into four sections. In Section 2.1, Bourdieu's Theory of Practice is discussed with particular reference to the concepts of habitus, field, capital and hysteresis. Section 2.2 explores the notion of paradigm, specifically in relation to how it has been applied within the field of anthropology with reference to cultural practices.

Section 2.3 discusses the concept of liminality and its relevance to this thesis and in Section 2.4 the conceptual framework is summarised and applied to the cultural evolution of djembe habitus, illustrating how transformation through a series of liminal phases results in a new and emergent djembe paradigm. According to Miles and Huberman (1994: 18), 'a conceptual framework explains, either graphically or in narrative form [diagrams are much preferred], the main things to be studied – the key factors, constructs or variables – and the presumed relationships among them'. The core of the conceptual framework is provided by Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, which allows me to identify the evolution of the djembe habitus through continuity and change over time.

2.1 Djembe as a field: Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

In order to understand the intricate and dynamic nature of social relations, Bourdieu's Theory of Practice deconstructs various perceived binaries, such as objectivity and subjectivity, theory and practice, individual and society and structure and agency (Grenfell and James, 1998; Maher, Harker and Wilkes, 1990; Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu (1977a: 3) proposes 'a science of dialectical relations between objective structures [...] and the subjective dispositions within which these structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them'.

The foundation for his theoretical approach to sociological inquiry and practice encompasses the work of renowned social theorists such as Durkheim, Marx and Weber. Bourdieu and Passeron's *les héritiers* (1964) *la reproduction* (1970) and Bourdieu's *la distinction* (1979) incorporate studies of class, culture and education and constitute an essential reading list for scholars researching these areas. Furthermore, his book-length *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977a) is an important study of the foundations of anthropology and sociology, and indeed has been the basis for the approach taken by this thesis, in which his key theories are adapted, expanded and remodelled. The concepts of habitus, field, capital, hysteresis and doxa are further developed to encompass history and experience, to investigate social and cultural relations, to explore the notion of capital, which constitutes more than just material value, and to identify an arena where social agents produce and circulate valued 'goods' to acquire power (Bourdieu, 1998).

Bourdieu's theory of practice can be classified as a 'grand theory' (Reckwitz, 2003). According to Skinner (1985: 1), a grand theory is an 'abstract and normative theory of human nature and conduct' that is generic in nature and that can be applied to different circumstances and areas of research. Bourdieu constructed his theory based on research undertaken on the Kabyle peoples in Algeria (1958, 1964). Walther (2014: 1) suggests that 'society, in terms of domination and relative strength, is mainly the result of unequal allocation of resources within the society itself'.

As a theoretical framework, Bourdieu's theory of practice has been applied to several fields of study including marketing (Holbrook, 2015), organisational studies (Tatli et al., 2015) and human resource management (Vincent, 2016). My use of the term paradigm is borrowed from anthropology. This denotes a certain period in time where particular cultural practices were taking place. However, the term paradigm has also been used in organization

studies, and this has been mainly to denote a certain epistemological approach. While the idea of a paradigm is commonly used in organization studies, its meaning is different from how I use it.

Interestingly, Greenwood and Bernardi (2013) suggest that the use of history has become increasingly discussed and more widely applied within Organization Studies (OS). Their work, which analysed the differences of the epistemological standpoint, revealed that the distinctions in terms of approach, once closely examined, are rarely clear-cut and historians and OS scholars are frequently closer in intention and method than they are distant.

This theoretical framework enables multi-level research to take place, the tackling of issues of reflexivity during the research process through an epistemological and methodological process, and the proposal of methodological and epistemological methods to overcome the dualities between structure and agency and objectivism and subjectivism (Özbilgin, M., & Tatli, A. (2005).

Hillebrandt (1999) notes the recognition of dualism(s) of structure vs. agency, structuralism vs. constructivism, determinism vs. freedom or macro vs. micro as being an important yet criticised contribution by Bourdieu. Both Hays (1994) and Berard (2005) observe that social structures, e.g. the international market, have been central to sociological theory and that they act as rules to determine and condition individual thoughts and behaviours. Hays (1994: 57-72) further suggests that:

‘on the one hand a pure structuralist perspective would imply that people ‘behave’ as robots that are programmed to act in accordance with the structured pattern, a perspective that appears obviously too rigid. On the other hand, the voluntarism or agency perspectives rather suggest that individuals are completely free in their choices and always have an array of alternatives.’

In describing Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, Golsorkhi and Huault (2006 15-34) propose the following:

‘The Theory of Practice does not constitute a cohesive theory within itself, but rather represents a flexible theoretical approach whose main elements must never be considered detached from each other. This makes it almost impossible to explain one element of Bourdieu’s Theory without referring to the others’.

In discussing how a particular theory of practice within society is formed, Bourdieu introduces concepts of habitus, field, capital and hysteresis as four important and interrelated concepts. Using the four concepts highlighted above, it is possible to examine the methods and postures of social science to gain an understanding of human action within fields, thereby shaping theoretical thinking about the social world. Bourdieu (1984: 170) defines the habitus as ‘a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices’, further adding that primary habitus is ‘embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history’ (Bourdieu, 1990b: 56), never losing its impact, and always influencing the development of the secondary habitus, formed from the results from one’s education at school and university, and other life experiences (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133). Bourdieu believes the habitus to be ‘rather inertial’ (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2010), or ‘durable, but not eternal’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133), emphasising the fact that changes in the habitus tend to be slow, occurring gradually. Generational differences are a prime example; older people tend to have different understandings and values based on their lived experiences within a particular time period, whereas younger people under new circumstances will have different values and beliefs. Circumstances or actions once considered scandalous or unthinkable are now deemed reasonable in today’s society. Barlösius (2004: 38) defines this as the ‘inability to process and evaluate historical, but also individual, crises according to previously formed categories of perception, appreciation and comprehension that are linked to one’s social origins’ or ‘the experience may arise because people become caught in the maelstrom of occupational and socio-structural crises of reproduction, entrapment through which a future of certainty and

security once promised by society is dragged into uncertainty and vulnerability', resulting in what Bourdieu et al. (1999) call 'inner tension, a cleft, or split habitus'. Bourdieu's work on three particular 'transformation societies', namely *Algeria 1960: The Disenchantment of the World*; *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*; and *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*, discusses different societies involved in transformational change due to social, economic and political interventions. He focuses on the effects perceived by the individual, group or community as a result of the rapidly changing field conditions, which cause their habitus to be completely overtaken within the new space. Social life is unrecognisable from what it was, resulting in a belated attempt to readapt to the new rules of the game. The hysteresis effect may therefore provide an explanation for how actors make sense of their new environment based on their habitus and innate capacity to decipher the characteristics, which define the previous field and the new one.

It has been acknowledged by scholars that there is still much to be done to fully exploit Bourdieu's work for the purpose of organisational studies. Over the past two decades, a number of such scholars have applied Bourdieu's theories in their research, for example: Baxter and Chua (2008); Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2010); Emirbayer and Johnson (2008); Feldman et al. (2016); Roberts (2006); Swartz (2008); and Wooten and Hoffman (2016).

This research is the first of its kind to investigate a particular practice, which has evolved from physical face-to-face enactment to the virtual sphere. I argue that the same practice, the field in which players interact, has been transformed from this very material and geographical space to a virtual space. I show how the concepts of habitus, field and capital can be applied to understand how this dynamic practice has changed over time and how it has transitioned from the physical to the virtual sphere.

2.1.1 Bourdieu's concept of habitus

Bourdieu uses the term 'habitus' to refer to the organised way of doing things, defining it as 'a structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices' (1984: 170). The sociologist and ethnographer Loïc Wacquant notes that the notion of habitus is much older than people realise, being first associated with ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (Wacquant, 2007). The root meaning is derived from the Aristotelian notion of *hexis*, drawn from the concept of virtue. He adds that 'the hexis consists of a state reached and firmly established for the moral character, which guides the conduct of individuals'. Bourdieu (1987, 1985) elaborates on the term, situating it firmly as a central idea within his Theory of Practice. In other words, habitus is both structuring structures and structured structures; both shape and are shaped by social practice. He further observes that 'without habitus, the concepts of capital and field will have no meaning' (Bourdieu, 1977a: 53).

Bourdieu's habitus is the foundation of all practices, which are determined by the social structures in which they were formed. For example, habitus demonstrates how individual actions are based upon primary socialisation and illustrates why individuals act in a certain way by looking at the link between agents and structures (Navarro, 2006). Navarro further contributes to the debate by suggesting that habitus is 'created through a social rather than individual process, leading to patterns that are enduring and transferable from one context to another, but that also shift in relation to specific contexts and over time', adding that 'it is not permanent and can be changed under unexpected situations or over a long historical period' (Navarro, 2006: 16). This theoretical approach is ideally suited to my own research, as the historical journey of the djembe and its symbolic reference through identified paradigm shifts, has indeed reacted to changing circumstances and is firmly embedded within the twenty-first century djembe music culture seen today.

The current commodified form of djembe practice, investigated within the thesis as the fourth cultural paradigm, has evolved from a ritualistic localised beginning, identified as the first cultural paradigm, where the status of the djembe player was that of a respected musician, whose position in the village was elevated when he was required to play for ritualistic ceremonies. He became the driver for the continuation of the ceremony, ensuring the process of the ritual was adhered to by keeping the rhythm going at the correct speed at any time within the ceremony. Political intervention heralds the onset of the second cultural paradigm, professionalization, where, as a consequence of Touré's rule, the ritualistic elements of the djembe music was to change from ceremonial music to performance style music. The djembefola would no longer play his djembe for rituals and ceremonies, or events such as births, deaths, marriages, hunting or farming activities. He was grouped together with many other djembefola who were also selected through a series of auditions, to perform a highly-choreographed set of rhythms which bore no resemblance to their original form. As the business of organising concerts further and further afield developed, the emergence of the third cultural paradigm, globalisation can be observed. The evolving nature of the djembe from its ritualistic beginning, to a performance style of drumming, and subsequently a globalised practice, has led to the instrument, and indeed the djembefola himself as being identified as a global phenomenon, able to conduct business, and to financially sustain a lifestyle away from his village. The commercialization of both the djembefola, and the djembe culture is identified, as the economic capital is increased, as a result of the change in cultural practice over time. The status of the djembefola was elevated, in the third cultural paradigm, due in part to his place within the performances and concerts. He would organise teaching lessons to both male and female, black or white, and young or old people who were interested in learning to play the djembe. These lessons were

be paid for by the students, thus creating a financially viable working livelihood. It is important to comment at this point that the djembefola would only teach the ballet/concert style of djembe drumming, as the ritualistic style of drumming was still considered by the djembefola to be highly secretive, and only played for certain ceremonies. The advancement of technology has enabled the internet to evolve, and for social networking platforms, such as Facebook to enable communication between people with no consideration to geographical borders. The presence of the djembe culture, as manifested through Facebook, and identified as evidence for the fourth cultural paradigm, commodification, is characterised by instant access to purchasing and consuming the djembe as a commodity. Within the fourth cultural paradigm access to djembefola, djembe teachers, both from West Africa and beyond, and other like-minded people is enabled and mediated by technology and money. This virtual space exists alongside the physical space, and often overlaps. People speak online and are able meet in the physical space. The relatively new feature of ‘live filming and streaming’ within Facebook allows people to span the physical and virtual space at the same time.

Wacquant (2004a) conducted research into the construction of the ‘pugilistic habitus’ situated in a boxing gym in the black ghetto of Chicago. His book, *Body and Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*, offers an empirical and methodological radicalisation of Bourdieu’s theory of habitus and investigates the blending of corporeal and mental dispositions that make up the competent pugilist in the crucible of the gym. This thesis is particularly interested in djembe players and the space they occupy within a changing habitus due to transitional or liminal shifts. Wacquant’s (2009) later work, *Habitus as topic and tool: reflections on becoming a prize fighter*, was written with encouragement from Bourdieu and recounts the concept of habitus as the anchor, the compass and the course of

the ethnographic journey undertaken in his earlier work *Body and Soul*. Wacquant (2004b:84) notes:

‘very quickly that gym turned out to be, not only a wonderful window into the daily life of young men in the neighbourhood, but also a complex microcosm with a history, culture, and an intense and rich social aesthetic, emotional, and moral life of its own’.

This analogy relates closely to my own study on the habitus of the djembe and its players from a historical standpoint to a technological space today. Wacquant (2009: 85) uses the notion of habitus to conceptualise and make sense of his own personal experiences as a boxing apprentice, and as a ‘scaffold’ to his organisation of his ‘ongoing observation of pugilistic pedagogy’. He states that Bourdieu’s definition of habitus – as a set of acquired dispositions – suggested a direct relevancy in terms of disclosing the social making of prize-fighters’. He acknowledged that he was no prize-fighter and that ‘no one is born a boxer’ (Wacquant, 2009: 137-151). In order for the boxing apprentices to ‘acquire a set of dispositions’,

‘They must immerse themselves in the ritual of training which would consist of physical drills, ascetic rules of life (concerning the management of food, time, emotion and sexual desire), and social games geared towards instilling in them new abilities, categories and desires, those specific to the pugilistic cosmos’ (Wacquant, 1998b: 1-42).

In terms of the ‘sets of dispositions’, Wacquant (2009: 86) suggests that they ‘vary by social location and trajectory: individuals with different life experiences will have gained varied ways of thinking, feeling, and acting’. This observation can be applied directly to the topic of the thesis, in terms of the dispositions that are required to be mastered in order for a djembe apprentice to emerge as a djembe master, within changing and transitional spaces. The anthropologist Philippe Bourgois (2003) incorporated the concept of habitus in his work on drug users in the San Francisco Bay area, *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. This work focused on social marginalisation in inner-city America, winning critical acclaim after it was first published in 1995 and subsequently being awarded the Margaret

Mead Award in 1997. His work was seen as the first of its type, situating the author as both anthropologist and trusted long-term friend to this community. The community consisted of a multiethnic social network of street-level drug dealers and users in one of the roughest ghetto neighbourhoods in the US – East Harlem. Bourgois spent a period of ten years living with the drug users of East Harlem in San Francisco. He observed that although everybody is different, there was in fact a common denominator which connected this particular group of people. What characterised the drug users as a group was the drug addiction, how that addiction was incorporated into their daily lives, the practice of injecting heroin on a regular basis, or the smoking of heroin, either individually or in a doss house or drug den, and the methods of sourcing money to pay for the drug in a particular way. An important aspect of Bourgois' work is that he showed that the habitus – what people do, how they behave, and how they go about their lives – is not only to do with the fact that they take drugs, but also that the outer structure, the 'field', where the rules of the game – or, in this instance, the rules to which the drug users must adhere in order to stay alive – are in place. A hierarchical system of honour and respect exists within the community. A type of 'ethnicized habitus' was developed, in order 'to understand how divisions drawn on the basis of skin colour are enforced [...] Both these components fit into a larger constellation of ethnic distinction, rooted in historically entrenched political, economic, and ideological forces' (Bourgois and Schonberg, 2007: 7-31). Bourgois applies the concept of habitus to his research in order to capture the figure of both the drug user and the drug dealer along with those structures within which a drug user's life unfolds.

Our everyday behaviours are considered by Bourdieu as being the key component of the generation of habitus – our thoughts, our beliefs, how we feel, think and act, unconsciously, without thought. These behaviours transform into symbolic capital when entering a field, which has its own set of rules that must be adhered to. This thesis is particularly interested

in the implications of the changes which occur through a transformation of the habitus within the field.

Norbert Elias (1991) illustrates how the habitus is determined by our culturally accepted manners. He argues that society is formed from social relationships created between the 'I', 'you', 'we', 'they', etc., and that it is made up of interdependent, yet different individuals but who become equal as they depend on each other. Elias uses the idea of group dance as a metaphor for the understanding of habitus. He suggests that each member of the dance performs gestures and movements in combination and which are synchronised with other members, and that the dance members should not be seen in isolation but as a whole, although each member has their own distinct characteristics. He continues with the observation that the same occurs with individuals in their social and historical context, where an individual's behaviour is shaped by both previous and current social relations, in terms of their lived and shared experiences, thus maintaining their individual habitus. Both Bourdieu and Elias analyse the individual, although Bourdieu suggests that it is the influence of capital which moulds the habitus, whereas Elias suggests that it is the social relations that are key to the interdependent relationships that create the habitus.

IJzerman and Cohen (2011) used the notion of habitus within the discipline of social psychology to examine how Latinos and Anglos embody honour differently. Their paper examined the links between body comportment and honour (a cultural syndrome prizing female chastity, familial loyalty and reputation), in particular the bidirectional effect of body comportment and the endorsement or rejection of values in cultures, which are characterised by vastly different beliefs. They also examined the interaction of 'culture' and 'situation', something, they state, which is largely under-researched. Their research is drawn from 'dignity cultures' (Anglo-Americans from the US and native Dutch in the Netherlands) and from 'honour cultures' (Latinos from the US and Arab – mostly Moroccan – or Turkish

respondents in the Netherlands). Pertinent to my research is the similarity in meaning of the term ‘honour’ as given by Julian Pitt-Rivers to that within IJzerman and Cohen’s (2011) paper. Pitt-Rivers (1965: 21) states that honour is ‘the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is his estimation of his worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim [...] his right to pride’. In terms of my own research, ‘honour’ could be characterised as being the habitus of the individual, embodied within himself. Further, the expression ‘right to pride’ could be interpreted as being in the field and knowing the rules of the game. IJzerman and Cohen (2011: 456-467) note that:

‘if an individual is present within a particular field then the rules will be adhered to, i.e. a woman of worth adheres to the prescriptions of appropriate behaviour. The holding of one’s body in a certain way indicates how cultural values and bodily comportments are integrated. The outside structure, which characterises the field, is determined by the poise of the individual, the capital embodied within him or her suggests that the rules of the game in the field are known. Historical knowledge of their individual positioning determines the way individuals think and act.’

My research focuses on the evolving nature of the djembe and its practice, in terms of the political, economic, social and technological changes. The djembefola is presented with different cultures as he gravitates from one space to another, his habitus changing as the field changes, resulting wittingly or unwittingly in paradigm change. Honour and pride in his own djembe practice is evident, due to embodied history.

A key point noted within Bourdieu’s (1984) theory is that habitus constrains but does not determine thought and action. He posits that the habitus changes if certain triggers affect potential outcomes, resulting in change or evolution. Bourdieu (1990:54) further states that:

‘the very conditions of production of the habitus, a virtue made of necessity, mean that the anticipations it generates tend to ignore the restriction to which the validity of calculation of probabilities is subordinated, namely that the experimental conditions should not have been modified.’

He clarifies this by suggesting that it is the structures characterising a determinate class of conditions of existence which produce the structures of the habitus, which in their turn are the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences (see Figure 2.1).

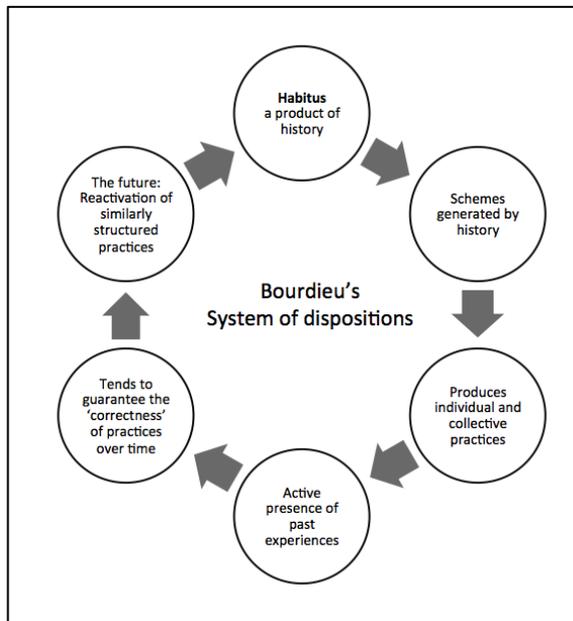


Figure 2.1 Habitus, as explored through Bourdieu's system of dispositions

More recently, scholars of organisation studies have examined the relationship between habitus, field, capital and hysteresis. Neumann and Pouliot (2011: 105-137) investigated a repertoire of Russian/Western relations over a historical period from 800 AD to the twenty-first century, in terms of bodily practices accumulated through history, with reference to the habitus of the individual and the field to which they belong. Interestingly, it is the disharmonious relationship which is investigated, resulting in a state of hysteresis, providing a '*longue durée* reading that challenges both the realist idea that similar outcomes are due to invariant structures and the constructivist idea that structures "socialize"'. Of particular interest is the observation of a notion of unease characterised by 'sharply different diplomatic manners, leading to symbolic struggles and security concerns'. The authors note that the cause of the unease was largely the result of the prolonged effect of the Russian diplomatic habitus, which incorporated the early dispositions inherited from the steppe.

These were interpreted as being vastly different, and questionable, from the early dispositions held by the Europeans and later the Westerners, thus creating a mismatch between positions and dispositions. The authors note that ‘hysteresis is at the root of many symbolic power struggles in world politics’, including those on the international stage. When harmony is present between habitus and field, social order ensues. However, when disharmony occurs due to dispositions happening out of phase, then hysteresis becomes present, arising from ‘a dysfunctional practical sense that is maladapted to a concrete solution’. Notions such as ‘implicit learning’ and ‘embodiment’ are used to articulate an individual’s presence within a particular space, or a social or political group or community’s position within a particular space. The field, described as ‘a social configuration comprised of unequal positions determined by the specific rules of the game’, ensures the presence of habitus, defined by the capital held by the individual. The historical element within this study is noted to have an impact upon the type and value of the capital held, resulting in struggles within the field. Neumann and Pouliot (2011: 105-137) state that ‘in the post-Cold War era the rules of the international security game have evolved from an external mode of pursuing security (based on balancing) to an internal mode characterized by democratic peace and human rights’. They further suggest that ‘this doxic change has significantly changed the relative value of military capital vs. symbolic resources, e.g. democratic credentials’. The authors note that both resources and dispositions are of equal importance, with the habitus as the ‘embodied distillate of history’, being reliant upon the correct conceptual tools available to better understand the ‘frantic bursts of activity’ which result in the hysteresis occurring (Neumann and Pouliot, 2011: 105-137). My own research identifies periods of hysteresis within djembe practice in terms of the emergence of liminal phases, which are a product of such frantic bursts of activity, the field rules changing and new fields – which I refer to as cultural paradigms – occurring. The rules of the new paradigm may not

be entirely in harmony with the individual's perception of what they should be. The period of hysteresis allows the historical embodiment to catch up with itself, thereby allowing the individual actors or social groups to learn the rules of the new game.

In summary, Bourdieu (1990: 58) states that 'the habitus – an embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product'. Ortner (2013) questions Bourdieu's primary concern with social reproduction or social transformation, adding that Bourdieu can be read in a way that shows his abiding historical concerns as well as the ways in which – regardless of his bias towards social reproduction/transformation – his work can be interpreted to provide an understanding of historical processes and historical events.

2.1.2 Bourdieu's concept of field

A field can be any dynamic social arena where agents or institutions compete and struggle to establish the valuable and legitimate capital within the field in order to maintain or alter the power structure (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). A field is also a context from which the habitus and practices evolve and is a setting in which social actors are located in their social positions (for example, an employment setting, or a family, or a production setting for consumer leisure activity, e.g. professional football). Iellatchitch et al. (2003: 732) summarise the term 'social field' as being based on 'a historically generated system of shared meaning'. The position of each particular social actor in the field is a result of interaction between the specific rules of the field, an agent's habitus and an agent's capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu's sociological approach to 'field theory' uses the concept of habitus as its central distinctive feature. While habitus is a set of durable dispositions developed from practices in past experiences, it in turn reproduces practices by informing and structuring people's actions and behaviours (Bourdieu, 1972/1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Bourdieu

(1989a: 39) builds on the theory of habitus, by introducing the concept of the ‘field’, which denotes the ‘social arena’ in which power struggles and conflict take place, and defines it as:

‘a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). Each field presupposes, and generates by its very functioning, the belief in the values of the stakes it offers.’

His clear and distinct explanation for the term ‘field’ suggests that it is characterised by the social rules based on the implicit consensus of the players of the game. The excerpt from Bourdieu’s (1990) work describing the ‘feel for the game’ offers a subjective direction. Its subjectivity is objectified, thus enabling a collective consensus, which allows society to operate with unity and harmony, therefore generating cultural reproduction.

‘Produced by experience of the game, and therefore of the objective structures within which it is played out, the ‘feel for the game’ is what gives the game a subjective sense – a meaning and a *raison d’être*, but also a direction, an orientation, an impending outcome, for those who take part and therefore acknowledge what is at stake. This is *illusio* in the sense of investment in the game and the outcome, interest in the game, commitment to the presuppositions – *doxa* – of the game’ (Bourdieu, 1990: 66).

Bourdieu (1998: 80) observes that:

‘The habitus assures the collective belief in the rules of the social game (*illusio*) and that the actors, act in accordance with their position of the field (*doxa*), which depends on their relative amount and structure of (*social*) economic, and cultural capital’.

Bourdieu (1984: 471) suggests that the commitment to the presuppositions of the game is referred to as ‘*doxa*’, which he defines as ‘an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably both the real world and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident’. In other words, *doxa* is the unquestionable and implicit belief taken for granted without thought. Bourdieu (2005) views fields as either restricted or unrestricted. He adds that in order to understand the ‘feel for the game’, it is necessary to transcend the traditional

dichotomy of subjectivism and objectivism. The concept of field conveys both objective and symbolical structures, which divide social space.

Everett (2002: 56–80) separates the field into two distinct categories:

- A restricted, autonomous field (the field of restricted production) is isolated from wider social forces and operates on self-determined principles.
- A widespread, heteronomous field (the field of large-scale production) produces goods for the public at large and is concerned more with colonising autonomous fields to create heteronomy. Once a heteronomous field subjugates an autonomous field, colonisation occurs. Where this has not occurred, a field can still be considered autonomous.

Grenfell and James (1998: 16) add that:

‘a field entails a structured and relatively objective social reality where individuals, social groups and institutions have different material situations, social functions and obligations according to their social positions and are related to each other in “a structured system”.’

There are many examples of the concept of field being used in organisation studies research along with the concept of habitus; institutional theory constitutes one of these. Interestingly, Sieweke’s paper (2013) discusses the importance of the linguistic process within institutionalisation. He highlights the fact that Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice argues that institutions are transmitted through the process of mimesis, i.e. the unconscious imitation of other actors’ actions. Drawing on research from social psychology, neuroscience, cognitive science and anthropology, Sieweke also shows that, through imitation, actors unconsciously incorporate a field’s ‘feel for the game’, followed by the building of a cognitive schema, which allows the notion of adaptation to a new field’s institutions or rules. The paper offers a new perspective on the usual form of research – carried out at the macro level, i.e. the institution itself – undertaken within institutional research. The author notes recent

micro-level forms of research, which focus on the individual actor. The paper acknowledges that, although research has been conducted previously within psychological and sociological research, in terms of the effect of mimesis within institutions, none has to date applied Bourdieu's notion of mimesis to micro-level institutional theory.

Findings from cultural anthropological research, among others, were used to provide an in-depth insight into the individual actor's mind during the process of institutionalism. The notion of habitus is used to extend current understanding of institutional processes on an individual (micro) level, and the 'habitus and new institutional theory can be fruitfully combined' (Sieweke, 2013: 24-42).

When actors with an embodied habitus enter a field where the rules of the game are known, i.e. field schemata that directs their perceptions and allows them to generate actions according to the field's logic, this results in a harmonious space. However, if the actors enter a field where little is known of the rules of the game and there are no cognitive schemata to direct their practices, they are unable to unconsciously follow the field's institutions or rules and thus hysteresis occurs. A process of adaptation needs to be undertaken through, Sieweke also suggests, mimesis, a type of (cultural) learning through copying. This notion can be applied to my own research as, due to the evolving nature of djembe practice, the djembefola is required to adapt to crises that occur at intervals through the evolution process. The rules of the game must be understood in order for the djembefola to adjust more quickly to their new field, which I refer to as a cultural paradigm.

2.1.3 Bourdieu's concept of capital

According to Bourdieu (1986: 241-258) in his discussion of the social world as an accumulated history, 'capital is accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its "incorporated", embodied form) [and] takes time to accumulate'. Additionally, he states that the 'structure of distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment

in time represents the immanent structure of the social world'. Bourdieu further observes that capital, in its objectified or embodied form, takes time to accumulate, resulting in the potential capacity to reproduce itself in identical or expanded forms.

This section will introduce Bourdieu's analysis of the different forms of capital, each of which depends on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which he suggests are preconditions for its efficacy in the field in question. Capital can take different forms: economic, cultural and social, all of which can become 'symbolic' capital when the habitus enters a field.

2.1.3.1 Economic capital

Economic capital is defined as an

'economy of practices which is the historical invention of capitalism; and by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange which is objectively and subjectively oriented toward the maximum of profit, i.e. (economically) self-interested, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as noneconomic, and therefore disinterested [...] It is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights' (Bourdieu, 1986: 241-258).

Bourdieu (1986: 241-258) suggests that different types of capital can be derived from economic capital, but only at the cost of more or less great effort of transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question. Some goods and services can be accessed immediately by using economic capital, whilst others can be obtained only by virtue of social capital or the friendships and networks associated with the individual. Economic capital is considered to be at the root of all of the other types of capital. This convertibility of different types of capital is the basis, according to Bourdieu

(1986: 241-258), of the strategies aimed at perpetuating the reproduction of capital, and subsequently the player's position in the social space.

2.1.3.2 *Cultural capital*

Bourdieu (1986) defined cultural capital as 'convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital, and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications'. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital refers to the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials, etc., that one acquires through being part of a particular social class. The term 'cultural reproduction' (Bourdieu, 1986: 487) describes the phenomenon of the more advantaged social groups possessing and having better institutional resources, which enable and reaffirm their advantaged positions in society. Consequently, cultural reproduction is a process of inequality reproduction. Importantly, Bourdieu's theories on cultural reproduction have been applied in the studies of ethnicity and gender, and his concepts of habitus, field, and capital have enabled researchers to examine interactions of class, ethnicity and gender (Bentley, 1987; Ramos-Zayas, 2004; Reay, 1997). This thesis aims to examine the evolving nature of djembe practice from a historical standpoint to current times. The issue of gender is considered, more from the historical positioning, in terms of the master djembe players within villages who were male and held great symbolic capital. It is not until fairly recently that women have begun to fulfil this role, due to the globalisation of the practice itself. The habitus of the djembe has changed through cultural shifts, enabling new ways of thinking to become established. A review of the literature which examines social and cultural capital within an empirical setting is noted to be 'prolific and confusing', as the meaning of capital has been defined as a range of elements varying from highbrow cultural activities to various competencies and abilities (Dika and Singh, 2002; Lamont and Lareau, 1988; Lareau and Weininger, 2003; Portes, 1998). In his article, Yosso (2005: 69) challenges 'traditional

interpretations of cultural capital’ that define only dominant class culture as cultural capital, a deficit view that tends to devalue other non-dominant cultures. In addition, ‘for individuals from subordinate groups, both non-dominant and dominant cultural norms exist and interplay with each other in their daily lives’ (Bentley, 1987; Carter, 2003; Young, 1999). In terms of the djembefola and the djembe practice, cultural capital is exhibited through the embodied historical habitus, an unconscious pattern of learned behaviours culminating in the affirmation of the individual’s social status within the field.

2.1.3.3 Social capital

Social capital consists of social networks (‘connections’), including virtual communities, which under certain conditions are convertible into economic capital. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition’.

A particular social group consists of the group members’ combined social capital. Group membership allows its members to share its communal capital. In order to be considered as a member of the social group, the individual is required to possess the appropriate cultural capital, which Bourdieu recognises as encompassing cultural values, attitudes and dispositions.

Symbolic capital is activated when an individual enters a field, complete with their habitus (embodied history – their capital). The capital which they embody, made up from the three forms above, automatically transforms into symbolic capital, thereby enabling the doxa (the rules) for that particular field to legitimise the individual’s position in the field.

The following illustration (see Figure 2.2) is a personal visual representation of Bourdieu’s theoretical approach to habitus, capital, field and doxa.

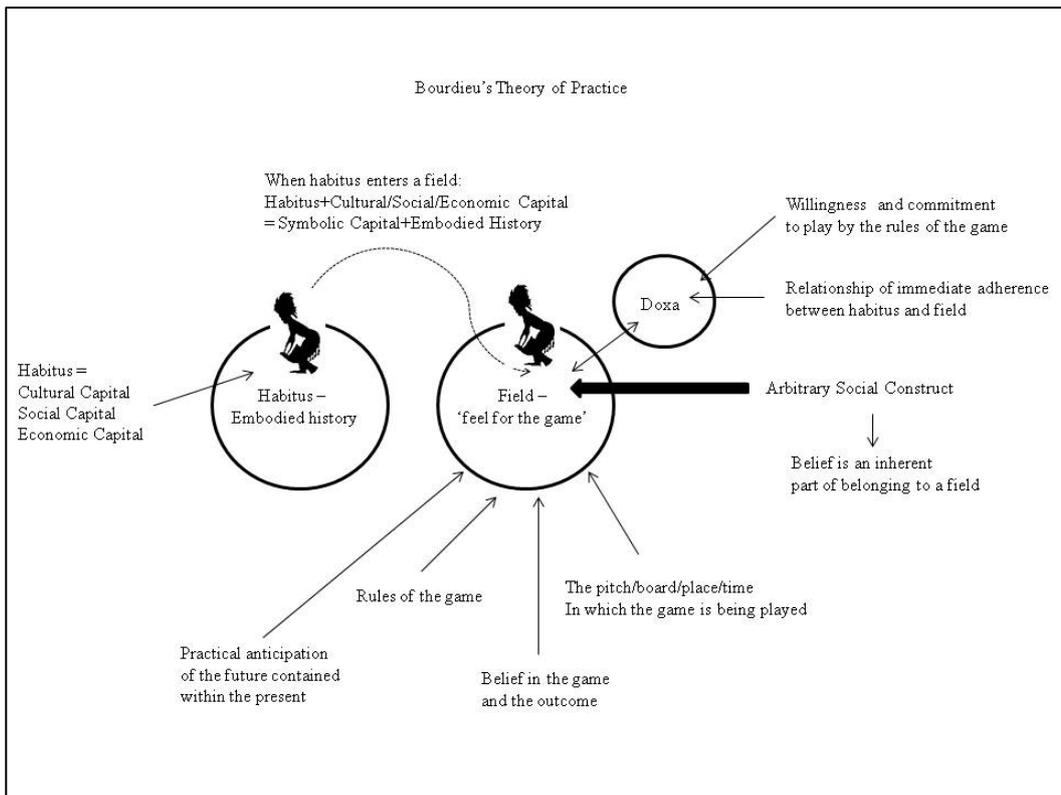


Figure 2.2 Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (illustrating habitus, capital, field and doxa)

Bourdieu (1990: 66–68) states that symbolic capital is 'that which counts' within, and defines, a field. It is what 'the game' (*illusio*) pivots around. It is 'recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition' (Bourdieu, 1986).

Meinert (2004) notes that different types of capital can be converted into each other (such as 'wealth' into 'health'). Further, she suggests that it is this convertibility which is the real logic of the functioning capital. Economic capital often disguises itself or presents itself as other forms of capital. Bourdieu conceptualises economic capital as money or goods that are directly convertible into money, to which household members have access to varying degrees. Within djembe practice this is equivalent to 'wisdom' or 'djembe mastery', which can be converted into money, social capital and cultural capital. The applied knowledge of the djembe by the master is used, in historical terms, as a tool for the performance of rituals and celebrations and, in today's world, as a means of accumulating wealth in terms of the

demand by globally located djembe students who pay to attend classes or watch performances. This ability for conversion enables economic capital to transform into social capital, which Bourdieu (1986: 245) terms as ‘the social network, memberships, and “connections” a person has, and can make use of for different purposes’.

According to Bourdieu (1986: 245), cultural capital exists in three forms:

- An institutionalised state – formal education.
- An objectified state – books and instruments.
- An embodied state – expressed in people’s attitudes, skills, etiquette and speech.

As discussed earlier, habitus is formed from and reliant upon capital to determine its validity within a particular field. Capital is comprised of a triadic system of elements, namely social capital, economic capital and cultural capital. This triad automatically becomes represented as symbolic capital when an individual (and his/her associated habitus) enters a particular social field. Each field houses its own doxa (the rules), which enables the field to exist. Bourdieu suggests that habitus is able to influence our actions and to construct our social world, as well as being influenced by both external and internal structures and dispositions. The field is organised by individual players exhibiting high levels of cultural capital, or by the accumulation of capital by the group of players, thus becoming an arena where domination prevails. Struggles for dominance occur as a consequence of individuals striving for the stakes they deem worthy of owning. In essence, the field is often a site of symbolic violence where the domination of a field is based on the meaning or judgement imposed on the cultural capital by the dominant members of the field. The concept of Bourdieu’s field demonstrates how capital is both valued and transferable. Swartz (1997: 86) notes that the ‘fundamental logic of symbolic distinction operates socially and politically as well as culturally; it functions to differentiate and legitimate inegalitarian and hierarchical arrangements’. This observation is particularly relevant to my own research

when considering the djembe habitus within a historical timeline. Ancient djembe practice occurring within traditional village settings relied upon the participation of members of the village, as well as members of other villages, in order to complete rituals, celebrations and rites of passage. The chief of the village often oversaw the organisation of the ritualistic and ceremonial practice. As political intervention brought about a radical change in this practice, the field changed in terms of its relationships with its members. The ritualistic and ceremonial practice was altered to present a performance or concert-style practice. The redefined 'field' members were no longer purely inhabitants of the village, but audience members from diverse geographical locations, at first from within Africa, but latterly on a global and virtual scale. Bourdieu (1977a) and Ogbu (1978, 1991) both note the importance of historical conditioning on individuals. Ang (2001: 28) adds to this observation by suggesting that 'people construct the past in a way that reflects their present need for meaning'; they are not 'fossils of time'.

Various scholars have used Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital within organisation studies. In particular Kerr and Robinson (2011) used precisely this combination to examine the situation within the leadership of Scottish banks around the time of the financial crisis.

Kerr and Robinson (2011) apply Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital to a corpus of textual sources, in order to question the apparent auto-destructive behaviour of the leaders of Scottish banks in the period 2005–2008. The use of historically situated crises allows for an analysis of the competition between senior banking leaders for positions of domination within the field of elite banking in Scotland, the UK and globally. These crises eventually contributed to the destruction of the banks themselves as independent institutions. The Scottish bank leaders embodied a particular habitus – being an executive within a Scottish banking organisation is seen as occupying a space within the field. The occupation

of the space within the field is considered to be a game, where the rules of the banking organisation are known and adhered to. Those who played the game held a specific habitus, which comprised a specific form of capital. The authors discuss Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital in terms of the occupants of the field as being rich, well-connected, well-educated and sometimes corrupt. The study is particularly helpful as a sense-making tool in my own research, as the application of Bourdieu's concepts – habitus, field and capital – are all used to identify the organisational process.

Meinert's (2010: 11-26) long-term fieldwork study on health in Kwapa, Eastern Uganda, uses Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus to analyse local understandings of resources and strategies for health. She states that in the local Ugandan context, health cannot be taken for granted and requires persistent effort. She posits that in local terms, 'health is broadly described as having a "good life" and this is experienced as a social achievement conditioned by access to a variety of human and material resources'. Children learn from early on that what people strive for is to have a 'good life', which is closely connected to the concepts of home, family and personhood. Wealth, unity with others, learnedness, 'smartness', and bodily strength are described by local people as key resources for a 'good life'. Meinert (2010: 11-26) elaborates further:

'The different forms of capital children in Kwapa grow up with and develop in their homes and bodies become, and are produced by, their habitus. Being an integral part of their family's habitus, a child's habitus is generating, as well as generated by, practices, reflecting and drawing upon the capital in the family: a child's habitus integrates in practice the several forms of capital accessible in the home.'

Meinert uses Bourdieu's definition of capital – an accumulated labour, embodied not only in economic but also cultural, social and symbolic forms (Bourdieu, 1986: 24) – to create an analytical framework with which to analyse health. The quest for health in East Uganda does not, according to Meinert (2010), constitute a single autonomous field, as Bourdieu would suggest, but encompasses a wide range of fields including fields of professional

health care, lay healers and lay herbalists, school, power and religion. The conceptualisation of lay health practices as a field enables a coherent thought pattern to emerge in terms of seeing a structured system of social positions that relate to each other. This clear vision of the structures, which relate to each other in terms of power and resources, can be identified within the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 96; Jenkins, 1992: 85). Further, she notes that the Bourdieusian concept of 'field' as an autonomous space is more aligned with the professional domains, but neglects the richness of lay people's everyday practices in relation to health. Therefore the concept of field in Uganda, where the inhabitants regularly use lay people for their health needs, is insufficient. The notion of multiple forms of capital being utilised in order to account for the richness of djembe practice is particularly appealing, as Bourdieu's ideas of embodied cultural capital as purely individual, within the individual's habitus, does not fit with the collective nature of djembe practice. It is important to note that Bourdieu's unit of analysis is concerned with the individual djembefola, whereas djembe practice uses the social, economic and cultural capitals in combination.

Bourdieu theorises that different forms of capital are embodied in a person's habitus and the habitus is closely related to a person's practice. It is a 'durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, producing practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle' (Bourdieu, 1977: 78). In terms of the evolution of the djembe, I use the term habitus to explain the interplay between various notions of capital and field. Djembe practice is actively processing the formation of its habitus, influenced by intense political, cultural, economic and social interests; however, it does not internalise these stimuli, but creatively adopts, rejects, appropriates or even combines them. This form of habituation is crucial for the understanding of 'practice'. Originally, Bourdieu was interested in how habitus and

practices reproduce class structures; this notion was also present within Bourdieu and Passeron's research (1977), which focused on reproduction in education, society and culture. I draw from this body of work to explain the evolving nature of djembe practice over time.

Śliwa and Johansson (2015: 78-95) contribute to the 'so far sparse body of empirical work on foreign academic staff' at UK higher education institutions, with particular focus on the British academic environment. They draw on Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital in order to explore the ways in which working in English as a non-native language influences foreign academics' performance of the academic habitus and the level of symbolic capital necessary for the achievement of success within UK higher education. Further, they observe that the UK academic environment can be seen as a social field, characterised by 'its own logic' (Bourdieu, 1988: 53), a game with its own set of rules, different from the rules found in other fields, and those who belong to this particular social field share a 'specific system of perception, thought, evaluation, feeling, speech and behaviour, i.e. habitus' (Śliwa and Johansson 2015: 78-95). Additionally, they comment that 'the social field and the habitus of individuals within the field are closely connected: it is necessary for all participants to share a belief in the game and its rules, and to value the rewards the game has on offer'. The identified connection between the social field and the habitus of individuals can be replicated within this thesis in terms of locating the habitus within each paradigm. The process of this identification within each paradigm allows for the observation of change, thus indicating a liminal space, the betweenness, a transitional phase, seen through a cultural rather than scientific lens. The concept of liminality is discussed further in Section 2.3. When taken-for-granted thoughts are questioned, the shared assumptions, beliefs and behaviours in relation to the actions of the djembe and its players are challenged. The rules of the game change, enabling a new 'game' to be introduced.

Śliwa and Johansson (2015: 78-95) further note that when individuals within a social field act ‘intentionally without intention’ they become internalised and accepted. However, they stress that this leads to solidification of hierarchies and the power structure existing within the particular academic field. Therefore, the conditions required to change the rules of the game become harder to create, due to those in a position of power in the academic environment having a vested interest in perpetuating the status quo (Śliwa and Johansson, 2015). The historical theoretical research conducted within the djembe field located in the first paradigm suggests that the field was radically altered when Touré, the President of Guinea, entered with an opposing habitus, thereby challenging the rules of the game and instigating a liminal phase. Djembe practice had up until this point been a solely ritualistic, ceremonial and tribal practice situated entirely within an oral tradition. The new field subsequently evolved to become performance/concert practice, rather than ritualistic and ceremonial.

Additionally, Pherali (2012) draws on Bourdieu’s forms of capital to analyse the lived experiences of integration by international staff. Particularly relevant is the observation that international academics working in an English-speaking context may experience challenges at both professional and sociocultural levels, as they negotiate their position in the new field, with the cultural nuances of language being a ‘key barrier to integration’ (Pherali (2012: 323). The introduction of a new individual’s habitus into a social field, accompanied by a challenging style of capital, could be applied to the Guinean president entering into the existing tribal, ritualistic and ceremonial field. The changing of the game rules would also locate a form of tension and disruption, causing the hierarchical structure of the existing field to crumble. Each individual member of the failing field would face – voluntarily or involuntarily – new challenges, in order to join the emerging paradigm housing the new sociocultural field, complete with new rules of the game, which must be adhered to in order

to belong. Scott (1995) suggests that institutions guide the behaviour of organisations within a field: the cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative structures that provide stability and collective meaning to social behaviour. The assumed behaviour determines the social action within the fields (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1997), creating a unified and monolithic response to uncertainty, leading to isomorphism, a commonality in form and function (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). When these elements (structures, practices, procedures, etc.) were incorporated into a field, legitimacy increased its prospects for survival (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Mayer and Rowan, 1977). Orru, Biggart and Hamilton (1991) suggest that much of the research using this notion of the organisational field centres on the premise that organisations seek survival and legitimacy as opposed to efficiency. This can be seen in the early research within the djembe field, where the assumed behaviour was challenged by new behaviours. Political intervention responsible for the emergence of a transitional phase – referred to in this thesis as a liminal phase – caused a crisis, resulting in a new field and practice. A further example of organisational survival is given by Fligstein (1990), who suggests that the industry-wide transformation of executive leadership in the US resulted from shifting pressures from the government. Further, DiMaggio (1991: 1-40) cites the causes for the accepted form of art museums in US cities in the 1920s and 1930s as being the result of efforts by museum workers to define a profession through conformity to demands from foundations, particularly the Carnegie Foundation. Other work studies the evolution of logics within the higher education publishing industry (Thornton, 2001), suggesting that the occurrence of change due to the acquisition patterns varied due to the particular logic determining the industry. A study by Davis and Greve (1997: 1–37) highlights the corresponding spatial dimensions by ‘noting that the cognitive perceptions regarding the legitimacy of a corporate practice varied based on the social and geographic distance among managers and board of director members’. They discuss the effect of the

implementation of a ‘golden parachute’, a practice of providing protection to top managers in the event of a hostile takeover. Bourdieu sees societal structures as defined and maintained, demonstrating great persistence, and which are therefore difficult to change. Carugati and Rossignoli (2011) suggest that societal structures therefore have enormous influence over human behaviour (habitus) and further note that, to Bourdieu, ‘change (including technological change) is a self-regenerative mechanism required for the maintenance of stratified organizational hierarchies’. Additionally, they add that:

‘on the one hand, static structures can be figured out and conquered over time and, on the other hand, changing structures keep actors off balance, and thus lead them to apply familiar strategies in unfamiliar contexts, reinforcing old structures, behaviours, rules and order [...] This reuse of learned dispositions (habitus) in new settings makes existing class positions self-sustaining’ (Carugati and Rossignoli, 2011: 54).

The djembe masters mentioned earlier are able to stake claim to their titles through the use of relearned behaviours and are therefore able to sustain their position within new and emergent paradigms.

Lee (2010) observes that ‘a particular sociocultural field is delimited by the common practices within it, and the kinds of capital that people could accumulate by engaging in those practices’ (Lee, 2010: 87). He examines the growth and acceptability of djembe drumming in its evolving habitus through fieldwork conducted in Hong Kong. He comments that djembe drumming has become popularised due to the availability of ‘hands-on drumming possibilities’ offered by the djembe master. Lee (2010: 89) concludes:

‘With the percussion master as its founder and active exponent, the Island Sundrum has been accrued with part of its founder’s symbolic capital and symbolic power, which enabled the group to further promote the culture of West African drumming in the society. Being the only Afro-drum group since its establishment until the late 1990s, the Island Sundrum has dedicated long-term efforts to habituating a positive or receptive attitude towards West African drumming as a form of community music among the general public via the media and education.’

Many diverse and current references are made within academia to the instance of habitus altering the paradigm. For example, Hogan and Phillips (2015: 15) examine and identify two critical issues, stigma and marginalisation, in terms of their impact upon people with a hearing disability. They apply a new conceptual framework, which would offer different approaches to hearing services. The research would examine the kinds of personal and systemic changes required, thus creating a paradigm shift. Klein (2016) discusses the organisational implications of the conservative nature of organisational development, and the systematic sensitivity that allows for management, learning and change. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008: 36) have applied Bourdieu's theoretical framework in terms of habitus, field and capital to inter/intra-organisational relations. They suggest that, with the adaptation of Bourdieu's theory, it is possible to 'reconceptualise each individual organisation as a more or less temporarily stable structure of power'. This is of particular interest to this research study in that the temporality of the structure must result in a change, which I refer to as the liminal phase, a position of 'in-betweenness'. Diane Reay (2015) revisits her earlier investigation conducted in 2002 by following up on some of her previous interviewees. She investigates the students' habitus, in both the working and middle classes, by applying Bourdieu's concept to make sense of how structures become embodied and generate ambivalence and tensions in new fields. This potentially leads to a period of difficulty being experienced by the individual when attempting to manage movement across different, and at times opposing, fields such as those found in the 'playground' and the 'classroom'. This movement from one field to another involves passing through a transitional phase, which is identified as a liminal state and characterised as being neither the previous field nor the new field. Importantly, throughout the school academic year, the two overlapping fields create a contradiction between 'white working class male solidarity [playground] and the neo-liberal impetus to self improvement and academic excellence [classroom]'. Bourdieu's work on

habitus has been implemented in many different contexts, in particular in relation to technological and digital change. Lawrence and Davies (2015) discuss the use of Cornish mining methods during the Australian gold rush, in terms of examining the role of technological innovation in the context of migration. This is of particular interest to me as my own research actively uses Bourdieu's key concepts to discover the changes which have taken place in djembe practice from a historical position to the current position in the twenty-first century. Lawrence and Davies (2015: 99-113) suggest that new physical and social environments are encountered as a result of migration, which forces migrants to adapt familiar technologies to their new circumstances. They further note that 'Cornish migrants to Australia were able to apply their knowledge of traditional methods for working alluvial tin deposits to the exploitation of alluvial gold'. This notion of the adaptation of traditional methods to new technological methods can be applied directly to the djembefola.

Traditionally, the culture of djembe practice enabled a particular habitus, informed by a particular combination of different forms of capital, which resulted in the djembefola having a prescribed place within the field. When this field or paradigm is challenged, a transitional space occurs – a hysteresis. The rules of the new field (the game) must be learned in order for the djembefola to assert his new position. His habitus, and therefore his capital associated with the habitus, changes in order to adapt to the new paradigm. Lawrence and Davies also comment that the miners as a group are 'highly mobile and readily take their technologies and community structures with them when they relocate' (Lawrence and Davies, 2015: 21). Again, this notion of being highly mobile can be linked to today's djembefola inasmuch as the djembefola are constantly on the move, giving international workshops or travelling within their geographic location to teach the djembe and its history to students. Further, highly choreographed performances take place on a global scale which require the djembefola and other related musicians to travel. The habitus of the Cornish

miners was important historically due to the skills required for underground mining. In considering Bourdieu's notion of habitus as being not a fixed or immutable entity, but defined through practice, the authors suggest that it is open-ended and fluid, being in a dynamic state of change as people engage with new stages of life, new social and physical environments, and new ways of being in the world. They conclude by stating 'innovation was social as much as technological and reflects adaptation in the cultural system in which technology and methods were embedded' (Lawrence and Davies, 2015: 27). This is highly relevant for today's djembe practice, in which technology has to be mastered not only by the native and relocated djembefola but also by the students in order for the teaching and learning to be effective. Richardson (2015) offers an interesting perspective on the digital habitus in terms of high school students' responses to live theatre. His paper was conceived from comments made to him by students concerning the use of mobile phones inside theatres. He quotes them as saying 'so many people were online during our evenings out that the back row glowed blue!' This comment by the students led him to research the 'radical reconfiguration and cultural re-articulation' now taking place in educational and social life due to technology. He suggests that learning to recognise, understand and negotiate the digital habitus is important to the building of bridges between the dispositions of the smartphone-toting teenager and the stage. He particularly refers to young people as 'digital natives' and older people as 'digital immigrants', suggesting that the digital natives are fluent in technology and capable multimodal multitaskers, while digital immigrants are those who may enjoy using information and communication technologies (ICTs) in fairly sophisticated ways, but whose ways of thinking were formed in earlier analogue times. I find this particularly interesting, as Bourdieu's notion of hysteresis can be applied here. The habitus of the youth is considered to be a natural, unconscious action, as the digital technology has been learned from an early age, whereas the habitus of the older generation

has had to play catch up with the new technologies which have become available. In order for the older generation to sustain their position in the field, a process of adaptation must occur and capital must be reassigned, in terms of the amount of knowledge of digital connectivity and communication. This generational difference in the habitus of both the individual and the group or society can be reflected within the djembefola practice. Ancient historical embodied culture passes through several distinct changes, referred to as liminal spaces or transitions, and is adapted as change occurs. Richardson (2015: 209) notes that ‘technologies such as those used by the theatre-going students do not have an existence independent of social practice’ and that ‘they are embodied in lived practice through habitus [...] As part of habitus, technologies and their techniques become ways of experiencing and negotiating fields’.

2.1.3.4 Summary

This section has discussed Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice through the elaboration of the concepts of habitus (an embodied system of dispositions), field (spheres of action where the rules of the game must be understood in order to play the game), capital (social, economic, cultural and symbolic, all used within the field as a tool for gaining dominance and power), doxa (the willingness to adhere to the rules of the game) and hysteresis (a product of disharmonious connection between the past and now), both historically and within the digital world today. These key concepts have been examined in depth in order to understand how the process of change and transformation has impacted the evolution of djembe tradition. Theoretical literature across a wide range of disciplines has been examined, spanning Latino-American values of honour, banking systems, the boxing communities, the digital technological applications of Bourdieu’s logic of practice, tin mining in Cornwall and Australia, and the digital connectivity of digital natives versus digital immigrants in terms of an embodied habitus within young theatre-goers. This illustrates the wide-ranging

and diverse research that has been undertaken by organisation scholars and other social sciences through a Bourdieusian lens, and builds on an existing body of knowledge – in particular Bourdieu's Theory of Practice – to explore how the cultural practice of the djembe has changed over time.

Historically, it has been acknowledged that, within different time periods, the djembe has been accepted as being a stable cultural practice. However, there are important differences between historical periods in terms of meaning, the associated symbols, the role of the djembefola and the ways in which cultural practice is transmitted between the djembefola and student. In this sense, these distinct time periods constitute specific paradigms of djembe practice separated from one another by a central transitional stage. In order to build on the conceptual framework that underpins this research, the following two sections of the chapter will explore the concepts of paradigm and liminality in relation to cultural practice. Current social studies literature discusses the positioning of the habitus within a field, thus affecting change and potentially resulting in the emergence of a transitional phase, which I refer to in this thesis as a liminal phase. The diverse nature of theoretical discussion on this subject enables a deeper understanding of the process of paradigmatic change through liminality. This contradiction results in a destabilised habitus, as the individual must learn to adapt his habitus within different fields, thus enabling him to adopt the learned habitus relevant in a particular field. This research is particularly interested in the transformative process of paradigmatic change and the ongoing implications of such change to djembe practice.

2.2 Concept of paradigm

A paradigm can be explained as a historical period in time, within which unconscious actions and thoughts shape the individual's everyday view of the world about him or her.

The *Cambridge University Press Dictionary* (2016 [online]) offers the following definition for the term ‘paradigm’: Originating in the late 15th century, the word was taken via late Latin from the Greek *paradeigma*, from *paradeiknunai*, to show side by side, from *para-* (beside) + *deiknunai* (to show). Additionally, a definition is given to explain the term: to show a model of something, or a very clear and typical example of something.

David Foster Wallace describes a scene in which two young fish meet an older fish swimming the other way. As they pass, the older fish nods at them and says, ‘Morning boys! How’s the water?’. The two young fish swim on by, and a few minutes later one turns to the other and says, ‘Huh? What is “water”?’ (Foster Wallace, 2009: 1).

The above parable illustrates the idea that when assumptions are believed so strongly, their absolute existence is potentially unnoticed. The fish swimming in water can be referred to as ‘fish habitus’, and within the paradigm or belief system no one questions that fish swim in water. What is relevant about the notion of paradigm is that there are different meanings and symbols which are taken for granted, such as ‘fish swim in water, not air’. In this sense, therefore, a paradigm can be seen to contain a field (the watery environment where fish exist) and habitus, which is concomitant with that field.

In academic literature, the concept of the paradigm is primarily associated with Thomas Kuhn and its application to science. Although this thesis is concerned with the investigation of cultural paradigms within social practice, it is important to acknowledge Thomas Kuhn’s scientific notion of paradigm and his research on the early history of chemistry and astronomy in his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970/1962). His central definition of the term ‘paradigm’ is ‘a set of model problems and solutions for a community of researchers’ (Kuhn, 1970/1962: vii). He further described it as a basic set of assumptions, or ‘paradigms’, within the ruling theory of science, arguing that the process of scientific advancement is not evolutionary, but one that is interrupted by ‘a series of peaceful

interludes punctuated by intellectually violent revolutions'. Additionally, paradigms define scientific research and thoughts, and can be thought of as worldviews which are constructed by 'formal theories, classic experiments, and trusted methods' (Kuhn, 1962: 10).

While it is important to bear in mind that Kuhn's discussion of the notion of paradigm relates to scientific revolutions, for the purposes of this thesis and in order to explore theoretically the shifts that have occurred in association with djembe tradition, the most relevant meaning will be in reference to cultural rather than scientific practices.

Williams (1961) offers a central description of culture as being a process and defines it as 'the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life'. He states that:

'since our way of seeing things is literally our way of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and hence common activities and purposes; the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to tensions and achievements of growth and change' (Williams, 1961: 55).

Anthropologist Mary Douglas suggests that culture is not a 'static thing', but something which everyone is creating, affirming and expressing (Douglas, 1985: xxiii). Furthermore, she states that 'the central issue is not cultural change. The amazing thing that needs to be investigated is cultural stability, whenever and wherever it is found' (Douglas, 1985: xxii).

Seel (2005: 2) observes that, in accordance with Douglas' views, 'if you want to change a culture you have to change the questions happening inside that culture, i.e. how to make meanings about the events of the world around them'.

Hall (1980: 1) views it as a transformative paradigmatic process, where the old is continuously being displaced by the new:

'[there are] significant breaks where old lines of thought are disrupted, older constellations displaced, and elements, old and new, are regrouped around a different set of premises and themes. Changes in a problematic do significantly transform the nature of the questions asked, the forms in which they are proposed, and the manner in which they can be adequately be answered.'

He further suggests that:

‘Such shifts in perspective reflect, not only the results of an internal labour, but the manner in which real historical developments and transformations are appropriated in thought, and provide thought, not with its guarantee of ‘correctness’ but with its fundamental orientations, its conditions of existence. It is because of this complex articulation between thinking and historical reality, reflected in the social categories of thought, and the continuous dialectic between ‘knowledge’ and ‘power’, that the ‘breaks’ are worth recording’ (Hall, 1980: 89).

Hall (1980: 89) concludes that the conceptualisation of ‘indigenous or native’ traditions is complex, however, for there exists an area of ‘richness’, an area of continuing ‘tension’.

Other studies which engage in the debate surrounding the cultural shift include *Culture and Society*, by Williams (1961: 55), which discusses the characteristics of culture in terms of consisting, in sum, of ‘a record of a number of important and continuing reactions to [...] changes in our social, economic and political life’, and offering ‘a special kind of map by means of which the nature of the changes can be explored’.

Rogoff et al. (2014) discuss cultural paradigms in terms of ‘Learning by Observing and Pitching in’ (LOPI). Historically, they note that the idea of LOPI is particularly common within indigenous communities. The notion of field, as developed by Bourdieu and discussed earlier in this chapter, is characterised by particular features, which facilitate the understanding of the rules of the game. The main features of LOPI – community, motive, social organisation of endeavours, goal of learning, learning by means of keen attention and guidance, communication and assessment – are in this case the rules. The habitus of the children involved in the programme is varied and dependent upon heritage backgrounds. The way the children act at home is in contrast to the way they act at school. Different social and cultural paradigms exist side by side. The resultant forms of capital exhibited by the students involved in the LOPI practice are acquired through generational knowledge, taught to them by their parents and the community to which they belong. This capital transforms into symbolic capital when the individual enters the field, thus enabling the

individual to situate him/herself appropriately. The doxa is activated by the willingness to accept the rules of the game. Varying forms of cultural practices are acknowledged to produce different results, in that children who have generational knowledge may be more open to the main features of LOPI, whereas children schooled within Western forms of education may be slightly less so, due to the discouragement of ‘broad and open attentiveness’. Further, they note that ‘such variation in the persistence of cultural practices points to the historical processes involved in stable or shifting constellations of cultural practices of individuals and communities’ (Rogoff et al., 2014: 151). This cultural paradigm, encompassing the field and the habitus of its actors, serves as an alternative to supporting children’s learning within the often implicit organisational approaches to learning communities, and that this technique is often seen within indigenous communities, which also relates to this thesis in terms of increasing awareness and respect for a way of learning within indigenous communities. The approach of learning and observing is used in contrast to Western styles of learning, referred to as Assembly-Line Instruction (ALI). LOPI and ALI are considered as identifiable paradigms with multifaceted characteristics. Interestingly, LOPI has been used for centuries in families and communities where this approach has been central, such as within the indigenous Mixe community in Mexico, where children learn through work in an environment where cultural values emphasise that human dignity is derived from collaborative work among people, as well as natural phenomena. This suggests that the habitus of the Mexican children is informed through the capital (as used by Bourdieu) to stake their place within the field and, therefore, within the paradigm (Rogoff et al., 2014). This conception of LOPI as a paradigm is a useful tool for the understanding of learning and teaching within djembe communities, both in West Africa and, indeed, internationally over time. Historically, djembe practices have been established over a number of different periods, but in each of these periods there has, however, been a

change. The djembe is still present, but the meaning of the practice, how it is learned, the role of the djembefola and how people communicate has changed. This change occurs as a result of a shift in the way actions are perceived.

2.2.1 Section summary

This section has addressed the concept of paradigm in relation to cultural practices, discussing, on the one hand, how the nature of culture constitutes a historical period in time, a world view shaped by individuals' unconscious actions and thoughts and, on the other, how the transient and evolving nature of paradigms change over time, resulting in movement from one paradigm to another. In order to explore this shift, or transition, from one paradigmatic space to another, I will mobilise the concept of liminality: the in-between state, the threshold separating one state of practice from another. The following section examines the liminal state and connects it to both pre and postliminal phases, i.e. existing fields, paradigms and emergent paradigms, with new rules and processes.

2.3 The concept of liminality

2.3.1 Introduction

The term 'liminal' has a rich history and has been discussed extensively by scholars in many contexts and from varied perspectives. However, it was Arnold van Gennep who, in his anthropological work in 1908, first recognised the significance of the term and offered a theoretical definition of liminality in his work *Rites de Passage* (van Gennep, 1908). He described rites of passage as the rituals which take place from childhood through to full inclusion into a tribe or social group, from one stage in a person's life to the next, and saw them as being an obligatory feature of any type of transition, characterising each transition as:

- Isolation or separation (preliminal rites)
- Marginality or liminality (transitional stage)
- Incorporation or reaggregation (reincorporation stage)

He further explains how ceremonies serve to shift an individual from one phase to another:

‘Our brief examination of the ceremonies through which an individual passes on all the most important occasions of his life has now been completed [...] We have seen that an individual is placed in various sections of society, synchronically and in succession; in order to pass from one category to another and join individuals in other sections, he must submit, from the day of his birth to that of his death, to ceremonies whose forms often vary but whose function is similar’ (van Gennep, 1908: 189).

In the empirical analysis I explore these transitional phases in relation to djembe practice, conceptualising them as liminal or betwixt-and-between phases. Situated within anthropological and ethnographical approaches, the term liminality describes a state of ‘in-betweenness’. In addition to the anthropological literature, Garmann Johnsen and Sørensen (2014) have noted that, in recent years, organisation studies have become increasingly aware of the concept of liminality. They emphasise that liminality involves a fundamental suspension of ordinary social structures. Van Gennep (1960) locates liminality as a temporary condition between a preliminal and a postliminal phase. Garmann Johnsen and Sørensen (2014) have investigated the potential for liminality to become permanent through an empirical case study analysis of a management consultant named Joel. Joel’s habitus is considered as being informed by his work/life experiences, which results in the field in which he is positioned being under tension, due to the constant indeterminacy and ambiguity about which parts of his life belong to the organisation and which parts belong to his life. They conclude with an observation that the organisation that Joel belongs to could be referred to as a zone of indistinction into which the liminal individuals (or teams) are cast.

Thomassen (2016: 89) examines the theories posited by the cultural anthropologist Victor Turner and develops them towards the application of liminality within a context of modernity. He identifies three types of 'subjecthood':

- single individuals;
- social groups; and
- whole societies (entire populations, 'civilisations').

Importantly, the concept of liminality can be seen both in spatial and temporal terms. To Thomassen, liminality is a very spatial concept and can relate to specific thresholds. Those thresholds can also relate to more extended areas, like borderlands or whole countries, placed in important positions in between larger civilisations. Shortt (2015) contributes to a sparse body of organisational theory, concentrating on the liminal spaces of the workplace by examining the spaces-in-between and employees' lived experiences of liminal spaces at work. Through an empirical analysis spanning approximately nine months, she illustrates how and why liminal spaces are used and made use of by workers, and how they transform into 'transitory dwelling places'. Shortt identifies some of the liminal spaces within the workplace as lifts, doorways, stairwells, toilets and cupboards, and further suggests that these liminal spaces as identified by Dale and Burrell (2008) can be defined as 'on the "border", a space that is somewhere in between the front stage/back stage, a space "at the boundary of two dominant spaces, which is not fully part of either"' (Dale and Burrell, 2008: 238).

Importantly, and in a similar vein, Thomassen (2012: 16) observes that liminal landscapes can be accepted as being 'spatial dimensions of liminality' relating to specific places: a doorway, areas or zones, border areas, prisons and airports. Augé (1995: 77) examines these 'spatial dimensions of liminality' further, suggesting that they are 'non-places', 'transitory', or temporary spaces in which we are only physically and momentarily present, and which

are not concerned with relationships, history or identity. Gagliardi (1990) and Yanow (2006) examined physical liminal spaces in terms of culture and the identity of the organisation through a symbolic approach. The habitus and symbolic capital of the individuals, groups, or indeed whole communities entering the 'non-space' was altered in terms of there being no accepted rules of the game to be adhered to, resulting in the established previous field being disrupted. Individual and group habitus was perceived as being equal, with no higher or lower status assigned. However, other studies have indicated that 'liminal space' can be connected with 'lived experiences' through the exploration of the socially constructed nature of the spaces themselves (Bachelard, 1994 [1958]; Ford and Harding, 2004; Lefebvre, 1991).

Turner (1977) suggests that the attributes of liminality or of liminal personae ('threshold people') are 'necessarily ambiguous', due to their state of being 'betwixt or between', and 'as such their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualise social and cultural transitions'. He likens the liminal experience to 'death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or the moon'. He further notes that there are three kinds of liminality:

- ritual liminality;
- outsiderhood liminality; and
- marginal liminality.

Ritual liminality is characterised by a person who is in transition within a rite of passage; however, there is an expectation that the person will re-enter society. An example of this is the ritual process involved in the transition from boyhood to manhood.

Outsiderhood occurs when a person enters an 'anti-structure' either voluntarily or involuntarily. They choose (or not) to return to the boundaries of normal life; they follow

the rules of the anti-structure rather than those of normal life. An example of this could be prison or priesthood.

Finally, we come to marginal liminality. Turner (1977: 183) states that marginals are ‘simultaneously members [...] of two or more social groups whose social definitions and cultural norms are distinct from, and often even opposed to, one another’ and that marginals cannot be fully integrated in one side or another, thus defining them as marginal, rather than as outsiders, who are unable to live in harmony with the structure around them. An example of a marginal liminal could be a doctor who, on the one hand, lives within normal society and, on the other, belongs within a medical society. S/he is in effect ‘betwixt and between’. His/her medical expertise qualifies him/her as a medical entity, but s/he is able to cross over into normal daily life if required. The term ‘marginal liminal’ can easily be applied to the relocated djembefola, who often functions within several simultaneous fields. He is mobilised into the musical field but may also be involved with an alternative field of employment in order to provide for his family.

While a significant amount of the work carried out within organisation studies has discussed the spatial aspect of liminality, it also has meaning in relation to time. In his examination of the temporal dimension of liminality, Turner introduced the term ‘liminal phase’. According to Turner (1969), liminal phases can be associated with small-scale, tribal societies.

Importantly, however, he observed that his work with the Ndembu tribe and their rituals in Zambia demonstrated many connections between tribal and non-tribal societies which were relevant far beyond the ethnographic context. Turner (1969) suggests that rituals are expressed by the use of symbols. He defines the term as a set of ‘basic building-blocks, the “molecules”, of ritual’, and uses his work in Ndembu as an example: ‘almost every article used, every gesture employed, every song or prayer, every unit of space and time, by

convention stands for something other than itself' (Turner, 1969: 14–15). He further posits that a symbol has three separate, but closely related properties:

- Condensation: one concept represents several things at the same time.
- Unification of disparate referents: drawing upon the properties of condensation, symbols are able to represent concepts drawn from different 'domains of social experience and ethical evaluation' (Turner, 1969: 52).
- Polarisation of meaning: 'the symbol's different referents unite concepts drawn from (a) psychological, and (b) social and moral experience' (Turner, 1969: 15).

This is particularly pertinent to this study, as the traditional tribal society in West Africa has been mostly dispersed as a result of political intervention and globalisation. Societies and communities function in face-to-face settings as well as in the digital world. Thomassen (2009: 5) observes that 'histories of knowledge are shaped by the travels that concepts or ideas make, changing meaning and purpose as they migrate from one discipline to another', further enforcing the concept of a fluid liminality. He adds that 'in liminality there is no certainty concerning the outcome [...] liminality is a world of contingency where events and ideas, and "reality" itself, can be carried in different directions'.

Turner's book *The Forest of Symbols* (1967) includes an essay entitled 'Betwixt and between: the liminal period in *rites de passage*', which sees the traditional perception of the term liminality begin to deviate towards ritual passages within small-scale societies. His fieldwork with the Ndembu tribe demonstrates numerous connections between tribal and non-tribal societies which have far-reaching consequences, moving the preconception of the three stages of liminality to one of a realisation of 'human reactions to liminal experiences, personality reshaping and the tying together of thought and experience' (Thomassen, 2009: 14–16). Thomassen notes that liminality has both spatial and temporal dimensions and can be applied to a variety of subjects, including individuals, larger groups (cohorts or villages),

whole societies and possibly entire civilisations. This shows that the concept of liminality can be applied not only at the level of the individual, but also extended over other units of analysis including, in this case, the cultural practice of the djembe. However, Thomassen (2009: 6) also notes that van Gennep distinguished between rites that result in a change of status for an individual or social group and those that signify transitions in the passage of time.

Turner (1969) draws on van Gennep's early tripartite model of rites of passage and develops the concept further to account for the ways in which rituals manage transitions for both individuals and collectives, and to demonstrate that they are key to the shaping of both temporal and social experience. Turner's (1977) liminality studies discuss the ritual and social processes that occur during intervals in the normally structured state of society.

Importantly, he observes that there is a moment 'in and out of time' and 'in and out of social structure', which reveals a recognition of a generalised bond that has ceased to be, and has simultaneously yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties, organised by caste, class, rank hierarchies or segmentary oppositions within stateless societies (Turner, 1977: 107). The recognition that something has ceased to be as it was is an important revelation within the development of the conceptual framework of the thesis. The implementation of the Bourdieusian lens, in terms of acknowledging the changing set of rules in a particular field, aids the understanding of the impending crisis, or the 'ceasing to be', as examined through the concept of the paradigm and paradigm shift, and is particularly useful in understanding liminality.

2.3.2 Rituals and liminality

Turner (1967: 100) suggests that the liminal as experienced through the rite of passage of an initiation ceremony has an intimate relationship with the establishing of peered bonds, where 'the liminal group is a community or comity of comrades and not a structure of

hierarchically arrayed positions'. He later adds that when a person enters into rituals, their identity becomes lost and they become 'liminal entities' (fellow neophytes or initiands) with no social identity, therefore rendering them equal with others within the ritual (Turner, 1969). The notion of 'hierarchically arrayed positions' was later expanded into a fully formed concept of *communitas*, defined as 'an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders' and as 'a relationship between concrete, historical, idiosyncratic individuals' (Turner 1997: 96). Turner's preferred term of '*communitas*' rather than 'community' distinguishes the modality of social relationships from 'an area of common living' (Turner, 1997: 97). He notes that the distinction between structure and *communitas* is not simply the familiar one between 'secular' and 'sacred', or that, for example, between politics and religion. He continues:

'certain fixed offices in tribal societies have many sacred attributes; indeed, every social position has some sacred characteristics. But this "sacred" component is acquired by the incumbents of positions during the *rites de passage*, through which they changed positions' (Turner, 1997: 97).

The spontaneity and immediacy, according to Turner (1997: 132), exhibited within *communitas* – as opposed to the jural-political character of structure – is unable to remain for very long. This results in a structure being formed within the *communitas*, one where free relationships become converted into norm-governed relationships between social personae. It was therefore necessary to distinguish between three identified states (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Types of *communitas*

Types of <i>communitas</i>	Meaning	Location
Existential or spontaneous <i>communitas</i>	Refers to approximately what the hippies today would call 'a happening'.	

Normative communitas	Where, under the influence of time, the need to mobilise and organise resources and the necessity for social control among those members of the group in pursuance of these goals, the existential communitas is organised into an enduring social system.	Already in the domain of 'structure'.
Ideological communitas	A label applied to a variety of utopian models of societies based on existential communitas.	Already in the domain of 'structure'.

Turner (1969: 155) develops this theory by confirming his nomenclature for the three phases of passage from one culturally defined state or status to another: preliminal, liminal and postliminal.

Communitas, on the other hand, is defined as 'a society of unstructured or rudimentary structured and relatively undifferentiated comitatus, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders' (Turner, 1969: 96). Thus liminality and communitas are considered to be co-dependent with structure. He states that communitas and structure are two opposed yet mutually necessary modes of social life.

This process enables a sense of recognition as social equals, with no sense of previous social identity, 'giving recognition to an essential and generic human bond, without which there could be no society' (Turner, 1969: 97). This recognised bond between equals, stripped of the social identity which previously divided them, is what Turner terms 'communitas'. He further adds that a sacred status, often associated with the term, is often attained by individuals who '(1) fall in the interstices of social structure, (2) are on its margins, or (3) occupy its lowest rungs' (Turner, 1969: 125). Within the space which Turner calls 'liminality', the 'initians are afforded the rare opportunity "to contemplate for a while the mysteries that confront all men", including societal as well as personal difficulties, and to learn from the ways in which their "wisest predecessors" have attempted to make sense of the mysteries and difficulties' (Turner, 1974b: 242). Turner (1974a) also contends that,

critical to the process of 'becoming' (during their rites of passage), is the contemplation of mysteries and reversal of hierarchies. Many disparate scholarly investigations of the term 'betwixt and between' have been undertaken. Deegan and Hill (1991: 322–332) explore the notion of liminal transformation, which takes place during the process of undertaking a sociology dissertation. They suggest that it can be likened to a liminal journey, a passage characterised by ambiguity, uncertainty and crisis, where the student self is abandoned and a new professional self claims a world of power, authority, maturity and responsibility. This is particularly pertinent to this thesis in terms of the transitional shift observed with djembe practice and also experienced by the djembefola as they transition through liminal phases resulting from a crisis in the previous paradigm. Garsten (1999) discusses liminality at the level of the individual and how they find themselves in between work and in different temporary positions. The applicability of Garsten's notion of liminality to my research can clearly be seen in relation to the transitory lives of the djembefola who frequently find themselves in between work placements within the field of performance, and are often forced to hold other employment positions simultaneously. Garsten (1999) suggests that an enhanced awareness of substitutability observed through the lens of liminality can be connected to the transient mobile character of temporary employment, thereby challenging the old boundaries of industrial society. This is also relevant to the investigation of djembe practice over time, in terms of the mobility of the djembefola from traditional ways of cultural practice to the globalised and digital world. Other research focusing on the spaces and processes intended to facilitate transitions into educational institutions and normative states within those includes Bettis (1996), Irving and Young (2004), Manning (2000), Maniss (1997), Rushton (2003) and, in terms of promoting resistance to those normative states, Anfarar (1995) and Huber et al. (2003). The 'ways of understanding the contemporary world', according to Cook-Sather (2006: 2), are 'conditioned by past

theories', but she notes that, with changing of times and technologies, it is necessary to renew those theories, preserving what remains resonant and recasting what no longer fits. With this in mind, her article 'Newly betwixt and between: revising liminality in learning to teach' (Cook-Sather, 2006) takes into consideration and proposes a discussion of the new theory of liminality reflective of and responsive to early twenty-first century rites of passage. Her study analyses one phase of the process of becoming a teacher, through the Bryn Mawr/Haverford Education Program. She states that this phase includes 'an intense study of educational theories and methods as well as student teaching, and is considered to be the most concentrated period of the rite of passage that teacher preparation encompasses – a time of intense “formation and transformation”' (Cook-Sather, 2006: 3). Her study takes place in both physical and virtual spaces: actual face-to-face weekly meetings with experienced teachers, and virtual spaces through the use of emails. She describes the virtual space as 'an asynchronous, non-dimensional space made possible and shaped by the modern, technological advent of email communication' (Cook-Sather, 2006: 3). Further, she suggests that people on the 'threshold of teacherdom' are marginally situated in two worlds, the pre-service teachers enter the space in a state of being 'no longer just students, but nor are they fully teachers'. I find Cook-Sather's article useful to my own research, in particular her references to face-to-face and virtual research within a teaching community, in order to gather data for analysis. This is particularly relevant to this thesis, as the historical and contemporary research of djembe practice takes place in face-to-face and virtual spaces. Also relevant is the acknowledgement that original liminal theories, as defined by Turner, are relocated within the twenty-first century, taking account of the emergence of digital technology, and represent cultural innovation and structural transformation. The notion of 'cultural change' embodies the new methods of communication through virtual spaces. Indeed, according to Cook-Sather (2006:19):

‘The selves we construct and the media through which we communicate both change and are changed by the passages we imagine and undergo, and particularly in the realms of educational studies, within which we work to intermingle old and new paradigms and ways of analysing, we need to continually revise and renew profound theories of change.’

2.3.3 Section summary

This section has discussed how the concept of liminality can be interpreted broadly and how it can relate to different units of analysis, from individuals to communities and societies, in different cultural contexts. Throughout the analysis I have drawn on an array of conceptualisations of liminality, commencing with the temporal aspect as illustrated by the notion of liminal phases, while also emphasising the importance of liminal places and liminal people, as both are relevant to djembe practice in terms of the djembefola and his/her position within culture and society.

2.4 Chapter summary

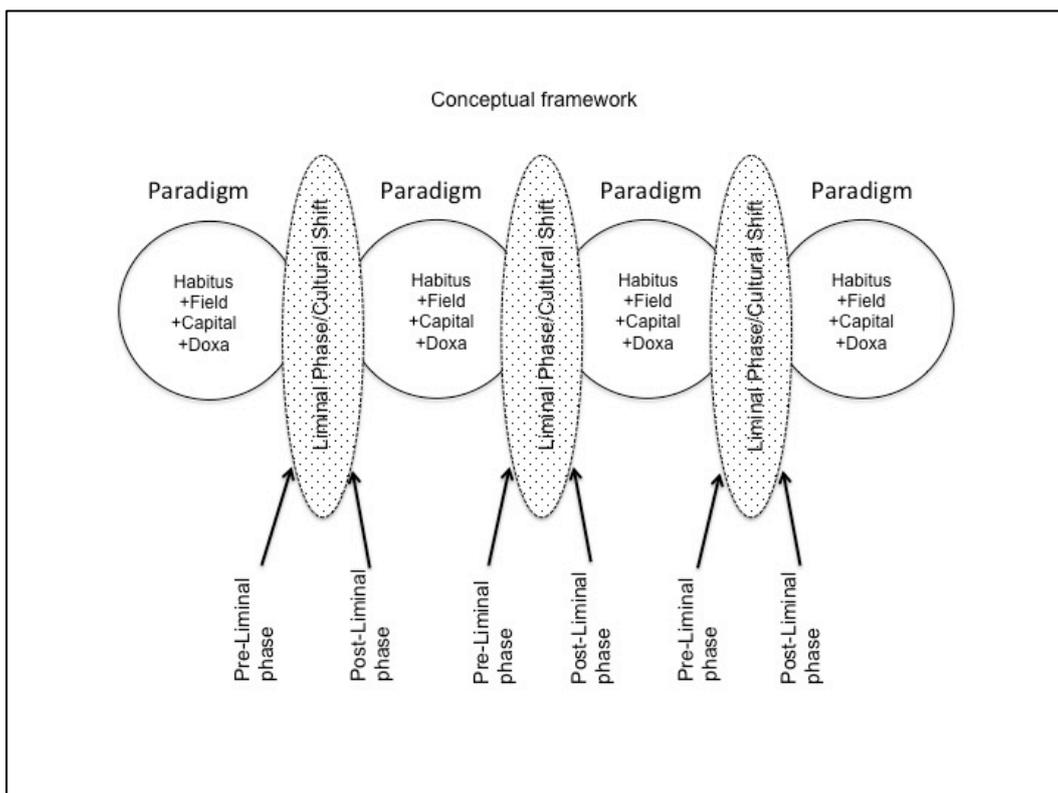


Figure 2.3 Conceptual framework: bringing together Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and the

notion of cultural paradigms and liminality

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework model (see Figure 2.3) developed for the purpose of investigating djembe habitus and its transformation over time. The central concepts, namely habitus, field, capital, doxa and hysteresis, are key elements of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice. The practice of the djembe is conceptualised here as a practice occurring within a particular field. The djembefola are the individual players in that field and are characterised by a particular habitus in a given period of time. In order to be successful in the field, the djembefola are required also to possess certain forms of capital. Within that particular time period and geographical space, the field and habitus are relatively stable, meaning there is a certain understanding and acceptance of djembe practice, its symbolism and its role in society, which I refer to as a cultural paradigm for understanding the djembe. However, this paradigm is in constant flux, shifting and changing over time. These changes are conceptualised as cultural shifts from one liminal phase to another, resulting in movement from the existing paradigm to the new one. In the next chapter I apply the conceptual framework to the discussion of the existing literature about the djembe.

Chapter 3 **The evolving djembe habitus**

‘To make known the village is to make known the whole society’ (Hanoteau and Letourneux, 1893).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the historical evolution of the djembe and is divided into six sections, examining in turn the significant periods of transformative change from thirteenth-century rural beginnings to the liminal phase in the early 2000s which heralded the emergence of digital communication within the social networking platform Facebook. I discuss three distinct historical periods within which changes to the role of the djembefola in terms of the habitus, field and capital have taken place. These periods are interspersed with three liminal phases. By applying Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice I demonstrate how the habitus and capital of players within the field have evolved in response to changing circumstances. This analysis begins with the historical origins of the djembe as a traditional and generational cultural practice, conveying immutable symbolism and rooted in the communities of rural Western Africa. The practice emerged during the formation of the Malian Empire in the thirteenth century, undergoing very little change to speak of until the development of modern technologies, in particular the Internet. The evolution of the djembe is discussed with reference to three particular historical stages in which the meanings of the practice, the role of the practitioners and the circumstances and symbolism are distinctly different and can, therefore, be framed as separate and individual cultural paradigms. Within each of these paradigms, I discuss the evolution of the djembe theoretically by drawing on Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice. With a particular emphasis on habitus, field, capital, doxa and hysteresis, I demonstrate how, within each period, there is a field where relations succeed due to the existence of particular types of capital. As the external circumstances

within the environment change, the field and the rules of the game (the doxa) change in response, leading to a constantly evolving habitus. Each distinct cultural paradigm is separated by a transitional phase in which intense changes in circumstances and conditions of a social, political, economic and technological nature take place. Liminality is a useful concept to describe these changes, not only in terms of the transition from one cultural paradigm to the next but also because of its spatial and temporal character which makes it possible to identify a transitional phase within both a time period and a geographic space. The first cultural paradigm under review deals with the practice of djembe drumming in traditional West African villages from the thirteenth century and the formation of the Malian Empire by the Mandinka peoples, up until the election in 1958 of Sékou Touré as President of Guinea. The first liminal phase focuses on the year 1958 as being the pivotal point where, under Touré's rule, the djembe became characterised as a performance rather than as a ritualistic and ceremonial practice. The second cultural paradigm is identified as a period of further change. From the late 1950s to the late 1960s, several djembe troupes comprising numerous djembefola selected through competition from a number of different villages toured West Africa as directed by Touré in order to present Guinea as a cultural force within African politics. The second liminal phase identifies the period from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, in which groups of players known as 'ballet troupes' raised awareness of the djembe and its practice on an international stage. The third cultural paradigm focuses on the time period from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, by which time the djembe had become further removed from its ritualistic practice and had extended to international practice. Finally, the third liminal phase from 2000 to 2004 identifies the period in which the emergence of the Internet and, subsequently, social networking sites became highly relevant with respect to contemporary djembe practice in the twenty-first century. This has resulted in a process of deterritorialisation where a physical or

geographical location is no longer required, but where instead there is a virtual space. Figure 3.1 summarises the three cultural paradigms and liminal transitional phases that will be examined in this chapter.

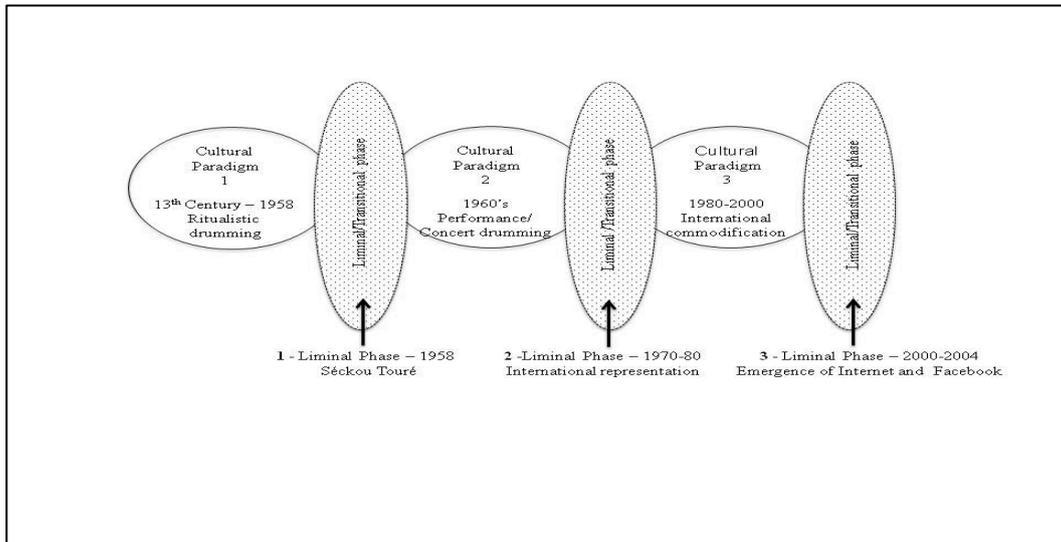


Figure 3.1 Cultural paradigms and liminal transitional phases

While the different cultural paradigms and liminal phases are presented as separate entities, within a linear timeline, this can be problematic as such linear development does not initially reveal the many similarities and overlapping characteristics which occur in reality (see Figure 3.1). However, for the purposes of analytical clarity in this type of historical exposition I have used a linear format as a helpful means of visualising the changes that have occurred.

In management and organization studies there is work that has been conducted on paradigms, but this work refers especially to the methodological paradigms, meaning perspectives from which research is conducted. Schultz and Hatch (1996) explored the notion of researching multiple paradigms of interplay in organizational culture. They suggest that in the late 20th century organizational researchers face a variety of paradigms with which to theorize their subject matter. As a result of this dilemma, they developed a

new strategy for multi paradigm research, namely one which promotes paradigm interplay. The authors identify three different metatheoretical positions for doing multiparadigm research: (a) paradigm incommensurability. Jackson and Carter (1991) discuss the incommensurability position and argues for the separate development and application of each paradigm. Kuhn (1970: 103) also discusses the incommensurability position, but in the context of “revolutions” rather than multiple paradigms

I am however, locating my research more within the historical turn in management and organisation studies, and I use the notion of the ‘cultural paradigm’ borrowed from anthropology to examine the evolution of the organisational processes of the djembe, and the changing role of the djembefola.

Management and organisation studies researchers have recently drawn on history to examine organisations and organisational processes, indeed ever since the announcement of the ‘historical turn’ by Stager Jacques (2006: 44) and the setting up of a journal called *Management and Organizational history: Prospects* (Booth and Rowlinson, 2006) where the ‘historic turn’ in organization history calls for a more historical orientation in management and organization theory. The ethos and problematic objective is to advance management and organization studies through adopting this historical thinking. More recently, Maclean, Harvey and Clegg (2016) elaborate upon the notion of historical organization studies – organizational research that draws extensively on historical data, methods, and knowledge to promote historically informed theoretical narratives attentive to both disciplines. They propose a typology of four differing conceptions of history in organizational research: history as evaluating, explicating, conceptualizing, and narrating, and suggest that historically informed theoretical narratives whose validity derives from both historical veracity and conceptual rigor afford dual integrity that enhances scholarly legitimacy, enriching understanding of historical, contemporary, and future directed social realities. My

research contributes to these efforts, as I examine the practices, processes and the organization of the djembe habitus over time.

I am contributing to this body of work. Rowlinson, Hassard, and Decker (2014: 43) suggest that historians now seem more willing to articulate and share their knowledge of the craft skills required in organizational archives, they conclude that:

‘Our exposition of the epistemological dualisms of explanation, evidence, and temporality, as well as our identification of corporate history, analytically structured history, serial history, and ethnographic history as alternative strategies for research and writing organizational history, represent a contribution towards mutual understanding between organization theorists, historical theorists, and practicing historians’ (Rowlinson, Hassard, and Decker (2014: 43).

My stance on organising history, is through mobilising the notion of a cultural paradigm, as a spatio-temporal location of the practices and habitus of the djembefola. In anthropology, the notion of the cultural paradigm refers to a period within which practices have certain meanings, and there are certain actors involved who share a set of assumptions and similar expectations in how they perceive the world over time. An excellent example is that of Mary Douglas’ work ‘Purity and Danger’ where she analyses the concepts of ritual purity and pollution in different societies and times. My own research examines the evolution of the djembe habitus over time, therefore resonating with Douglas’ own work.

3.2 The evolving djembe

Traditionally the djembe is perceived as a cultural practice surrounded by and infused with ancient symbolism, and used primarily as a means of communication between different tribal villages and as an accompaniment to ritualistic tribal ceremonies. This section gives a brief historical review in order to identify and define the role of djembe practice within the

first cultural paradigm, and as a means of demonstrating how the role of the djembefola has changed over a period of some six hundred years.

According to Charry (2000), djembe traditions originated from Mali and Guinea and appear to be of Mandinka/Susu origin. Billmeier (2004: 12) suggests that the Wankara tribe are believed to have been the first peoples travelling west from the banks of the Nile in about 2760 BC to arrive in the region which would later become known as the Mandinka Empire. Most musicology scholars agree that the djembe was first created, possibly as long as three millennia ago, by the Mandinka/Susu blacksmiths native to Mali, and referred to as *numu* (Charry, 2000; Diakite and Sidibe, 2001). According to Charry (2000), the *numu* 'were, and still are, guardians of certain kinds of power', responsible for sculpting the power-laden wooden *kòmò* masks which are the emblems of the secret societies they lead. Many scholars have written about the importance of the *numu*, their relationship with sorcery and power and their skill with iron working (for example, Bender, 1998; Carny, 2003; Charry, 2000; Jansen, 2000; MacRae, 1995). McNaughton (1993) examines the reasons why *numu* are shunned, feared and despised, yet at the same time afforded special privileges and glorified. He notes that the pre-colonial stratification of nobles, professionals and slaves places the *numu*, together with bards and leather-workers, in the middle of the social hierarchy within the villages. Barred from political office and separated from other Mandinka by avoidance taboos and stylised joking relationships, the *numu* formed a new 'corporate' category known as *nyamakala* clans, which were imbued with 'special skills, occult powers and imputed "racial" identities'. It is widely recognised, for example by Brooks (1989), Carny (2003) and Charry (2000), that the *numu* were highly skilled technicians and were able to utilise smithing (iron mongering) techniques and technology, as well as being symbolically recognised as healers, diviners, circumcisers, liminal mediators and informal advisers. Ross, (2002) notes that the elevation of the *numu*, in terms of their spiritual importance and

perceived control of all energy and power in the village, referred to as *nyama*, contributed to the fear in which the villagers held them. Price (2013) alludes to this wide recognition and further adds that not all master Mandinka djembefola, ‘one[s] who make the djembe speak’, are descended from traditional blacksmith (*numu*) lineages. Charry (2000: 206) introduces the notion of ‘traditional associations’ or ‘power associations’ within the tribal villages, which carry out certain community affairs and who are linked closely with drumming. The traditional associations performed an organisational role within village hierarchies, often segregated by gender, and were responsible for collective labour such as working in the fields, village maintenance, entertainment and dance, while power associations are focused primarily on the containment and eradication of antisocial activities, the practice of divination, and the attainment of prosperity and happiness for their members and their clients (McNaughton, 1988). It is interesting to discuss the role of the djembefola in the traditional rural village in relation to Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice. Bourdieu suggests that ‘capital’ can be represented in three states:

- The embodied state;
- The objectified state; and
- The institutionalised state.

Within the first cultural paradigm, the field embodies the djembefola habitus, which possesses symbolic capital. Embodied capital is characterised by the accent or dialect spoken by the djembefola that can situate him firmly within a particular geographical area. Objectified capital can be ascertained through the symbolic forms of clothing worn by the djembefola, often only for particular ceremonies or rituals and usually adorned with feathers, shells and grasses, or through the ownership of a djembe, created through spiritual ritual and therefore established as being a very important item. The first cultural paradigm existed at a time when the native people lived within an oral tradition and their history was

recounted verbally to the new generations. There was no form of early established education apart from the learning of songs, dances and history. The presence of institutionalised capital in terms of credentials or qualifications was not considered important, however the djembe player had to amass credentials in kind from the elders in order to be initiated through ceremonial practice and assigned the status of ‘djembefola’. Bloch (1986) aligns himself with this theory, while also noting that the importance of ceremonial rituals maintains a form of stability within rural villages. Such rituals also reflect cultural and social dynamics and therefore are constantly evolving. The *numu* migrations during the first millennium are cited as the primary cause of the spread of this percussion instrument, which was used both for communication between rural villages of ritualistic ceremonies such as births, deaths, coming of age and hunting, and subsequently within the village for facilitating these ceremonies (Charry, 2000). The importance of ritualistic ceremonies has been noted by many scholars (for example, Diallo, 1989; Rattray, 1923; and Stoller, 1984), as well as van Gennep, who coined the phrase ‘rites of passage’ as an analytical concept which was later developed by Turner, resulting in new social statuses within the tribe, thus creating an ‘essential ingredient in the rejuvenation of society’ (van Gennep, [1908] 1960).

3.3 Paradigm 1: From the 13th century to 1958

This historical period spans rural djembe beginnings in West Africa from the thirteenth century to Sékou Touré’s presidency in 1958. Within this first cultural paradigm I define the ‘djembefola’ as the person who has acquired the skills and technique to play the djembe for rites and initiations. A further important point that must be considered is that the djembe player can only be referred to as ‘djembefola’ once he has been initiated into the craft, through a rite of passage held in secret and conducted by the elders of the village. In Bourdieusian terms, this can be defined as a person occupying a dominant position in the

field of power within an internal hierarchy of a West African village. Bourdieu (1996: 316) refers to such people as ‘exemplary individuals, who combine all the properties and all the titles that confer membership rights’.

From the formation of the Malian Empire in the thirteenth century, the role of the djembefola had been an important part of daily rural life. Significant rituals and celebratory events were led by the djembefola and rhythms were played for hours, or even days. His habitus was characterised by the culmination of generational learned history in terms of the importance of the ritual or event, and his role of musical leadership would ensure that the participatory nature of the event would be carried out successfully. His place within the village community, elevated as a result of his ability to play the djembe and to commune with ‘spirit’, would be ensured, especially with regard to his authority within the drumming community.

3.3.1 Djembefola field

Bourdieu defines the field as a dynamic social arena where individuals compete and struggle to establish the valuable and legitimate capitals found within that field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). When defining the field within rural West Africa from the thirteenth century up until Sékou Touré was elected as President of Guinea, it should be noted that little changed in terms of the hierarchical organisation and functioning of the rural village, and the role of the djembe practice for ceremony remained largely the same. Therefore, in this first cultural paradigm no hysteresis effect can be seen. The village itself can, for the purposes of this investigation, be considered as the macro field. Several micro fields exist within the macro field: the village meeting place (usually in the centre of the village), the women’s washing area, the cooking area, the shaman’s or witch doctor’s hut, the chief’s hut, and the general living spaces of the villagers. Each field is occupied by people exhibiting their own forms of capital, transformed into different levels of symbolic capital

depending on the role of the person within the field. The 'rules of the game' are characterised as the successful functioning of the village and are evident within each micro field. Village politics would take place in the central meeting place and would be attended by the men of the village, including the chief and the witch doctor, but not usually the djembefola. Women would not be permitted in this area. This clearly demonstrates the attributes of the doxa, the 'willingness to play and adhere to the rules of the game'. Events such as rites of passage, the harvest, birth, death and marriage all have their place within the social aspects of village life. The djembefola is an important part of these ceremonial practices in that it is the drumming which either issues the call to a particular ceremony or is present during the ceremony itself, such as during the planting of crops.

3.3.2 Djembefola habitus

Bourdieu notes that the habitus is created by the culmination of historical family background, education and forms of experience acquired and passed on from generation to generation. Kerr and Robinson (2011) add that 'habitus can be understood as a disposition to enter and reproduce the field – and from this disposition a social agent [in this case the djembefola] moves to a position-taking space within the field' (Kerr and Robinson, 2011: 151-173). Traditionally, the djembefola is characterised as being a central figure in terms of rituals, celebrations and events taking place within the village. He is crucial in playing the rhythms on the djembe, along with accompaniment by different drums, as well as dancers and singers. He directs the speed at which the rhythm is played and for how long. While being highly respected as a musician, he is typically feared and sometimes even shunned by the other village inhabitants due to his ability to play the djembe at rituals, and for his relationship with the 'spirits' of the tree and goat, and with other ritual practices involved in the making of the drum. In economic terms, villages are not considered as wealthy communities and this would directly impact the djembefola's lifestyle, as both he and his

family would be affected by this poverty. The djembefola habitus also displays an accumulation of cultural capital (cultural, objectified and institutional), as well as social and economic capital, which places him as a central figure within the field. The capital directly informs the habitus of the djembefola.

3.3.3 Social capital

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 119) define social capital as ‘the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition’. The djembefola was known and respected by the whole village, both as a drummer and an ironmonger, for he had the necessary skills required to make new things and maintain equipment, thus enlarging his network of friends and acquaintances. This made him a valuable resource for the villagers but, in turn, the villagers were also a valuable resource for him. The term ‘social capital’ can be thought of as ‘it’s not what you know, but who you know’. The relationships between the djembefola and the villagers took several forms, as a result of the various skills acquired from his working trade, such as a farmer, hunter, gatherer or herdsman, and also from his role as a musician. In addition, the social capital held by the djembefola could be increased by the ownership of a valuable and elitist family name. The name ‘Keïta’, for example, is associated with ancient royalty, the earliest being Sundiata Keïta, emperor of Mali during the mid-thirteenth century. Association with members of this tribe or clan results in increased social capital for the djembefola, especially if he is from the Keïta clan itself. Social capital can be continuously reproduced by the exchanges between the djembefola and the villagers as a result of regular changes in their circumstances. For instance, the djembefola is required to play on the occasion of the birth of a baby or a marriage. This familiarity within the village is considered as his network of connections and results in the recognition of a master djembefola who possesses the skills

required to play within a ceremonial and ritualistic time and space, thus elevating his status and therefore his cultural capital. His knowledge of ancient rhythms, songs, rites and celebrations is evident, through his lengthy period as a student of the elders. Bourdieu (1979) argues that to function effectively in a social field, special forms of social capital are required in order to establish the position of the actor, in this case that of the djembefola.

3.3.4 Cultural capital

The rural village djembefola is also recognised as possessing a set of skills which have enabled him to occupy the role through studentship and initiation. These skills include his ability to memorise and recall the many specific rhythms required for particular events, as well as the knowledge required to construct the instrument itself, plus his ability to commune with the spirits of the trees used to form the body of the drum and the goats whose skin would be used. These skills can be interpreted as his cultural capital. The objectified cultural capital which would belong to the djembefola would be his djembe, an instrument crafted for him during secret ritualistic ceremonies and his 'uniform', i.e. the special clothing he is required to wear at specific ceremonies. Although not considered as 'luxury items', they would be treated as such by their owner.

3.3.5 Economic capital

The economic form of capital in this first cultural paradigm is not as crucial as other forms of capital, because the community was not based on capitalist economic relations. While the djembe practice is not historically rooted in contemporary capitalist relations, the literature provides some insights into the forms of capital and their manifestations in relation to the djembefola. Billmeier (2004: 18) states that 'the village djembe player would visit the blacksmith, give him ten kola nuts, and ask him to make a new djembe. The blacksmith considered the making of such a drum an honor'. This form of economic exchange was a

common occurrence within rural West African villages. In the thirteenth century, village inhabitants were traditionally recognised as not being wealthy people and even throughout colonial times Guinea was one of the poorest countries in the world. The djembefola had a specific desirable cultural capital as exemplified by their skills and their ability to play at ceremonies. In exchange for their services they would receive some suitable form of payment, but, compared with other inhabitants of the village, they were considered to be quite poor as there was no money as such to be earned. Fortunately, a bartering system was in place with different forms of financial recompense available, such as kola nuts offered along with an invitation to play, followed by a payment which could be a cockerel, a gourd filled with millet, beans or peanuts, according to whatever was available at the time.

3.3.6 Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital is the reputation, kudos and stature relative to the individual in a certain field. Through association with the habitus of the djembefola, the combination of social, cultural and economic capital is transformed into symbolic capital within the sphere of action (the field) situated within the village. Bourdieu (1993a: 7) defines symbolic capital as being a ‘degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity or honour and [which] is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*)’ and suggests that the capital possessed by the individual partly defines how well they are accepted and integrated into a particular field, their legitimacy within that field and how they are able to position themselves within it. The djembefola’s habitus within village activities is characterised by the accumulation of symbolic capital created from the social, cultural and economic capital he exhibits.

During this six-hundred-year period, the practice and role of the djembefola did not change to any significant extent. He was considered an integral part of djembe culture who, through

mastery of his technique and tradition, officiated over ritual and ceremonial events, thus ensuring a successful outcome.

3.4 Liminal phase 1: 1958–1960s – Political interventions

The first cultural paradigm as discussed above presents a historical examination of the role of the djembefola dating back to the thirteenth century, identifying him as a well-respected and central figure in the village life of rural West Africa. The first liminal phase can be seen to have occurred in response to the political changes taking place in the mid to late 1950s. Traditional roles within rural West African communities were challenged, prompting the emergence of a transitional phase. I identify this repositioning of the djembefola's role as the first liminal phase. Djembe practice was an accepted and vitally important part of village life and historically the role of the djembefola had been established as one that held considerable symbolic capital in the form of acquired knowledge and skills, which could subsequently be converted to economic capital. For centuries, the oral tradition of teaching and learning the djembe had existed in more or less the same way. Rhythms had specific meanings and were played at specific times for specific events such as the coming of age, marriage, birth, death, circumcision and also land rituals such as harvesting, planting and growing. However, the traditional form of djembe practice as seen within the first cultural paradigm was to undergo a radical transformation in response to the election in October 1958 of Guinea's first President, Ahmed Sékou Touré, who proclaimed Guinea's independence from France, declaring 'we prefer poverty in liberty to riches in slavery' (Ogundip, 2012: 270). Touré, considered as a visionary in terms of his commitment to culture, was to ensure a return to Africa's cultural heritage in order to redress the effects of the slave trade and colonial legacy (Mekuria, 2006: 147). He later gave a speech in Conakry, outlining the role of political leaders in terms of reflecting and developing their

culture and expressing his profound concern that the culture of Africa, and Guinea in particular, was becoming lost. The full transcript of the speech can be found at BlackPast.org. The youth were suffering from the effects of colonisation and the essence of the music was being 'tainted' by Western influences, in particular the French. It was during this time that Touré issued a command to organise a competition which would create Guinea's first official ballet troupe known as Les Ballets Africains, along with the defiant mantra: 'A nation without a culture is a lost nation' (Charry, 1996). The ballet troupe would include only the best musicians from each village and competition would be fierce. At the same time, Touré used fear-based statements that were broadcast repeatedly twenty-four hours a day via local radio stations, thereby reinforcing his 'message' to the community (Charry, 1996). The collaboration resulting from this competition would emerge as the new second paradigm of the cultural representation of Guinea's music to the rest of Africa, in terms of the alteration of the symbolic meaning of djembe music from a traditional ceremonial practice to a national performance given to multi-ethnic audiences around West Africa.

During the mid to late 1950s many black radicals and artists were to visit Guinea, the birthplace of the two principal organisers of Les Ballets Africains, Fodéba Keïta and Facelli Kanté (Cohen, 2012: 16). One of these radicals, Harry Belafonte, a social activist, was to play an important part in the development of post-independence Guinean performing arts by becoming the artistic director of a new national company, the Ballet Djoliba (Cohen, 2012: 12). Cohen notes that there has been little scholarly investigation into the specific aspects of Les Ballets Africains' history, although importantly the company's early performances in the US – first in 1959 as a private Paris-based company, then in 1960 as the National Ballet of the newly independent Republic of Guinea – are significant, as they effectively demonstrated the convergences between performing arts practices and liberation struggles in

Africa. The Ballets Africains were to reveal radical transformational practices in terms of the style of music representation across the West African arts during the mid-twentieth century. Fulbright scholar Angela Watson (2008: 537–538) comments on the fact that the Civil Rights and Black Power movements were taking place at the same time as the Ballets Africains and the Djoliba National Ballet were being formed and that these companies were a similar means for the practitioners of the arts to reclaim their heritage and rights to an African identity and sense of self.

During Touré's rise to power, djembe practice was undergoing an upheaval, signifying a preliminal phase. Djembefola were no longer central village figures due to the highly competitive nature of performance displays held at Touré's command; their symbolic capital was reduced significantly as a result of the changing habitus within the liminal phase. All who enter the liminal phase are considered as being in a 'betwixt and between' state and 'neither here nor there' (Turner, 1981) until the new paradigm emerges, with a new set of rules which must be adhered to. The previous field, as discussed within the first cultural paradigm, was developing into something new through a liminal transformational phase. Previously accepted behaviours, for example the worshipping of idols, were deemed to be unacceptable. Djembefola from many villages were gathered together and tested through competition, with the best being selected to represent Guinea in the newly formed ballet groups. There were no elevated status symbols; all were on an equal footing and were required to prove themselves through skill and knowledge. Symbolic capital, previously an important characteristic of the djembefola, was stripped away as the ritualistic and ceremonial practice was systematically replaced by a highly choreographed performance intended for a broad audience. The intrinsic symbolic meaning surrounding the traditional ritualistic practice was diluted beyond recognition. Charry (2000: 211) noted that, although the performances by the ballet groups were based on actual village dances, the similarity

ended there. Billmeier (2004) recalls a conversation with Mamady Keïta, one of the first generation of ballet choreographers and lead djembefola in the Djoliba National Ballet:

‘The rhythms of the ballet have been mostly traditional rhythms, which are modified, even radically changed, for presentation on the stage: for instance, in regards to the tempo, the djembe accompaniments or the dununba voices. But we even create new rhythms [...] the ballet transforms tradition into a kind of folkloric presentation, and, in doing so, loses some depth and authenticity’ (Billmeier, 2004: 24).

Within this liminal phase we witness the transformation of habitus from one of ritualistic practice to a new form of performance characterised by the choreographic presentation of cultural tradition to a theatre audience rather than the participatory practice of traditional times, as seen within the first cultural paradigm. This transformation of presentational practice heavily informs the second cultural paradigm, in that a new macro field (the performance arena) had been identified which was defined and maintained by the individual as well as the collective habitus and capital of the djembefola, thus enabling the rules of the game (the doxa) to be successful.

3.5 Paradigm 2: The 1960s – A staged performance

In this paradigm shift we see the djembefola presented as a stage performer playing to multi-ethnic audiences at home and abroad. The first liminal phase discussed above identifies 1958 as the pivotal time period during which the traditional form of djembe practice associated with the first cultural paradigm changes. The ritualistic and ceremonial practice is transformed, allowing the ‘field’ to evolve and change. What emerges is a highly developed form of choreographed practice designed to present the culture of Guinea to the rest of Africa and beyond. Early research into West African history suggests that the traditional rural village drumming remained purely for ceremonial purposes and continued to refer strongly to ancient beliefs, stories and rituals (Charry, 1996). The traditional Mandinka djembe music had ‘mutated’ from an intersubjective communication within a

tradition-orientated community to the rationalised concert music performed by an array of djembefola from several ethnic backgrounds in Fodéba Keïta's Ballets Africains (Nesbitt, 2001: 175–176). The formation of the Ballets Africains troupe has been the subject of much coverage, both in the media and in academia (for example, Cohen, 2011; Martin, 1959; Moss, 2007; Polak, 2000). Fodéba Keïta, a graduate of the École Normale William Ponty in Senegal, achieved much recognition in France and its Sub-Saharan dependencies prior to the independence of Guinea in 1958 by drawing on his *griot* heritage and theatrical skills and developing friendships with other West African students. This wide acclaim elevated his social capital through his lucrative network of friends and acquaintances. Fodéba Keïta relocated to France where he continued to establish friendships with other African musicians such as Facelli Kanté. This friendship was to result in the emergence of the Ensemble Fodéba-Facelli-Mouangué during 1947. This ensemble would later become known as Les Ballets Africains, a musical troupe performing the ancient folkloric songs, dances and drumming rhythms which represented the cultural, political and historical influences of West Africa. To start with the troupe performed in African circles in Paris where, according to Kaba (1976: 202), its representational performances soon 'attracted the attention of critics because of its authenticity, the sophistication of its staging, and the literary and ideological quality of its scenario'.

The result of this new cultural representation was that the ensemble gained the unofficial title of 'Ambassador of African Culture', 'subsequently recording a number of 78 rpm gramophone records, some of which were banned by the French administration as they were considered to implicitly criticise aspects of colonial rule' (Kaba, 1973: 323-344). Touré provided designated rehearsal spaces and, for the first time in Mandinka music history, the musicians were paid a salary (Charry, 1996). Kaba (1976: 201-218) further notes that the link between traditional and ballet drumming had not been severed, but that it 'reinforced

the link between past values, present conditions and future goals'. However, local djembefola fervently disagreed with this and commented that sacred and ritualistic historical events should not be portrayed on stage, and that the spirits of the ancestors would be very angry (Charry, 1996).

3.5.1 Djembefola habitus

It is important to note at this juncture how the role of the djembefola has evolved in terms of their changing habitus. While in the first paradigm they were typically feared yet respected within the local village, they are now also adored as highly regarded paid musicians, recreating the historical events of their culture and portraying them as performance on stage. Irele (1993) comments on the dilemma of the changing representation of djembe practice from rural to national and states that the music is full of contradictions in the face of structural and experiential impediments. He also notes that the djembefola had to become 'composers' for this new style of music and were faced with a feeling of 'confrontation with formidable difficulties' in terms of re-examining their relationship with the ritualistic rhythms surrounded in mystique and deep meanings. The djembefola habitus within a new identifiable cultural paradigm demonstrates the evolving nature of the music and how it is learned and then presented to an audience rather than to a participatory community. The skill set required of the djembefola within this second cultural paradigm attests to his ability to enhance his cultural capital as times change. His persona adapts to changing circumstances by way of the introduction of several forms of capital being invested as a result of his new role within a new practice, namely the ballet troupes. New material belongings and mannerisms gained through new, financially viable experiences therefore affect the habitus present within the field. Nesbitt (2001: 179) also alludes to this change in archetypal musicology and suggests that the issue was not to disfigure but to recognise the music's immersion within the progressive development of human culture itself.

3.5.2 Djembefola capital: social, cultural and economic

Within this second cultural paradigm the djembefola habitus has evolved, and consequently the sum of capital present within the habitus has changed. New skills, in terms of performance and choreographing, have further elevated his status among friends and acquaintances. Networks have become much larger due to the requirement for further travel in order to perform, and overall objectified capital begins to increase, for earnings can now be used to fund the purchase of products, equipment and clothing, thus increasing economic capital. It is difficult to separate the various forms of capital which interrelate with each other as situations change and evolve. Equally, as the djembefola changes his situation, for example from the stage to his living quarters, the field within which he is present changes, resulting in varied interpretations of his level of capital. As he acquires different skills in order to function in the new paradigm, he is more easily able to interact within newly presented micro fields and adjust his habitus as he becomes more familiar with the ‘rules of the game’. Nesbitt discusses the need for further research into the formation of Guinea’s Ballets Africains, but notes that Touré is fundamentally responsible for the adaptation of what was once a participatory style of music to suit the Western stage, with Keïta actively reorganising traditional musical values. Fodéba Keïta clearly states Touré’s intentions:

‘In our African villages [...] dances are [...] executed in the middle of a ring of spectators who also take part almost as much as the dancers and musicians. On the stage new conditions have to be created by means of different devices in order, on the one hand, to retain the freshness and reality of the dance and, on the other, to destroy the monotony which is quick to arise due to the non-active participation of the audience’ (Charry, [1958] 2000: 212).

Of particular interest within this paradigm are the tensions experienced by the active djembefola, which can potentially be referred to as preliminal states and are indicative of further paradigmatic change if such tensions remain unresolved. In the examination of the evolving nature of djembe practice through the spatial and temporal phases seen within this

thesis, this is potentially the first instance where a hysteresis effect can be detected. Bourdieu (1977) notes an example of the hysteresis effect as being the generational conflict where the habitus of agents has been developed at different points in time leading to different understandings of which practice is ‘reasonable’ for one generation versus ‘scandalous’ or ‘unthinkable’ for the other generation. Indeed, Bourdieu believes the habitus to be inertial (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011) or ‘durable, but not eternal’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133), which can sometimes lead to the habitus not adapting to modified field conditions, which Bourdieu (1977) calls the hysteresis effect. This can be considered to be the case in the movement of djembefola away from their animist religious beliefs, which underpinned the ethnic-based cultural and political authority giving precedence to national governmental authority (Cohen, 2012: 29). The djembefola experienced a downgrading of their village-based customs and, in order to situate the practice as a representation of Guinea’s culture as ordered by Touré, had seen the traditional practices stripped of their ethnic power and exclusivity and subsequently transformed through the ballet and its performances into instrumental and exchangeable forms of national cultural currency (Cohen, 2012: 29). The traditional djembefola struggles to adapt from his established habitus, successful in the first cultural paradigm, to the new habitus required for successful functioning in the second cultural paradigm. The hysteresis effect supports this interpretation that what is acceptable in one time is unacceptable in another. The mobilisation of the djembefola from their village-based ceremonial and ritualistic traditions to the performance stage presented a conflict of interests. Their indigenous ritual-related practices had been converted into ‘art’ for the stage (Cohen, 2012: 28), a form of presentation resulting directly from what Touré termed ‘demystification’.

Cohen (2012: 31–32) notes that:

‘the campaign forced powerful maskers [men who wear the masks created by their village carvers, in order to visualise the symbolic form of a particular spirit and their role within a ritual] into public village squares and required them to undress before women and children, for whom it had always been forbidden to see the most sacred masks in costume, much less disrobed. Village elders were additionally threatened, humiliated, and punished for involvement in traditional associations, while masks and other objects were burned, sequestered, or sold to foreign collectors.’

The turbulence inflicted upon an ancient tradition was to result in the National Arts System (put in place by Touré), requiring young conscripts (djembe students) to modernise and perform traditional material – often songs, rhythms, dances and masquerades considered by the elders to be sacred or secret – for ballet productions.

Cohen (2012: 33) also notes that this controversial new form of djembe practice, born out of fear, was to evolve into representational art. Incorrect information designed to generalise and idealise typical folkloric traditional practices would be printed in playbills or programmes designed to entice foreigners into the theatre to experience the exotic flavours of Africa.

Over time, the traditional practice became more diluted as Touré promoted his cultural-political project. Of significant importance was the addition, within the actual stage performance, of unrelated tribal foreign maskers who bore no relation whatsoever to the physical setting of the subject of the performance. An example of this is the Zangbeto voodoo maskers of Benin origin, who were in no way associated with any part of Guinean culture, and the Loma bird-men performing in the Loma forest setting in the ballet performance. The djembefola were expected to adapt their traditional practice without questioning the stark contrast of cross-religious cultural beliefs and gross disparities at the level of interpretation and meaning (Cohen, 2012: 34). This disparity was to herald a further liminal shift required to find solutions to the representation of djembe practice as it moved through space and time. Multiple fields occupied by disparate djembefola from different

regions were forced to combine and recreate new fields, which impacted upon the habitus of the actors and, indeed, on their symbolic capital.

In sum, the role of the djembefola within the second paradigm was to change radically from a central figure within rural communities in West Africa to a new form of representational role, one that incorporated a diverse range of capital change. Financial recompense for performance, in terms of a regular income being paid, changed the way in which the djembefola cared for himself and his family in the village. His personal and materialistic belongings increased, identifiable in the acquisition of new clothes for performance concerts, again something not experienced within the village. Clothing would, by way of bright, colourful design, visually represent West African culture. However, this representation of the culture was in fact misleading, considering the nature of the levels of poverty that actually existed within the villages. Nonetheless, the effect of vibrancy produced the desired result, a highlighting of a vibrant traditional culture. The djembefola became a central and visible character within this new form of representation. His symbolic capital was increased due to the changing field and the changing players present within it, such as the fee-paying audience.

3.6 Liminal phase 2: 1970–1980 – International djembe practice

The influence of changing cultural circumstances and the relocation of disparate djembefola from traditional roots was to further endorse the liminal phase which would see a repositioning of West African traditional cultural values in terms of the displacement of djembe practice from the local to the global. A move from the confines of the rural village to the international stage was taking place. The formation of the ballets at Touré's command was an attempt to preserve the disappearing traditional culture. Djembefola were paid a monetary fee to perform, something which had never been experienced in the past and

which transformed their habitus through the changing representation of the practice. While the djembefola's network of acquaintances became more varied, indicating a rise in social capital, his economic capital also increased in response to the wages being paid. However, in keeping with traditional ways, the money was often sent back to his native village to support his extended family. This resulted in him having a relatively low personal income, but one which equalled that of his counterparts and served to maintain the status quo between the performing djembefola.

The developing nature of the performance style of the ballet troupes was to result in a form of 'potted history' of particular events or ceremonies, often bearing no relation to the actual event itself. The audience would be given a glimpse of the supposed inner workings of a traditional practice which had always been shrouded in secrecy and only available to those in attendance. As the ballets became more successful due to highly colourful and fast-paced performances, a new genre of djembe practice began to evolve. Once considered a participatory tradition, the performances now often elevated the stronger djembefola to the front stage where solo drumming renditions would be presented, often played very quickly and with lots of flourish and flair, demonstrating his unique skills and mastery of the drum. The djembefola would interact with the audience with hand signals and gestures, implying he was 'giving' the music to them. His disposition was becoming that of a highly recognisable lead player, a type of 'pop star'. The performance would often merit individual payments from members of the audience who would push small amounts of money at him or even place the money inside his clothing. This lead djembefola status was to herald a further shift in the dynamics of the ballet troupe. The stronger players would vie for the lead spot and the weaker players (although still excellent djembefola) would drift towards the back to play accompaniment rhythms to hold the lead djembefola in time. As the ballet began to tour more widely, the demographics of the audiences varied from country to

country. The Americans and the Europeans began to express an interest in the culture of this style of performance and also the methods by which it was learned, which soon led to requests to tutor foreign students. This new form of pedagogic practice, from master to student, was to herald the next cultural paradigm which would involve the djembefola teaching in a completely new style and the departure of the djembefola themselves from the ballet troupes, as they saw opportunities to relocate to other countries to support both themselves and their families at home in West Africa. The paradigm, which was to emerge, would frame the djembe as an objectified practice.

3.7 Paradigm 3: 1980–2000 – The re-invented traditional djembe

This third historical period, or paradigm, in the evolution of the djembe encapsulates the timeframe within which the djembe and its practice enters into an objectified space and becomes internationally recognised as a result of political and representational change.

Although Aggarwal (1999) and Mouralis (1986) both highlight Fodéba Keïta's theatrical group which performed in Paris as a typical historical marker in terms of the development of the Mandinka music in the late 1940s, it must be noted that, in order for the third paradigm to be acknowledged, there must have been significant development in the political, social, cultural-economic and technological world.

Bender (1992) notes that the death of Guinea's dictatorial President, Sékou Touré, in March 1984 and the subsequent election of Lansana Conté saw the radical diminishment of state funding offered to the arts, including the ballet troupes. This withdrawal of financial support was to result in the disbanding and dissolution of the ballet troupes themselves. Djembefola were no longer able to afford to travel and began sourcing other means of providing for themselves and their extended families in West Africa. However, at this point in time interest in djembe practice was evident. Some djembefola were able to relocate to other

countries due to the support from people interested in learning the craft. Bender (1992) also recognised that this process of political realignment was to begin the process of African borders being opened to outsiders, which resulted in the more adventurous tourists visiting West Africa. The advancement of technology was also to play a part in the progression of djembe practice in the form of radio broadcasts and the dissemination of printed news items about the culture.

Mamady Keïta, djembefola and grand master of the djembe ('djembefola' is the Mandinka word for djembe player and literally means 'one who plays the djembe'), is considered to be one of the world's most respected djembefola and was one of the original members of Les Ballets Africains. He comments on Touré's death:

'After the death of President Sékou Touré, the country opened itself up to the rest of the world, and, for the first time in my life, I was able to think about what I really wanted to do. Though I had medals and diplomas and had travelled around the world in the name of my country, I had remained poor, like all the other musicians in the ballet. I saw no financial prospects for me, and my family.' (Billmeier and Keïta, 2004: 21).

As previously mentioned, Mamady Keïta had established himself as a world-renowned percussionist through his involvement with the Les Ballets Africains as both lead djembefola and choreographer. His habitus had evolved to encompass huge amounts of social, cultural and economic capital; however, as noted in the quote above, he was still 'poor' and unable to financially support his family. The recognition afforded to him by his networks of friends and acquaintances across the globe was to be an integral part of his re-establishment of his craft in terms of teaching and promoting his culture. His cultural capital had also evolved through the new skills he had learned in order to teach in an accepted Western format. What had, up to now, been an oral tradition was being written, recorded and shared between class members. His mannerisms and how he dressed also signified his transition into Western culture, changing from a few items of clothing to acceptable attire appropriate for the conditions and climates of other countries. The money

he was able to earn from non-African students in his new geographical space was to increase his ability to purchase items for himself, including new instruments, which in turn increased his economic capital. His traditional cultural practice was indeed a representational and objectified commodity, gaining recognition as a popular percussion instrument. The field of djembe practice at this point is characterised as being fluid; new members were accepted, be they djembefola, djembe students or interested people, who were able to promote the culture through economic means. With the growing popularity of the djembe worldwide through concerts, recordings and books incorporating written cultural information, such as musical notation, the meaning of the rhythms and dance instruction, players from West Africa began to relocate to Europe and the US. Interestingly, not all 'players' were by any means djembefola.

Those who were interested in learning djembe music were not taught the original traditional symbolism, as this had been lost and was no longer a requirement of the learning process. What was seen on the stage was what they wanted to learn. However, as time passed and more non-African students became proficient players in their own right, the quest for a deeper cultural knowledge became apparent. Ethnomusicologists moved to Africa to study the djembe in its natural environment and the effect of this on the rural communities within West Africa was to be profound. The surge in tourism led to increased business for the local community, including the drum-makers and tailors, as well as the local musicians who were able to teach and do business with the students. Taylor (1997: 5) comments that the rise in popularity of 'world music', led to a 'multiplication of music festivals and a significant increase in both exposure and demand for African artists'. The field of djembe practice in West Africa was once again transforming to accommodate new business opportunities surrounding the traditional culture and economic capital was increasing for those who were involved, both in West Africa and abroad.

Other renowned musical artists, such as Youssou N’Dour, Salif Keita and Baaba Maal have also helped to promote djembe practice within their genres.

Janz (2015: 87-106) draws attention to another change in circumstances that had an impact on the field of djembe practice, namely the increase in migration that is characteristic of globalisation in general, adding that the high number of transnational movements of people does not, however, lead to a ‘Global Village’. She suggests that the ‘classification and demarcation processes’ change ‘within the reconfiguration and production of social positions and boundaries’. According to Slobin (1993), music cultures are no longer connected primarily to ‘place’; thanks to global marketing, a locally embedded music – a subculture – can take the leap and become a superculture.

The globalisation of the djembe has, according to Gaudette (2013: 295–310), ‘created an alternative economy of status for jembe musicians’. He outlines the path of the djembefola using the participants of a case study undertaken in Guinea. His model (see Figure 3.2) builds a more synchronic picture, with each box exemplifying different points along a path of increasing mobility and status, clearly demonstrating a leap from the second cultural paradigm (within Africa) to the third cultural paradigm.

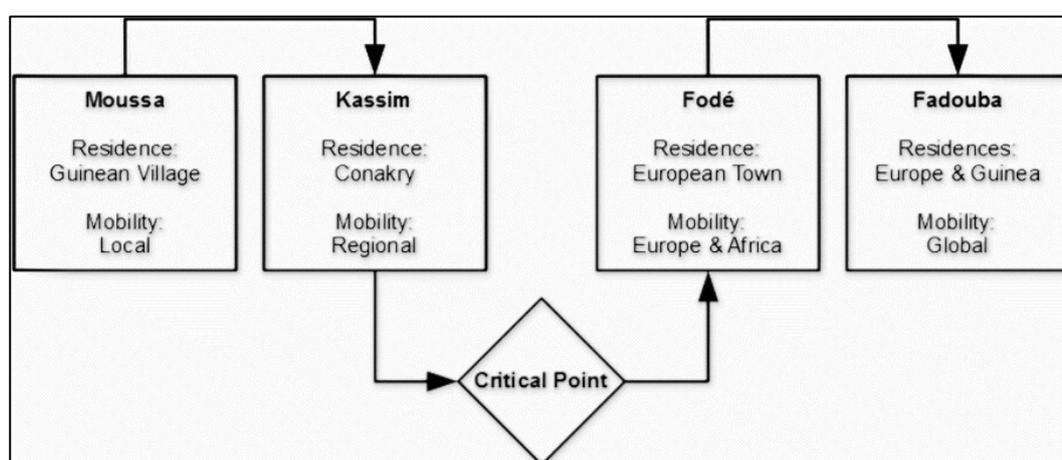


Figure 3.2 The djembefola’s path (adapted from Gaudette, 2007: 129)

Gaudette (2007) introduces the concept of ‘consummate cosmopolitanism’ in terms of Fadouba having accomplished the dream of many West Africans, one that enables global travel and the status of ‘Mande Hero’, a theme reiterated in many Mandinka rhythms through drumming and storytelling. He has become the ‘model that his apprentices and his apprentices’ apprentices are attempting to emulate’. Gaudette (2013: 295-310) adds that music is often hybrid and results from intercultural contact and demonstrates (the musicians’ and buyers’) openness towards the ‘Other’. Both Charry (2000) and Price (2013) note that the phenomenon resulting from this relocation has been the exposure of the African cultural practices on a global scale and that the djembe has become one of the most popular drums worldwide.

One of the major lifestyle changes that can be observed through the process of globalisation is that of the changing role of the djembefola and his habitus. The values and norms seen within djembe practice from earliest historical records surrounding the Sundiata Empire, as mentioned in the first cultural paradigm, to its presence within the third cultural paradigm, which focuses on the late nineteenth century, have been recognised as having radically changed. The ritualistic and symbolic activities – such as the meanings of the rhythms, the individual dances associated with each rhythm and the djembe rhythms themselves – are still considered sacred by members of the power societies in rural villages in West Africa. Three distinct states of djembe practice have now been identified:

- The traditional, rooted in symbolism, ritual and ceremony;
- The ballet, developed from the traditional but enacted within a highly choreographed space, depicting African culture but with no particular consideration for the traditional symbolic meaning of the traditional practice; and
- The pedagogical, a new written format of teaching by a djembefola or other teacher.

Flaig (2010) discusses the process of the djembe movement from the villages to the capital and from the capital to various destinations around the world, observing that the djembe and its music have become the primary carrier of knowledge about Guinea to the rest of the world. However, the introduction of the ballet-style drumming (referred to in the discussion of the second paradigm) can be seen as a ‘mutation’ or unique representation of traditional music. The traditional format of the ceremonial rhythms accompanied by dancers and singers has evolved into a performance format created for an audience, although the significance of the music and its meaning is still present, albeit through different representational interpretations. The issue of authenticity and commodification must be raised at this point. Said (1978: 21) states that ‘the dramatic immediacy of representation [...] obscures the fact that the audience is watching a highly artificial enactment of what a non-Oriental [i.e. Western mind] has made into a symbol for the whole Orient’.

Erlmann (1996: 467) suggests that ‘World Music is believed to be a “roots” phenomenon, an expression of national and ethnic identities and multicultural diversity [...] considered as a typical product of consumer society’, further adding that consumers of West African djembe music are in fact presented with a ‘complete commodification of musical performance’ (Erlmann, 1996: 474).

Spencer-Oatey (2012: 13) states that ‘cultural innovation is the introduction of new thoughts, norms or material items and occurs as a result of both internal and external forces’. This process of cultural innovation arises from the ‘borrowing’ from other cultures, thus creating ‘cultural diffusion’, and allows for the spreading of cultural items from one culture to another. Cultural borrowing is a two-way process, from one society to another and vice versa. This can be seen within my own research on the transmission of the djembe and its music through the six distinct stages identified within this thesis. Spencer-Oatey (2013: 8) additionally suggests that ‘although some of the rhythmic and performance

practices have been carefully maintained and perpetuated over the past fifty years, traditions (*such as drumming*) are subject to change and influence'. Billmeier (2004: 24, 108) argues that some of these changes can be attributed to djembe teachers being from different ethnic groups with varying degrees of knowledge and proficiency. Price (2013: 8) also alludes to the changes taking place within djembe practice as being a result of the challenges of importing an oral tradition (rooted in the African village context) into fast-paced urban societies. According to Price (2013: 1), 'an intriguing cultural phenomenon has been developing over the past forty years in dance studios and festivals in the United States and abroad: traditional African culture is being diffused through formal and informal instruction in the African arts'. She cites an example of the two-way 'cultural-borrowing': her colleague witnessed a vast array of djembes and other accompanying instruments being off-loaded from baggage holds at Ghana's Accra airport in anticipation of the biennial Pan African Festival of global arts in Ghana. These drums hailed from the Americas, Europe and the islands of the Atlantic and the Caribbean. She was heard to exclaim that she 'could see drums of the Diaspora returning home' (Price, 2013: 1).

Price acknowledges at this point that the drums had, indeed, come full circle, from Africa to the Americas and back to Africa again. She concludes by noting that the drums' journey 'has spawned creative reinterpretations of African musical culture from antebellum slavery to the present day. Some of the resulting musical forms have reached and impacted many nations, crossing boundaries rather than creating them' (Price 2013: 2).

This 'reinterpretation' of a cultural practice through tourism and the relocation of djembe teachers was affected by the emergence of digital technologies, which had the potential to create more opportunities for djembe culture than ever before.

3.8 Liminal phase 3: 2000–2004 – The digital djembe

The paradigmatic and liminal transitional spaces examined so far in earlier sections have discussed the evolution of djembe practice over time and within geographical spaces separated by boundaries. The emergence of new technologies has seen new methods of communication occurring within boundaryless territories as well as through face-to-face communication. As methods of communication are able to occur almost instantaneously, the notion of time ceases to be an issue. These radical changes result in the emergence of a new liminal transition, which addresses the tensions that arise through these new communicational methods and their implications for djembe practice.

Although, as previously discussed, much of the cultural history surrounding the practice has been transmitted through oral tradition, due to the emergence of the Internet this is beginning to transform at an unprecedented speed in terms of the effect of the reshaping of communication methods through the existence of a boundaryless geographical world.

Schmidt and Cohen (2014) note that technology is fundamentally changing the manner in which we all interact and depend on each other, resulting in new opportunities being presented every day for people around the world to shape their own destinies. The field, as discussed by Bourdieu, has progressed through extreme changes from its rural roots to the emergence of a digital space. The players within the field have adapted to new emergent fields through transitional periods, defined in the thesis as liminal phases. Ortner (1984) and Sewell (2005) both note that the last half-century has indeed heralded competing understandings of culture and how it affects individual and collective actions, and how these competing understandings have both risen and withered within modern social disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and political science.

Up until this point, communication had mostly been either face-to-face or through printed matter, i.e. letters, faxes and telegrams, or by landline telephones or radio communication. A radical shift in the perception of communication in terms of the speed at which communication could occur, is a significant issue in the emergence of the current liminal phase. Mobile phone networks are one form of network service enabling Internet access, resulting in myriad forms of communication or means of doing business, both virtual and physical.

While the Internet was first conceived during the 1960s, it was not until much later that it became a tool readily available to the majority of people. It was during the 1990s that commercial businesses and networks began to be merged. This is considered to be the beginning of the transition to the modern Internet. Over time, the Internet has accommodated many new forms of social interaction, including academic research, business and varied forms of communicational methods. This particular liminal phase, identified as the transitional phase following the internationalisation of djembe culture, is, however, only concerned with the growth of the Internet in terms of its usage and the social networking platform Facebook.

During the twenty-first century, the Internet has become an essential component in the navigation of everyday life, influencing all aspects of human endeavour including consumerism, lifestyle and communication, but perhaps the seeking out and spreading of information in an instant is the biggest transformation of all time (Amichai-Hamburger and Ben-Artzi, 2000; Amichai-Hamburger and Vinitsky, 2010).

The role of djembe practice was to undergo what could be considered the most significant transitional change to date, one that would see it existing concurrently in both virtual and physical arenas.

While global access to the Internet is available to most, geographical location and the availability of connection devices, as well as the cost of connection determine accessibility.

Internet statistics provider eMarketer (2016) makes the following predictions:

‘By the end of 2016, nearly 47% of people worldwide will use the Internet – either through a desktop/laptop computer or mobile device – a 6.8% increase over 2015 [...] [and estimates that] Internet adoption will surpass the halfway mark in 2018, when 51.1% of the world’s population will go online, equating to 3.82 billion people. While the Internet uptake in North America and Western Europe has reached maturity, many consumers in developing countries across Asia-Pacific, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe and the Middle East and Africa are going online for the first time via mobile broadband and connected mobile devices. [...] Over 72% of people worldwide who access the Internet will do so from a mobile phone this year, up 11.9% from 2015, with the strongest growth coming from the Middle East and Africa, followed by Latin America’ (eMarketer 2016).

Furthermore, the uptake of mobile Internet usage, particularly in developing markets, is being driven by the demand for messaging services and social media such as WeChat, WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger, which reflects the vital role it now plays in everyday life. In some regions mobile Internet has become more affordable than voice calling and SMS messaging and has become the main way of keeping in touch with friends and family. Additionally, with the availability of increasingly lower prices, eMarketer suggests that smartphones are quickly becoming more commonplace than mobile phones:

‘Smartphone adoption will continue its double-digit growth in 2016 to reach 2.10 billion people, or more than a quarter (28.7%) of the global population. With respect to mobile phone users, smartphones are quickly becoming more common than feature phones. [It is predicted that] 47.4% of people with mobile phones worldwide will have a smartphone this year, and that percentage will surpass 50% by 2017. The availability of

inexpensive, low-end smartphones will help drive adoption over the next few years, especially in developing markets' (eMarketer, 2016).

During early 2004, the social networking site (SNS) Facebook was launched. SNSs can be defined as 'virtual collections of user profiles which can be shared with others' and are the most popular and fastest growing types of Internet sites (Nielsen-Wire, 2010 [online]; Raacke and Bonds-Raacke, 2008: 169-174). Initially limited to Harvard students, it was soon expanded to allow people over the age of thirteen to join. It is recognised that Facebook's popularity has grown exponentially over recent years, from 5.5 million users in 2005 to over 1.1 billion users worldwide. Garde-Hansen (2009: 141) describes Facebook as 'a database of users and for users; each user's page is a database of their life, making this social network site a collection of collections and collectives [...] based on computer logic, rather than the narrative logic of older media'. This is particularly interesting in terms of the oral history of the djembefola in that, for the first time, a written account of his values, norms and life experiences, by way of teaching, performance and interaction with other social groups can be documented by the djembefola himself or by someone on his behalf if he is unable to read or write. The creation of a new representational type of capital visible to other users encapsulates his social, cultural and economic capitals. His social mobility will increase due to new connections being formed through other Internet users and advertised events and performances being shared. As the new cultural paradigm emerges, this capital will be required as an aid to his new habitus within a newly formed field that coincides with his physical field. The two fields must merge and create a fundamentally new space within the new paradigm. Fu et al. (2012) note that social media has the potential to fundamentally change the character of our social lives on both an interpersonal and a community level. Facebook users are able to engage with other Facebook users, form mutual groups and invite other users to join their groups. The new user, essentially outlining a visual and

textual representation of their own identity, constructs user profiles. Videos can be posted and business conducted. Thanks to numerous technological developments, Facebook has been instrumental in developing a more comprehensive, rounded, interactive and connectable communication sphere. Users can access the sphere or interact with one another, not only through the traditional stationary computers but also through portable technology such as ‘apps’ and various other online applications, such as YouTube. A further commonality surrounding the visual and archival aspect of Facebook is the construction of personal media assemblage, which evolves into personal media archives. These then document friendships, navigate around new media abundance, communicate taste, and build cultural capital (Good, 2013). Studies examining the archival aspect of Facebook include Garde-Hansen (2009), Hogan (2010) and Zboray and Zboray (2009), who comment on the relatively recent developments in digital communication such as weblogging, asynchronous messaging, news feeds and the personal webpage. Facebook has become an arena of everyday communication (Cox, 2009; Hogan, 2010). Hogan further discusses the arena of social understanding of Facebook and the potential it has to expand archives of personal artefacts in terms of the accumulation of users’ public traces online, posing ‘mounting implications for self-presentation in the digital age’. He states that ‘presenting oneself through social media differs from physical communications in that it is not a targeted “performance”, bounded in space and time, but more of an open-ended “exhibition”’ (Hogan, 2010: 377-386).

The djembefola must draw on his accumulated knowledge in order to function within the emerging cultural paradigm, where the rules of the game defining the new field must be adhered to. The knowledge shared online and freely available to other users within his network of connections bears no relation to the values of secrecy seen within the previous paradigms, where communication was of an oral nature. The ability of Facebook to archive

this information further distance the notion of ‘secret rituals and ceremonies’ previously held in restricted spaces; a process of demystification has occurred during this transitional phase. The habitus of the djembefola has developed through exposure to many differing forms of social groups and diverse geographical locations due to political intervention, erasing country borders, which encourages tourism and business travel. His cultural capital continues to increase in terms of his positioning within the social networking virtual space. A number of researchers (for example, Barash et al., 2010; Liu, 2007; Papachrissi, 2013; Zhou et al., 2008) have undertaken studies which indicate that social media sites are arenas in which users engage in impression management, identity performance and/or expression of taste, often with the implicit or explicit aim of boosting their social status, and are in full view on Facebook. Social ties, which are constructed online, are often seen as replicating social connections in the real world. The result of the replication is the ability to map existing connections, friends or acquaintances and to create new connections within a social media platform.

In terms of the evolving nature of djembe practice, the Internet, and Facebook in particular, allow the djembefola and other teachers and students to interact through groups, event advertising and messaging, both privately and publicly. Djembefola are able to create a publically accessible profile in order to provide general information and to market upcoming events and concerts. The field in which the djembefola is present bears no relation to the traditional field seen within the first or second paradigms. A deterritorialisation of geographical borders has taken place, enabling communication to occur on a worldwide basis.

3.9 Chapter summary

In this chapter I have applied the conceptual framework to the discussion of the changing djembe habitus from a historical point of view up until the 2000s. This has allowed me to identify three cultural paradigms, which are both separated and linked by liminal transitional stages. I have shown how the djembe has evolved from its rural origins to the beginning of the twenty-first century. This is where the secondary research on the djembe ends. At present, the djembe continues to evolve, along with technological advancements. There are new ways in which the djembe is taught, and new locations in which it is enacted. In order to investigate this further I conducted empirical research, which is discussed in the following chapter.

The next chapter discusses the research methods that have been used to identify the emerging fourth cultural paradigm and its associated field, habitus and capitals.

Chapter 4 **Research methods**

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the qualitative and interpretative approaches applied in the process of collecting and analysing the empirical material underpinning this thesis. The empirical research into current djembe habitus was guided by the main research question and the objectives of the thesis.

My approach to conducting this research was to apply relevant methods in order to identify the different cultural paradigms identified within the examination of the evolution of the djembe habitus.

4.1.1 Research question

How has djembe habitus evolved over time to reach its current form and what are the implications of these changes for our understanding of the organisation of the djembe under different political, economic, social and technological conditions?

4.1.2 Objectives

- To undertake a thorough review and analysis of the existing literature on the history of the djembe in order to explore the evolution of djembe habitus from its rural origins up until the present.
- To investigate the habitus of djembefola in the contemporary world, within both physical and virtual spaces.
- To develop an understanding of djembe habitus, and the transformative changes, in the organisation of the djembe within different political, economic, social and technological contexts.

To meet the objectives of the research it was necessary to adopt different methods. In order to address the research question, I decided early in the design process to reject quantitative methods as unsuitable, as I wanted to conduct an in-depth investigation of a particular practice and phenomenon and, for that, qualitative methods were more appropriate. Within the qualitative methodologies different possibilities were considered.

Sofaer (1999: 1101) notes that:

‘Qualitative methodologies are valuable in providing rich descriptions of complex phenomena; tracking unique or unexpected events; illuminating the experience and interpretation of events by actors with widely differing stakes and roles; giving voice to those whose views are rarely heard; conducting initial explorations to develop theories and to generate and even test hypotheses; and moving towards explanations’.

She further adds that qualitative methods enhance the understanding of the context of events, as well as the events themselves, and help to identify patterns and configurations among variables and to make distinctions. What further convinced me that qualitative methods were appropriate for my own study was that, upon examination of other studies applying Bourdieu’s key concepts, these kinds of methods were often used to investigate a particular phenomenon. For example, Kerr and Robinson (2011) conducted a qualitative analysis of media reports about Scottish bankers; Śliwa and Johansson (2015), in their study of non-native English-speaking academics, employed semi-structured interviews and participant observation; Wacquant (2004) adopted an ethnographic approach in his investigation into boxing culture, immersing himself in the boxing culture through training to become a boxer himself. At the same time, I was also seeking methods that would be suitable for exploring the djembe habitus within the virtual space, in particular within the social media platform Facebook. Interestingly, Bhardwaj and Vohra (2016) examined the role of social media, through participant observation, netnography and analysis. A netnographic method was employed to allow a deeper investigation of the virtual communication which took place between the marketer and the customer within Facebook

groups, personal pages, and timelines of both customers and non-customers. As all of these studies inspired the actual methodological design of my own study, I decided to combine ethnographic approaches that could be applied to fieldwork within physical spaces with netnographic approaches used in the virtual space. Also acknowledged is Bourdieu's (1958) own ethnographic work with the Kabyle and Béarnais peoples, which analysed cultural and economic behaviours and attitudes during the 1960s, and which would form the empirical basis for his theoretical approach to the logic of practice.

In summary, the studies mentioned have been undertaken using an analysis of texts, semi-structured in-depth interviews (see Appendix C), participant observation in a prolonged ethnographic immersion (including my own immersion within the field), and netnography. The research initially employed traditional ethnographic approaches; however, as it progressed towards exploring the djembe habitus in the 'digital era', as discussed in the third liminal phase of the previous chapter, I wanted to investigate how current djembe practice is cultivated in the material world in a face-to-face setting and in the virtual world. Therefore, I have opted to use a combination of ethnography and netnography, both of which are explained below.

4.1.3 Ethnography

Silverman (2006) states that the ethnographer is able to observe and record in detail the mundane and the ordinariness of social settings in order to understand what is going on. It is important to remember at this point that ethnography, with its roots in anthropology, is, according to Lindlof and Taylor (2010), one of the oldest types of fieldwork inquiry, symbolised by the anthropologist immersing himself in the cultures of indigenous

communities and producing lengthy textual accounts in order to understand certain aspects of that culture. Additionally, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 1) state that the ethnographer participates, ‘overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time [...] collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research’. Hine (2000) further adds to this observation by noting that ethnography provides a profound description of a phenomenon and helps to understand how people interpret the world; it is a systematic recording of human cultures. Other scholars, such as Crotty (1998), Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) and Lindlof and Taylor (2010), note that contemporary ethnography embraces interpretivism through the use of analytical processes that seek to understand the meanings and values and the interpretations of reality constructed by and between individuals and within the context of their social groups. Furthermore, within an interpretive paradigm, it is the researcher who becomes the research instrument. Therefore, he or she must become intrinsically involved and develop an intimate familiarity with the group being studied. It is also important for the researcher to engage in reflexivity in order to interpret the meaning of social behaviours as accurately as possible, since, essentially, interpretivism is a process of empathetically, interactively and insightfully interpreting the social world. These ideas guided me throughout the empirical research process. Later in the chapter, I discuss in detail how I integrated these principles into the methodology of the research itself, through the use of case studies and particular research methods within them.

4.1.4 Netnography

Netnography is a relatively new qualitative method devised specifically to investigate the consumer behaviour of cultures and communities present on the Internet (Kozinets, 1998). The term ‘netnography’, coined by Kozinets (1998), was taken from two existing terms, ‘inter [net]’ and ‘eth [nography]’ and combined, creating a type of virtual or Internet

ethnography. It is widely accepted that, as a method, 'netnography' can be faster, simpler and less expensive than traditional ethnography and more naturalistic and unobtrusive than focus groups or interviews (Kozinets, 2010; del Fresno and López, 2013). Netnography provides guidelines for adaptation of participant-observation procedures to the contingencies of virtual community and culture that manifest through Computer-Mediated Communications, referred to hereinafter as CMCs (Kozinets, 2010).

It is important to distinguish between standalone ethnographic methods and standalone netnographic methods, as I was using a combined approach.

Netnography and ethnography share many similarities, providing information on the symbolism, meaning and consumption patterns of virtual consumer groups. Kozinets (2010) has outlined five of the main similarities: naturalistic, immersive, descriptive, adaptable and multi-method. Hine (2000) compares virtual and face-to-face variants of ethnography and suggests that virtual ethnography is deficient in some important ways. Further, Hine (2000: 65) states that:

'Virtual ethnography is not only virtual in the sense of being disembodied [...] Virtuality also carries a connotation of 'not quite', adequate for practical purposes even if not strictly the real thing [...] Virtual ethnography is adequate for the practical purpose of exploring the relations of mediated interaction, even if not quite the real thing in methodologically purist terms. It is an adaptive ethnography, which sets out to suit itself to the conditions in which it finds itself.'

However, Kozinets (2010: 65) recognises that, when used correctly, this blended approach can be usefully employed and result in a well-rounded examination of all aspects of the virtual and physical social community or culture. 'Pure' netnography, that is one that is conducted purely using data generated from online interactions or from other CMCs or Information and Communications Technology (ICT) – be they online interviews, online participant observation or online observation and download – can be blended with a 'pure'

ethnography, that is one which uses data generated via face-to-face interactions and their transcription in field notes, with no data from online interactions (see Figure 4.1).

The resulting methodology, known as ‘blended’ ethnography/netnography, would be a clarification and combination of approaches, including data gathered in face-to-face as well as online interactions (Kozinets, 2010: 65). Baym (2006: 79) has the same view as Kozinets and states that ‘qualitative research [virtual, such as netnography] has been and continues to be essential in shaping our understanding of the Internet, its impact on culture, and culture’s impacts on the Internet’.

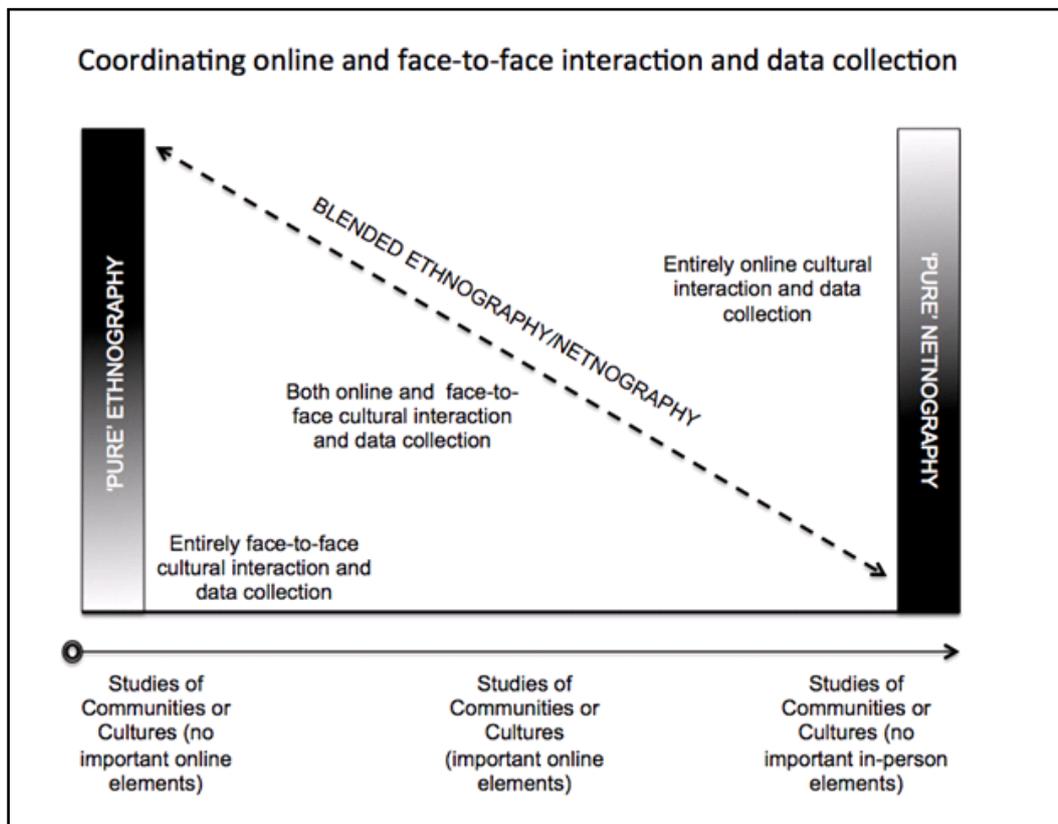


Figure 4.1 Coordinating online and face-to-face interactions and data collection

4.1.5 How the data were collected

An interpretive, ethnographical and netnographical form of data collection and analysis was chosen to conduct this research investigation. This includes fieldwork, case studies, traditional ethnography within a physical space, and netnography within the digital space,

participant observation, visual data in the form of photographs taken by me and also from Facebook itself, videos available online, and data gathered both online (within social networking groups) and in person (within group settings such as workshops).

Semi-structured interviews were prepared, inspired by key concepts in relation to cultural paradigms and liminal transitions (see Appendix A).

Operationally, the fieldwork took place in four stages, resulting in four case studies. In each of the case studies, different methods of data collection and data analysis were used. Below, I discuss the respective methods applied.

4.1.6 Case Study 1: Liminal

The first case study, which I refer to as ‘Liminal’, was based on a closed Facebook group which I set up for a number of invited members. This group, which was called Liminal, was collectively learning to play a particular rhythm purely within a virtual space in contrast to traditional methods of learning within a physical space.

4.1.7 Case Study 2: Field trip –The Gambia

The second case study consisted of research conducted prior to and during a fieldwork trip to The Gambia, West Africa, where I was also a participant in a group that was learning to play the djembe. This case study encompasses a period of preparation and the actual trip.

The research methods applied combined ethnographic and netnographic approaches.

4.1.8 Case Study 3: Drum Camp

The third case study is based on an analysis of online communication over a period of sixteen months within the Facebook ‘Drum Camp’ group, with particular emphasis on how djembe practice is subjected to business transactions.

4.1.9 Case Study 4: Djembe practice within Facebook (2013)

The fourth case study addresses the nature of djembe practice within my own news feed over a one-year period.

Throughout the analysis of the four case studies, key concepts from Bourdieu's Theory of Practice are applied in order to identify the changing role of djembe habitus within both virtual and physical spaces.

Below, I discuss in detail the methods of data collection and analysis used in each case study.

4.2 Case Study 1: Liminal

The purpose of this case study was to stage and examine djembe habitus online within a closed Facebook group, through the virtual replication of an authentic and traditional method of learning a djembe rhythm.

4.2.1 Introduction

An exploration of djembe practice was undertaken within a closed Facebook group (created on 2 March 2013) with a group of people who shared a common interest, in this case the djembe and its musicology, in order to discover whether ancient and traditional teaching methods could be learned within a virtual space, via the social media platform Facebook. According to Geukjian (2013: 3), communication technologies in the twenty-first century have changed how social movements have been able to develop, organise and mobilise, and social media has become a space where these social groups can acquire cultural capital, enabling them to increase the social status of an ideology.

4.2.2 Role of the researcher

My role as researcher within this case study was one of ‘participant observer’, adopting a highly involved, yet non-directional approach. I took responsibility for the creation of the Facebook group entitled ‘Liminal’. I was interested to discover whether it was possible to develop a djembe habitus entirely within a virtual space and, if so, what its characteristics would be. My experience with the djembe spans a period of well over fifteen years and includes participation in many dedicated workshops led by both West African master djembefola and non-African teachers around the world, helping me to further advance my skill level, as well as attendance at weekly, monthly and one-off specific technique day classes. I have also participated in many performances and concerts both in the UK and West Africa, as part of established non-African djembe groups. Glesne (1999) suggests that there are many roles for the researcher in a qualitative study. Two of the roles discussed are particularly pertinent to this research: the ‘researcher as researcher’ role, which includes data-gathering through interviews, reading, observation and data analysis; and the ‘researcher as learner’ role, which involves having a sense of self from the beginning of the study. Acknowledging and considering the researcher’s bias and predisposition throughout the study assists the investigator in becoming a ‘curious student who comes to learn from and with research participants’.

4.2.3 Demographic of participants

After observing how various types of currently active Facebook groups demonstrate the use of ideological focus to acquire social, cultural and economic capital in terms of organisational communication, I decided to create a virtual ‘group’ online (see Figure 4.2), where the djembe practice could be examined in terms of transmission through both digital and analogue boundaries, resulting in the habitus of the djembe changing from a purely

cultural and symbolic traditional beginning to a boundaryless digital concept, where symbolic capital is networked, developed and propagated through virtual communication.

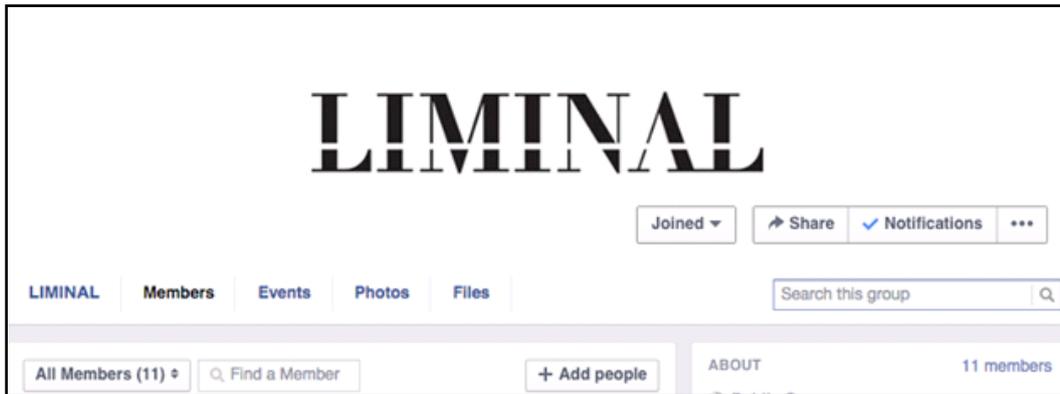


Figure 4.2 Liminal Facebook Group header page (Cooke, 2014)

The newly created Facebook group Liminal consisted of eleven members as follows: eight participants located in Suffolk, UK, presenting with varying skill levels, classified in the Western style as master level to intermediate level; two djembe masters, Nansady Keita and Iya Sako, from Guinea but resident in the UK; and my primary supervisor at the time, Professor David Weir, whose role was that of an observer. Initially, the group status was set to ‘secret’ to allow members to interact with each other freely online. However, this status was changed to ‘public’ once the case study was complete, to allow other people interested in the djembe to view the research experiment and to interact with it, in terms of clicking the ‘like’, ‘comment’ and ‘share’ buttons, thereby increasing the narrative further. Any post-research project commentary is not, however, included in the analysis process. The criteria that Facebook uses in its privacy settings (see Figure 4.3) can easily be found within its help pages.

What are the privacy settings for groups?

When you create a group, you can choose 3 privacy settings: **Public**, **Closed** and **Secret**. The table below shows who can join these groups and what people can see about them.

	Public	Closed	Secret
Who can join?	Anyone can join or be added or invited by a member	Anyone can ask to join or be added or invited by a member	Anyone, but they have to be added or invited by a member
Who can see the group's name?	Anyone	Anyone	Current and former members
Who can see who's in the group?	Anyone	Anyone	Only current members
Who can see the group description?	Anyone	Anyone	Current and former members
Who can see the group tags?	Anyone	Anyone	Current and former members
Who can see what members post in the group?	Anyone	Only current members	Only current members
Who can find the group in search?	Anyone	Anyone	Current and former members
Who can see stories about the group on Facebook (ex: News Feed and search)?	Anyone	Only current members	Only current members

Figure 4.3 Facebook group privacy settings (2016a)

Although the invitation to join the group was initially posted on djembe-related groups, events and general djembe interest pages within Facebook, I decided that, as I belonged to several local djembe groups that gathered together regularly to learn and play, I would extend the invitation to them as well. I discussed this case study and the local group members all indicated they would love to be involved. The generic Facebook post was removed once enough participants had agreed to participate. It was agreed that the group would have a minimum of six members.

The virtual case study, Liminal, had no designated music teacher or specified instructor to direct the pace of learning the djembe (as there would have been in the traditional cultural setting within the West African rural location), although there were varying degrees of

expertise among the members in terms of playing and so some members were stronger than others. Iya Sako and Nansady Keita (both well-respected West African djembefola) agreed to become equal members of the Liminal group (non-teaching), even though they would not be actively involved until the event in July 2013.

4.2.4 Methods of data collection

My aim was to explore the presence of the djembe within the social media platform

Facebook in order to examine djembe habitus as it presented in a virtual space.

As mentioned earlier, a secret Facebook group was created rather than a closed or public group, to facilitate complete separation from other Facebook users. The creation of a public or even a closed group would still allow other Facebook users who were not members of the Liminal group to become aware of the group and to discuss the group's communications with other Facebook members, potentially corrupting the data collected by commenting or inputting information onto the group page, via the participants' own pages and the sharing capability present within individual posts. The 'secret' status would prevent this happening, thereby maintaining the parameters of the case study.

Iya and Nansady both suggested that they would only become actively involved with the Liminal group at Drum Camp (an annual world music festival held in Suffolk, UK), where the final rhythm was to be performed (thus signalling the end of the research experiment), as it would be very difficult for them to interact within the Facebook group case study, for the following three reasons:

- They lacked proficiency in writing or reading and were therefore unable to interact online.
- They were often unavailable due to demanding personal working schedules in terms of teaching and performing.

- They lacked proficiency in using information technology (IT).

Iya and Nansady both gave verbal permission for their wives, who are British, to discuss the aims of the research study on their behalf through the ‘chat’ facility within Facebook. The remaining participants understood this and agreed to commence the experiment.

A rhythm was chosen collectively in the course of face-to-face discussions within a djembe group that met weekly and from which most of the group participants originated, prior to the creation of the Liminal Facebook group. The sole aim was for this rhythm to be learned through a virtual online medium, rather than in a face-to-face traditional setting. This in itself was not an easy choice, as it would usually be the ‘teacher’ who would choose the rhythm to be taught. Considerations to be taken into account for the choice of rhythm included ease of learning, the length of the rhythm and the availability of information surrounding the rhythm itself, such as the historical aspects, i.e. who played it and why. After much deliberation, it was finally decided by all members of the Liminal secret Facebook group that the chosen rhythm would be Djansa, a fairly complex rhythm but considered by the group to be ‘do-able’.

The historical information provided for this Djansa rhythm was taken from Mamady Keïta’s original musings in Billmeier’s (2004: 90–91) book, *Mamady Keïta A Life for the Djembé: Traditional Rhythms of the Malinké*. Considered to be from the Kayes region of Mali and belonging to the Kassouké ethnic group, Djansa (sometimes referred to as Dansa, Yansa or Diansa) is played at many festivities. At one time, according to Keïta, it was played to provide the opportunity for young men to express their rivalries. The notation is shown in Figure 4.4 below.

Djansa (Dansa)

The image displays a musical score for the Djansa (Dansa) rhythm. It consists of six staves of notation, each representing a different instrument or part of the ensemble. The notation uses various symbols such as vertical lines, dots, and asterisks to represent rhythmic patterns. The staves are labeled as follows:

- Signal**: A single staff with a series of vertical lines and dots.
- Djembé 1**: A staff with a series of vertical lines and dots, including a double bar line and repeat signs.
- Djembé 2**: A staff with a series of vertical lines and dots, including a double bar line and repeat signs.
- Bell Sangban**: A staff with a series of vertical lines and dots, including a double bar line and repeat signs.
- Bell Kenkeni**: A staff with a series of vertical lines and dots, including a double bar line and repeat signs.
- Bell Dununba**: A staff with a series of vertical lines and dots, including a double bar line and repeat signs.

Figure 4.4 Djansa rhythm (Billmeier, 2004: 90)

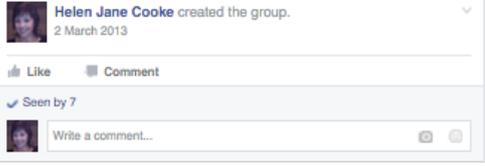
It was agreed by the members of the group that, for the purposes of this case study, the song, which would normally accompany the rhythm, would not be learned as part of the final performance due to the complexity involved in the pronunciation of the words and lack of native language speakers available in the group. It was acknowledged at this point that the traditional format of learning rhythms from djembefola in a non-digital environment would need to be adapted to enable learning to take place within the digital platform being used, in this case a Facebook secret group. However, the group agreed to continue with digital notation, videos and comments and chat within the Facebook group.

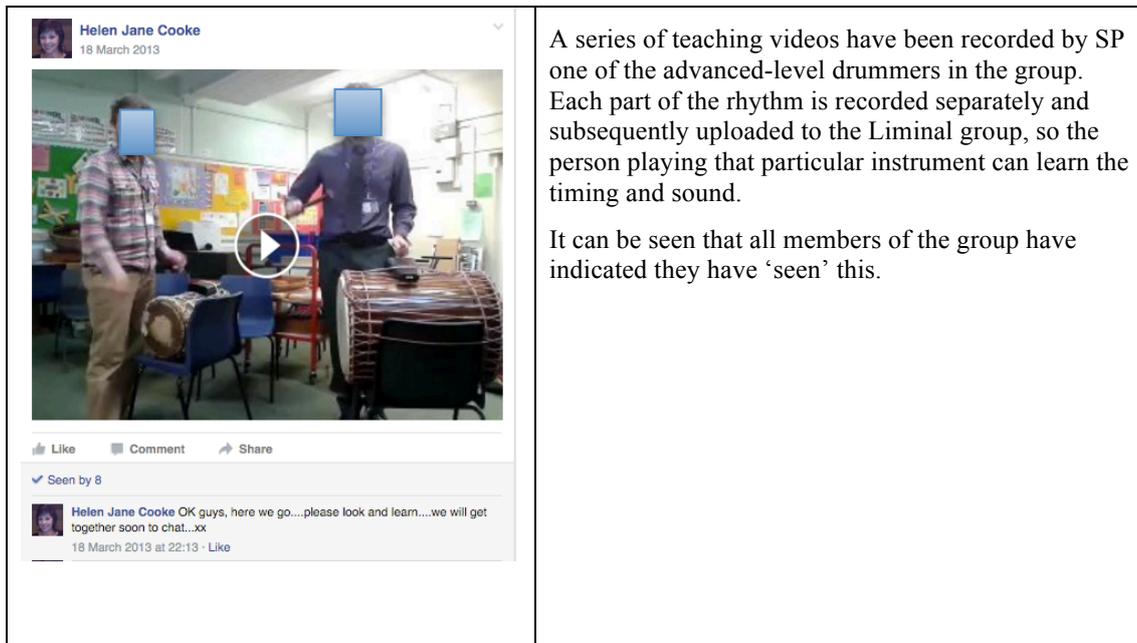
External online applications such as YouTube, used for referential purposes, and Percussion Studio, a software program designed for sharing West African rhythms and which uses video and slow and fast playback speeds, were used as tools to aid the learning process.

Importantly for this case study, the interactive section of the program allowed members the option of uploading their own notation for conversion into an audio and visual playback for

referential and learning purposes. Video recordings of particular parts or sections of the rhythm were also used as an aid to learning. These were made outside the Facebook group and uploaded to the group.

In order to present the data in a format that would be chronological and would demonstrate the unfolding narrative in terms of the virtual learning process, each post made by a participant needed to be fully expanded in order to ensure that no data were hidden and consequently not available for a full analysis. Each post was then copied using the screenshot facility on my computer and inserted into a Word document in chronological order. This was then saved to my computer and uploaded into the Atlas.ti data analysis program. An excerpt is shown in Figure 4.5 below.

	<p>The first group post was written by me, to the Liminal closed Facebook group, confirming the performance at Drum Camp in July 2013.</p>
	<p>A Percussion Studio file is uploaded to the Liminal group. Members who do not have this program installed will need to install it in order to view the notation. First instance of external software to be used. The software is interactive and allows the user to isolate phrases, or to slow down or speed up the music for learning purposes.</p>



A series of teaching videos have been recorded by SP one of the advanced-level drummers in the group. Each part of the rhythm is recorded separately and subsequently uploaded to the Liminal group, so the person playing that particular instrument can learn the timing and sound.

It can be seen that all members of the group have indicated they have 'seen' this.

Figure 4.5 Liminal screenshots: an unfolding narrative, March 2013

4.2.5 Methods of data analysis

The case study was undertaken in order to determine whether it would be possible to achieve the collective learning of a djembe rhythm online within a secret Facebook group. To accomplish this, a Facebook group was created on 2 March 2013 by the researcher. The participants were asked to communicate only within the Facebook group page and they could freely add text, upload notation, images, external multimedia software and videos relating to the case study. All participants agreed to this, and the group communication page began to emerge as entries by individual members of the group were added.

The Liminal case study was conducted mostly online within the Facebook group of the same name. Figure 4.6 illustrates the proportion of virtual and physical collaborations that took place during the study, including the final performance held within a physical space at Drum Camp, a world music festival in Suffolk, UK, (see also Table 4.1).

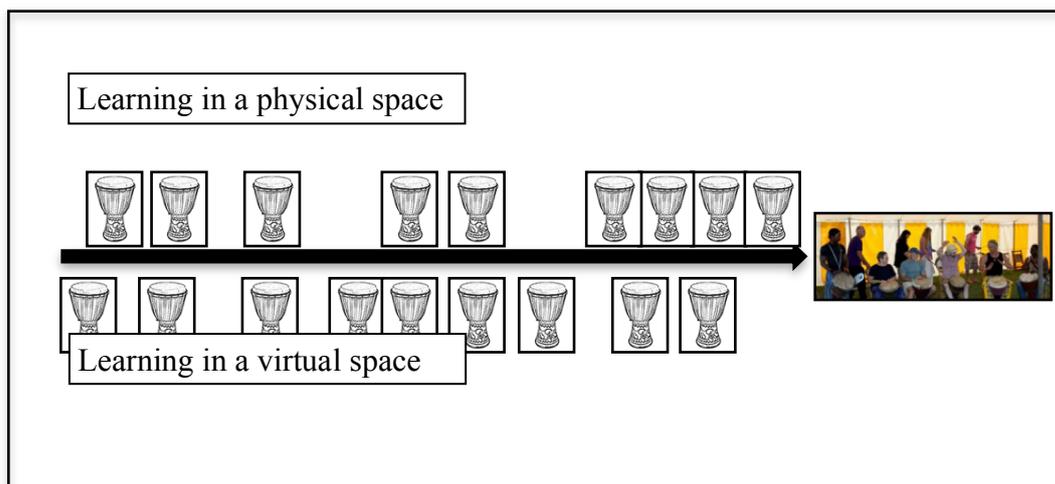


Figure 4.6 Learning in virtual and physical spaces

This virtual/physical process of data collection resulted in the use of both ethnographical and netnographical data analysis.

Table 4.1 Liminal timeline 2013

Date	Summary of events within Liminal group
2 March	Liminal Group created
3 March	Notation uploaded
18 March	Video tutorials uploaded
1 April	Revised notation uploaded
2 April	First indication of group members coming out of digital habitus to practise
4 April	First group meeting at group member's home
6 April	Dundun (base drum) parts video uploaded for virtual practice
7 April	Videos of solo parts uploaded for virtual practice
12 May	Second meeting. Further agreement to meet at member's home to practise
18 May	Amendment to notation (intro part) uploaded to group page
18 May	Intro to dundun link uploaded to group page
21 May	Additional Djansa solo part uploaded to group page
20 May	Third meeting in group member's home
24 May	Videos uploaded of all parts showing how they fit together
28 May	Percussion Studio software version of intro uploaded to group page
25 June	Fourth meeting at group member's home
26 June	Djansa arrangement video uploaded for practice purposes
7 July	Meeting with Iya and Nansady – one hour before performance
7 July	Liminal group performance at Drum Camp
8 July	Liminal group performance video uploaded to group page
10 July	Liminal group performance photos uploaded to group page
10 July	Group page status altered from Secret to Public

Facebook offers an effective facility for archiving the group's conversations, which was particularly useful for data analysis in relation to investigating djembe habitus within this social media platform. Kozinets (2010) comments extensively on the increasing tendency

for the social world to be enacted within a digital arena, resulting in the incorporation of the Internet and digital technologies into many areas of contemporary social life.

Each online post created by a member was systematically copied into a Word document in chronological order. The posts were individually analysed applying the key Bourdieusian concepts, as discussed within Chapter 2, of habitus, field and capital (social, economic and cultural). Textual, visual and auditory posts were examined in order to identify the stronger or weaker djembe players, the instruments being played and the method of transmitting information to the group within Facebook. The data were interpreted by observing the interactions between members of the group in both virtual and physical arenas.

Video recordings were analysed in terms of their content, the reason for their use and the location where they were recorded. Also identified were the principal players who took on a self-assigned educational role by agreeing to act as teachers. Photographs were analysed according to their role in the field of virtual teaching. Bell and Davison (2013) observe that the field of visual research in management studies is developing rapidly and is considered as a counterweight to the linguistic turn. They suggest that visual research is broadly defined as including pictures, graphs, film, web pages and architecture. Djembe habitus, together with its related cultural capital, was investigated and analysed throughout the case study. In particular, the institutionalised state of cultural capital was examined in terms of the musical qualifications of the self-assigned teachers of the group.

4.3 Case Study 2: Field Trip – The Gambia

The purpose of this case study was to explore the role of both virtual and physical digital communities and the forms of communication taking place within those communities, in order to examine contemporary djembe habitus within the West African village, with the participation of Western students.

4.3.1 Introduction

In 2013, one of my Facebook friends created a post, which she in turn shared with all her Facebook friends, including me, announcing an intensive drum/dance workshop to be held in The Gambia in 2014. (See Figure 4.7)



Figure 4.7 Screenshot Intensive Drum/Dance Workshop, The Gambia 2014

By clicking on the original post it was possible to access further information such as dates, teacher's details, biographies, accommodation and food preferences. Initially, the group status was set as 'Public', which meant that anyone could view and subsequently share the information and express an interest in attending. Once enough people had expressed an interest, the group status was changed to 'Closed' and details of how to pay, flight recommendations and information about health considerations were made available. The members who committed to attend the workshop went to The Gambia and participated within the learning environment.



Figure 4.8 Kobokoto Lodge (Cooke, 2014)

I visited The Gambia from 20 January 2014 to 10 February 2014. The main objective of this field trip was to immerse myself, as both researcher and participant observer, within djembe drumming culture for a period of three weeks (the first two weeks at the Kobokoto Lodge and the third week visiting an eco-lodge further up the coast) and to meet other djembe players, both local and non-local (see Figure 4.8). I was able to draw inspiration from a number of similar studies applying the participant observational method for data collection: Lois (2003), who conducted in-depth interviews in order to study search-and-rescue volunteers over a period of six years; Boston, Towers and Barnard (2000), who used participant observation, interviews, and journal keeping in order to investigate care-givers and the maintenance of comfort and hope in the face of incurable illnesses; and, lastly, Adler and Adler (1998), whose study carried out participation observation over a prolonged period of time in order to identify emotional responses in pre-adolescents. These studies allowed me to develop key insights into the documentation and analysis of data both during

and after the field trip. An important aspect of the intensive field trip was to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews with both West African and British djembe players and teachers, in order to identify the habitus, field and symbolic capital within a closed virtual Facebook group and at the workshop itself in West Africa.

4.3.2 Role of the researcher

As both an observer and participant on the intensive djembe workshop, my role as a researcher was to be overt. The other members of the group were aware of my research areas and offered total support and interest. I contacted the organiser of the trip through the event page which had been posted on Facebook, in order to ask for permission to actively observe and interview the teachers and also to ask other students if they would mind being interviewed. When I received formal permission to do this, I then visited the Facebook event page and sent private messages to all attendees asking if they would mind being interviewed. It was agreed that the purpose of the interviews and that of the participant observation would once again be explained when all participants were in residence in The Gambia, to ensure total understanding by both the students and the djembefola. This process of explanation enabled the validity of the consent procedure to be ensured. I also visually documented both the virtual Facebook group, in terms of taking screenshots and saving them into a Word document for later analysis, and the intensive workshop activities within The Gambia itself, to provide a visual reference and prompt for analysis and discussion.

4.3.3 Methods of data collection

Drawing inspiration from several scholarly studies which used ethnographic and netnographic methods allowed me to further develop my own approach to the collection of quality data that was valid and replicable. (Lee, 2010; Rogoff; 2014; Śliwa, M. and Johansson, 2015; Van Gennep, A. 1908; Wacquant, 2004a).

4.3.3.1 Participant observation

My involvement as researcher and participant observer allowed me both to actively participate in the learning of the djembe within a West African village setting and to observe the methods of learning and teaching by non-African students and native djembefola. I began by observing the dialogue on the open Facebook page which originally advertised the intensive drum/dance workshop in West Africa. The narrative was saved as individual screenshots and copied into a Word document, then saved to my own computer before being uploaded into Atlas.ti for coding and subsequent analysis. Once I arrived in The Gambia and had been transported to the village compound (where I was allocated Hut 9b) (see Figure 4.9), I began to actively observe and make field notes on the reactions of the other participants as they arrived and were shown to their accommodation, which was identical to mine.



Figure 4.9 My compound accommodation – The Gambia

To ensure total immersion within the study, I chose to live inside the compound with the other students (see Figure 4.10), although the teachers (apart from Nansady Keita, who stayed in the compound with us) were accommodated in another compound nearby. The compound was surrounded by a boundary wall and housed several members of an extended family, as well as dogs, chickens and a goat, which was to be slaughtered. This is a typical Gambian compound, a community where the families live, eat, socialise and communicate together. The living accommodation is traditional – small round mud huts covered with palm leaves woven together to be weatherproof. By Western standards, the accommodation would be considered very basic, at best! The programme of activities consisted of six hours' drumming a day, with one day off in four allowing us to relax, shop or visit the beach, which was a long and hot twenty-minute walk away. Alternatively, a taxi could be called. The level of teaching was to be from 'intermediate' to 'advanced' level and was intensive, gruelling and extremely tiring, especially as it was very hot and humid. However, it was also exceptionally entertaining and very rewarding. The primary teacher was Nansady Keita, a descendant of royal lineage from Guinea and considered to be a master of his craft. Nansady Keita was supported by several talented local drummers, who accompanied him on various instruments during the workshop, in order to present an authentic learning environment. The instruments used were native to West Africa and consisted of: the balafon, an instrument similar to a xylophone but made of wood, with gourds suspended underneath to provide the tone; the dunduns, a set of three drums cylindrical in shape and skinned on both ends; and bells and shakers (see Figure 4.11). Dance teachers were also available to instruct students wishing to learn the movements related to each rhythm; this was encouraged, despite the heat, as the teachers considered that all the different parts made up the whole rhythm. The practice of both the dance and the song in relation to the djembe practice, and its change over time has, to a lesser extent followed the path of the djembe

change. I have observed frequently both through as a djembe student, and as a world music festival co-owner, that people tend to learn the djembe for a significant time period, before the understanding and relevance of the dance and song is revealed. Nansady would explain the rhythm and its traditional meaning to us as a group, part way through the lesson. This referential meaning would relate to the first ritualistic cultural paradigm, however the dance would be performed in terms of its positioning within the second, third and fourth paradigms, where performance was the main issue. The intrinsic meaning of the song or the dance could no longer be replicated from the first paradigm, due to political, economic, social and technological influences present within each subsequently identified cultural paradigm. He explained why he had done it this way, saying that if he told us the ‘detail’ of the music, we would not ‘get it’ (Keita, N. field note quote, 24 January 2014).



Figure 4.10 The students in The Gambia



Figure 4.11 The classroom in The Gambia

Within the compound environment, the group would eat, learn and socialise together, creating a new form of djembe habitus, one that encompassed West Africans and Non-West Africans. This time spent as a collective enabled me to actively research, take field notes and ask questions. Insights were gained which would not have been possible if this time had not been made available. The general idea behind this, according to the organiser, was to replicate the traditional village setting. A local woman was employed to cook local fresh food for the teachers and the students. I found this particularly interesting considering the notion of ‘shadow industries’, which develop as an addition to the commercial event itself. When I questioned the organiser about this, she explained that it was always the women who cooked and cleaned, this is how it has always been done. This practice does not appear to have changed over time. The menfolk are expected to work, and the women to bear children and cook. She suggested that there were always people waiting to take advantage of opportunities when they occur, mainly due to tourism.

Gibson and Conell (2005) suggest that musical tourism requires a substantial immersion not just in the music, but in the wider economic and social environment of the host culture. This positive engagement with local cultures ensures local economic development, in terms of local people having the ability to offer their services in exchange for money.

It is important to note that the djembefola originating from The Gambia are men. They exhibit a specific status within the village. They are not the richest in the village, but they held a specific position within village life which was considered very important. In contrast, the participants of the workshops were white, male and female middle class people, who had the resources to be able to participate in the event.

The workshop itself, in addition to employing the djembefola and other musicians, also employed a range of other people who were providing valued services, through the duration of the workshop schedule. Predominantly, the djembefola and accompanying musicians were local black men, while the majority of the other service providers were local female women, most of whom frequently multi-tasked. The cooking for the guests was undertaken by the same women who then served the food, and cleared away after the meal. These women also were responsible for washing clothing and fetching the water from the well. Additional evening entertainment was a random event, with acrobats, local musicians and their bands and story-tellers visiting. Interestingly all were male apart from an all-female drumming band from the Baga region. Traditionally it is the women in this tribe who play the water drum, a large gourd placed in a bowl of water. This was particularly interesting for the workshop participants to watch as it was something we had not seen before. The local men in the compound would be responsible for cycling to the nearest village on a daily basis to collect locally made bread for the workshop guests, as well as the making of tea. This tea (Attaya) is a form of green tea, and is a ritual, and favourite pastime for Gambian men, although these days both men and women drink it as a social pastime. While the issue of

gender was not a key subject in the analysis, the issue of gender division of labour also reflects the gender relation in The Gambia.

In considering the notion of 'shadow industries' I believe that the notion of sex or romance tourism should be discussed, as a direct result of the rise in djembe culture tourism to The Gambia. Tourism in the Gambia, has many benefits, from increasing the local economy, to perhaps offering the young men and women a way to leave The Gambia on the arm of a lover.

I spotted a particularly interesting postcard for sale, in the local village which was selling goods to tourists, which in the first instance appeared to portray slapstick humour, however the more I looked at the image, with the knowledge of the poverty which people in the Gambia were experiencing, the more I found myself disturbed by the image. The image (Figure 4.12) sordidly, portrays a form of sex tourism, playing on the stereotypes of young Gambian men, and older white women. This which affects both men and women from West African and non-West African countries.



Figure 4.12 Sex Tourism in The Gambia.

Chege (2017) notes that knowledge and research on sexual-economic relationships between local men and Western female tourists in different locations around the world has grown, as has public interest and awareness of the phenomenon. In the Gambia Nyanzi et al. (2005) explored the sub-theme of 'sex in tourism', through their ethnographic study of contemporary youth subcultures, sexuality and reproductive health. They identify an imbalance in the body of literature on relationships between locals and foreign tourists, where they too note that most studies principally focus on Western tourists' viewpoints, while little is available on the perspectives of the host populations in the visited destinations. The scarcity of studies that focus on male participants' perspectives is reiterated by Odunlami (2009), who studied the phenomenon in Ghana. Jacobs (2016) observes in her book 'Sex Tourism and the Postcolonial Encounter: Landscapes of Longing in Egypt, that women's sexual tourism first came to academic

attention in the 1970's when the introduction of package holidays and charter flights enabled women in Europe and North America to travel alone in far greater numbers. Recently, travel to West Africa has become easy, although not particularly cheap, with airlines charging premium rates, due to excessive taxation from airports. However, the westerner can stay in relatively cheap accommodation. Phillips (1999: 183) described this form of tourism as 'female sex tourism' as well as being a racial and gendered 'quest', where the white emancipated Western female goes in search of the quintessential black male in the centre of the Other. Poverty and low self-esteem are noted to be some of the main issues surrounding the upsurge in sex tourism. The notion of sex tourism has been captured by the media, indeed, Julie Bindel a reporter for the 'Mail Online' wrote an article which was uploaded on August 2013 entitled: "Thought it was just men who flew abroad for squalid sexual kicks? Meet the middle-aged middle-class women who are Britain's female sex tourists". She describes the 'Bumsters', men who, in increasing numbers are providing sex in return for money or goods to women who want a holiday 'romance'. She adds that the men are invariably from impoverished families, have little or no education and are sometimes illiterate. In her tabloid press article, Bindel also characterises the women who have relationships with Gambian men by their age, their unhappy relationships at home, or who are lonely. I concur that this may sometimes be the case, but not always. Within the djembe culture that I am immersed in, there are several cross-cultural relationships, which have developed fully into marriage. This sometimes enables the Gambian man to travel to the UK, if the white woman can financially support them. Some relationships make it, some don't.

In considering this event, many shadow industries became temporarily active whilst the intensive workshop was taking place.

What is also important is to also understand the complexity of the djembe industry, not just in relation to shadow industries, but other tourism industry related phenomena, in particular – sex tourism. This usually takes the form of women from the west having relationships with the local black men. The stereo type is that the white women provide financial resources in exchange for a range of emotions from the local black men. While this is not directly connected to the workshop, these kinds of workshops also offer opportunities for these types of relationships to be forged.

The djembefola – Nansady Keita selected his own musicians to accompany him, thereby ensuring that they would exhibit the high standards of skill required to play the instruments to his expectation. These highly skilled local musicians were then able earn money to support their families. These were all male, however the dancers he selected were all female, although the males also learn the songs and dances while growing up. These female dancers, in addition to having the performance role, were also in some cases responsible for the cooking and cleaning at the workshop. Sebastian Bakare (1997) investigated the role of the dancer within West African cultures amongst others. He noted that traditional dance in West Africa occurs collectively within a community setting, and expresses the life of the community. Additionally, he noted that dances mark key elements of communal life, and would be danced specifically by women, men or both at a given time. Gender roles are important depending on the meaning of the dance. For example, a birthing rhythm would be danced by the women of the tribe, or a hunter rhythm would be danced by the menfolk. However, the intensive workshop, led by Nansady Keita relied upon only female dancers. This was in part due to the multiple roles the women were responsible for, such as the cooking and assisting the drummers in rehearsal time.

The status of the particular djembefola is also taken into consideration. The capital exhibited by a recognised and accepted djembefola, both within West Africa, and on a global scale,

relates directly to the quality of the shadow industries selected, ensuring them of an almost guaranteed income for their families. Local bakers from nearby villages baked bread for us all on a daily basis. This would be collected by a designated person, on a bicycle, which may or may not be road worthy. Visiting musicians appeared to perform to us, for a donation. There were even some male Gambian wrestlers, who demonstrated the art of wrestling – Gambian style.

The organisation of this event culminated in the building of a community of djembe practice, albeit a temporary one, but nevertheless one which would exist both in The Gambia and, for the purposes of this research, within an archival digital virtual space. Facebook offers the capability to archive events which are already in the past in real time, but which can be relocated with relative ease online. Jorgensen (1989: 18) comments that ‘the methodology of participant observation encourages the researcher to begin with the immediate experience of human life in concrete situations and settings’. This theoretical perspective was particularly relevant to my research, in that I was able to begin observation techniques immediately upon confirming online (in the Facebook intensive workshop closed group) that I would take part in the drumming/teaching experience in The Gambia.

4.3.3.2 Interviews

The interview questions (see Appendix C) covered a range of topics addressing the overall experience of the participants in relation to the djembe, as well as other related topics such as historical cultural aspects of the djembe, the traditions of playing the djembe and the impact of the changing technological context, especially the emergence of social media. In terms of practice, only eight participants initially replied to my request on Facebook agreeing to be interviewed, and four others replied saying they would rather not be interviewed, but that they had no objection to others being interviewed. Participants were

also asked if they had any objection to the semi-structured interviews being digitally recorded in order to enable accurate transcription at a later date (see Appendix D). All participants, consisting of six teachers and fifteen students, had no objections, and it was agreed that their consent would again be confirmed at the beginning of each recording, in their own voice, to guarantee the reliability of the interviews and to demonstrate that no coercion was involved. Once all the participants arrived in The Gambia, the local djembefola were also asked if they could be interviewed (see Appendix B). Due to linguistic concerns, it was necessary to involve an interpreter, identified by the organiser of the event, to convey this request. Later, a second interpreter would also be present to ensure the validity of the questions and answers. The use of an initial interpreter was to ensure that both questions and answers were recorded correctly and were not biased in any way, however I found it useful to have a second interpreter present, in order to verify the information.

Due to time constraints and the teaching schedules, in the end only eleven in-depth semi-structured interviews took place during the workshop in The Gambia and these varied in length from one and a half hours to nearly three hours in cases where multiple participants were involved in the same interview, mostly due to language constraints. The demographic of the interviewees is outlined in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Demographic details of the interviewees

Nationality	Male/Female	Age	Role
West African	Male	Unknown	Djembefola
West African	Male	Unknown	Djembefola assistant
West African	Male	Unknown	Djembefola assistant
West African	Male	Unknown	Djembefola assistant
West African	Male	Unknown	Djembefola assistant
British	Female	55	Organiser
British	Female	54	Student/intermediate
British	Female	36	Student/intermediate
British	Female	32	Student/intermediate
British (resident in Spain)	Male	37	Student/Intermediate
British	Male	56	Student/intermediate

Jankowski and Jensen noted that ‘interviewing provides an opportunity for combining practical, analytical and interpretive approaches to media’ (Jankowski and Jensen, 2002: 223). Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a means of data collection for two primary reasons: first, they are particularly suitable for exploring the perceptions and opinions of the participants; and second, they offer an opportunity for probing for more information and the clarification of answers. Abrahamson (1983), Denzin (1989), Nay-Brock (1984) and Smith (1975) suggest that it is important to ‘standardise’ the interview in order to ensure that all questions are the same for each respondent. However, opportunities arise where the vocabulary can change, but the meaning remains the same. Treece and Treece (1986) acknowledge, however, that not every word has the same meaning to every participant, and not every participant uses the same vocabulary. This was of particular interest to me as a researcher in a foreign country, particularly being in a rural community where very little English was spoken. Several participants were non-native to

the UK, with limited understanding of the English language. Through the flexibility of the semi-structured interview method and careful use of words, the interpreter was able to ensure the reliability and accuracy of data gathered. The use of a secondary interpreter was to confirm that the translation of both the questions and the answers given was correct, further ensuring that I could have confidence in the validity of the gathered data.

The issue of translation was not only about the actual verbatim translation from one language to another. What was important to consider in the context of arranging translation was the issue that I was a white British female researcher who did not speak the local language. The West African male translator was needed because the djembe teachers were all men, and as I am a woman, I found it extremely useful to have a local male translator who was able to mediate the gender relations.

The first translator was a local man who was living in the compound, and who spoke both the native language and also very good English, therefore mediating access, which may have been difficult otherwise. The second translator was a white woman from England who agreed to act as a translator for me. She also spoke both languages, and was additionally a participant in the intensive workshop. Importantly, she had previously visited the compound over several years, and was well-known to the compound occupants. This situation was extremely helpful in ensuring that a relaxed and familiar atmosphere prevailed.

Each interview was conducted by myself with two translators who accompanied me to ensure both gender mediation and clarity of data collection.

In this way, the conduction of the interviews became a collective process. Having two translators enabled me to be less of a stranger for the interviewees in terms of me becoming more familiar to them, and in particular, having another black man as one of the translators, and being the person who directly communicated with the djembefola, as well as other musicians and interviewees on site enabled me to ask those questions, and to receive

answers and to get access. He was able to not only translate, but also to mediate access for me both as a female white woman and a foreigner. However, there were commonalities identified which enabled me to become more accepted as a white female researcher. My experience with learning to play the djembe demonstrated a commitment which is highly respected amongst the djembefola, therefore eliminating some of the alienation that may have been present if I was not directly involved with the djembe culture as a musician and a learner, and also as a co-owner of a music festival held in the UK, which features West African music and dance, and further highlights a growing friendship with some of the djembefola who attend.

Treece and Treece (1986) also note that it is important to recognise the freedom within the semi-structured interview method to probe all unclear or ambiguous words and phrases, in order to ensure that the data is revealing what we think it is revealing. Interestingly, this was an important consideration for me, as the fact that the West African respondents were replying through an interpreter meant that I could double-check the words or phrases being used and, if necessary, substitute other words or phrases with the same meaning to clarify understanding of the purpose of the question.

Interviews were recorded on a digital recording device and contributed to the increasingly rich data being collected, in terms of the verbal exposure to both traditional and modern cultural practice. Many references to the orality of the musical tradition were noted and later analysed. The interview below conducted by me (HC) during the intensive workshop in The Gambia with one of the musicians (AC) employed to accompany Nansady Keita (NK) and a British participant (SP) is particularly interesting, as SP was mostly responsible for the translation since AC did not speak good English. The salient point in this excerpt was to discuss the traditional practice of learning the djembe from a historical perspective.

Interview

SP (translating AC's replies from the French) – Aha ... so his mum sold fish, he is one of a twin, and his mum and dad made good money and his dad built their compound in Sangbaralla (Guinea) and went to live there. So he lived with his mum, but he was born in a different part of Conakry, behind the fish market. So his mum continued to sell fish when they were living in Sangbaralla and he was looked after by his big sister until they were a bit older, as his mum was working. So that was until he was three years old, he was looked after by big sister, and then his twin sister got ill at three years old and she died. He went to school when he was four and a half. He was at school until he was eight years old. Until he was eight and then he ... yeah, then he left school because his father died, so he didn't have any more school after that. His brother was doing music every day at his place, his older brother.

HC: And is that when he first came across ...

SP: He started with kenkeni when he left school and ... So he was playing the kenkeni for five years at festivals, events like weddings, yes for five years he was playing kenkeni.

HC: Is that normal to just play the kenkeni first?

SP: Yes, then he went onto the sangban. He did that for about six years, then he moved onto the dununba, easy 'cos done the sangban for so long.

HC: Is that normal practice? Did he have a teacher?

SP: Abouley was his teacher.

This narrative demonstrates the traditional timeline of musical pedagogy, along with personal family history, with the impact of his father's death upon his education and family life, leaving him with only three and a half years of formal education, such as it was. The habitus of the musician can be clearly identified, along with his symbolic capital within the field. It can be noted that djembe music was part of his daily life and this immersion within the musical culture was to impact upon his learning, in keeping with the traditional style of learning under the tutelage of a master.

4.3.3.3 Fieldwork notes

The development of fieldwork notes is an important element of any research, enabling the researcher to gather information, encourage active thinking and consider further methods

potentially useful for successful data gathering (DeWalt, 2011). I kept a handwritten journal on a regular basis throughout my time in The Gambia, in order to record my notes and observations, references, ideas, thoughts, images, and suggestions from other participants. The journal has been a proven an invaluable source of information, aiding me in collecting factual and relevant information from the field. The dialogue posted by me and other group members and documented within the Gambian intensive residential workshop online Facebook group also helped me to recollect particular events or situations that occurred unexpectedly. My journal notes have been scanned and uploaded to my computer that is password-protected and the original notebook has been destroyed in order to comply with the ethics policy of the university and to ensure anonymity for participants mentioned in the data gathering process.

4.3.3.4 Visual media (photography, video recording) content analysis

The use of images is not a new methodology but is rooted in disciplines such as anthropology and sociology (Harper, 2002). Bell and Davison (2013: 1) suggest that the field of visual research is developing rapidly and that the shift from the ‘linguistic turn’ to the ‘pictorial turn’ is inevitable. This was of particular interest to me as a researcher from an arts background. I have made use of visual data in order to demonstrate varying realities in-situ, such as accommodation, cultural practice and the identification of teaching and learning spaces. The use of photographs and video recordings acted as a prompt for memory recall, and also as a means of visually demonstrating in this thesis the traditional methods of living and learning in a West African village. The visual media employed were subjected to ‘visual content analysis’, an empirical method of analysis also used by management studies researchers, in order to count and/or code pictures and photographs (Bell and Davison, 2013). Warren (2002) used photo-elicitation in her study focusing on an IT company, in which she gave cameras to employees and asked them to ‘show’ her how it felt to work

there. I employed a similar method for my research. Although I did not hand out cameras, I asked the participants to post images of their experiences in The Gambia on the now closed Intensive Drum/Dance Workshop page. These posts containing images were later fully expanded to reveal entire conversations, copied into a Word document using the screenshot facility (Ctl+F4) on my Mac computer and uploaded into the project folder called 'PhD Research Data Collection-Coding' within the data analysis program Atlas.ti, in preparation for coding and analysis.

4.3.3.5 Facebook group

Online Facebook groups have been particularly useful in my research study in several ways. I have used them for the recruitment of and interaction with other participants and for the collection of data, supplemented by different modes of communication (photography, video, textual, links to external applications, emoticons, etc.), enabling rigorous qualitative analysis. Wilson, Goslin and Graham (2012) comment on the rapidly growing literature dedicated to research studying the impact of Facebook on social life, and the utility of Facebook as a novel tool to observe behaviour in a naturalistic setting, by conducting scholarly research, asking questions and recruiting participants.

Lijadi and Van Schalkwyk's (2015) paper, focuses on the life experiences of hard-to-reach individuals and the challenges of recruiting participants and collecting rich textual data. They suggest that one of the benefits of using a social media platform such as Facebook was the ability to set up 'secret' Facebook focus group pages, thereby creating a secret space for building a rapport between the facilitator and the participants, as well as monitoring and keeping track of participants' responses. Another important factor is the acknowledgement that the use of Facebook for data collection is a novel and emerging means of collecting qualitative data from sometimes hard-to-reach places. The archival aspect of Facebook groups was of particular interest to me because the ability to scroll back through posts

contributed by participants not only aided memory recall, thus ensuring validity of data, but also enabled participants to communicate with one another before, during and after the event, by posting comments in the group or by using the private messaging facility.

4.3.4 Methods of data analysis

Data for the case-study analysis were collected from in-depth interviews, participant-observation field notes and textual and visual media, from both virtual and physical spaces.

The first Facebook post regarding this pedagogical trip was posted to all persons interested in the djembe in the organiser's friend list. The post, which was initially created as an open group, announced the event and gave basic preliminary information describing the workshop (see Figure 4.7). This information was available for all of the organiser's network of Facebook friends to view and share to their own network of friends. Initially, the Facebook post advertising the drum and dance workshop was seen by ninety people on Facebook. These ninety people would have opened the post fully in order to read the information about the event; people who did not open the post fully were not counted by Facebook statistics. Out of the ninety people who viewed the post, sixteen people attended the event. The Facebook post shown above (see Figure 4.7) was published online on 21 March 2013, some ten months prior to the event. This advance publication of the event allowed potential participants the time to organise their own lives to enable them to attend. Also, the significant financial cost of the workshop would require an organisational element in order to allow for staged payments by the participants if needed.

Lewins and Silver (2007: 18) note that Atlas.ti is designed to aid researchers to systematically uncover and analyse complex phenomena hidden in unstructured text and multimedia. The program provides tools that allows the user to locate codes and annotate findings in primary data material, to weigh and evaluate their importance, and to visualise

the often complex relations between them. A further important factor in my decision to use Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS), rather than the analogue method of coding by hand, was the ability of the chosen program to handle all media types, including text, video, images and voice recording. Although it would have been possible to hand code all the data, this would have taken an immense amount of time, and CAQDAS programs can greatly reduce this time. The added ability to create codes and sub-codes from all media makes it possible for visible connections to be recognised, when they might otherwise have been missed if a hand-coding technique were to be used.

4.3.5 The digital representation of the Gambian intensive drum/dance workshop

In order to prepare the Gambian drum/dance workshop Facebook page for analysis within the Atlas.ti research file, it was necessary to examine each online post individually and unhide all hidden comments, thereby creating a visual timeline of all dialogue and other narratives, such as 'like' or 'share' emoticons. Facebook either gives an option to 'view previous comments' or shows a numeric value for the comments hidden from immediate view. Once all the posts were fully expanded within the Facebook group pages it was easy to select the whole group dialogue, then copy and paste it into a Word document which would be saved in preparation for uploading into Atlas.ti (see Figure 4.13).

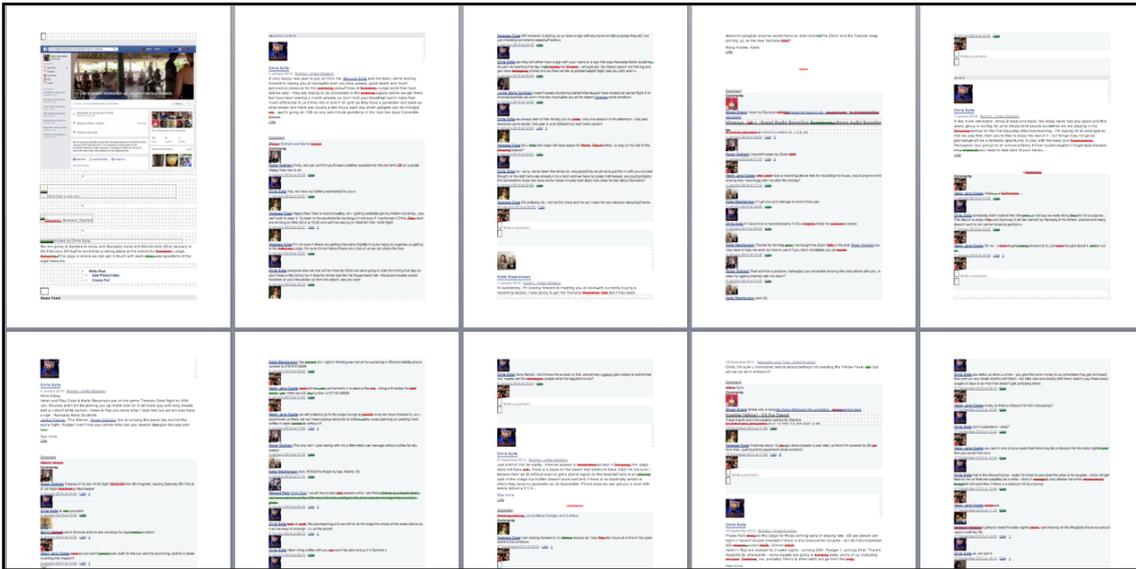


Figure 4.13 Snapshot of Word version of Facebook group posts, 2014

Once uploaded into Atlas.ti, the Facebook posts were analysed line by line with a code assigned to each line. This also applied to visual media within the posts.

The content for analysis was collated within the project folder entitled PhD Research Data Collection-Coding within Atlas.ti. Results were then exported into other external programs, such as Excel, which would present the final data in an appropriate format.

The data collected consisted of Facebook posts, comprising images, text and video, and also transcriptions of interviews, which took place in The Gambia with both the participants and the djembefola and assistant musicians involved with the Gambian workshop. The interviews were transcribed upon my return and individually uploaded as separate documents into the Atlas.ti software program in order to assign top-level codes, and then sub-level codes in response to further aspects which emerged during the literature review (see Figure 4.14 and Table 4.3).

Name	Comment	Creator	Creation Date	Modifier	Modification...
Cultural Capital		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Economic Capital		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Facebook		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Globalisation		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Habitus		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Paradigms		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Pedagogy		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Social Capital		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015
Tourism		Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015	Helen Cooke	8 Mar 2015

Figure 4.14 Screenshot of initial top-level Atlas.ti coding

Table 4.3 List of top-level and sub-level codes

Code Group	Codes
Social capital	1. Social capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 French text on page 1.2 English text on page 1.3 Views on page <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.3.1. 01– 100 1.3.2. 100– 1000 1.3.3. 1K–5K 1.3.4. 5K–10K 1.3.5. 10K–100K 1.3.6. 100K–500K 1.4 Comments on page 1.5 Shares on page 1.6 Likes on page
Economic capital	2. Economic capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1.1. Website 2.1.2. YouTube 2.1.3. Email 2.1.4. Festivals 2.1.5. Concert 2.2 Images 2.3 Videos 2.4 Wage paid
Cultural capital	3. Cultural capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1 Ritual culture 3.2 Artefacts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.2.1. Modern artefacts 3.2.2. Traditional artefacts

Habitus	<p>4. Habitus</p> <p>4.1 Historic reference</p> <p>4.2 Geographic location of teacher</p> <p>4.2.1. UK</p> <p>4.2.2. West Africa</p> <p>4.2.3. Other</p>
Globalisation	5. Globalisation
Symbolic capital	<p>6. Symbolic capital</p> <p>6.1 Performance</p> <p>6.2 Djembefola</p> <p>6.3 Djembe master</p> <p>6.4 Ritual</p> <p>6.5 Gender</p> <p>6.5.1. Male</p> <p>6.5.2. Female</p>
Paradigms	<p>7. Paradigms</p> <p>7.1 Paradigm 1 – Rural/ceremonial drumming</p> <p>7.3 Paradigm 3 – Globalisation of the djembe</p> <p>7.4 Paradigm 4 – Djembe habitus within social media: Facebook</p>
Pedagogy	<p>8. Pedagogy</p> <p>8.1 Workshops</p> <p>8.2 Courses UK</p> <p>8.3 Courses non-UK</p> <p>8.4 Virtual courses</p>
Tourism	<p>9. Tourism</p> <p>9.1 Teaching holidays West Africa</p> <p>9.2 Teaching holidays UK</p> <p>9.3 Teaching holidays other</p>
Facebook	<p>10. Facebook</p> <p>10.1 Fan page</p> <p>10.2 Web page</p> <p>10.3 Event page</p> <p>10.4 Personal FB page</p>

Dey (1993: 31) suggests that categorising the data is an important aspect of the analysis process, i.e. breaking down the data ‘into its constituent components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure’. In order to analyse data more fully, descriptions, interpretations, explanations and/or predictions can be required, and used as a sense-making tool to answer the Who, How, Why, Where and What questions which emerge throughout the project. Smit (2002: 66) states that:

‘Descriptions form the basis for the analysis, and the analysis forms the basis for further description. Data is broken up in order to classify it. Concepts are created in classifying the data; the connections are made between the concepts, which in turn provide the basis for a fresh description. To describe means to set forth in words, to recite the characteristics of a person, object or event.’

All data gathered from the Gambian intensive drum/dance workshop (virtual and physical) was uploaded and coded, in terms of the concepts and the paradigms. Figure 4.15 shows the Atlas.ti group codes under the reporting tab.



◇	Cultural Capital
◇	Economic Capital
◇	Facebook
◇	Globalisation
◇	Habitus
◇	Paradigms
◇	Pedagogy
◇	Social Capital
◇	Tourism

Figure 4.15 Atlas.ti group codes

Each of the codes listed above are then assigned sub-codes in order to ensure accuracy in coding specific texts, images, videos and other forms of narrative. All data are then analysed

by selecting the required code, and coding, notating and categorising takes place. Each selected slice of data is also assigned to the appropriate paradigm.

Figure 4.16 shows a screenshot of the process as the data are being coded. Listed in numerical order, each of the theoretical concepts discussed earlier are addressed.

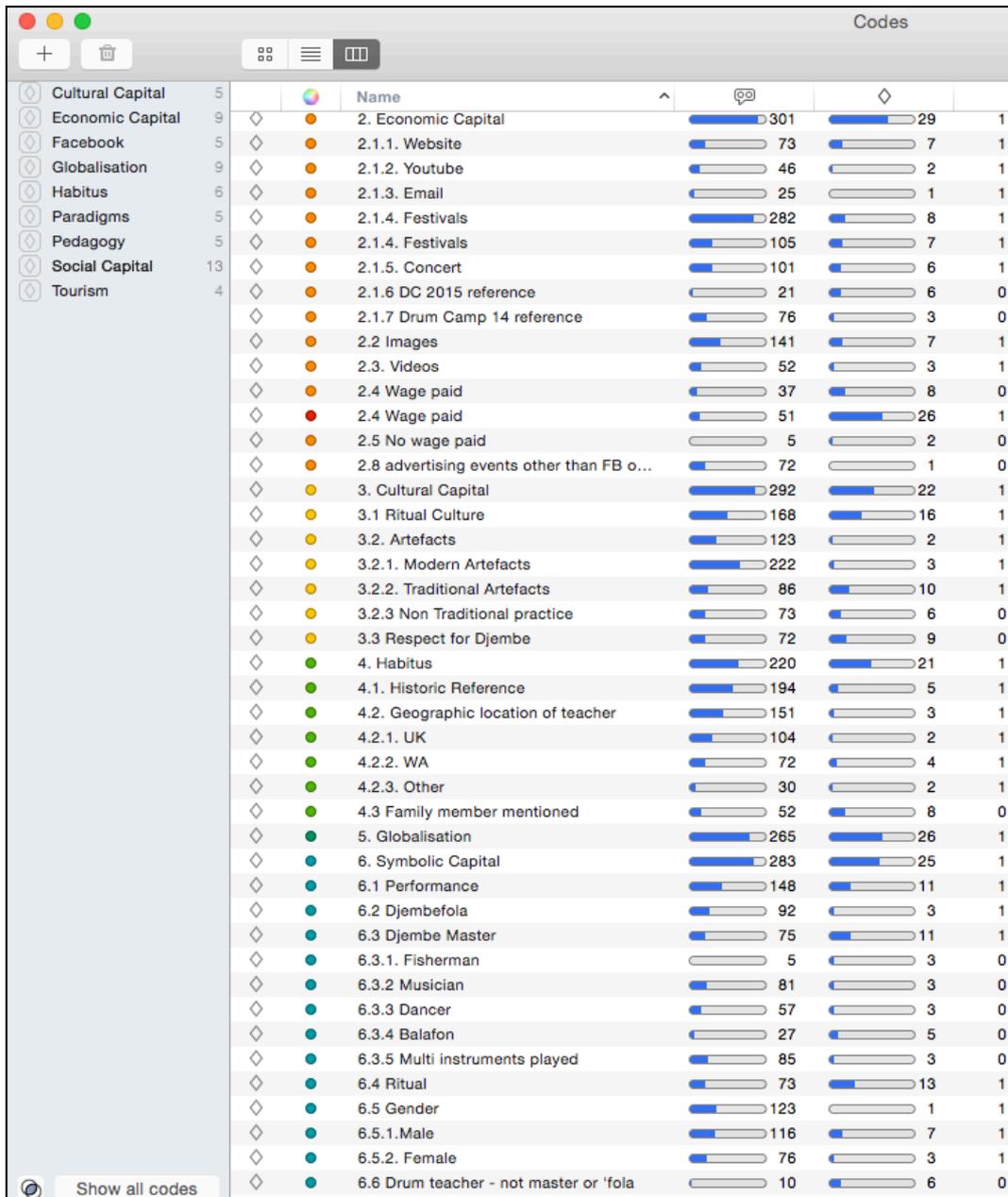


Figure 4.16 Sub-codes in Atlas.ti

This complete coding then leads to a process of creation of networks, which can be seen in a visual format and are determined by a set of parameters. As the organisation of the intensive workshop continued, further posts would appear on the group page in order to keep the

participants updated. These were subsequently copied using the screenshot facility on my computer and uploaded into the Atlas.ti project, thus ensuring that all the data were collected in a systematic way.

Figure 4.17 shows the applied coding and subsequent analysis of the preparation of the event in terms of staff training.

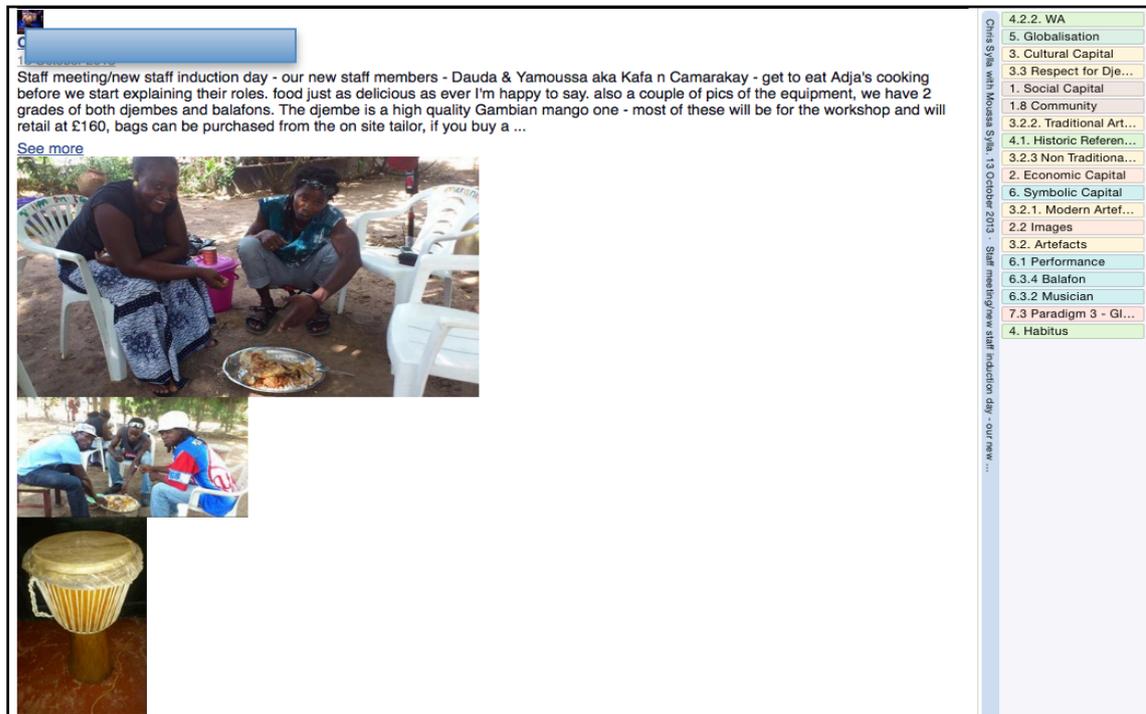


Figure 4.17 Staff training at The Gambia Intensive Drum/Dance Workshop

The assigned codes (seen on the right of the image) are numbered according to their top-level codes and sub-level coding, as well as being colour-coordinated for easy and quick reference.

As this case study has focused on experiential and immersive aspects of cultural practice, both within an authentic setting and within the virtual space, the structuring and sense-making capabilities of the textual analysis software program allowed for critical mediation between finely ground data (on Facebook) and the broader intangible themes identified through the literature review.

4.4 Case Study 3: Drum Camp

The purpose of this case study was to investigate the different types of business practice that were taking place through various forms of communicational methods within ‘Drum Camp’, a closed group in the social media platform Facebook, in order to identify the economic capital visible in a digital space.

4.4.1 Introduction

This case study focuses upon key concepts identified and discussed within Chapter 2, namely Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, liminality as a transitional phase and the notion of cultural paradigms. The period of data collection for Case Study 3 was from 9 July 2013 to 28 November 2014 (a total of sixteen months).

Drum Camp is a closed Facebook group of which I am a member. What is particularly interesting is how, within this space, the djembe has become the subject of business transactions, in terms of the both the instruments themselves and the different aspects of the music, i.e. how it is taught and performed. I am interested in this aspect of djembe habitus because it corresponds with the economic capital of the djembe within this particular virtual space. The Drum Camp Facebook group is considered to be an important site because, on the one hand, the participants are Western people who are very enthusiastic about the djembe and are reliving the djembe habitus through the digital space, and, on the other hand, there is evidence of frequent business transactions taking place within the Drum Camp online pages, indicating an association between contemporary economic capital and djembe habitus.

Drum Camp, a unique world music festival event, is owned by seven shareholders and is a limited company. The festival is held yearly in Suffolk, UK, and is characterised by its diverse presentation of world music performances and workshops available to all ticket

holders over a period of four days and nights. Entry is by pre-purchased ticket only. The festival highlights the ‘businessification’ of traditional practice in that it presents a wide variety of commodified world music, each genre representing its own historical musical tradition. Bourdieu (1984) demonstrates that exactly those places where goods, in this case festival tickets, are traded the most, are now locations of cultural production. Economic products are converted into cultural goods according to their social meanings.

The physical presence, in a field in Suffolk, is one aspect of this festival. A further important aspect and the focus of this case study, is its virtual presence within Facebook as a closed group. Membership of the group relies on one of the administrators of the group ‘accepting’ the request to join made by an interested Facebook user. Once accepted, the user is granted access to a developing dialogue consisting of information about Drum Camp and discussions and comments posted by existing members. Figure 4.18 illustrates the end of Drum Camp 2013 and Figure 4.19 signals the creation of the Drum Camp 2014 Facebook group page, which was the focus of this case study.

This was the first instance of a Drum Camp narrative describing a future event unfolding in a digital space, where participants at the 2013 event reflect on past and future festivals. The 2013 Drum Camp festival group page was renamed Drum Camp 2014 and occupied the same digital space within Facebook, enabling people who attended the previous year’s festival to have automatic access to the following year’s updates as well as final details about the current event.

[Redacted] 9 July 2013

What an awesome weekend. Got to drum with Iya and Nansady!! And my first time teaching at drum camp. Thanks to all the lovely people who gave their energy to some great fun workshops. One of my best Drum Camps yet. And thanks Gary for such a great weekend. It really is the highlight of my year!

Like Comment

Gemma Smith, Will Sherratt and 11 others

View 2 more comments

[Redacted] Was great fun and the weather could not have been better. Time to start planning the next gig now...
10 July 2013 at 09:06 · Like

 **Helen Jane Cooke** hmmm what would that be then.....lol xx cannot wait!!!! x
10 July 2013 at 09:30 · Like

Figure 4.18 End of Drum Camp 2013

[Redacted] invited the group to Drum Camp 2014.
9 July 2013



10 JUL **Drum Camp 2014**
Thurs 0:00 · Bungay
[Redacted] and 67 other friends went

Going

Figure 4.19 First Facebook post for Drum Camp 2014

The first 2014 Facebook post was formally posted by one of the six administrators of the Drum Camp group page towards the end of the 2013 festival in order to share the diary details for the following festival. The coding process began with this image (see Figure 4.19).

The third post shown (see Figure 4.20) closes the Drum Camp 2014 Facebook presence and ends the data collection process for this research study.

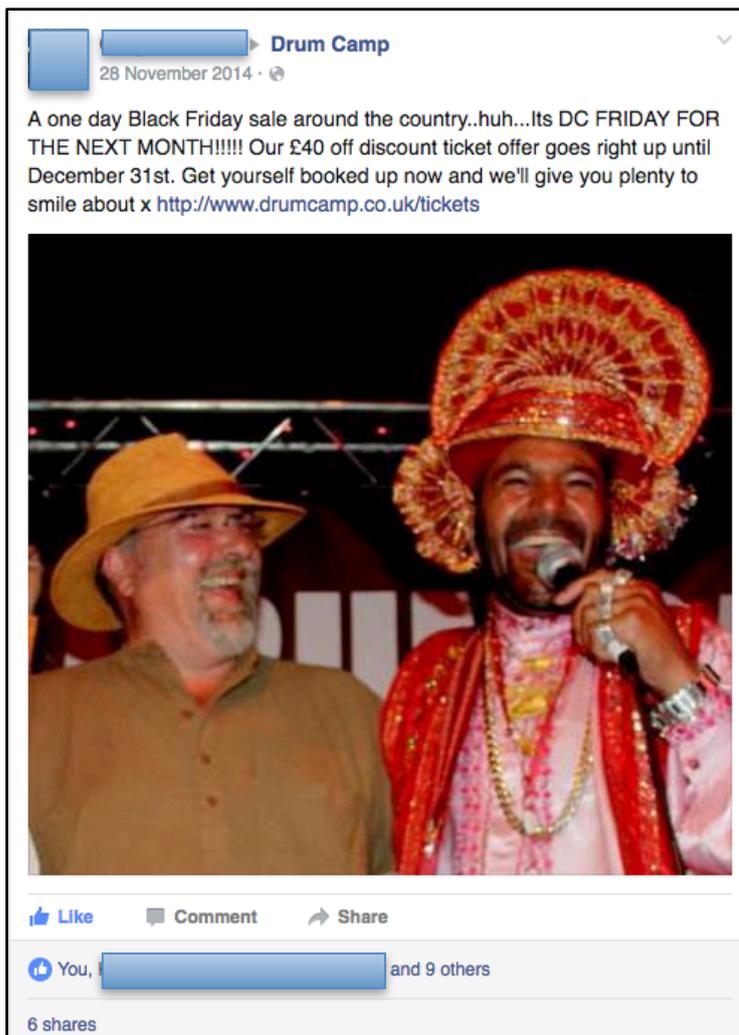


Figure 4.20 Closing post for Drum Camp 2014

Considering that the Facebook group Drum Camp 2014 represents a physical festival within a virtual social networking space, it became necessary to identify the stakeholders involved in the festival in both virtual and physical terms, as one directly influences the other.

Freeman (1984: 46) offers a broad definition of the term ‘stakeholder’ as ‘any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives’. Figure 4.21 illustrates the relationships of the stakeholders involved in Drum Camp, with the overarching virtual stakeholder being Facebook itself, closely followed by the Facebook users. This symbiotic environment allows simple narrative and dialogue to take place and substantial business transactions to occur in myriad forms. The teachers and performers employed by Drum Camp often take advantage of this opportunity and use the Facebook group and event pages to advertise forthcoming shows, CDs, gigs and other performance opportunities. There is a financial implication involved for the viewer of the posts should they decide to purchase the advertised goods or services. All festival stakeholders are involved in one way or another, ensuring that the physical event takes place in order to satisfy all financial investors, such as the ticket holders, staff and suppliers.

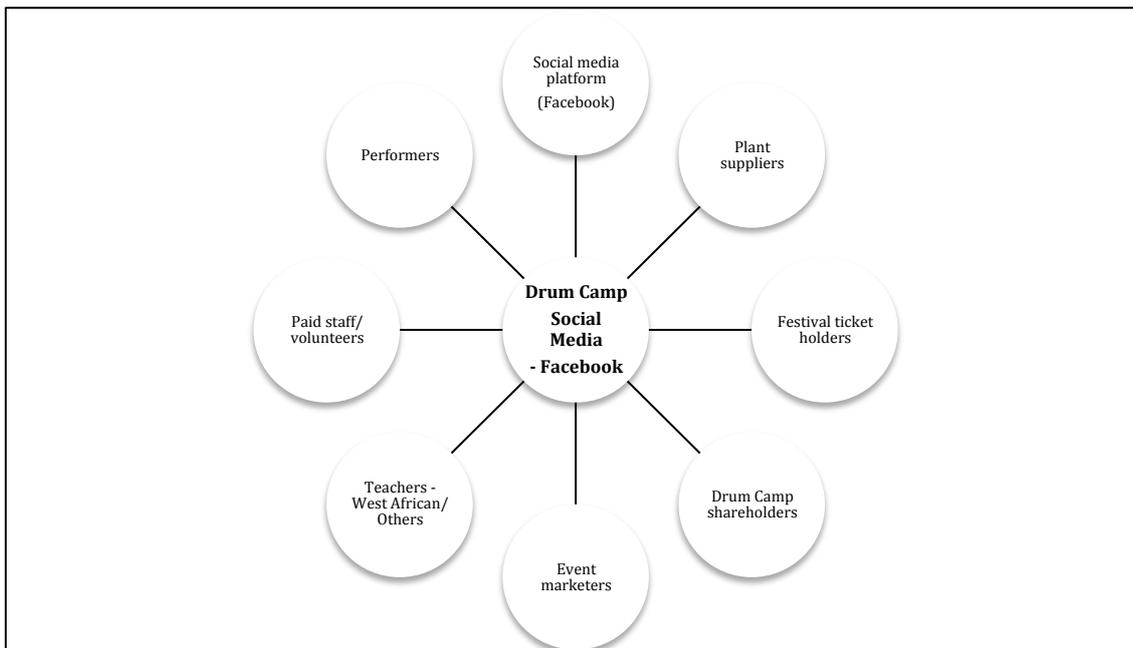


Figure 4.21 Drum Camp 2014 stakeholders

The digital revolution has impacted upon the oral narrative surrounding the West African djembe in many ways, with complex reshaping of multi-presentational formats transposing

the oral narrative within an established culture into a digital culture, and promises to alter the perception of West African culture for all time. It was important to take this digital dialogue into account when identifying and collecting the data.

4.4.2 Methods of data collection

The data collection methods are similar to those used in Case Study 2. In order to collect the data, it was necessary to clearly identify the parameters. The data were collected most days between 9 July 2013 and 28 November 2014, i.e. a period of sixteen months in total. Each post within the Drum Camp group page was expanded to allow all posts, comments and emoticons, as well as any visual media to be displayed in full. This ‘unfolding’ procedure was applied to each post to ensure the complete capture of information from every individual post. These individual posts were then copied, using the screenshot facility, and uploaded into Atlas.ti for coding and analysis. Figure 4.22 illustrates the use of emoticons in Facebook posts, which are considered as a form of paralanguage.



Figure 4.22 Emoticons as paralinguage

Ndede notes that the interaction between verbal artists and digital technology has brought a new dimension to the oral genres (Ndede, n.d: 2). Furthermore, she suggests that the shift in the media from oral narrative to screen comes with extra communicative functions which fill gaps that neither the previously traditional narration nor conventional writing can. The screen can, she adds, signify signs through 'paralinguage' such as taste, smell, images, gestures, touch, textures, emotions and feelings such as pain, sorrow, smiles, laughs, among others, which seem beyond words but which can be digitally reproduced by the digital

recording of sounds and of both moving and still images. Examples of the use of the above-mentioned paralinguage appear throughout the case study's Facebook presence (see Figure 4.23).

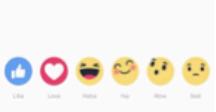
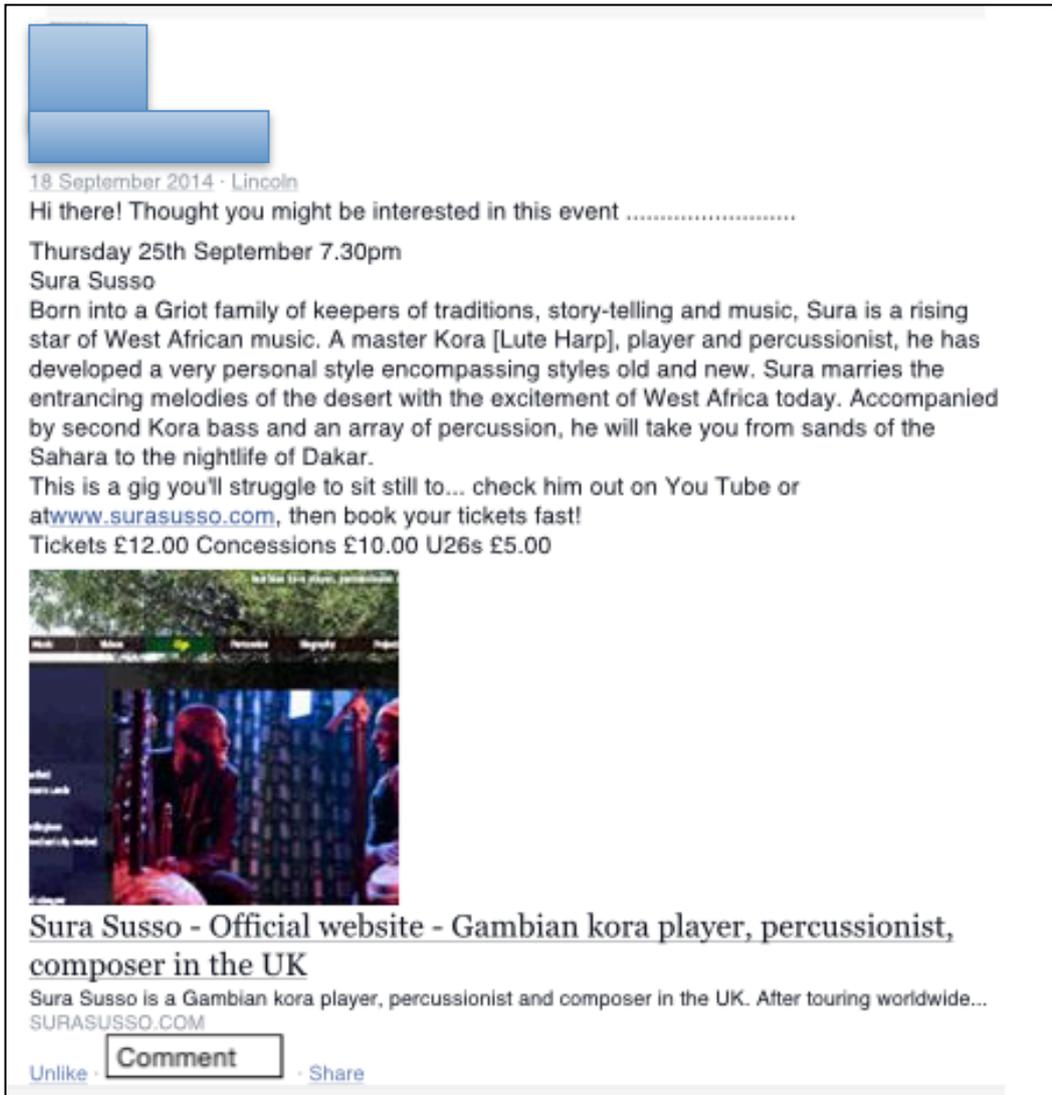
<p>GN - 27 November 2014 More exciting artist announcements coming soon for DC15, while we prepare for the next news, let me indulge you - Tama rhythms from the wonderful Thiam family 🗨️</p>	<p>Descriptive emotions 🗨️</p>
<p>CS oh yesssss... 🗨️</p> <p>FB 224 sleeps... There are still a few places left for this exciting drumming weekend in Scotland- and i can offer a lift share to anyone traveling from Manchester- don't miss out it is gonna be fun! 🗨️</p>  <p>GL WooHoo! 🗨️</p>	<p>Excitement 🗨️</p> <p>🗨️</p> <p>🗨️</p> <p>🗨️</p>

Figure 4.23 Facebook Drum Camp 2014 screenshots – emotions

The Drum Camp group page within Facebook was used, with the permission of the group page hosts (the owners of the festival), as a vehicle for advertising by our participating artists for that year. An excellent example of this is shown below (see Figure 4.24) and clearly demonstrates forms of economic and social and cultural capital.



18 September 2014 · Lincoln

Hi there! Thought you might be interested in this event

Thursday 25th September 7.30pm

Sura Susso

Born into a Griot family of keepers of traditions, story-telling and music, Sura is a rising star of West African music. A master Kora [Lute Harp], player and percussionist, he has developed a very personal style encompassing styles old and new. Sura marries the entrancing melodies of the desert with the excitement of West Africa today. Accompanied by second Kora bass and an array of percussion, he will take you from sands of the Sahara to the nightlife of Dakar.

This is a gig you'll struggle to sit still to... check him out on You Tube or at www.surasusso.com, then book your tickets fast!

Tickets £12.00 Concessions £10.00 U26s £5.00



Sura Susso - Official website - Gambian kora player, percussionist, composer in the UK

Sura Susso is a Gambian kora player, percussionist and composer in the UK. After touring worldwide...
SURASUSSO.COM

Unlike · · Share

Figure 4.24 Artist advertising

The narrative is designed to transport the reader on a journey on the wings of their imagination; the claim that ‘he will take you from the sands of the Sahara to the nightlife of Dakar’ is both emotive and inviting. The post offers a historical perspective plus a musical CV and involves a financial input by the potential attendee and an income for the artist. A quick trip to YouTube, as suggested, reveals the artist’s prowess as a musician and it is also suggested that anyone interested should visit to his website. This is considered good business by the Drum Camp organisers, as potential attendees may want to come and see this amazing and talented musician in person, which in turn promotes Drum Camp itself.

Typically, it can be noted that the djembe artists employed for that particular year are all considered to be a globalised commodity. Indeed their ability to market themselves to wider audiences through the Internet and specifically through Facebook, can be seen to further underpin the presence of the fourth paradigm, a space where business, commodification and commerciality takes place continuously.

The term ‘trade’ is defined by me as a transaction instigated within the Drum Camp Facebook closed group between two parties who are both members of the group. For the purposes of this case study, the only trade being considered in the data collection and analysis is that which is related to the djembe habitus: workshops, tourism, goods (djembes, other percussion instruments, clothing, etc.) and other events, such as other festivals or events organised by a third party, where the artist is ‘bought’ for the skills he/she possesses. (see Figure 4.25)

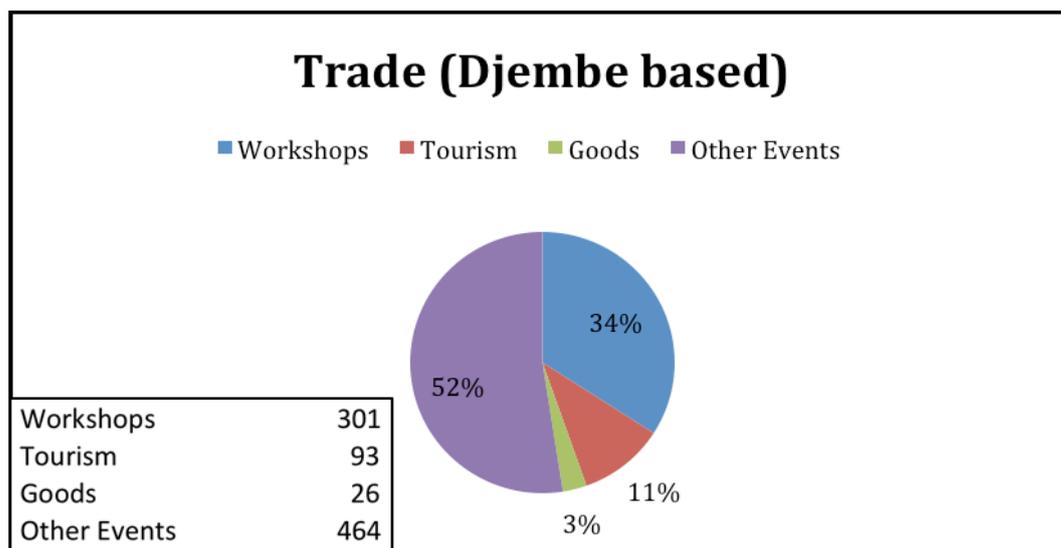


Figure 4.25 Trading in the Drum Camp 2014 Facebook group

Figure 4.25 clearly demonstrates the presence of a highly organised trading platform within the Facebook group. The trading of an ancient rural traditional practice was clearly a desirable product, and one that was growing as a result of the increasing capabilities offered by Facebook, such as the ability to advertise specifically to a chosen audience and the use of

‘tracking’ software to see who is interested in the subject area being marketed. Interestingly, the blue area on the pie chart indicates that 34 per cent of posts were related to the marketing of djembe workshops. This is a substantial percentage and indicates the desire among non-djembe players to begin to learn, and among the more experienced players to move forwards in their learning. In addition to my analysis of direct trading, I also conducted an analysis of indirect trading, through Facebook posts which were djembe-based (see Figure 4.26). This analysis focused in particular on the venues and alternative traders marketing and selling djembe-related material, from food to clothing to charities, and also, importantly, the number of enquiries for Drum Camp festival tickets.

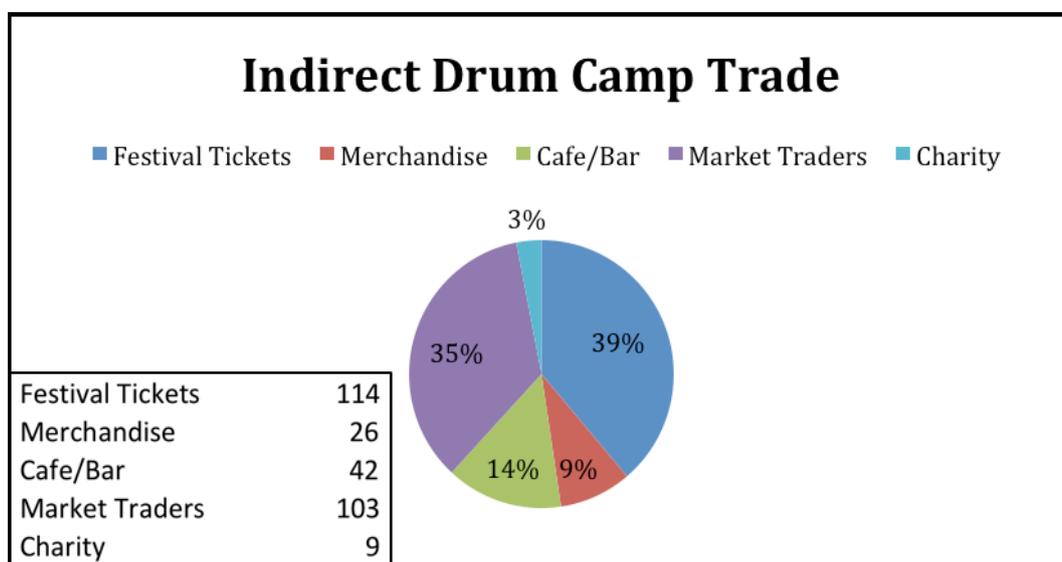


Figure 4.26 Indirect Drum Camp trade 2014

Interestingly, it can be seen that existing and experienced traders at Drum Camp were selling high quantities of goods through their presence within the group.

All posts were coded within the coding structure set up in the Atlas.ti PhD Research Data Collection-Coding folder. Particular attention was given to Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, as mentioned in Chapter 2, in terms of habitus, field, capital, hysteresis and doxa, as well as

to the transitions between physical and virtual spaces, referred to in the thesis as liminal phases.

4.4.3 Method of data analysis

Atlas.ti data analysis software was used throughout the case studies, with the exception of Case Study 1, and was used as a sense-making tool for the systematic organisation of data, providing an insight into qualitative data sets without suggesting interpretations of the data. The process of coding allows for the development of networks and enables a clear analysis to take place, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The analysis of the oral narrative throughout this case study, in terms of identifying the instances where and how business is conducted, and by whom, reveals a reimagined oral rhetoric, not only one that allows the dialogue to flow to the designated person, but also one that allows for extended sharing and offers the ability to advertise through the touch of a button or a click of a mouse. The oral narrative in the digital world takes on a completely new meaning. Video clips, once opened, invite the viewer to enter a world behind the screen, virtually transporting the viewer to the geographical location of the subject matter or to a soundtrack of a particular recording for sale, thus encouraging the imagination to fill the space between the viewer and the screen.

The coding process used within Atlas.ti remained the same as seen in Case Study 2, with the main difference being that data were collected solely from a virtual social networking arena, Drum Camp, a closed Facebook group, rather than from both virtual and physical spaces.

The Atlas.ti PhD Research Data Collection-Coding project was again utilised to house the collected data in the form of a stream of Facebook posts, which were analysed line by line. In order to ensure the complete capture of the data, the first 'mention' of Drum Camp 2014 needed to be identified in order to establish a starting point for the collection process. This was identified as a post made on 9 July 2013, i.e. during the previous year's festival (that

held in 2013) in order to enable ticket holders and potential future attendees to log the date in their calendars. The last post to be included within the data collection process was identified as 28 November 2014.

In order to analyse the data gathered during the sixteen months of collection, which covered the build-up to the event, the actual event, and the closure and aftermath of the event, screenshots were taken on most days from the group page. These were then uploaded into Atlas.ti as Word documents, and subsequently coded with the same codes as set up for the previous case study. Figure 4.27 shows the group codes used within Atlas.ti.



◇	Cultural Capital
◇	Economic Capital
◇	Facebook
◇	Globalisation
◇	Habitus
◇	Paradigms
◇	Pedagogy
◇	Social Capital
◇	Tourism

Figure 4.27 Drum Camp Atlas.ti group codes

Each of the top-level codes seen in the excerpt below (see Figure 4.28) has a set of sub-level codes, which are required to capture the maximum amount of data for analysis.

Category	Count	Name	Count	Count
Cultural Capital	5			
Economic Capital	9	1. Social Capital	342	31
Facebook	5	1.1 French text on page	14	1
Globalisation	9	1.2 English Text on page	52	1
Habitus	6	1.3 views on page	36	1
Paradigms	5	1.3.1. 0-100	73	1
Pedagogy	5	1.3.2. 100 1000	7	1
Social Capital	13	1.3.3. 1K - 5K	9	0
Tourism	4	1.3.4. 5K - 10K	0	1
		1.3.5. 10K - 100K	9	3
		1.3.6. 100K 500K	2	2
		1.4 Comments on page	141	1
		1.5 Shares on page	101	2
		1.6 Likes on page	113	1
		1.8 Community	143	14
		2. Economic Capital	301	28
		2.1.1. Website	73	7

Figure 4.28 Drum Camp 2014 codes and related sub-level codes

Once the data were coded, results were exported into different external programs, such as Excel, in which graphs, tables and pie charts could be created in order to present the results. The findings and analysis are discussed further in Chapter 5.

4.5 Case Study 4: Djembe practice within Facebook (2013)

The purpose of this case study was to examine how digital social media dialogues within a personal Facebook timeline influenced the continuity of the commercial, cultural and organisational aspects of the traditional cultural practice in the physical world.

I examined the commercial, cultural and organisational dialogue occurring within djembe-related posts shared from my Facebook news feed to my personal Facebook timeline in order to identify the habitus, field, capital, hysteresis and doxa present within a virtual community space.

4.5.1 Introduction

Bourdieu (1972) discusses the concept of habitus as a means of understanding the way in which individuals and society, or objective structures and subjective representation, are related to each other, and how individuals, through their habitus, interpret and negotiate their way through social practice. This can be identified through the frequent posts seen to be promoting the ‘return to the traditional ways of teaching or playing the djembe’.

Pedagogical workshop holidays in West Africa are seen regularly, usually posted by highly respected djembefola offering tuition in their own villages, thus confirming the desire to embrace the authentic traditional djembe practice seen in West Africa. There is a phenomenal amount of djembe practice present within Facebook and represented by Facebook users on a global scale. The data collected during 2013 (see Table 4.4) indicate that the djembe has firmly taken root in the digital culture in which we are ourselves now immersed, with 6,569 individual posts and 4,243 direct replies to those posts. Furthermore, there were a total of 5,654 posts advertising djembe-related goods both in the UK and further afield. At this point it should be remembered that this information was gleaned only from posts shared to my own timeline, from my own ‘community’ or ‘network’ of djembe-interested people. These are people who are passionate about djembe practice and who attend workshops or performances on a regular basis. They are either teachers or students of the craft. Each person has their own personal djembe-related network, often on a global scale, and is able to contribute through the chat, messenger or comment boxes provided within each post.

The one-year timeline was also subjected to full textual analysis and coded and sub-coded using the Atlas.ti software. The key element central to this data collection was the availability of the Internet and, more specifically, the social media platform Facebook, as well as the people who participate, on a global scale, in constructing the narrative.

This one-year (2013) personal Facebook timeline investigation was conducted in order to investigate the netnographical approach to the scraping or mining of data, and to determine whether the cross-cultural, social, economic and organisational aspects of djembe practice and habitus were affected by their presence within an open forum. Whereas the previous two case studies, The Gambia and Drum Camp, operated through both a 'closed' and a 'secret' group status, the personal Facebook news feed timeline is classed as a 'public' space, which means that any of my Facebook 'accepted contacts' can see or add to it.

4.5.2 Parameters

All djembe-related posts shared by my networks (other djembe focus groups and personal friends with a djembe cultural interest) within Facebook were subsequently shared to my personal Facebook page. This ensured that all posts were accessible in chronological order. The data were collected between 1 January 2013 and 31 December 2013. Whenever possible, the data collection took place each evening throughout the year-long period. If any period was missed, the data were collected from the last data collection point up to the current date.

4.5.3 Methods of data collection

The methods and operation of data collection within the fourth case study are identical to the previous two case studies, in that data were identified within the Facebook timeline and fully expanded to ensure that all available data were captured. The post was then captured through the use of the screenshot facility and subsequently uploaded to my computer, then input into the data analysis program Atlas.ti. The post was saved to the PhD Research Data Collection-Coding folder within Atlas.ti in preparation for coding and analysis.

Studies undertaken by a number of virtual ethnographers (Markham, 1998; Baym, 2000; Hine, 2000; Howard, 2002; Kendall, 2002) have conducted various kinds of participatory

observation studies by participating in the virtual community, for example by ‘friending’ research participants, commenting on updates and discussions and asking for elaborations on different actions in the community. Considering the purpose of this case study, particular attention was paid to identifying the habitus of djembe practice within the group, as well as the social, economic and cultural capitals displayed through the different types of posts, e.g. general comments, advertising, cultural references and visual multimedia (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Frequency of narrative dialogue

Type of post	Number in one year
Comments	6,569
Replies	4,243
Seen by	8,344
Photographs	18,104
Videos	1,968
Shares	734
Likes	932
YouTube	2,298
Myspace	3
Links to external websites	404
Links to personal websites	286
External information programs	57
Use of ‘emoticons’ as paralanguage	784
Advertising UK events	2,865
Advertising West African events	2,789
West African heritage	356
Global djembefola	189
Djembe equipment (available to buy)	758

4.5.4 Methods of data analysis

The one-year timeline was also subjected to full textual analysis within Atlas.ti, as in the previous two case studies. The key element central to this data collection was the availability of the Internet, and more specifically the social media platform Facebook, as

well as the 'audience' who participate physically on a global scale in constructing the narrative.

Further attention was given to the collection of data which made reference to both the physical and the virtual worlds, where a liminal transition can be identified as developing from a post which to start with is present within Facebook and refers to a physical event or historical practice which takes place later in the physical world, such as the posts shown in Figure 4.29 and Figure 4.30.

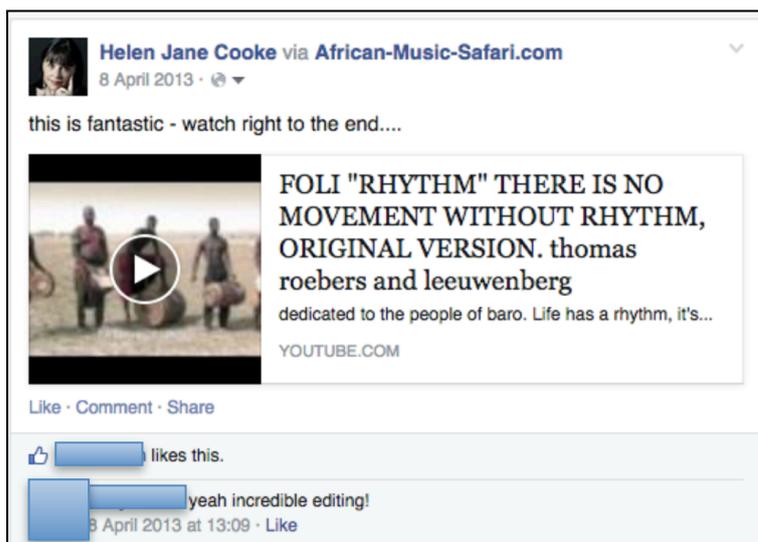


Figure 4.29 Cultural beginnings

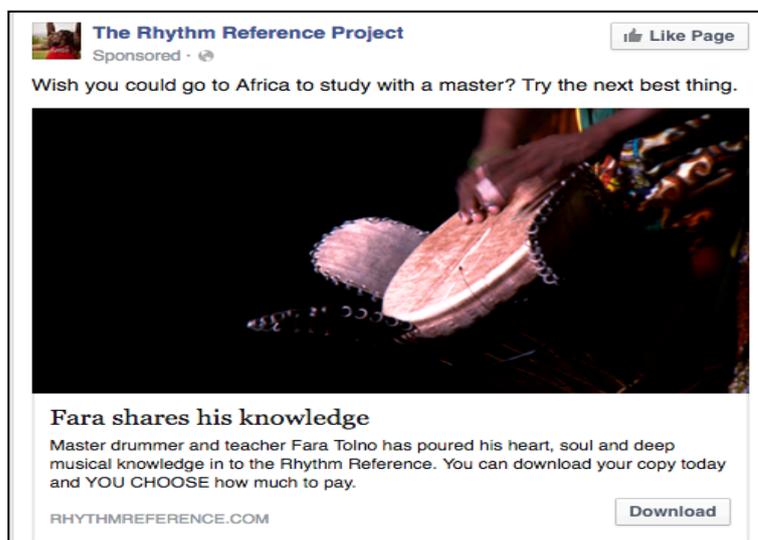


Figure 4.30 Blurred cultural boundaries



Figure 4.31 Wula Drum, Facebook external link from post

Figure 4.31 offers an example of the traditional symbolic tradition, in that the screenshot was taken directly from a Facebook post, accompanied by a video of a Guinean drum and dance party. This in itself demonstrates cultural commodification. A further example is that, linked with the original Facebook post, are 'suggested videos' generated from the computer algorithm at the Facebook communication centre (see Figure 4.32).

Wula Drum shared West African, Afro Cuban and Brazilian Dance's video.
10 hrs · 🌐

Bayo Mamady Sano Fode La Joie Finando bangely Alseny Soumah
Mbemba Bangoura Bolokada Conde Manimou Camara
www.wuladrum.com

See translation

16,876 Views

West African, Afro Cuban and Brazilian Dance
17 March · 🌐 [Like Page](#)

Guinea All Star Drum And Dance In Conakry Guinea 2016
Do you love to drum and dance?
Please visit:
www.wuladrum.com

👍❤️ 28

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

SUGGESTED VIDEOS

 iya Traoré From Guinea-Conakry to Paris (My History) www.iya.fr
iya Traoré From Guinea-Conakry to Paris (My History English V.)
IYA TRAORÉ · 7,610 VIEWS ➦ Share

 West African Dance "Repetition" (Practice): I love the spirit, the talent and the raw energy
WEST AFRICAN, AFRO CUBAN AND BRASILIAN DANCE · 108,223 VIEWS ➦ Share

 Rokia
Wow, she rocks it! Manon Dite Rokia.
WEST AFRICAN, AFRO CUBAN AND BRASILIAN DANCE · 41,243 VIEWS ➦ Share

Figure 4.32 Commodified representation of traditional practice

Events were marketed frequently on Facebook pages and groups, as can be seen from the examples of my data scraping for Case Study 4. Even if no official business page has been set up within Facebook it is entirely possible, and indeed acceptable, to advertise local events and even to give direct links to external websites which themselves advertise business activities. Mamady Keïta (master djembefola) is one such person. He has several

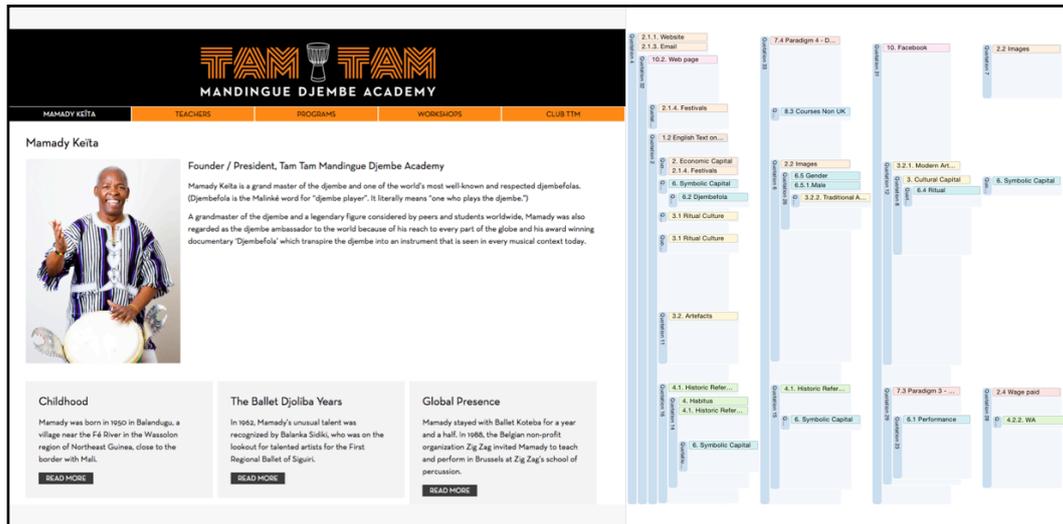


Figure 4.34 Mamady Keita web page as posted on Facebook – with coding

Keita's status as a powerful djembefola is further increased by his exceptional presence in both the physical and virtual spaces. His academy, as seen on his website (see Figure 4.34), has schools across the globe, with students being trained by highly qualified teachers, all initially taught and graded by Mamady Keita himself. The journey from rural village djembe player to global and digital superstar has been a highly organised process, with many other stakeholders, such as managers, teachers and students, being involved. Figure 4.35 and Figure 4.36 both demonstrate the 'spread' of drumming on Facebook. UK teachers are advertising their skills and prowess with the djembe to both newcomers and advanced drummers. Figure 4.36 is particularly interesting to my research, as the class is being taught within a primary level school, indicating that djembe drumming is a part of the musical syllabus and demonstrating that the process of teaching the young still occurs, albeit from a Western viewpoint. This pedagogical process advertised within Facebook further alludes to the fact that non-West African teachers are now considered competent to teach an ancient West African tradition. One wonders, though, how much of the ritualistic and spiritualist knowledge accompanies the teaching.

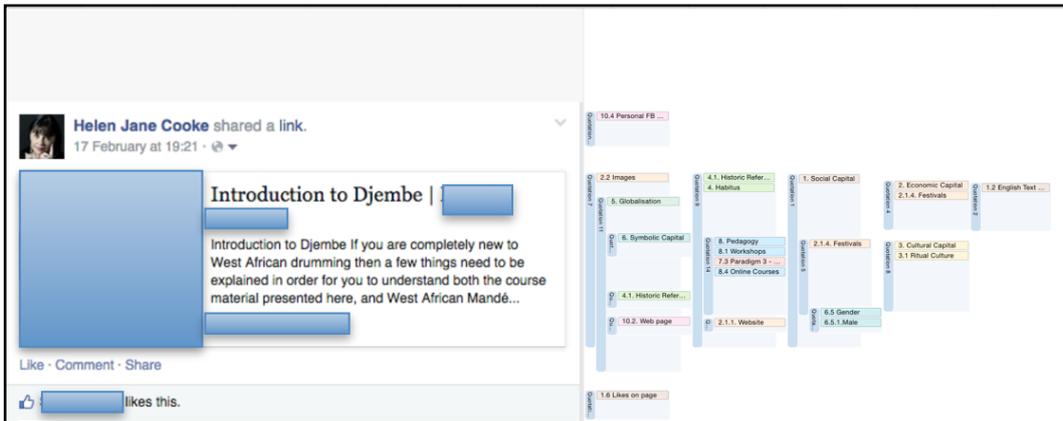


Figure 4.35 Pedagogical courses

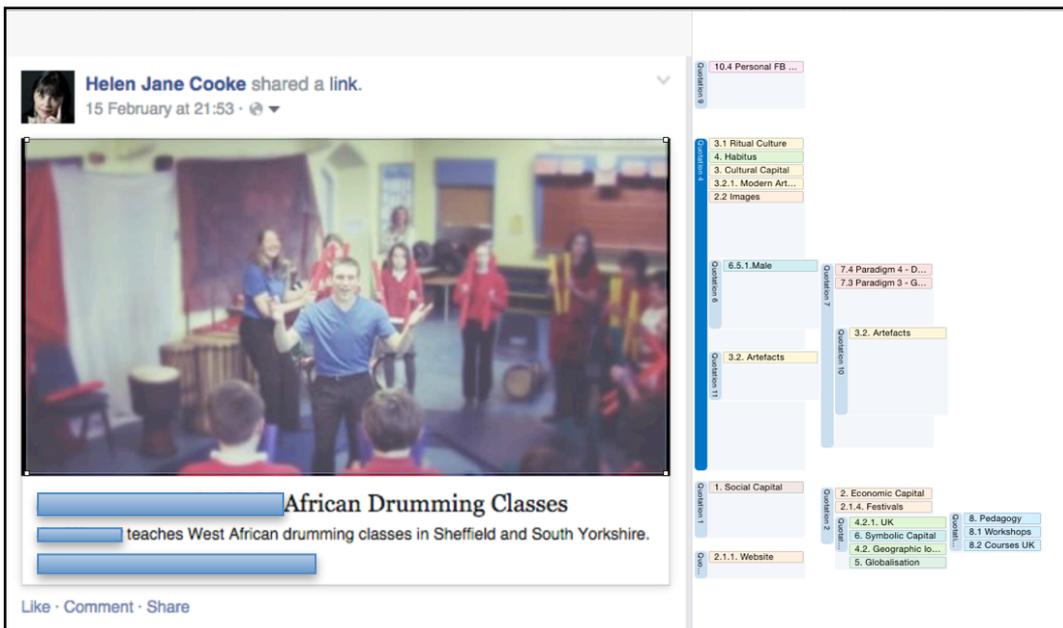


Figure 4.36 African drumming classes

A further interesting point pertinent to my research is the amount of recorded West African music which is also available, in particular the music advertised on Facebook (see Figure 4.37). The music is available to purchase in a wide range of formats, from CDs and videos to music downloadable through external providers. The opportunity to ‘listen first, buy second’ is freely available and this acts as a sample for the complete collection of songs.



Figure 4.37 Musical spaces on Facebook



Figure 4.38 Selling through advertising

The range of business and commercialisation seen within the data collection parameters for this case study is vast, with more added every day from across the globe (see Figure 4.38). The ability to use other applications to purchase saleable goods is actively promoted within Facebook itself. These can be paid for in a number of ways, PayPal being one of the most common applications, as well as direct bank transfers. This is a further example of business promoting business through social networking sites. PayPal reaps the benefits by providing a safe and secure way to purchase goods online, at the click of a button.

4.5.5 Conclusion

Overall, the design of the research study and the empirical data collection took place through four individual case studies. Participants for each case study were identified, as was the purpose for each case study. Each case study was directed at different aspects of contemporary djembe habitus and addressed, in both physical and virtual spaces, the different types of capital required to function successfully within a physical and digital space. The next chapter provides a detailed examination and analysis of the findings from all four case studies.

Chapter 5 Findings and analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed account of the findings and analysis from four empirical data collection phases in order to address the main research question and research aims associated with each individual case study. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into four sections, each focusing on a particular case study. Empirical material was gathered through various methods including participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews and virtual and physical ethnography. As the researcher, I adopted the role of participant observer as well as being a participant in the case studies themselves.

Earlier discussions in Chapter 3 have mapped the historical transition of djembe habitus through three identified cultural paradigms, localisation, professionalization, and globalisation, each being separated by a liminal phase which enables the following cultural paradigm to emerge.

There is a growing body of work that does at least integrate history into management and organizational studies, demonstrating reorientation or historic turn. Carroll's (2002) collection of papers on "the strategic use of the past and future in organizations," includes ethnographic examinations of the meaning of an organizations' past to its members in the present. Additionally, Taylor and Freer (2002) studied the organizational processes behind official corporate histories.

The first instance of rural djembe drumming, conducted purely for ritualistic and ceremonial events, is identified as the first cultural paradigm, where the role of the djembefola is that of master of the music. His relationship with the chief of the village is accepted by both

himself and the villagers as being one of symbolic importance. The influence of political interventions due to President Seckou Touré's regime was to alter the centuries old path of djembe drumming, by relocating the best djembefola from many villages to Guinea, where they were ordered to blend many sacred rhythms together into highly choreographed performances, in order to use this new form of music to represent Guinea as a cultural capital. This was the first instance where the relocated djembefola began to perform as a group to fee paying audiences, in a performance forum, initially around West Africa, as subsequently further afield, into Europe and finally on a global scale. The role of the djembefola was additionally altered from one of symbolic music maker for rituals to one of adored and highly respected musician, able to earn money for his services. The third identified cultural paradigm was the globalisation and re-location of the djembefola to other countries. Many djembefola have settled down to live full lives in other countries, teaching, performing and conducting business. The role of the djembefola has evolved into that of a person highly capable of making a good living, and thus able to support his extended family in West Africa. Students of the djembe consist of both men and women, with the ability to pay for lessons, and invest in the instruments themselves. Often the students will offer additional help in the organization of teaching holidays back to West Africa. The fourth cultural paradigm, is identified in terms of the advances in technology which allow communications to take place easily within social media platforms such as Facebook. The djembefola is able to communicate, and organize his life and business online, Specialist groups organized either by the djembefola, or by fans of the djembefola are created within Facebook, which allow like-minded people to communicate and conduct different forms of business, with the djembefola and other agencies, such as event ticket sellers. The ability to use alternative forms of media to represent the djembe culture is freely available through Facebook. Videos can be posted, which offer a visual into djembe culture. Links to external

websites are posted, enabling other Facebook users to research the djembe culture, or to become aware of events, or other information. Importantly, a major benefit of using Facebook as a tool to communicate, is the instant availability, with no geographical barriers which allows the following cultural paradigm to emerge.

The first identified cultural paradigm this analysis of empirical research will focus on contemporary habitus. There are a diversity of spaces, both geographical and virtual, within which habitus can be enacted. Geographically, I have looked at a West African village (Kobokoto Lodge) where the djembe used to be, and still is, played for traditional purposes, and more currently the Western world as represented in the UK. I have also examined the virtual space as another location for learning the djembe and enacting djembe habitus and investigated the evolution of habitus in the context of changing political, economic, social and technological circumstances. This has allowed me to identify three cultural paradigms, each separated and linked by a liminal phase or transition period.

The first space where I identify the enactment of djembe habitus is the virtual space represented by Facebook. The first case study discusses an experiment conducted by myself, in which I was both a participant and an observer, and which involved the creation of a group whose members would use the virtual arena of Facebook to learn a rhythm to be performed at Drum Camp during 2013.

The second identified space where djembe habitus was enacted focuses on contemporary djembe habitus at Kobokoto Lodge within a West African village. I discuss the djembe habitus as enacted contemporarily in a rural West African village over a set period of time. The case study focuses on a mixed group of Western djembe students and African djembefola who encountered each other in The Gambia with the purpose of learning and teaching the djembe.

The third identified space where djembe habitus was enacted is, again, within the social media platform Facebook. A closed Facebook group was created by the organisers of Drum Camp, a world music festival held on a yearly basis in Suffolk, UK. The group was a space where people attending Drum Camp could communicate in a digital world.

The fourth space was identified through an open timeline within Facebook, where djembe-related posts were shared by me to my personal timeline each day over a period of one year, in order to identify the emerging role of the djembe in terms of its commodification and economic value within a contemporary digital space.

Table 5.1 illustrates the case study timeline, how data were collected and the methods of analysis used.

Table 5.1 Case study timeline and data collection methods

Case study	Timeline	Data collection	Analysis
Case study 1: Liminal	Online Facebook Group 2 March 2013 to 8 July 2013	Ethnography Netnography Participant observation	Line-by-line coding by hand
Case study 2: The Gambia	Field trip 21 March 2013 to 5 Feb 2014	Ethnography Netnography Participant observation Semi-structured interviews	Atlas.ti coding
Case study 3: Drum Camp	Online Facebook Group 9 July 2013 to 28 Nov 2014	Netnography	Atlas.ti coding
Case study 4: Djembe practice within Facebook	Online Facebook data scrape 1 Jan 2013 to 31 Dec 2013	Netnography	Atlas.ti coding

5.2 Case Study 1: Liminal

5.2.1 Introduction

The Liminal case study was undertaken within the virtual social media platform Facebook. The purpose was to investigate learning and teaching methods in a digital space and was based upon a group of participants learning a West African djembe rhythm online. By adopting Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, it is possible to define the field as a space where the habitus, consisting of cultural, social and economic capital, can be identified as being the Liminal Facebook group itself. This virtual field would be in complete contrast to a traditional field where face-to-face methods of learning are enacted in West Africa. A variety of techniques were used to implement virtual learning techniques such as external software programs, photographs, video recordings, text and links to external websites. The Facebook group status was set to 'secret', which resulted in only the participants being able to upload and download comments, images, videos and general pedagogical advice. The Facebook group status was altered to 'public' once the case study was complete. This was agreed by all participants (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Liminal participants

Liminal	Teacher	Student
Online participants	MT, SP, EM	HC, LL
Physical participants	NK, IS (djembefola)	DL, RC, MS
Online observers	PF, DW, HH	

The players on the field all conform to a set of rules, which define the role of the field. Bourdieu (1984: 471) refers to this conformity as doxa, showing that the players are willing to abide by the rules. In this case, the field is the Liminal Facebook group and the players (as well as the two djembefola who participated at a distance) are the active members of the group. There were eight online members, three of whom were not actively involved with the case study, except as observers. These were my supervisors and one other person who could

not participate due to his work commitments. There were also five other participants who did not have individual access to Facebook, but who were involved through their partners' Facebook profiles, allowing them to access posts, comments, likes and shares, as well as any teaching material which was posted within the group by other members. They were also able to add commentary to the group dialogue, although this did not in fact occur. This will be expanded further within the discussion chapter. Also included in the Liminal case study were two djembefola, Iya Sako (IS) and Nansady Keita (NK), who both have a Facebook presence in terms of personal pages, artist pages and group pages, but who were unable to contribute to the group discussions and therefore did not appear as 'online participants' due to their work schedules and also their lack of computer literacy. In both cases, it was their partners who were responsible for the maintenance of their Facebook pages. The partners of IS and NK agreed to observe the group dialogue, through NK and IS membership within the group. Interestingly, the two djembefola did not actively participate during the online part of the case study, but still had an influence on the group's learning process through their 'absent presence', in that all members of the group recognised the djembefola as being 'present' through the many references to them throughout the case study and acknowledged that their future participation in the group performance was symbolically very important. The Liminal Facebook group was not a field in the traditional sense, but was a space within which learning could take place, and a number of references were also made to the djembefola's future participation in the group, even though they were not active participants at this stage of the case study. The final objective for the group was to perform the learned rhythm at Drum Camp during the summer, in front of an audience. Although this was not a traditional form of learning the djembe, as would be experienced in rural West African villages, a comparison can be made in that the rhythm learned virtual was played with and

for two highly respected djembefola, rather than being simply a performance for an audience. This defined the case study as being more ceremonial than performance.

5.2.2 Examining the capital within the field

The Facebook group Liminal can be defined as having its own form of social capital created by the participants, who in turn had their own form of social capital in terms of their own acquaintances and friendships in both the virtual and physical worlds. The participants involved in the Liminal case study all knew each other fairly well prior to the commencement of the case study, albeit on different levels. Some knew each other outside of the djembe environment and had other things in common, while some only knew each other through their involvement with the Liminal group or within other djembe groups. All participants, apart from the two djembefola, considered their learning of the djembe to be a hobby. The varying social networks linked with each individual participant enhanced the overall social capital seen within the group itself. Knowledge of technology, and how to use it, was an important consideration in how the participants knew and communicated with each other, both prior to and during the case study. The use of social media between the members of the group was an important method of communicating and arranging social gatherings. Technology could be considered to be the ‘glue’ that allowed the social capital to become possible.

The prior knowledge of the djembe and the immersion in the learning of the djembe exhibited by the participants in the group contributed to the cultural capital. The members of the group were able to demonstrate a level of skill in terms of being able either to read music or to recognise the different forms of written djembe notation in order to learn a rhythm, implying an earlier exposure to learning music and resulting in the skills required to transform this particular knowledge into cultural capital. A second set of skills, which were part of the cultural capital exhibited by the members of the group, were centred around the

ability to use technology in order to participate successfully within the virtual Facebook group. All members owned at least one if not two or three djembes, which were kept tuned and in good condition and stored in purpose-made carry bags, as well as a variety of other West African musical instruments, purchased at a considerable cost, either from a wood carver in West Africa or from an importer in the UK. The ability to own instruments and specific styles of clothing, as well as being able to travel to West Africa illustrates the economic and cultural capital of both the individuals and the group itself. Historically, the cultural capital of the djembefola was concerned with their competence in playing the djembe, but nowadays part of the cultural capital required is also the ability to access the Internet and to interact online within the group. In the past, the skills required by djembefola were defined by their ability to play the djembe to an extremely high standard, as well as having a deep understanding of the rhythms themselves, their purpose and their meaning, resulting in a particular social status seen within the village. Within the Facebook group, it was not necessarily the mastery of the djembe that was important, but the ability to have access to Facebook and to connect with each other in order to learn the rhythm via Facebook. In the context of learning the djembe these days, and particularly in this virtual setting, technological advancements have shaped the requirements needed in order to exhibit cultural capital. Other than the djembefola, the members of the group displayed varying degrees of competency in terms of playing the djembe, leading djembe groups, performing in front of an audience and being students. The levels of competency further added to the levels of cultural capital displayed by the individual members of the group. The level of the djembe students was intermediate, as measured by Western standards, as well as by the length of time they had been playing the djembe. West African djembe players and djembefola do not understand the protocol of assigning a level of ability to a student, but in the Western world it is important as a student to know what level of class to attend. This

also demonstrates a level of cultural capital, held both by the djembefola or other non-West African teachers and by the student. As discussed in the previous chapter, the participants were selected due partly to their acceptance of and belief in the general format surrounding the role of both the teacher and the student, which Bourdieu refers to as doxa (Bourdieu, 1984: 471) and illustrates the scenario where the participants know and understand the ‘rules of the game’ and abide by them throughout the duration of the case study. I personally knew all participants through local djembe classes, which I attended on a regular basis. This was not seen as a negative issue and is discussed further in the discussion chapter.

5.2.3 Situating the virtual habitus

The virtual Liminal group, referred to as a ‘field’, consists of both virtual and physical members or ‘players’, each of whom exhibit their own habitus consisting of social, cultural and economic capital. This capital transforms into what Bourdieu refers to as symbolic capital, when the player enters a field. In this case the field is the virtual space within Facebook inhabited by players all exhibiting their own habitus. Each player is assigned a place in the field determined by their levels of symbolic capital.

Figure 5.1 shows my post to the Liminal Facebook group, offering a suggested performance slot at Drum Camp, an annual world music festival held in Suffolk, UK. The ability to organise this was made possible by my involvement with the organisation of Drum Camp, both as part-owner and as a participant, thus demonstrating a significant level of social, cultural and economic capital.

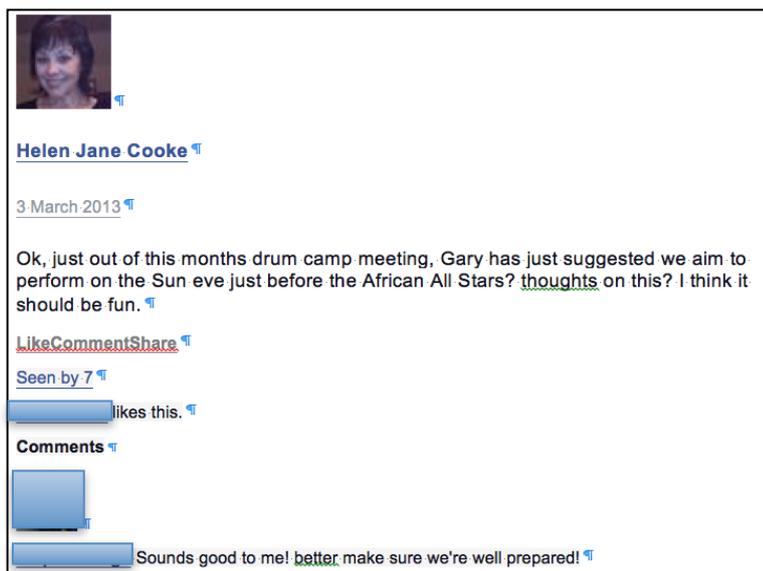


Figure 5.1 Liminal performance information

It was interesting to note that although the post was ‘seen by’ seven participants, it was two of the stronger djembe players (EM and SP), both of whom are British djembe teachers, who posted a response. SP indicated that it was important to ‘make sure we’re well prepared’. EM clicked on the ‘like’ button within the post. In terms of learning the rhythm online, it was necessary to investigate the best way to convey the relevant information. The initial proposal for the format of the rhythms was first posted on 3 March. It was decided that participants would use an external software program as a learning aid. The program chosen was Percussion Studio, created by moosware.net, as it was inexpensive to purchase, but also had a free facility offering basic notation and playback. It was accepted by the members of the group that, as the learning would take place online, it would be important to have as many visual and auditory aids as possible available for reference. The use of external programs in a digital environment demonstrates a level of cultural capital, as a specific set of skills are required in order to be able to use the different forms of technology. Both historically and today, West African djembe rhythms are considered to be complex and are rarely written down by West African musicians. Western students have adopted

many different formats for the writing and representation of notation. As this was to be an online experiment, Percussion Studio met all of our initial requirements in order to begin learning the rhythm. The information available on the moosware.net home page stated that:

‘Rhythm patterns are often difficult to remember, and even more difficult to read.

Percussion Studio solves these problems with its simple rhythm notation system that lets you easily transcribe rhythms. It can play multiple instrument voices simultaneously, and each track is mutable so you can play along and learn individual parts. The program comes with a set of standard rhythms, and you can add your own instruments. It provides functions for automatic handset notation. You can also use Percussion Studio as a rhythm sampler with WAV files. The program allows simultaneous playing and editing, and plays note changes immediately. About 170 percussion instruments for download are available’ (moosware.net).

An important facility available within this program was the ability to enter notation manually, thus allowing for solo phrases and breaks.

The following post, made by EM (see Figure 5.2) was the first actual notation, with added sound, that was available for participants to download.

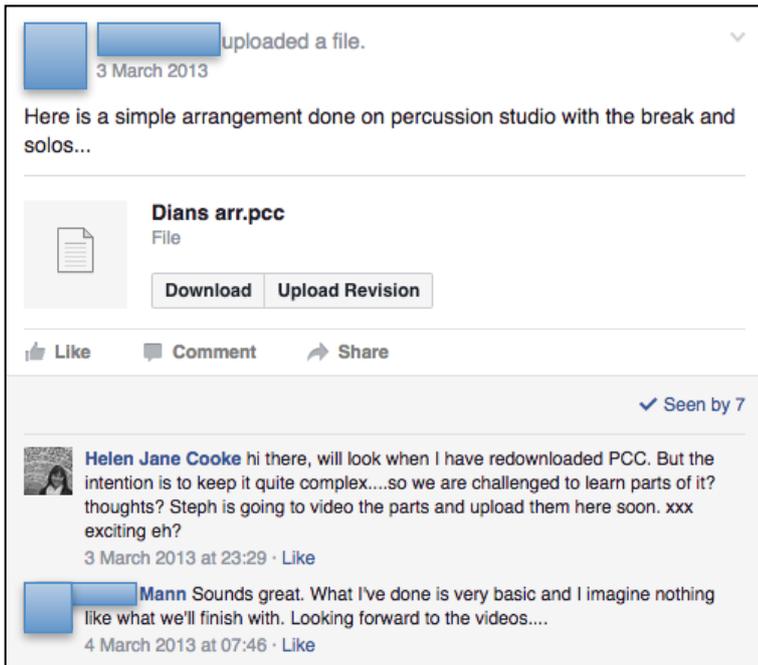


Figure 5.2 First uploaded Liminal notation for participants to download

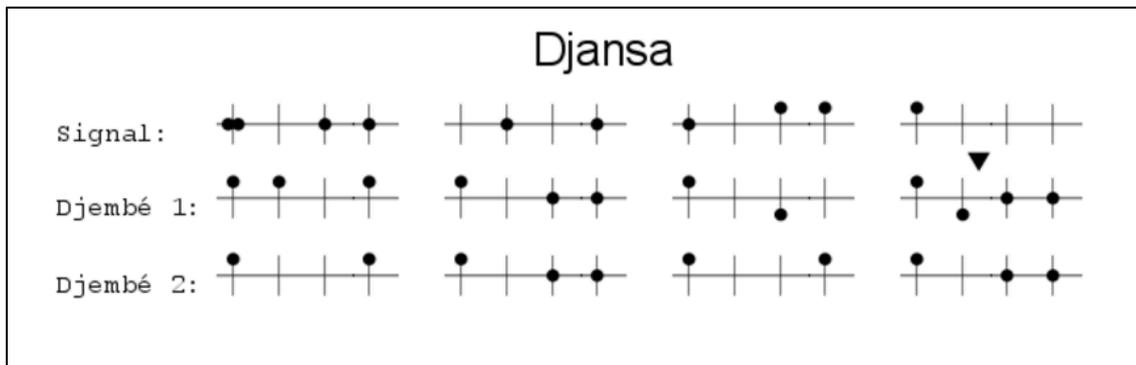


Figure 5.3 Djansa notation

Alternative forms of notation were also uploaded to the Liminal group in order to facilitate further methods of learning (see Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4).

through Percussion Studio, and a visual form of notation which could be downloaded and printed out, ensured that all participants were able to learn in the way best suited to their own learning styles.

Once the basic rhythm had been learned it became necessary for the group to work together to create the solo phrases and breaks which would ensure the rhythm was as accurate as possible, recognisable to an audience who were familiar with it and its historical relevance. This process of learning music by the group as a collective further enhanced the level of cultural capital held both individually and together. The solo phrases and breaks developed into increasingly complex parts, and the virtual group/students requested video recordings of the different parts to the rhythm, allowing them to practise these parts in their own homes. During the second month of the case study, it became apparent through frequent posts seen within the liminal timeline, that participants were communicating in the real world to arrange face-to-face meetings. As I was acting as both participant and observer, I followed the direction of the group consensus and did not influence group decisions or remind them that this was an online experiment. During the case study, four time periods were identified where physical communication took place on several occasions. The purpose of the physical meetings was to arrange rehearsals and to record teaching videos of each of the individual solos and breaks, which were then uploaded to the Liminal group. This allowed the students to play the videos and mimic what was being played in order to learn the material. However, these physical meetings were in direct contrast to the main purpose of the case study, which was to replicate the learning process enacted in the physical world with one enacted in the virtual world. In analysing this case study, it was apparent that while this was primarily an online group, I was observing the djembe habitus of the group through the group's virtual communications. What was equally important was

that, in order to fully understand what was taking place, it was not enough to focus solely on the virtual space because the participants also interacted with each other in a physical space. Figure 5.5 shows online participant activity within the specified four-month timescale. The data were compared with the expanded timeline of the Facebook group Liminal to identify the periods in between where physical interaction between members of the group occurred. A line-by-line examination and analysis of the entire Facebook Liminal group dialogue (see Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6) revealed that there were four time periods where physical learning occurred.

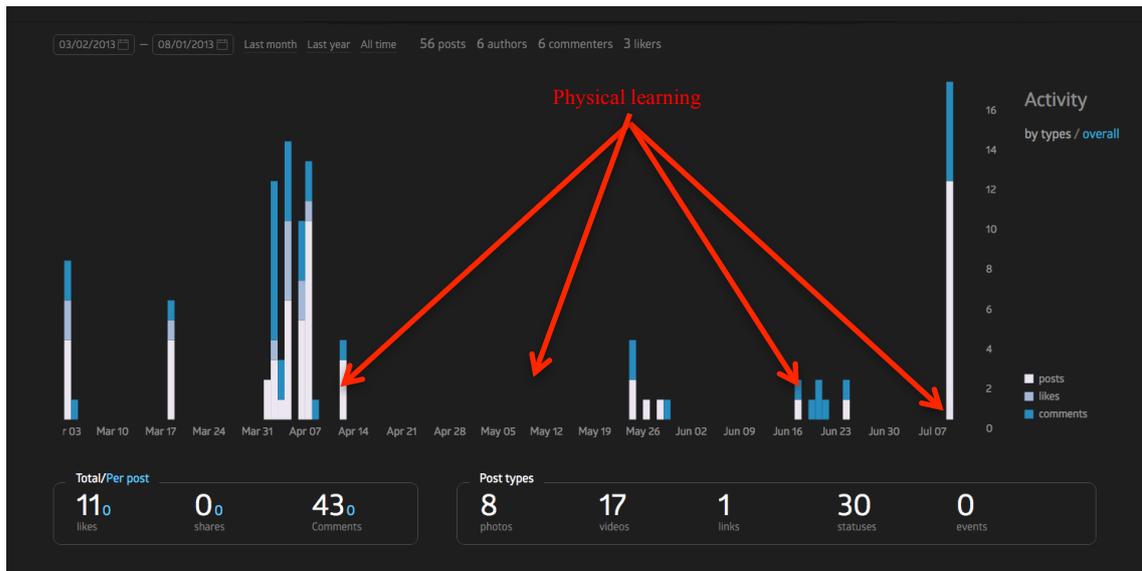


Figure 5.5 Facebook Liminal group activity online

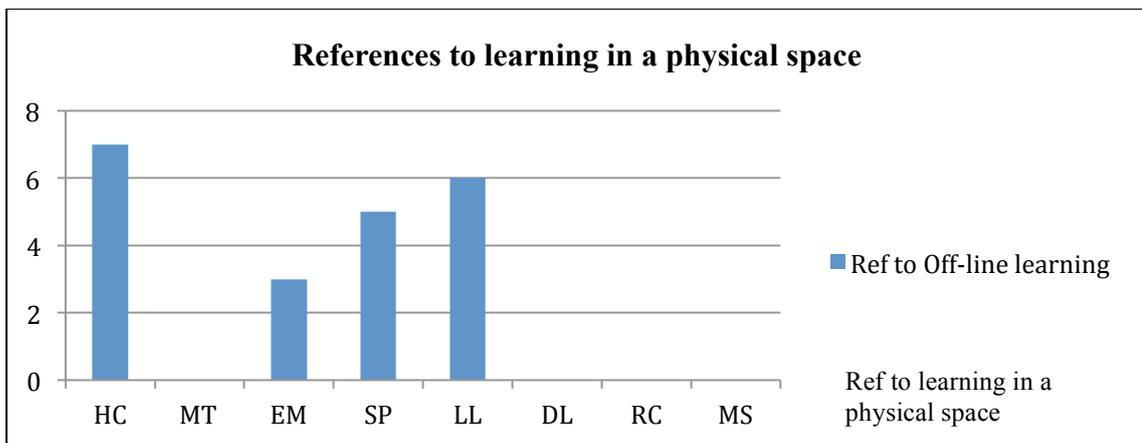


Figure 5.6 References to learning in a physical space

Within these four periods there were twenty-one posts in which physical meetings were arranged or discussed. Table 5.3 below illustrates a dialogue, which indicates the importance of meeting physically in order to learn the material to a standard where it was acceptable to be posted online.

Table 5.3 References to physical meetings

Date	References to physical meetings
6 April 2013	M, did you offer for people to practice at yours during the day?
12 April 2013 at 14:46	Really looking forward to us all meeting up at E. xxx
12 April 2013 at 14:46	so we're all set now to have a go!!! See you soon. xx
20 April 2013	enjoyed a really good days drumming today with S, Even had a short run through of Djansa ...bonus. Thank you S, amazing - as always! xxx
12 May 2013	Hey ... how many Liminals coming to my house on Saturday?
15 May 2013 at 11:51	I will do a vegetarian chilli with rice and garlic bread. Pudding, nibbles or drinks greatly appreciated. Maybe post on here what you're bringing then I won't duplicate when I shop ...
15 May 2013 at 13:40	ooh sounds really nice, I shall bring a pudding and something nice to drink, xxx
15 May 2013 at 14:14	We can bring various nibbles and dippy things (plus a bottle natch!)
15 May 2013	Hi ... directions for Saturday ... exit A12 at east Bergholt ...
16 May 2013 at 00:24	Help!! We've not played with any of you guys yet and so are not up to speed with any of the parts although we've had a go ... Do you still want us to join in?
16 May 2013 at 22:38	Thanks S for the words of encouragement. We'll have a little more practice at some of the breaks and parts before we come but will probably need a bit of time to feel confident! x
18 May 2013	really looking forward to all getting together today to work on Djansa ... happy days xx
18 May 2013	WOW what a lovely day, fast paced, amazing drumming, even if it did go a little crazy now and then ...
19 May 2013 at 10:56	I thought we all did really well. Intense day! but really good. Immersion I think ... really looking forward to seeing the videos
20 May 2013	impromptu get together at RC, this thursday 7.30 ... woop woop xx
24 May 2013 at 12:38	but we can't do June 4th
23 May 2013	Next get together, proposed is: 30th May
28 May 2013	Any takers for the proposed practice at our place on Thursday???
17 June 2013	Hey ... we should meet soon! I am free weekday evenings except Thursdays
24 June 2013	Hi all. Looking forward to the practice tomorrow

26 June 2013	Thanks everyone for a fantastic Djansa practice last night
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Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8 highlight the fact that there had already been a dialogue between the participants which did not appear on the Liminal group page. This suggested that conversations were taking place in a physical space or by other virtual means such as email. It is also important to note the tone of the language used, indicative of the growing familiarity among group members.



Figure 5.7 First online reference to a physical meeting

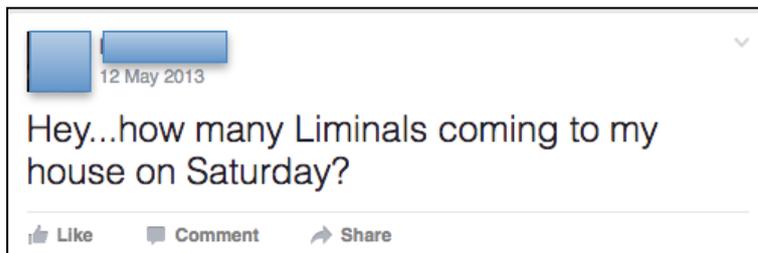


Figure 5.8 Second online reference to a physical meeting

The name 'Liminal' was selected for the case study and Facebook group as it is suggestive of the initial stages of a process and the transitional journey in which the participants were collectively and willingly partaking, moving from one threshold to the next.



Figure 5.9 Third online reference to a physical meeting

This third online reference (see Figure 5.9) indicates the researcher's willingness to meet up in a physical space to learn the rhythm 'Djansa', despite the fact that the original purpose of the case study was to explore the possibility of learning a djembe rhythm entirely within a virtual space, in contrast to the traditional physical method of learning seen within rural villages and discussed in Chapter 3.

My role as a researcher was to facilitate the group and identify willing participants. I agreed with all committed participants that I would not direct the group in any particular way. The participants were communicating in both virtual and physical spaces. I had received various emails suggesting a gathering within a physical space in order to collectively understand the learning process being undertaken. I agreed to host this gathering, as geographically my home was fairly centrally located. Other participants also hosted physical gatherings (see Figure 5.10)



Figure 5.10 Fourth virtual reference to a physical meeting

Group participation was seen to occur in different formats; images, videos, commentary and external programs were used to enhance visual and auditory learning.

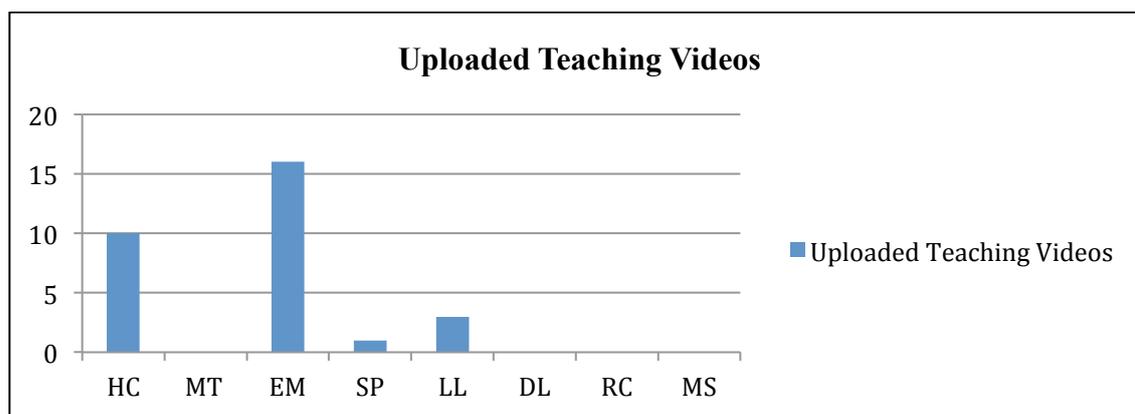


Figure 5.11 Uploaded teaching videos

Throughout the duration of the case study it was important for all participants to regularly upload and download material to and from the group's page. This process required a level of technological skill indicative of additional cultural capital. During the case study period, a total of thirty teaching videos were uploaded (see Figure 5.11). This involved teaching material recorded in physical spaces and subsequently uploaded, plus the use of external software programs. The value of the teaching material was two-fold. On the one hand, it enabled all participants to learn using a visual reference, ensuring that the material learned was the same for all participants and, on the other, it underlined the importance of gaining a 'feel' for the timing and 'swing' of the rhythm. The lack of 'feel' or 'swing' involved in the music was identified by the participants as a problem, as external software programs did not adequately replicate this. The use of videos created and uploaded by the stronger djembe players in the group, demonstrating specific parts or phrases within the rhythm, eradicated this problem. This was an interesting addition to the learning process as it illustrated the cultural capital of the stronger players in terms of their skill in playing the djembe. All parts to the rhythm were uploaded and could either be watched online or downloaded to participants' computers. A small sample of the variety of teaching videos is shown in Figure 5.12.



Figure 5.12 Examples of teaching videos – Liminal

In addition to the teaching videos, there were several instances where participants uploaded photographic content demonstrating the group's attempts to learn the rhythm (see Figure 5.13). This is represented graphically in Figure 5.14. This was particularly interesting as it demonstrated a relationship between the participants which was developing in a virtual space. Traditionally, this form of dialogue would be conveyed verbally, with references to particular time periods being recalled from memory and described. The use of uploaded imagery replicates this in a digital forum.



Figure 5.13 Uploaded photographs – Liminal

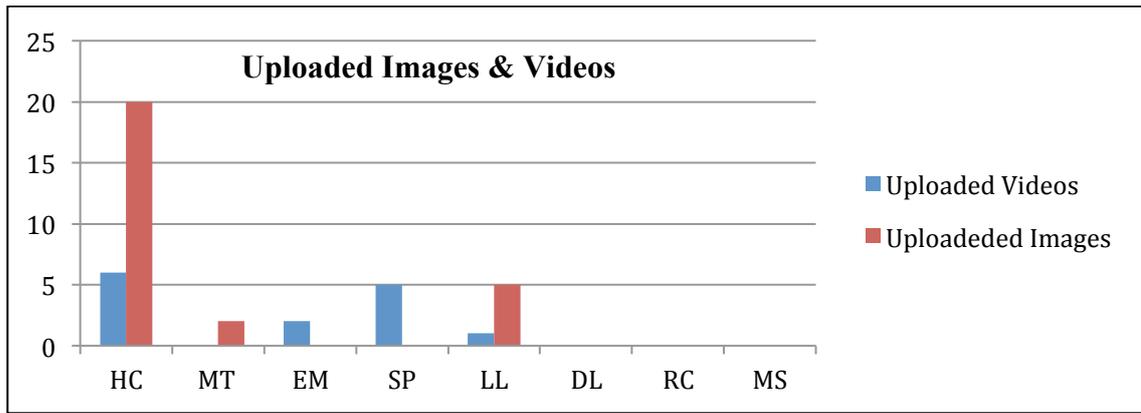


Figure 5.14 Uploaded images and videos

Figure 5.15 illustrates the number of comments and posts made by participants during the case study period. As the organiser of the case study and administrator of the group, I was responsible for 43 per cent of the comments and 48 per cent of the posts. A post is defined as the initial commentary on a new discussion, whereas a comment is the response to that post. This commentary was the accepted replication of the form of conversation experienced in a face-to-face space. Interestingly, EM was responsible for the second highest number of posts, with 20 per cent, followed by LL with 17 per cent, then SP with 8 per cent and MT with 7 per cent. The number of comments was slightly higher, indicating a commentary, which was evolving throughout the case study. LL's percentage share of the comments (16 per cent, matching EM, and second only to HC) was an indication of her willingness to engage in the learning process. It was noted that her husband (DL) was accessing Liminal information through her Facebook membership, which could also explain this higher percentage. Equally, my husband (RC) was also posting in the Liminal group through my Facebook membership, as he had no access to Facebook at the time.

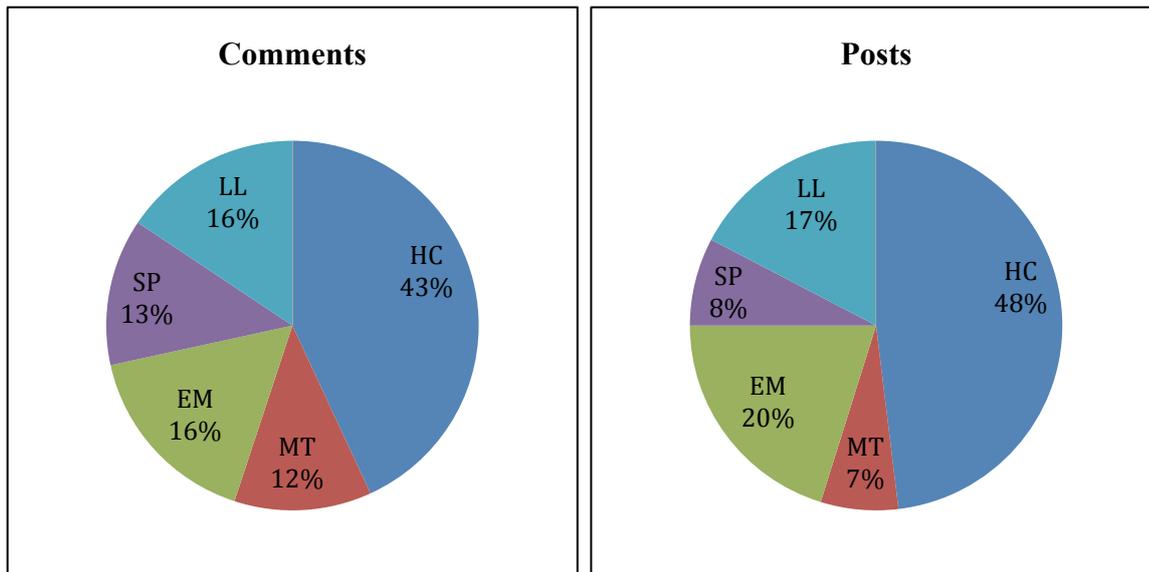


Figure 5.15 Liminal comments and posts

As the performance in a physical space drew closer, a change in the dialogue was noted; a sense of both fear and excitement could be detected in the individual posts. Final adjustments and refinements were being made to the notation and reference to focusing on the ‘feel’ of the music began to appear. It was noted that the performance of the rhythm being learned had to be perfect, as we were performing with two highly skilled djembefola to an audience consisting of many other djembefola from West Africa, well-respected Western djembe teachers and djembe students of all levels of ability. All these people, who would be present at the final performance at Drum Camp, had heard of our experiment and were interested in seeing how it would go. This increased the pressure on the group, justifying the need to conduct external rehearsals in the real world.

In particular, the self-appointed teachers within the group had invested their time and experience in the experiment and wanted the performance to be the best it could be.

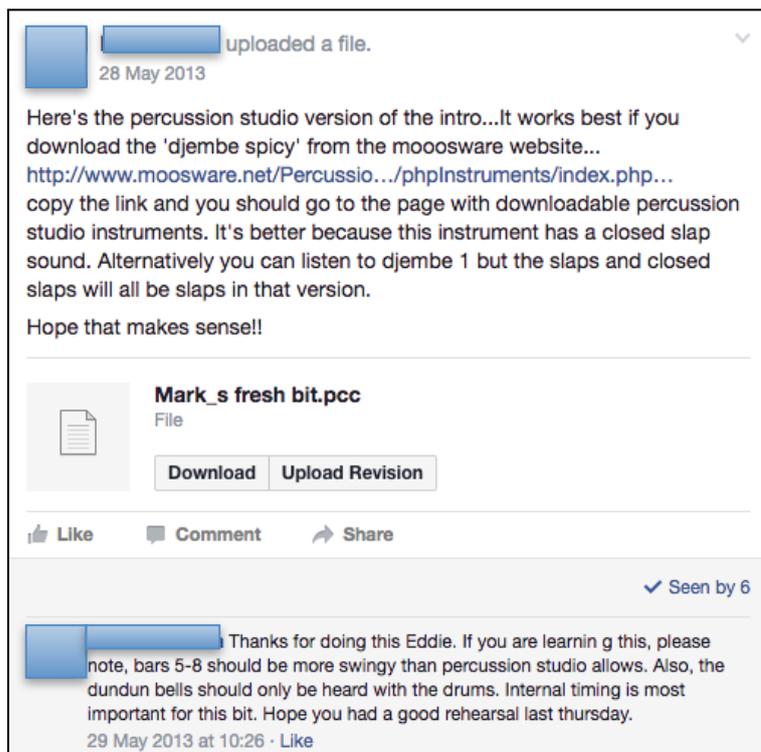


Figure 5.16 Final adjustments – Liminal

The importance of technique and the certain ‘feel’ of a rhythm can sometimes prove difficult to convey in a digital space (see Figure 5.16). However, it was interesting that an attempt was made to try to convey the importance of the ‘internal timing’ by one of the self-appointed teachers of the group.

The importance of the ‘feel’ and of the recognition of ‘internal timing’, as seen in the previous posts and comments, resulted in yet another group get-together in order to practice the complete rhythm, and to video it and upload the content to the Liminal group page. This would ensure that the latest version, with all changes and intricacies noted, would be available to all Liminal participants and could be used for rehearsing. Although not all participants were present at this gathering, which took place at one of the participant’s homes, this was not an issue as all the individual parts could be played by all participants (see Figure 5.17).

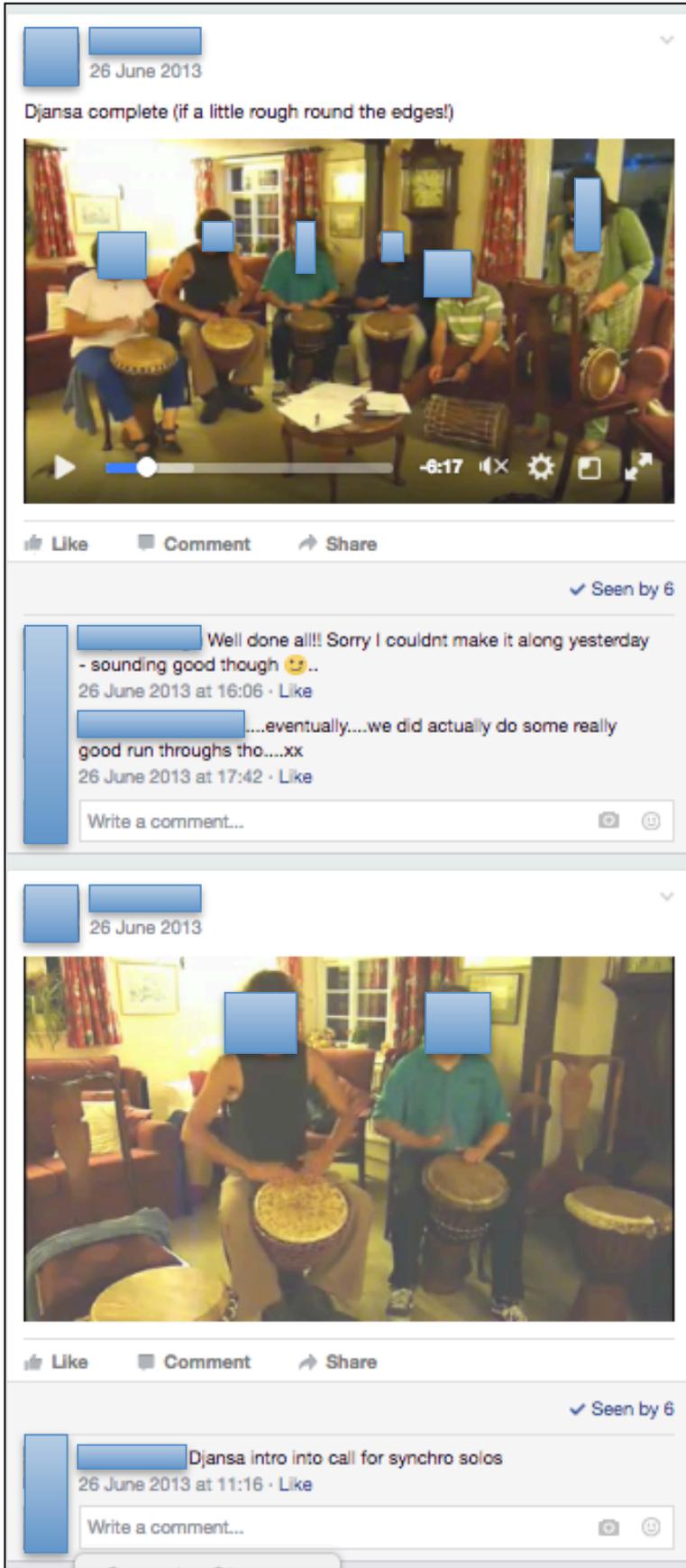


Figure 5.17 Final rehearsal in a physical space

5.2.3 Performance day!

This was the first time in the case study period that all the participants were gathered together as a complete collective. Previously, djembe habitus had been experienced in both physical and virtual spaces, but within a learning context. Two djembefola joined the group immediately prior to the final group rehearsal, in-situ, and for the final performance as initially agreed at the outset of the experiment. Both IS and NK appeared to be totally relaxed, and asked the Liminal group to perform to them (see Figure 5.18). This was of particular interest to me, as they instantly assumed the role of ‘djembefola’ or leaders of the group. They did not appear to understand the meaning of all being equal with no directed leadership and found this idea amusing. They agreed it was a worthy experiment and that we had ‘learned well together’. However both djembefola were keen to keep the rhythm as close to its authentic tradition as possible, and therefore some changes needed to be made by the group (see Figure 5.19).



Figure 5.18 NK and IS – Rehearsal at Drum Camp



Figure 5.19 Changes to the rhythm

This was soon accomplished under the guidance of the two djembefola and the group was ready to perform. The social and cultural capital of the djembefola presented in many ways, from the type of audience who had gathered to watch the performance given by two highly respected djembefola and some Western students of intermediate level. This in itself was unusual, as under normal circumstances a performance with two djembefola would be a highly organised and choreographed presentation within a performance arena such as a stage or concert hall. This performance took place at an impromptu time, with no prior advertising, in a medium-sized marquee in the centre of the Drum Camp site (see Figure 5.20). The presence of the djembefola was a distinct advantage in increasing the size of the audience, which grew as soon as the group began to play. People were interested to see where the sound was coming from. The social capital of each of the individual members was also partly responsible for the presence of the audience, as our experiment had been shared through social networking and through face-to-face conversations. Collectively, the

virtual networking ability of our group was substantial. Additionally, our group cultural capital was greatly enhanced by the presence of the djembefola who were involved.



Figure 5.20 Liminal group performance at Drum Camp

The influential French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) was interested in the ways in which society is reproduced, and how the dominant classes retain their position. Within the djembe field of practice, Djembefola, Nansady Keita and Iya Sako were the dominant cultural figures, recognised by the remaining members of the liminal group of players as being the leaders, due to their cultural heritage. Bourdieu, is especially known for his discussion of cultural capital – the ways in which people would use cultural knowledge to underpin their place in the hierarchy. His book, *Distinction* (1984), explores the ways in which the trappings of middle-class taste and cultivation are used by people as cultural signifiers, as they seek to identify themselves with those ‘above’ them on the social ladder, and to demonstrate their difference from those ‘below’. *Distinction* was ground-breaking as a detailed study of the ways in which cultural artefacts and knowledge were brought into play, alongside basic economics, in the dynamics of social class relations. (Bourdieu, in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 118–9)

During the performance, each individual participant played his or her assigned parts. Both NK and IS (the djembefola) had perfected the rhythm in less than ten minutes. They explained that this is how they were taught in their villages by their masters; they would be shown a musical phrase which they would have to learn and practice for weeks, sometimes even months, before they were allowed to move on to something more tricky.

In the process of virtual learning the group would learn collectively without the presence of the djembefola, who were not members of the virtual group but were members of the Liminal group. Their membership within the virtual group was not seen as being necessary for the learning process, as the members collectively organised themselves without the djembefola. However, there was a keen sense that while they were not actively participating within the group, their presence was increasingly essential to what the group was doing. The physical presence of the djembefola was not a necessary part of the process of virtual learning yet, paradoxically, the knowledge of their 'absent presence' was absolutely necessary. Although they were not present during the virtual learning and communicating stages, the knowledge that they would be involved in the final stages when the actual physical performance would take place, was symbolically important. The djembefola were highly respected by all members of the group for their social and cultural capital, which then resulted in all members recognising the djembefola as being 'present' if only in constant thoughts and references to them throughout the case study. This recognition of 'absent presence' enabled the djembefola to become central actors in the online section of the case study. This level of cultural capital exhibited by the djembefola and reinforced by the members of the group is extraordinary, considering that the djembefola did not need to be present, and yet it was their approval that the group was hoping to gain. The djembe habitus in this case study is different from the traditional form of habitus seen within rural villages

where music played by the djembefola was used for ceremonial and ritualistic purposes. The case study had no 'present' djembefola who would act as the teacher. The group learned the rhythm through digital social media and external software, hence highlighting the importance of technology. The stronger members of the group directed the learning process with collaborative input from the remaining members. Once the performance had taken place, the Liminal participants experienced a variety of emotions, ranging from relief to euphoria. The sense of achievement by the participants was palpable, along with a delighted reaction from the audience. The symbolic capital of both individuals and of the group itself was increased, due to the level of competency demonstrated by the players' ability to successfully perform with two djembefola and experience visual approval from them. An overall reaction by the whole group indicated a willingness to undertake this form of learning again.

This first case study shows the existence of the djembe habitus in both virtual and physical spaces. It shows that some of the people who today learn the djembe and perform with the djembe are Westerners and that, even when learning from teachers is not provided in a direct way, the existence of the traditional West African teacher is still very important. The West African djembefola are highly respected by both Westerners and West African musicians and their cultural capital exhibited by their skills has received global and international recognition. At the same time, Westerners can attempt to develop a djembe habitus, and this will be contingent upon both their economic capital and their willingness to play. The symbolic capital of the group Liminal was enhanced in terms of group members acquiring the skills needed in order to learn in a virtual environment.

5.3 Case study 2: Field trip – The Gambia

This case study refers to another space in which to observe djembe habitus and is based on an examination of both virtual and physical communications between a group of people who travelled to The Gambia to learn the djembe. My analysis includes a discussion of what took place prior to our departure and what happened in The Gambia, in order to capture how the djembe habitus has evolved today.

The analysis of this study is divided into two subsections, the first of which focuses on the initial virtual communications that took place between the players within the Facebook group called ‘Gambia Workshop with Nansady Keita and friends’. This was where preliminary information was issued regarding an intensive workshop to be held in rural West Africa with djembefola Nansady Keita. The second subsection examines the semi-structured and in-depth face-to-face interviews that took place during the workshop. This section is further broken down in order to address the key themes identified within the literature review, namely Bourdieu’s habitus, field, capital and doxa.

5.3.1 Communications in the virtual space

The intensive drum and dance workshop took place in The Gambia, West Africa, from 22 January 2014 to 5 February 2014.



Figure 5.21 Promotional screenshot of Gambia field trip 2014 – public status

Figure 5.21 illustrates the group header for the Facebook public group page. This group post was shared to the organiser’s network of ‘friends’ within Facebook. Once the required number of people had confirmed that they would attend the workshop, the status of the group was altered to ‘closed’.



Figure 5.22 Gambia workshop group – closed status

The role of the ‘closed’ Facebook group (see Figure 5.22) was to provide a virtual forum where committed participants could ask questions about what was required of them, and discuss health concerns and obtain immunisation guidance, and also to act as a place where a dialogue would emerge between participants. The opening statement of the group page clarified this:

‘We are going to Gambia to study with Nansady Keita and friends from 22nd January to 5th February 2014. The workshop is taking place at the wonderful Kobokoto Lodge, Sanyang. This page is where we can get in touch with each other, ask questions of the organisers, etc. [...] This page is just for those who are actually booked on the w/s so it gives a bit more privacy. Feel free to ask anything or share anything you feel may be useful if you're not a first-timer’.

These statements were intended to encourage an virtual dialogue between participants. A wide variety of questions and answers appeared from 30 August 2013 to 1 January 2014.

The organiser left the UK soon after this date to fly to The Gambia.

The information posted within the group pages during this four-month period was invaluable. People who had prior experience of visiting The Gambia passed on local knowledge and advice. Information about flights was added in order to help people get the best available price. Reliable health information was added and updated if anything changed.

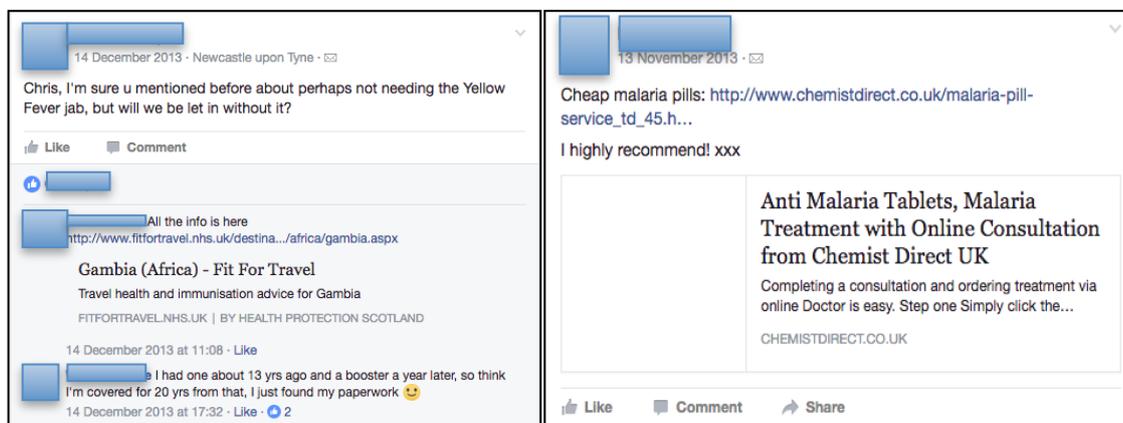


Figure 5.23 Health advice for The Gambia

It is particularly interesting that although this post (see Figure 5.23) was a question addressed specifically to the organiser, other participants were clearly involved with the emerging dialogue and, when appropriate, responded by posting reliable links to external sites with further information. This indicated the presence of a virtual community consisting of people who did not previously know each other ‘speaking’ via digital communication. The organiser of the workshop posted a request for information about the participants’ flights and lengths of stay and the information were collated based on their virtual responses (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Participants’ travel information

Name	Leaving from	Duration of stay
LMC	UK	22 Jan – 5 Feb 2014
LM	UK	23 Jan – 6 Feb 2014
BH + UH	Sweden	22 Jan – 6 Feb 2014
RG	UK	21 Jan – 8 Feb 2014
TH	Sweden	22 Jan – 5 Feb 2014
HH	Spain	22 Jan – 8 Feb 2014
RP	UK	19 Jan – 5 Feb 2014
HC + RC	UK	20 Jan – 10 Feb 2014
KS	UK	20 Jan – 10 Feb 2014
JP + TS	UK	20 Jan – 8 Feb 2014
PE	UK	Unknown

The workshop organiser also posted a comment about baggage, which is interesting as far as this particular case study is concerned as the notion of transportation is considered important from the point of view of economic capital. A prerequisite for Westerners travelling to West African villages in order to learn the djembe is the possession of economic capital. A variety of resources were needed in order to travel to The Gambia and the participants also needed the required skills to access and understand digital technology in order to be able to organise their travel arrangements, illustrating a level of both cultural and economic capital. Therefore, technology is again seen as an important factor in enabling the Westerner to travel to The Gambia.

There were six responses from four participants discussing baggage constraints and musical instruments:

- With Condor Airlines it's different: To Banjul only economy flights with 20 kg baggage free + hand baggage (max. 6 kg p. person; 55 x 40 x 20 cm). You can book more baggage weight as an option (before flight – in 5 kg-steps: 80€/140€/... at Banjul Airport, every add. kg costs 20 \$! TC conditions are really good ... but not offered in Frankfurt
- damn it, my fiddle is 5 cms too long! I'm not sure I trust them not to damage it in the hold. Hmm, would like to bring it, will there be some chance for Afro/Celtic fusion? Or other Afro fusions come to think of it? Would it be welcome to bring my fiddle?
- would be wonderful if you brought your fiddle, I got a guitar damaged a couple of years ago in the belt at Banjul airport tho, do u have a 2nd best fiddle you'd be less gutted about being damaged? we love fusion of all kinds n have done gongo n spoons, balafon n flute but nothing with a fiddle before ...
- yes, I have a cheaper one, that I would even be happy to leave behind if anyone there was interested in learning or playing it. Cracking idea! I'll do that 😊.
- everyone will be delighted if you leave one behind, we could keep it with the band instruments then several people will get the chance to play it.
- okey dokey, I'll repair the hard case too, bring it in that.

There were also many instances where reference was made to other traditional activities and practices, including cooking, bird watching and ceremonial festivals. Links to external websites were made available for participants to choose an activity for days when no teaching would be taking place (see Figure 5.24).

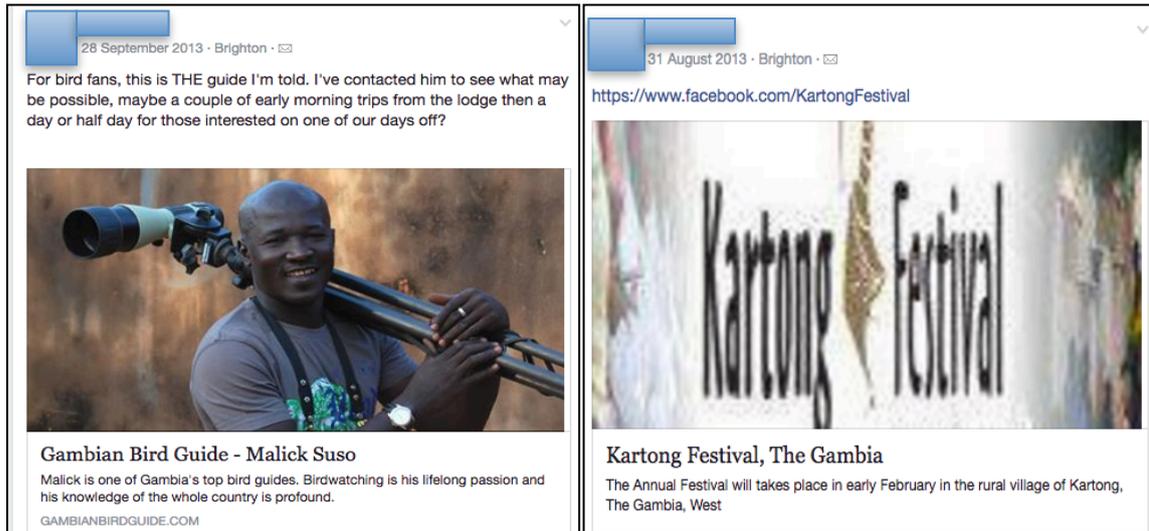


Figure 5.24 Other available activities

Both of the above examples demonstrate how previously traditional activities within West Africa have now become a form of business exchange. A variety of other types of activity could also be taken advantage of during the intensive workshop. All offered a glimpse of the 'traditional and authentic', in that traditional artefacts could be purchased or traditional music heard.

A highlight of the workshop for all participants was the invitation to perform at the Sanyang International Cultural Festival. An outline of the ethos of this festival was posted on the Facebook page advertising the event (see Figure 5.25).



Figure 5.25 Sanyang International Cultural Festival ethos

I find this particularly relevant to this case study in that it makes an unequivocal link between African rural traditions and the attempt to connect with the contemporary Western tourist. The Sanyang International Cultural Festival has its own Facebook page. In terms of the reflection of historical culture and roots, two responses to this post stood out (see Figure 5.26). This traditional rural festival takes place in The Gambia, but what is of interest to me is the way it is presented to a wider audience through Facebook as a commercial cultural event.

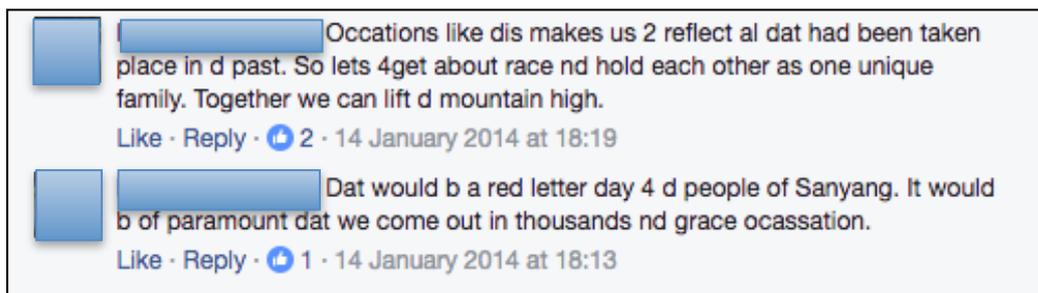


Figure 5.26 Reflections of historical culture

5.3.2 Communications in the physical space

The following section analyses the interviews held on site in the Gambia with workshop participants and teachers and explores how djembe habitus has played a key role in shaping beliefs, enhancing social capital and structuring group culture.

Bourdieu defines habitus as having a ‘feel for the game’, an understanding of the life being lived and the accumulated cultural capital. Each interviewee was questioned about their life history and their experience of playing the djembe. Based on the content of the interviews, I discuss djembe habitus relative to Bourdieu’s key sociological concepts. The three types of capital linked with habitus are cultural, social and economic. When an individual enters a society he/she encounters a variety of fields such as work spaces, institutional spaces and social groups. Once the individual enters a field, the capital is transformed into ‘symbolic capital’. The field exhibits its own rules or ‘doxa’. The members of this particular field will evaluate the individual who has entered the field and assign him or her a legitimate position within that field, determined by the amount of symbolic capital that is associated with the individual.

The purpose of the first question asked of CS (the organiser of the workshop and wife of MS), MS and OB was to discover background information about their lives in order to determine the position of their habitus and associated capital. MS and OB spoke in French. Different participants embodied djembe habitus in different ways; one example of this contemporary habitus in the village was the wife of one of the musicians (CS). She is a

British woman who is immersed in djembe practice and the discussion about her background allowed me to identify how she first became aware of the djembe, and how she then decided to learn to play the instrument and finally to become a teacher of the djembe to non-West African students.

Interview

HC: So first of all C, could you tell me a little bit about your background, i.e. where you grew up? And where do you consider home? Before you came (CS) here, (HC) here, so where did you grow up?

CS: Okay, I am a Midlander by birth. I was born in Stoke-on-Trent. I grew up in Staffordshire, I grew up in Derby. All my family is still there mostly, my sister is in Yorkshire, my brother is in Devon these days, my parents are still there, my grandparents are dead, but I was kind of born and raised a Midlander. Moved south in my kinda mid-20s to do a degree and have been living in Brighton ever since, so have been in Brighton 30 years, not quite 30 years, 28 years, something like that. It's a difficult question, where would I consider home? I think I am still very split between the north/south thing, I think ... I think home is always Derby really, but I haven't lived there for a really long time.

CS/OB: He was born in Conakry and then he went to, I was explained to about Isle du Kassa which is just kind of outside ... Just kind of just outside (Q: CS to OB in French). His father was a fisherman. (Q: CS to OB in French) He grew up on the Island of Kassa.

CS/MS: M grew up in Conakry, born in Conakry. Conakry is capital of Guinea. Me and MS can't live and be together. I'm in the UK, he's here, I have to come here. I can't get a bloody visa for him, no money, no proof that he can support himself, it's hard, all I want is for us to be together. It's a political thing.

It was interesting to note that CS (the British wife of MS, a West African musician) referred to her family who were mostly still living in Stoke-on-Trent, as part of her reply to the question. Also interesting was her feeling of being split between the north and south of the country, although she felt that her 'home' was in Derby. The different places which she interprets on different levels as home can be described as different 'fields', as discussed by Bourdieu. The fields which represent different aspects of her life require different forms of capital in order for her to function successfully in each of the fields at any particular time. The interaction between her and her family in the UK is noticeably different from that between her and her husband in West Africa. West African locals speak either in their native dialect (of which there are many) or in French. English is spoken, but not widely,

which means that, in order to communicate, a level of language skill is required of all players. CS's ability to converse in different languages in order to adapt to the particular field in which she is residing at any given time demonstrates her level of cultural capital. CS also considered her home to be in The Gambia, where her husband still lives. Notable, in her discussion of 'home', is the feeling of separation being experienced by both CS and MS. The lack of a valid visa demonstrates a level of institutionalised cultural capital exhibited by MS, in terms of the lack of credentials required for him to obtain the correct documentation relating to his financial position. His social, cultural and economic capital, although adequate in The Gambia, is inadequate for admission into the UK. The external environment of the global political economy means that Westerners interested in learning and playing the djembe are required to engage in djembe tourism, due to the economic and political difficulties experienced by local djembefola in travelling abroad. Countries like the UK are selective on who is allowed to enter, whereas The Gambia actively encourages Westerners into their country. The political, economic, social and technological decisions taken by the powerful nations such as France, Russia and the UK have an impact upon the less powerful nations in terms of what people can or cannot do, or where people can or cannot travel. This observation enables us to understand the changes in how the djembe is organised, in terms of continuity and change. It also shows that the global spread of the djembe is not really boundaryless. It is constrained by legal regulations with regard to the movement of people, and dependent upon the economic capital of those who wish to practise the djembe. Mobility across the world is easier for white Westerners than it is for black African practitioners.

There was a clear distinction made by MS and OB in terms of the importance of 'home'. They both said that 'home' was considered to be where you were born, no matter where you lived now. All of the West African musicians interviewed spoke about home as being

somewhere they associated with their parents and their grandparents, and where they heard and experienced music from a very early age.

Interview

AC: My brother was doing music every day, my older brother, all day, every day. Learning, learning, learning. My grandfather was the teacher, he would slap him if he done it wrong. I began at age three learning kenkeni, the baby drum [he laughs], then, after five years, the sangban [he laughs again], then allowed to move to dununba, the daddy drum, big, big responsibility. My teacher Abouley, very good teacher, big stick [he laughs again]. I play at festivals and events like weddings. No money to me, all to djembefola.

Their collective description of ‘home’ defines a strong field, where traditional practice relating to work and essentially to surviving in a poor society is still seen today. However the importance of learning music from an early age is mentioned in terms of economic culture. AC discussed his family and how they learned the djembe. Only djembefola receive payment for playing at rituals and ceremonies, but there is considerable prestige involved in accompanying the djembefola and the student’s level of cultural capital would reflect this. In order to learn the djembe, a certain level of intellect is required, as well as the physical strength to play the drums and the dunduns for extended periods of time. As the student’s skills become more refined and he attains a level of competence in playing, his symbolic capital increases. Once the student achieves an appropriate standard of playing, he moves on to the next level. Learning styles are vastly different in West Africa to those in the West; often, physical abuse was used in order to push the student. West African learning would occur on a daily basis, whereas in the UK most djembe students attend classes to learn the djembe much more infrequently, perhaps weekly or monthly. Similarly, while the teaching in West Africa traditionally would continue for whole days at a time, repeating the same phrases hour after hour without a break, UK students tend to be taught for only a couple of hours at a time, or perhaps for a whole day, but with tea breaks and lunch breaks as well. Occasionally, residential learning events aimed at Western students are advertised, usually

through social media, but such events would be attended by the students through choice rather than necessity.

AC's habitus changed rapidly as he grew older and began to experience more djembe culture. He would travel, often many miles, to other villages in order to accompany djembefola and to play the kenkeni, sangban and dununba, the collective family of traditional double-ended drums known as dunduns and used as an accompaniment for the djembe at ceremonies and village events. His social capital as a dundun player became recognisable to other people in terms of the development of networks of musicians, friends and acquaintances. His economic capital, however, was not extensive; he was poor, he had few belongings, and was not paid to play at that point. On the other hand, his pride at being asked to play enhanced the cultural levels of capital in terms of his position in the field. His willingness to conform to the rules of the game (his consistent learning of the djembe) and his obedience to his teacher always ensured that he was included when musicians were needed. NK's experience at this point was observed to be fundamentally different from other West African djembefola. His family name, Keita, was linked to the royal lineage and as a result of that recognition there were always opportunities, even as a small child, for him to meet the right people, or to be in the right place. However this had drawbacks.

Interview

NK: My family is famous djembefola family, royal. I am nephew to Famodou, yes Famodou Konate. I have big pressure to be good on djembe. It is my life, it was always my life. The djembe speaks to me to play well for people. The djembe gives me food and friends.

His family were poor and had to work hard, resulting in a low level of economic capital, but at the same time his social capital was considerable as a result of his djembefola lineage.

His daily association with many established djembefola enabled him to study with the best teachers, who were also members of his family. His village, Sangbaralla in Hamana, Guinea, was isolated and poor but rich in musical tradition, especially the djembe culture.

This meant that his cultural capital was extensive, with djembe skills and techniques being learned from an early age and his status as a djembe and dundun player grew as he began to travel farther from his village. His willingness to learn and develop his skills is clearly evidenced by his position within djembe culture in today's contemporary world, where his assigned position or his doxa, in both geographical 'fields' and virtual 'fields', can be observed easily through conversations with djembefola around the world or online in social media. His lineage established the perception that he would become a djembefola; it was literally a 'taken-for-granted' assumption by both his family and other djembe families. Western djembe players, even those of a master level, do not possess the same degree of social and cultural capital, compared with West African djembefola. There is no doxa present. Becoming a Western master djembe player is not a taken-for-granted path, but one that is undertaken by choice. Global recognition is rare at the best of times. All of the non-West African interviewees suggested that, usually, any recognition of a 'good' djembe teacher came through the association of that teacher with his or her own teacher, who was usually from West Africa. This is interesting in terms of the social capital required by both the djembefola and the prospective non-West African djembe teacher. The networks and acquaintances associated with both appear to be transferable from one to the other. Often, both the djembefola and the student teacher would know similar groups of friends or acquaintances. A further interesting point made by PE (a British participant at the workshop) was that cultural history is balanced by the djembefola's experience of learning through ancient ritualistic practice, which in fact is never conveyed to Western students, as only the djembefola is privy to this sacred knowledge. Some of the historical aspects of the music can be taught to the student teacher, such as the meanings of the rhythms and the reasons for playing them, as well as the associated dances and songs. What is not normally conveyed is the secret and sacred meanings of the ceremonies. This knowledge is passed

from generation to generation and is still, even in today's contemporary world, kept secret.

The habitus of the djembefola is very different from the habitus experienced by non-West African students, who require certain amounts of cultural capital in order to be able to learn.

Skills are taught and learned in a modern world in a modern way.

When all the participants arrived at Kobokoto Lodge in Sanyang in The Gambia, a new field was created, a space where individuals could enter and fit in according to the 'rules of the game', and where the individual capitals transformed into symbolic capital, ensuring that each individual occupied the correct position within the new field. Skill levels, social networks, physical appearance, competency and material belongings all played their part in the representation of the individual to the other members of the group.

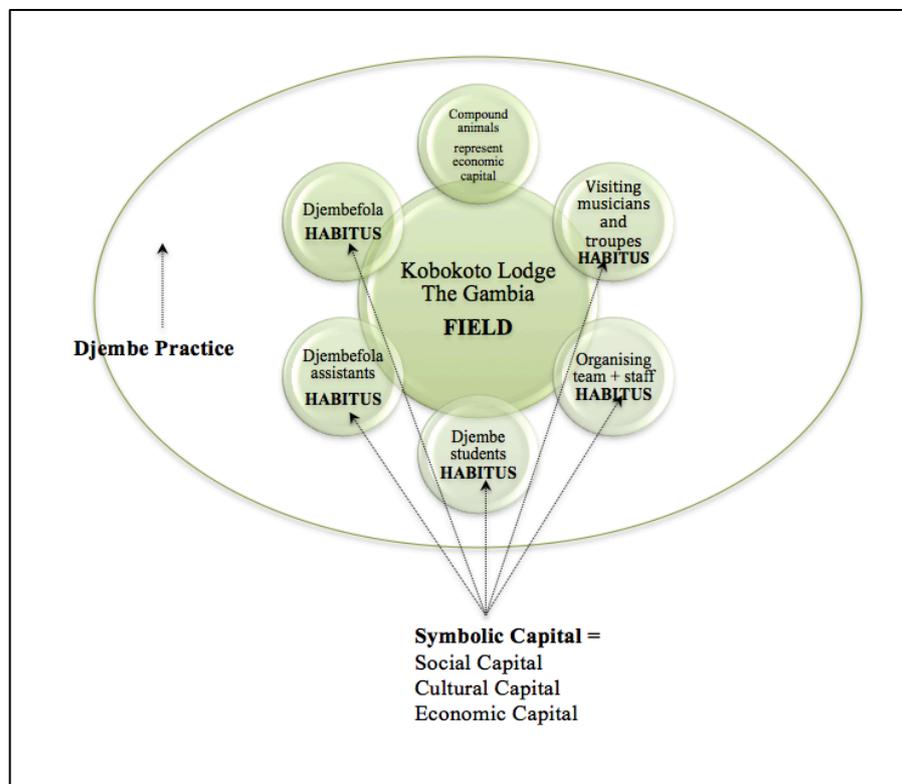


Figure 5.27 Djembe practice in Bourdieu's field

As far as the djembe students were concerned, the symbolic capital (see Figure 5.27) was recognised when an individual entered the field and was different for each participant. This

varied according to the level of skill attained, as well as acquaintances or networks of friends and colleagues, intellect, social status, belongings, material possessions, competency and financial status, and was represented by their social, cultural and economic capital. The symbolic capital relating to the West African musicians, including the djembefola and the touring troupes who visited the compound in order to entertain the participants, was significantly different to that of the djembe students. The economic capital observed in the Western djembe students, represented by their financial status, was far higher than the economic capital observed in relation to the djembefola and the other West African musicians. However, the West African musicians exhibited a far higher level of cultural capital than that shown by the Western djembe students.

The symbolic capital associated with the Western students, in terms of their living and working situations in their homeland, was fundamentally altered as they entered the djembe field in The Gambia. The levels of capital for each student were not necessarily those required within this new field, and therefore adaptation to the new field had to be learned. In contrast, however, the symbolic capital held by the West African djembefola and their highly experienced assistants varied in other ways. The economic status linked with the West African djembefola is limited in comparison with the Westerner, but the economic capital present in the field of the djembefola and their assistants enabled them to attract, through their acknowledged skills on the djembe, a number of Westerners who could finance their trip and pay fees to the djembefola, with the result that the djembefola could earn money, which in turn meant that they could pay their assistants. This was their field, they knew the rules, but were happy to share their knowledge.

Interview

PE: The only djembe players to learn from are the West African ones ... they are just the best. It's in their blood, their heart, their hands. I wouldn't learn from an Englishman, unless they had learned from one from here. They are the best, really, really they are. You know you are learning thousands of years of culture when a master teaches you. I feel incredibly lucky and humble that he would teach me.

Interview

AC: When they learn it is very difficult, when they learn together, in the place that they are going to learn in the chief or djembefola, yeah ... he will show them. The sangban, the kenkeni, the dununba one time, then more times more times and more times [he laughs]. I like to teach, it gives me courage, strength. I like to understand how to do it. To feel satisfaction, yeah good feeling to teach you guys. When you get it right [lots of laughter].

NK and several other well-known djembefola have established relationships with Western djembe students, mostly via social media, in particular Facebook. Although NK does not usually interact personally with others on Facebook by writing text or posting images or videos due to his lack of technological skill, he has friends who are willing to do this on his behalf. The sharing of multimedia content through Facebook networks has enabled him to meet influential people who are willing to collaborate together, through sponsorship, to help with visa applications and financial aid, allowing him to travel around the world teaching and performing. This assistance directly affects his cultural capital in that his status as djembefola, teacher of the djembe and performer is recognised in an extended field as a result of the 'sharing' function in Facebook, as well as the face-to-face experience itself. Performances are recorded and uploaded to Facebook groups, or spoken about by audiences. His symbolic capital becomes stronger and indeed measurable with each visit abroad. Although his economic capital has grown, it is still considered relatively low as a result of the African tradition of giving financial support to both immediate and extended family members in West Africa. However his social and cultural capital is considerable, due to his teaching skills and his personality, which endear him to many large social groups around the

world, both geographically and online within djembe circles in the social media platform Facebook.

It is interesting to note at this point that the habitus experienced by the djembefola in the villages and towns of West Africa is very different from the habitus experienced by non-West African students and teachers. Traditionally, and this is still the case today, the djembefola would learn from his master and over time become a master in his own right. In the Western world, a person may discover the djembe in many different ways.

During the interview process, interviewees were asked how they discovered the djembe.

Interview

LC: I first came across it about twelve years ago, and it was a one-off workshop that I went to. I absolutely loved it, but it clashed with my salsa classes that I had just started, so I continued with my salsa ... but then I went to another one with a woman who was a member of the salsa group I was in, called 'Spice'. The workshops had djembes in it, and I just loved it. Then about a month or so later I got to go to another djembe beginner workshop organised by someone I knew, who imports West African goods, but he was white. It was kinda good but not the same as being taught by a proper djembefola from Gambia or Guinea.

This is particularly interesting to me, as it indicates that a Western student of the djembe associates learning the djembe from a traditionally trained djembefola as being the 'proper' way to do it, whereas a non-West African teacher is not as good. The cultural capital displayed by the djembefola in terms of their skill in playing the djembe and also their status as 'djembefola', is observable by Western students. The students perceive the cultural capital as being authentic and as being correct. In contrast, a Western teacher could not exhibit this level of cultural capital, no matter how experienced a teacher he or she was seen to be. A certain amount of economic capital is needed by the Western djembe student in order to be able to attend the workshops or classes and purchase or hire a djembe. In terms of methodology, both djembefola and Western students were questioned about the techniques and skills required to play the djembe correctly.

Interview

CS: I think it's important to learn technique. I think that's important because the instrument comes from here [The Gambia], and I think, and I mean, I don't have issues with pupils doing jam sessions or using it [the djembe] in various ways. But, I, well ... there is a lot of rubbish djembe playing being played in Europe, and I, you know, and also here [The Gambia]. I mean, a friend said she had enjoyed djembe playing on the beach and they play really badly. You know that here the tradition is getting broken because of the young not being trained properly; they are losing the tradition, no technique. I think it's the fault of the tourist industry; they all want to earn money from the tourists. Fast bucks.

CS is the wife of MS, who was one of NK's assistants at the workshop, and although MS is a master musician in his own right, he did not have the social capital required to attract students to the workshop in The Gambia. The social capital associated with NK in terms of his global popularity enabled him to become the central figure at the workshop in The Gambia as a result of his teaching ability and accumulated traditional knowledge. CS's comments regarding the young West African djembe players on the beach seem to be in line with the views of the elders of the villages and towns who exhibited concern over the impact of tourism upon the techniques being learned and taught by West Africans to Western students. Both West African beach djembe players and the tourists, who are often looking for someone to give them a quick lesson in how to play djembe, experience the presence of economic capital as a result of the provision of and payment for a service, in this case an impromptu djembe 'lesson' on the beach. While tourism is beneficial to the inhabitants of villages and towns in West Africa due to the economic capital that it attracts to rural areas, it is also recognised as a key factor in the loss of djembe technique being taught by elders to djembefola students. The number of trained djembefola is decreasing, not only because of tourism but also due to their increasing ability to relocate to other countries. As a consequence, tradition and ritualistic ceremonies are becoming less common.

As regards the Internet, and specifically Facebook, all Western interviewees stated that they had access to both, albeit in varying degrees, whereas West African access to the Internet was more limited. Computers are a rare commodity in rural areas, even in some of the smaller towns, but most West Africans have some access to a mobile phone that has Internet capability.

All the West African musicians present at the Gambian workshop, without exception, had intermittent access to the Internet and were able, with help from friends, to communicate through Facebook. This indicates a level of social, cultural and economic capital. Although the use of computers was rare, the ability to engage in social media was available either through Internet cafés or through mobile phones.

Interview

AC: Sometimes I go to the Internet with a friend. I can't read or write so it isn't easy, he helps me. I use emails with my friend, and we talk to our distant friends. I use my friend's Facebook, I don't have one. But we share it. He writes for me what I tell him to. We have to walk to the computer, it's far and takes a long time. It takes time to make connections; sometimes it's slow and doesn't work. Most of my friends can't read or write, we had to leave school aged seven and go to find work. And Internet is expensive. And lots of time there is no electricity. People in Conakry sometimes have electricity and computers, but we don't.

The question of whether locals in The Gambia are able to access the Internet is a complicated issue for a variety of reasons associated with cost, location, access, usability and the ability to read and write. For most people in this particular part of West Africa, the biggest issue is poverty, even with a growing tourism industry. Some people are employed by hotels and as guides, but the majority do not benefit in any way and remain in poverty. What is interesting is that a significant number of the locals do, in fact, own a mobile phone, which has either been purchased for them by tourists or sent to them from other countries. Pay-as-you-go SIM cards are used. The inability to read or write is slowly being overcome with the use of emoticons and emojis, or even by sending and receiving photographs as a means of communication. This demonstrates a level of cultural capital, as a particular set of

skills are required in order to use the phone technology or a computer. Unlike the situation in the West, people in West Africa suffer from unreliable connection facilities; Internet cafés are expensive and few and far between, and power cuts are a frequent occurrence, severely restricting people's ability to access Facebook and communicate with one another. This lack of availability of technology leads more often than not to the local musicians gathering together and simply making and learning music.

Djembe habitus within the local villages in The Gambia is still in existence, although it is growing weaker due to the lack of experienced djembefola to teach the craft and continue the traditional heritage. The field is referred to as the djembe environment or the area where the djembe is played. The players are the young people who are learning the djembe, but without being taught the proper techniques. However, djembefola like NK who leave the field take their habitus, consisting of their symbolic capital, into new fields both globally and in digital social media spaces, where their social cultural and economic capital is further extended.

This case study has examined different forms of virtual and physical communication in order to illustrate contemporary djembe habitus. Interviews were held with West African musicians and Western students in The Gambia to determine their relationship with djembe practice, both historically and culturally. The diversity and complexity of the djembe practice nowadays is no longer the exclusive domain of the djembefola, but has been appropriated by Westerners wishing to learn, and possibly teach, in their own countries. Paradoxically, the contemporary djembefola who has migrated to other countries is able to return to his own country, accompanied by Westerners who will pay the djembefola and other people who facilitate the experience, in order to learn the djembe within an 'authentic setting'. This observation illustrates the continuity and change associated with djembe practice. Previously, we could understand how the djembe was organised, by simply

understanding the rhythm of an African villager's life. Boys are born, then are circumcised, they grow up and become men, then get married. The djembefola, who is part of the village and known by the villagers, has a symbolic status within the village and is privy to the secret rituals which take place in the village. He is not wealthy. These identified circumstances help us to understand the djembe habitus in the past. In order to understand the djembe habitus now, it is necessary to understand centuries of colonisation, political change, so-called economic development, and technological development. Djembe practice, although still happening within the African village, is now known far more on a global scale; the UK is an example of cross-cultural practice. The djembefola today may be West Africans who live in Africa permanently, or who return to Africa from other countries where they now live. Additionally, while non-West African djembe scholars who have learned the craft from the djembefola may now consider themselves as 'djembefola', West African djembefola do not recognise this status, as it is not accompanied by the sacred knowledge and rites of passage traditionally associated with West African djembefola. Interestingly, the djembe is no longer exclusive to the djembefola; anyone who has an interest and desire to learn can play the djembe.

The appropriation of a cultural practice by non-West Africans is observed as being beneficial, in terms of the increase of djembe tourism into The Gambia, resulting in more money being spent, thereby increasing the economic capital of the local people in the villages and towns. The economy of the country is increased, as Westerners are easily able to enter the country. However, it must also be noted that the commercialisation and commodification of an ancient cultural practice results in a form of homogenised djembe practice, which is both taught to Westerners and enacted differently from its rural roots. Although it has been recognised that it was Sekou Touré was instrumental in altering the centuries old tradition of ritualistic djembe drumming into a style of djembe drumming

which can be identified as concert style or performance style, highly choreographed, in order to represent Guinea's cultural development. Over time, with the djembefola becoming more globally mobile, the traditional rhythms became shortened, from many hours or even days to approximately half an hour at most. This led to set rhythms being learned in this new shortened style becoming the 'norm'. The political, economic, social and technological advances enable the development of diverse methods of engaging with the djembe culture. Different forms of social and cultural change allow for different kinds of hobbies and interests to be pursued, especially with the social networking platform Facebook. These circumstances illustrate the emergence of a new djembe paradigm reliant upon technology and digital communication.

5.4 Case Study 3: Drum Camp

5.4.1 Introduction

The third identified space where djembe habitus is enacted took place within the closed Drum Camp Facebook group between 9 July 2013 and 28 November 2014. The purpose of the study was to examine the different forms of business practice resulting in an emphasis on the accumulation of economic capital and how, as a result, the traditional djembe habitus seen within rural villages in The Gambia has become a virtual, commodified and commercial practice. I refer to the online Facebook group Drum Camp as a 'field', as defined by Bourdieu, where the players, along with their habitus are the people involved, in both virtual and physical arenas.

Drum Camp is a significant event in the world music festival scene; entry is by pre-purchased ticket only. Approximately half of the workshop leaders and artists who deliver djembe and dance workshops and performances are from West Africa.

The festival itself takes place in Suffolk, UK, during the summer, and is represented online in a number of different formats, the main two being a dedicated website and a closed Facebook group. These two sources provide information about the festival and the workshops and performances, together with financial details, as well as offering a forum for on-going dialogue between the members of the Facebook group. People who wish to join the group need to be accepted by one of the existing group administrators. The Facebook group was created for three main reasons:

- To provide ticket holders to the event with a forum where matters such as travel arrangements, timings and meet-ups could be discussed;
- To post logistical and health and safety information; and
- To create a space in which ticket holders could communicate with one other and share experiences prior to, during and after the event, by posting text, images and videos.

The period of examination of the Facebook group for this case study ran from 9 July 2013 to 28 November 2014 and encompassed the build-up to Drum Camp, the Drum Camp festival itself and the aftermath of the event.

What was particularly interesting about the online dialogue in terms of the social capital of both the group as a collective and the individuals who populated the group was the variety of ways in which people used the platform in order to share information. People who were interested in attending Drum Camp as festival goers asked to join the group. This action was completed by the click of a button on the Drum Camp header page. The request was sent via a Facebook message to the administrators of the group who would either approve or reject the request. The group's virtual space within Facebook is populated with people from various walks of life, such as business, music and marketing, as well as those people who just want to attend the event to experience world music. In order to attend Drum Camp in a

physical space, a form of economic capital was required to purchase the tickets. Once they had purchased tickets people began to share this news within their own social networks, the Drum Camp Facebook page and their personal Facebook networks. A sense of their cultural capital was identified in a typical post which encouraged other members within the group to either like, share or comment. Their dialogue tended to focus on the social aspects, such as who they were going with, who they would be excited to see there, and what they would be doing, whereas the traders, musicians and workshop leaders mainly posted information about their goods, workshops, classes and other events which they wanted to advertise to a bespoke virtual market (see Figure 5.28). The traders' social, cultural and economic capital was visible to all members of the group. Images were often used as a form of direct marketing, focused on Drum Camp attendees.

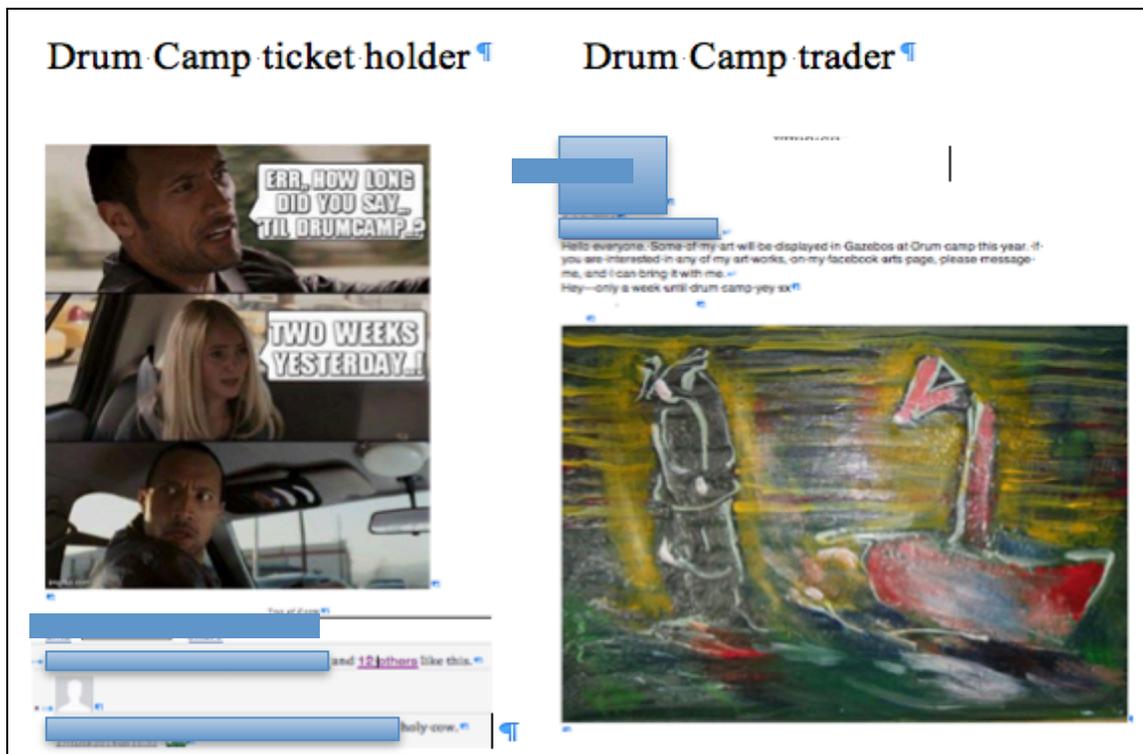


Figure 5.28 Drum Camp online marketing

The process of purchasing tickets for Drum Camp can be recognised as a form of cultural and social capital, in that people need to have the necessary technological skills in order to

access the Internet, purchase the tickets and either print out tickets or download an e-version to their mobile phone. This also implies a level of economic capital required in order to complete the purchase. Interestingly, traders began to advertise their presence at Drum Camp up to four months prior to the actual event, in order to entice people to their stalls at the physical event. Musicians and workshop leaders promoted their own classes, workshops and/or stage performances on the Drum Camp Facebook group page as a means of promoting their work in other geographical spaces, again to a bespoke audience. Drum Camp Limited employs particular djembefola because of their competence within the djembe field, as well as their reputation within djembe-related spaces, often on a global scale. The level of skill demonstrated by the djembefola, djembe dancers or accompanying musicians clearly signifies a considerable amount of social, cultural and economic capital.

5.4.2 Add me as a friend

The social capital identified within the closed Drum Camp Facebook group was an important factor for the djembefola, djembe master, djembe dancer or accompanying musician, as it represented their ability to increase their social presence in both virtual and physical arenas by creating and joining networks consisting of people who were interested primarily in West African music and dance. The creation of this virtual social capital then results in an increased level of economic capital and reinforces their ability to play, teach or perform, as they have the money to travel and also to buy equipment for professional and commercial purposes. This elevates their status and also has a positive effect on their cultural and social capital, as news about their performances or workshops is shared online. Figure 5.29 illustrates the virtual Drum Camp social network relating to Seckou Keita (SK), a djembefola and kora player of the highest level, who is well respected by both West African djembefola and Western djembe teachers and students.

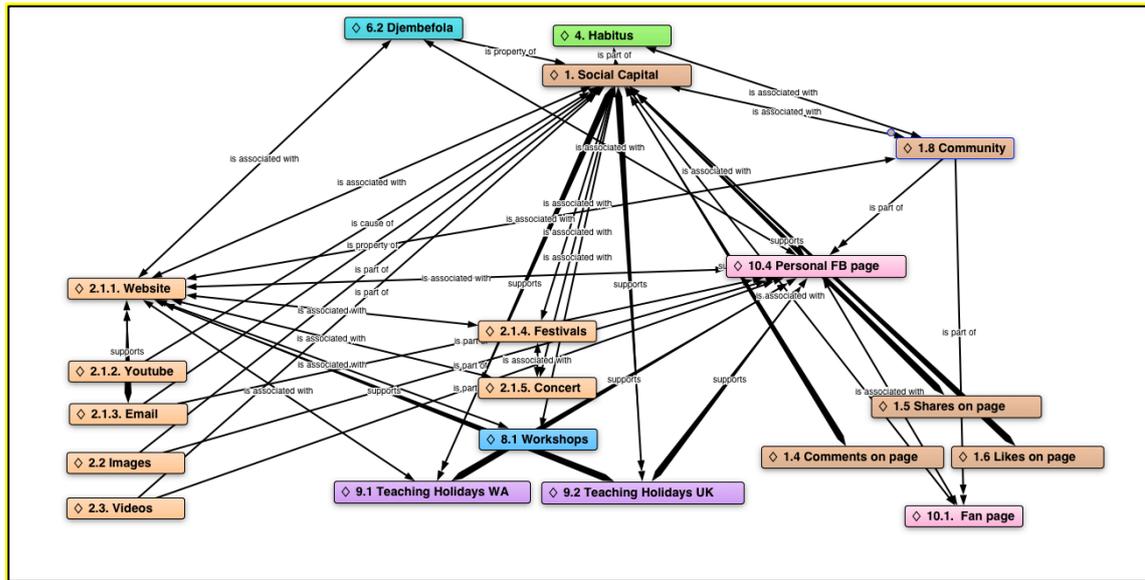


Figure 5.29 SK's social capital on Drum Camp 2014 Facebook group

SK has a global presence, both online and in the real world, which gives him an extremely high level of social capital in both the physical and virtual arenas. In turn, this considerable level of social capital is transferred to Drum Camp because of the number of people attracted to the event when he is billed for a main performance slot in the evening concert timetable. His symbolic capital is created when he enters the field, in this case the virtual Facebook group, which exists alongside the physical festival. Members of the group, and SK himself, post additional material online pertaining to his performance. He also benefits from being associated with Drum Camp, both virtually and physically, as he is able to promote himself and future events, such as his Unique Djembe Workshop (see Figure 5.30), which was to be held in Abéné, Senegal, over the Christmas period following the Drum Camp festival.





Figure 5.30 Promotional material posted to Drum Camp 2014 Facebook group

People wanting to attend the Unique Djembe Workshop in Abéné, Senegal, would need to possess a level of economic capital in order to travel from the West to Senegal in West Africa. The careful wording of the information flyer demonstrates SK's level of cultural capital. It was designed to appeal to all ages and abilities and to both men and women. The teaching method to be used at this workshop will be the contemporary, globalised style of drumming, rather than the traditional method of learning the djembe in a West African rural village, as Western students are now taught rhythms in ballet performance style rather than ceremonial drumming rhythms. What was once a ritualistic form of practice can be considered as a business transaction in the contemporary world.

The hotly anticipated release of the Drum Camp timetable occurred at 12:55 on 30 June and evoked a fast and enthusiastic response from the members of the group. The majority of ticket holders attending Drum Camp are interested primarily in djembe-related activities but also seem to enjoy 'trying out' other forms of music. Evidence of this is referred to within the post (see Figure 5.31), written by the founder of Drum Camp, with his comment: 'This is just an early release for those eager beavers among you!'. It can be seen that twenty-four people 'liked' this comment within an extremely short time after it had been posted, and thirty people added comments to it.

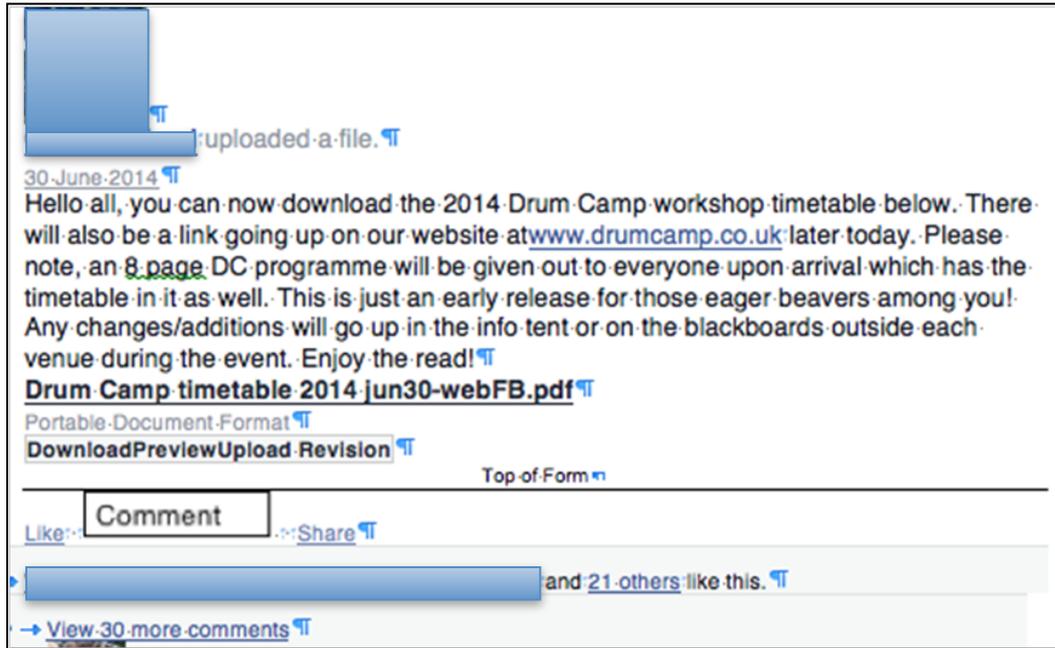


Figure 5.31 First Drum Camp timetable uploaded

Attendees were able to download the timetable to their own computers or mobile phones, which indicates a level of cultural capital in terms of having the correct set of technological skills required in order both to access the Internet and to download the document itself. I highlighted the djembe-related content on the Drum Camp timetable, in the same manner that other keen djembe players would, in order to illustrate the variety of different ability levels (see Figure 5.32).

DRUM CAMP TIMETABLE									
FRIDAY 11th JULY									
start time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9.00-10.00	Tai-Chi	Andree Shrivell							
10.00-11.30	Hans Sutton Djembe Intermed	Meditation & Gong Bath	Jaya Dance	Filomena Italy folk dance	Modou Sabar Beg	Vieux Bakayoko Djembe Advanced	Ed Mann Djembe Beginners	Mog Bodhran Beg.	Cliff Nat.American Flute
11.45-1.15	Bruno Ashley African Singing	Lies Beljerinck Didgeridoo	Carmen Jones Egyptian Dance	Saskia Bakayoko Djembe dance	Claudio Samba beg.	Sens Sagna Kids African Perc.	Kakatsitsi Ghanaian perc.	Jon Stercck Indian Tabla/perc.	Barry Hang & Udu
Lunch									
2.15-3.45	Vieux Bakayoko Djembe Intermed	Art Brasil Berimbau	Mariana Samba dance	Dr Olu Taiwo Animal Spirit Dance	Modou Sabar Adv.	Hans Sutton Djembe Advanced	Beat it percussion Kids Samba perc.	Manu Uzquerta Cajon	Sefo Kora and voice
4.00-5.30	Beatbox Collective Beatbox	Chris Sylla Balafon	Tim Rowe Rumba dance	Sens Sagna Cassamance Dan.	Claudio Pandeiro	Jose Cuban Congas/Perc.	Ed Mann Dundun Beginners	tbc	Chas Arabic perc beg/int
SATURDAY 12th JULY									
9.00-10.00	Tai-Chi	Andree Shrivell							
10.00-11.30	Hans Sutton Djembe Intermed	Meditation & Gong Bath	Carmen Jones Egyptian Dance	Kakatsitsi Kpanlogo dance	Modou Sabar Beg	Vieux Bakayoko Djembe Advanced	Ed Mann Djembe Beginners	Jose Cuban Bata Beg.	Sefo Kora and voice
11.45-1.15	Beatbox Collective Beatbox Collective	Chris Sylla Balafon	Jaya Dance Bhangra dance	Saskia Bakayoko Djembe dance	Claudio Samba beg.	Sens Sagna Kids African Perc.	Art Brasil Berimbau	Barry Hang & Udu	Bruno Ashley African Singing
Lunch									
2.15-3.45	Vieux Bakayoko Djembe Intermed	Cliff & Kevin Flute & Frame drum	Mariana Samba dance	Bruno Ashley Gumboot dance	Modou Sabar Adv.	Seckou Kelta Djembe Mastercl	Beat it percussion Kids Samba perc.	Manu Uzquerta Cajon	Chas Arabic Perc Int/Adv.
4.00-5.30	Jon Stercck Indian Vocal Perc	Lies Beljerinck Didgeridoo	Tim Rowe Reggaeton dance	Landing Mane Cassamance dance	Claudio Samba Advanced	Chas Arabic perc. Adv.	Hans Sutton Dundun Intermed.	Mog Bodhran Beg.	Duda Moleque* Junk Percussion
SUNDAY 13th JULY									
9.00-10.00	Tai-Chi	Andree Shrivell							
10.00-11.30	Seckou Kelta Djembe Intermed	Meditation & Gong Bath	Jaya Dance	Filomena Italy folk dance	Modou Sabar Beg	Hans Sutton Djembe Advanced	Ed Mann Djembe beginners	Saskia Bakayoko Kids African Dance	Sefo Kora and voice
11.45-1.15	Beatbox Collective Beatbox Collective	Lies Beljerinck Didgeridoo	Carmen Jones Egyptian Dance	Sens & Landing Sabar dance	Claudio Pandeiro beg.	Kakatsitsi Ghanaian Perc.	Vieux Bakayoko Dundun Int/Adv.	Jose Mixed Cuban Perc.	Barry Hang & Udu
Lunch									
2.15-3.45	Vieux Bakayoko Djembe Intermed	Bruno Ashley African Singing	Tim Rowe Batchata dance	Zong Zing Allstars Soukous dance	Modou Sabar Adv.	Hans Sutton Djembe Mastercl	Beat it percussion Kids Samba perc.	Mog Bodhran Int/Adv.	Art Brasil Kids capoeira
4.00-5.30	Duda Moleque Junk Perc./Proc.	Sefo Balafon	Mariana Samba dance/Proc.	Trevor Ault Morris dance	Claudio Samba Int./Proc.	Manu Uzquerta Cajon	Ed Mann Dundun Beginners	tbc	Chas Arabic perc beg/int

*Duda's Junk percussion making workshops Friday 10am-1pm
venue: backstage greenroom - entrance next to info tent

Yoga every day 7.30-8.45am Venue 2 with Louise Carpenter
Ben Lawrence Ghanaian Xylophone w/shops will take place by his Shop stall - times tbc

Timetable subject to change/or additions. Any changes will be written up on the Blackboards by each venue and on the info tent notice board

Figure 5.32 Drum Camp timetable

Of particular interest is SK's masterclass. His social and cultural capital ensures that the class would be oversubscribed with enthusiastic djembe players. Admission to the masterclass was therefore by his invitation only. The djembe players who were invited to participate within the masterclass were considered 'worthy' and highly skilled, demonstrating their own level of cultural capital and economic capital. Learning to play the djembe at a high level in the Western world requires considerable economic capital, as lessons can be expensive, especially with djembefola such as SK. This again illustrates his level of social, cultural and economic capital. His skills as a djembe player and kora player are the result of a lifelong learning process, initially learned in a traditional manner, being taught by a djembefola elder, who was able to pass on the sacred and ritualistic aspects of djembe practice. SK's presence on the timetable and on the performance schedule draws further attention to his skills, knowledge and intellect. He has adapted to a globalised world where travel and organisation occupy a large part of his life and enhance his lifestyle, thus

increasing his economic capital, represented by his income, and this in turn increases his cultural capital through his material belongings and modern mannerisms and contemporary commercial attitude.

I was particularly interested to see the speed with which replies were posted in response to the uploaded timetable as shown in Figure 5.33, which offers an extract of the comments and gives a visual illustration of the speed of response to the original post, the timing of which is shown by the central clock.

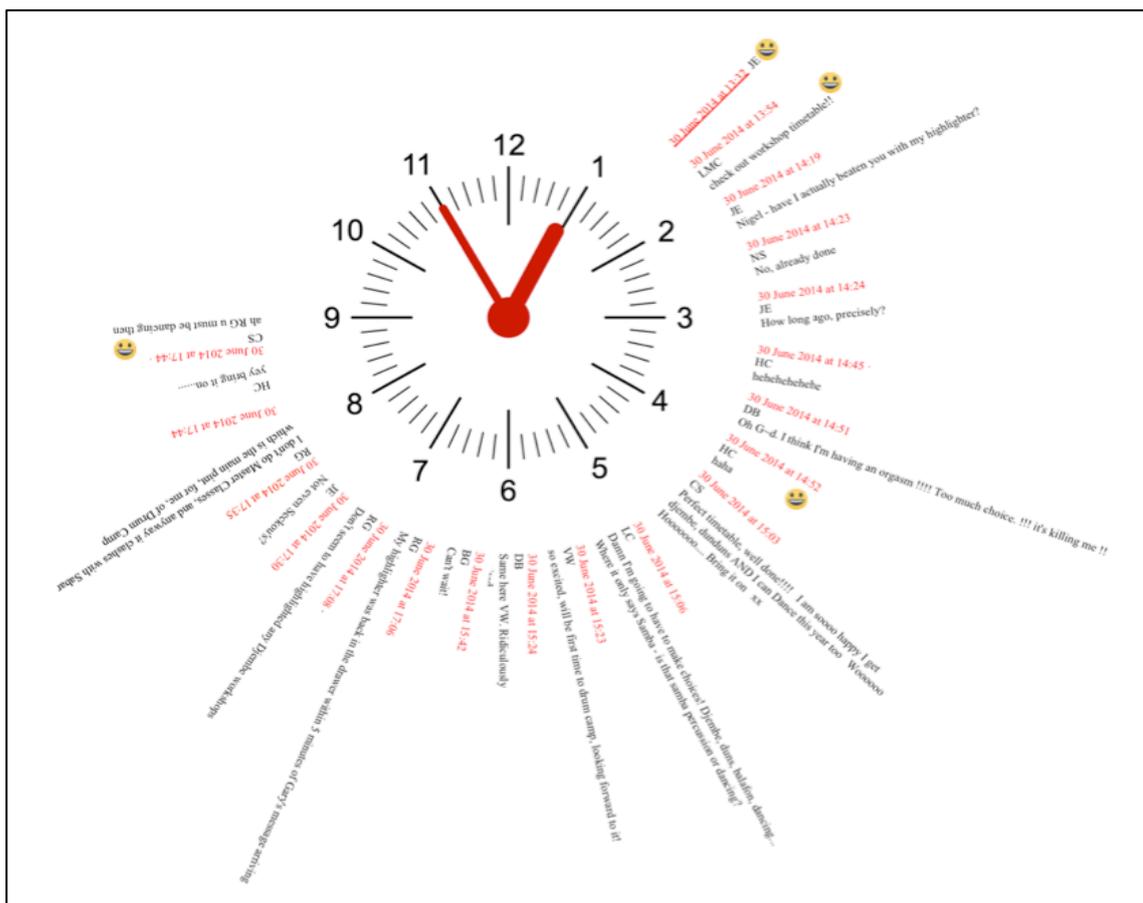


Figure 5.33 Digital conversation

This suggested to me that there was a group of individuals, all of whom were members of the Drum Camp Facebook group, who were either looking at the group page at the same time, even though they are geographically far apart, or were being ‘alerted’ on their other digital devices such as mobile phones, laptops, tablets or iPads that a new Facebook post had been added. Traditionally, in the rural West African village, such conversations would

have been held in a face-to-face setting, but now this timeline of comments seems to offer, especially at the start of the timeline, a digital version of the traditional method of communication. This facility to receive an alert from Facebook is enabled when devices are synced together. Membership of the online Facebook Drum Camp group was interpreted as being of symbolic importance and technological devices were kept turned on in order to receive up-to-date information as it was posted within the group, so physical and virtual fields were converging, with djembe habitus being represented both physically and digitally.

5.4.3 Djembe cultural capital

The cultural capital present within the online Drum Camp Facebook group as a result of djembe practice was presented in a variety of formats including images, videos and emoticons, and is also demonstrated by the skill sets exhibited by both djembefola and individual members of the group. Interestingly, the use of emoticons was a further form of the representation of emotion within a digital textual conversation. The djembe habitus within the field is substantial, as it combines the habitus associated with individual members of the group. It is notable that the Drum Camp festival is primarily a teaching and learning space. This means that all players who teach within the field require specific skills to enable them to be able to teach the djembe in a Western world. The workshops on offer range from total beginner to master level, which is an indication of a Westernised approach to learning. West African djembefola do not formally recognise the division of classes into different levels, as it does not correspond to their traditional way of learning, but they have nonetheless adapted their teaching style in order to suit the participants, thereby exhibiting doxa. The djembefola habitus is the internalisation of the social world in which he lives, additionally he contributes to the social world and its structure. It is because of the ability to contribute as well as being able to adapt, that ensures that the djembefola has the ability, through functioning within several different fields, to un-learn and re-learn thus becoming

reproductive and transformative. He can effectively become familiar in both worlds. In a 'doxic' situation the habitus is like 'a fish in water'. The willingness of the western students to learn from the djembefola, legitimised the djembefola's position within the field. This demonstrates a level of skill, which further increases the level of cultural capital seen within the group. The following post was uploaded to the Facebook group by a member of the group and was visible to all members.

POST

You want MORE of VB? Well I've got a minute or so of AUDIO of his intermediate djembe class on Friday, recorded about 2.20 pm. (I'll also sneak in a photo which includes my friend NS who was in the class and who first told me about it).

The member who posted this was 'speaking', using digital text, to an invisible audience; this is a common occurrence within the group page and conversations are seen where there is a clear dialogue between the teacher and the student.

POST

Another amazing weekend ... thanks Drum Camp! A big thank you to all the lovely people who came to the beginner djembe and dundun workshops. You were great.

- We loved it too! Great workshops, thank you, so were you EM. I thoroughly enjoyed the class I went to.
- Thanks EM, my first experience of playing the dundun. Well-organised workshop.
- Also my first Dundun lesson. Despite being exhausted having taking down a family of tents just before the lesson, EM gave us a great session.
- Thank you. Thanks for all the great comments!
- Yes I was wrecked by the end but all the workshops were a joy. Shows what you can achieve with a load of up for it people and a bit of Drum Camp magic!

This shows evidence of a community chat between like-minded people who have in this case a strong interest in learning the dunduns – a set of three drums whose purpose is to accompany the djembe. Furthermore, the dialogue also demonstrates the cultural capital of both teacher and student in terms of teaching and learning ability. It transpired that, in considering the comments made to EM by his students, a sub-field exists within the djembe environment. The players (the students) enter the sub-field with the sole purpose of learning

a set of traditional West African instruments in order to further understand the role of the djembe within the rhythm. Bourdieu discusses society as a multidimensional space (Bourdieu, 1985: 723) which is constructed with a number of spaces or fields, such as; social groups, workplaces, communities – local and global. However, when one particular field is being observed and discussed (djembe practice at Drum Camp) it is possible to identify other smaller fields which are successfully functioning within the larger, or dominant field. When a djembefola plays the djembe for either teaching or performance, it is usual practice to be accompanied by a set of three ‘dunduns’. The sub-field identified was precisely this. A dedicated learning space where a workshop was held primarily to teach the dundun rhythms which can accompany the djembe rhythm.

5.4.4 Drumming up business

The Drum Camp 2014 Facebook group acts as an important platform for facilitating communication concerning the social and cultural capital possessed by both artists and visitors.

The use of the coding facility within Atlas.ti illustrates the instances of economic capital mentioned within the timeline, such as expenditure on teachers, artists, site hire and so on (see Figure 5.34).

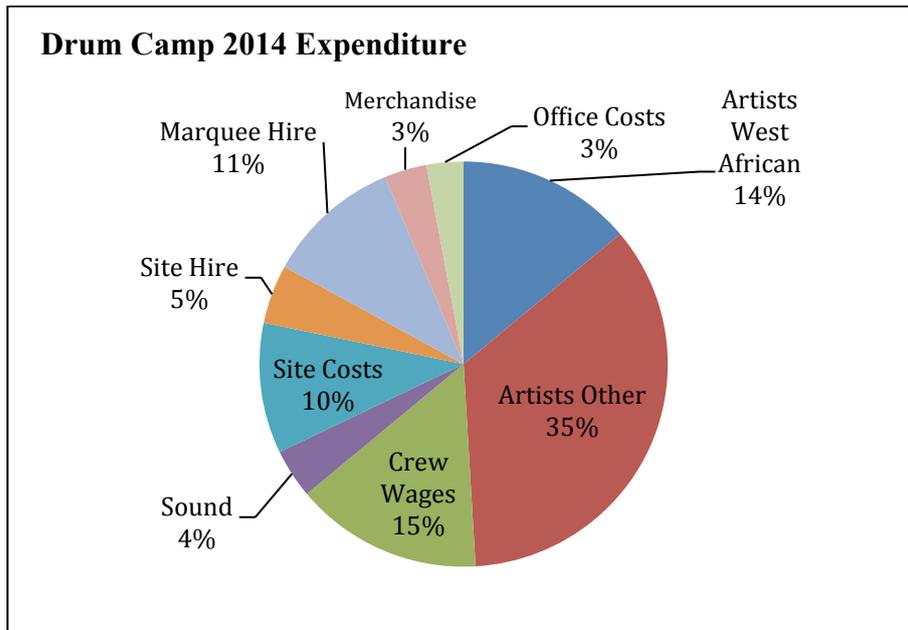


Figure 5.34 Drum Camp expenditure 2014

Numerous instances of revenue could also be seen within the Facebook Drum Camp group, resulting in the representation below (see Figure 5.35).

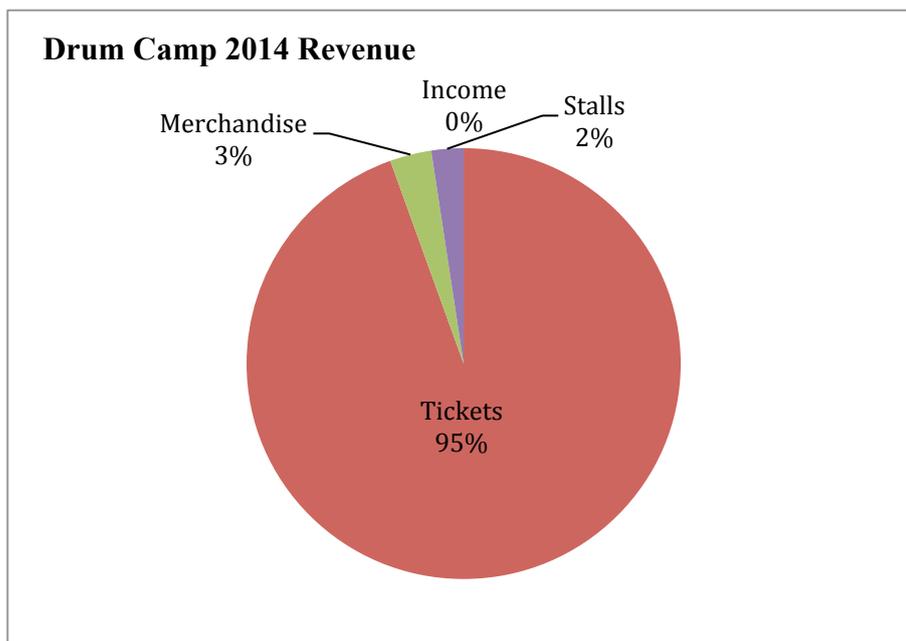


Figure 5.35 Drum Camp revenue 2014

The importance of hosting SK, a globally respected djembefola and kora player, can be seen in the network illustrated in Figure 5.36. His economic capital is linked to his habitus along with his social and cultural capital.

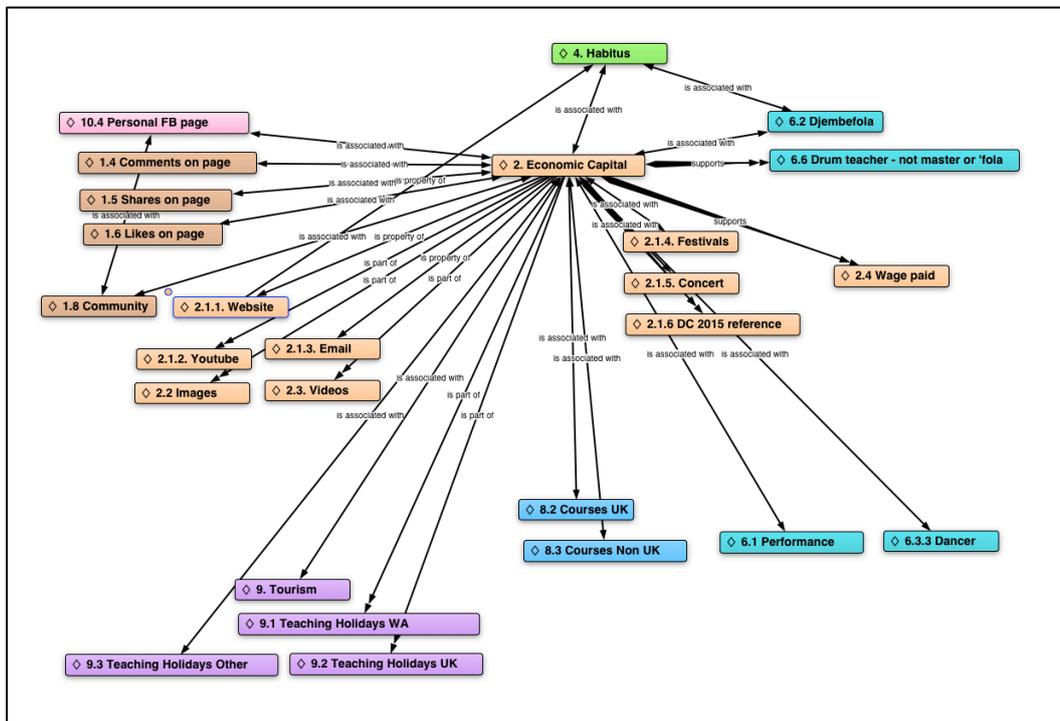


Figure 5.36 SK's economic capital – Drum Camp 2014 Facebook group

The nature of the Drum Camp Facebook group timeline exhibits economic capital in myriad formats. The very fact that there is a dialogue between individuals confirms the presence of economic capital, as the members of the group have purchased tickets. The possession of a ticket resulted in positive responses seen on the timeline that lead to a recognition of both social and cultural capital underpinning the presumption that all three forms of capital are in fact interlinked and feed into and off each other. For example, the online purchase of a ticket results in the immediate ownership of the ticket, albeit in a digital format. Earlier Drum Camp festivals did not offer this facility and a ticket could only be purchased by sending a cheque through the post and then waiting for the ticket to be posted back to the individual concerned.

The comment made by BBF on 4 May 2014 at 02:32 am illustrates this new digital process:

POST

Drum Camp ticket purchased via PayPal this afternoon. Confirmation from PayPal received.

Economic capital can transform into cultural capital and enhances an individual's status, which in turn provides an opportunity to earn more money which can be used to purchase goods, clothing or to access further forms of education. The visitors to the festival were required to purchase a ticket in order to advance their skills musically, while, on the other hand, the performers, dancers and djembefola were paid to perform for the festival ticket holders, as well as to offer teaching workshops at different skill levels.

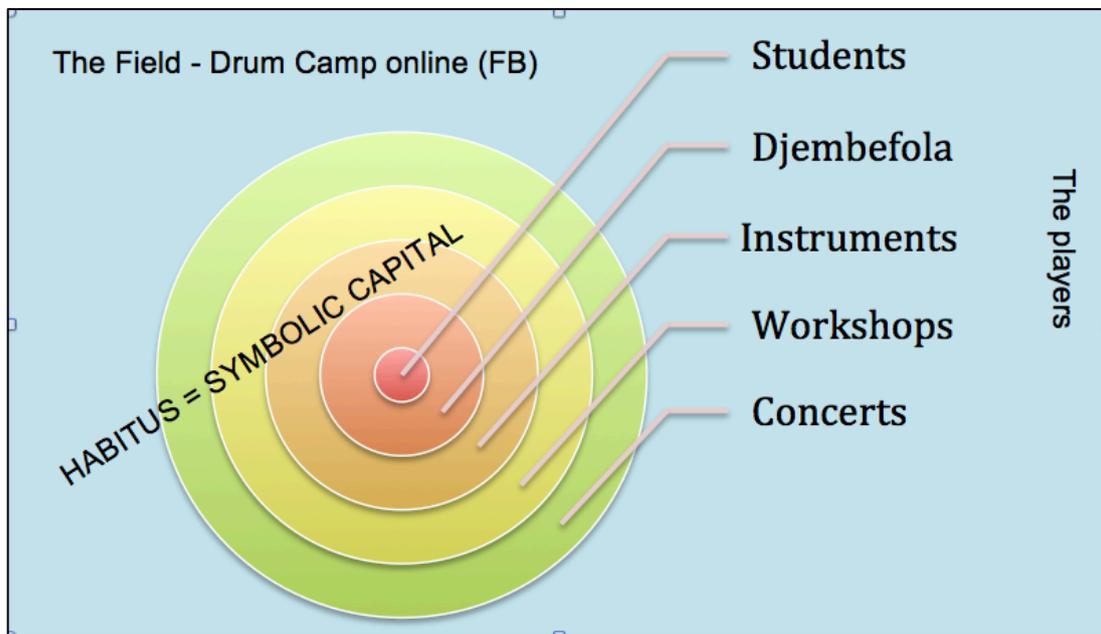


Figure 5.37 Symbolic capital in the field

The symbolic capital seen throughout the Drum Camp virtual timeline (see Figure 5.37) is represented through the levels of prestige and reputation of both the event itself within a physical space, in terms of the presence of ticket holders, and the high quality of both teachers and workshop leaders, which have the potential of increasing ticket sales. The online comments demonstrate the level of appreciation of the quality of services offered.

The methods of online communication between both the traders and the ticket holders within the Drum Camp Facebook timeline have been examined through Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, capital and doxa. The case study focused in particular on the different forms of economic capital that were visible in a digital space, reflecting the transformation of the traditional djembe practice seen within the rural West African village into an emergent and commercial form of a commodified djembe practice, subject to business transactions.

5.5 Case Study 4: Djembe practice within Facebook (2013)

This case study examines the fourth identified space where the djembe practice is present within virtual social media, in particular Facebook, during 2013, as presented on my own timeline. I identify the relationship between technology and social capital, resulting in a widespread form of djembe practice through technological engagement. Also examined through my personal Facebook timeline are the aspects of continuity related to the 'businessification', commodification and commercialisation of a traditional cultural practice as represented within a virtual space, in order to identify the social, cultural and economic capital viewed through a Bourdieusian lens, and to observe the evolving role of the djembe as it passes from a physical to a virtual space.

The data were collected over a one-year period from 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2013.

5.5.1 Getting to know you: social capital on Facebook

One of the first posts seen on my personal timeline within the specified time period focused on the djembe rhythm and how it has evolved over time (see Figure 5.38)

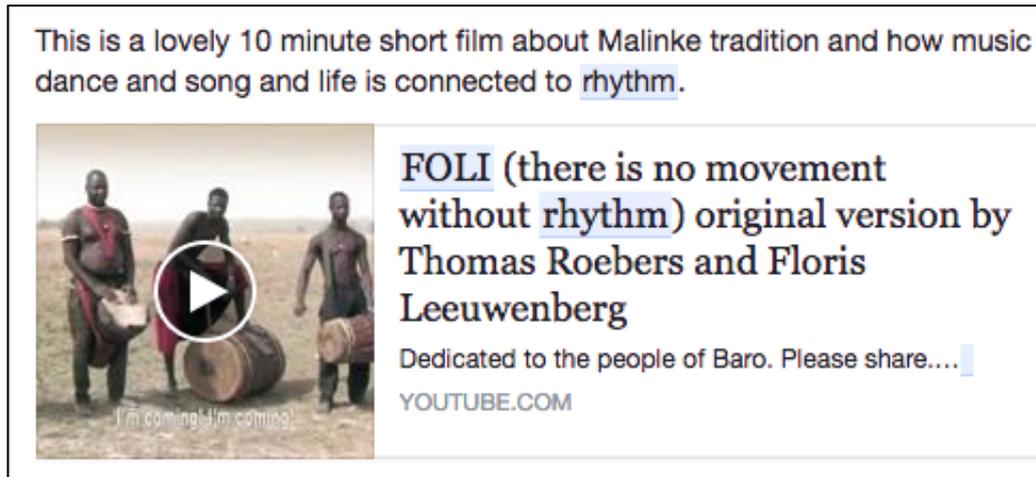


Figure 5.38 Physical to virtual – a cultural journey

This post is of interest to me for a variety of reasons:

First, the post incorporates a video, which was shot in a physical space using a video recording camera. The recording was then edited to a professional standard and uploaded to the external website known as YouTube. The official description of this website on the About YouTube page describes its purpose as:

Enabling billions of people to discover, watch and share originally created videos. YouTube provides a forum for people to connect, inform and inspire others across the globe and acts as a distribution platform for original content creators and advertisers large and small (<https://www.youtube.com/yt/about/en-GB/>).

The original performance (see Figure 5.38), which took place in a physical space, had been transformed into a digital format and was now present in a virtual world and could easily be shared with an extended audience. The advances observed in the digital technology available in the contemporary world make it easy to share content from one website to another, in this case from YouTube to Facebook. I have not included the name of the Facebook member who shared this video as it is almost impossible to source the original

person. The personal message intended for any potential future viewers and which was posted on YouTube together with this content identifies it as social capital.

POST

Uploaded on 25 October 2010

Dedicated to the people of Baro. Please share.

Life has a rhythm, it's constantly moving.

The word for rhythm (used by the Malinke tribes) is FOLI.

It is a word that encompasses so much more than drumming, dancing or sound.

It's found in every part of daily life.

In this film you not only hear and feel rhythm but you see it.

It's an extraordinary blend of image and sound that

feeds the senses and reminds us all

how essential it is.

By the brothers Thomas Roebers and Floris Leeuwenberg

Film crew during one month in Baro, Guinee Afrika.

Beautiful sound recording and sound design Bjorn Warning

Translator and Rhythm specialist Thomas Bonekamp

With special thanks to the chief:

DJEMBEFOLA |: Mansa Camio

Second, the post is of particular relevance to this case study as it clearly recreates an ancient musical Mandinka (also known as Malinke) tradition emphasising the relationship between music, dance and song and how they connect to life and rhythm, as well as being of relevance in the twenty-first century. A quick visit to the YouTube website revealed the extraordinary level of use of the sharing facility within YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IVPLIuBy9CY>).

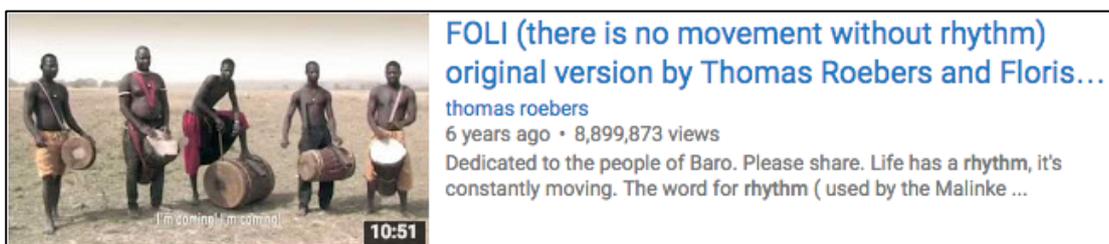


Figure 5.39 YouTube sharing

The video accompanying the post (see Figure 5.39) indicates a high level of social capital, as shown by the extraordinary number of people who have viewed the content. The cultural

capital is associated with the knowledge and expertise of the djembefola and accompanying players and with the individuals sharing the content who are each required to have Internet access and the skill to navigate through different websites.

Although the individual user viewing the content was not required to pay for the service, there is an associated indirect cost in the form of the subscription that is paid to the service provider in order to access the Internet. Further, it is also important to consider a secondary cost, namely the finance required to purchase the technology used for accessing the Internet, i.e. a computer, tablet or mobile phone. Currently, access to Facebook is free to members who sign up and agree to certain terms and conditions.

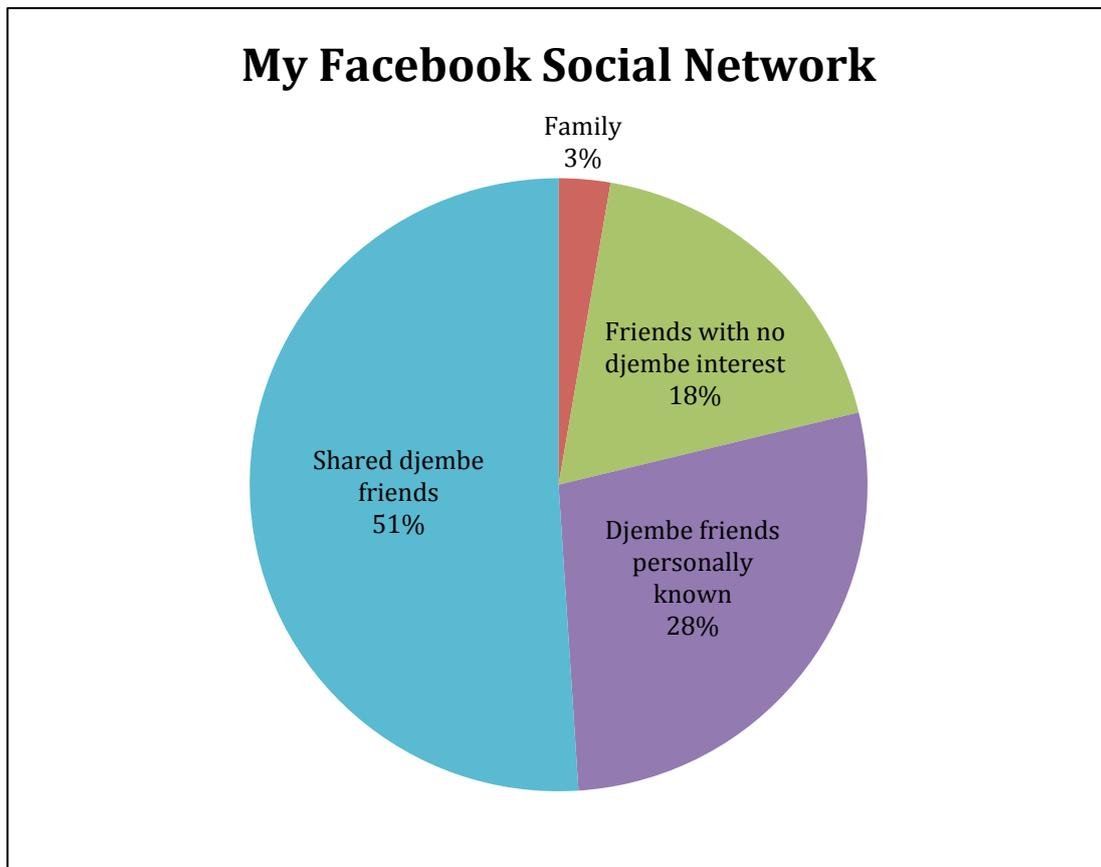


Figure 5.40 My Facebook social network

My own presence within Facebook consists of my social network of friends and family (see Figure 5.40). It is interesting to observe that, within my own personal networks on Facebook, the majority of connections are between shared djembe friends, which means that

they are represented virtually as ‘friends of friends’. For instance, my membership of a particular group enables me to see content posted by all other members of the group, as well as to receive Facebook alerts on my other devices with Internet access. Similarly, other group members are able to see my activity within Facebook. It is possible to alter personal privacy settings, which means that only certain people have access. However, I did not make such changes to my settings during this case study, as I wanted to gather as much djembe-related content as possible for analysis.

Within Facebook, individuals are able to join groups which have been set up either by themselves or by other individuals. These groups represent shared interests and result in a digital space where individuals can present themselves to the other members of the group. This can be interpreted, according to Bourdieu, as a field within a field. The larger, or macro, field is the social media platform Facebook itself and the smaller, or micro, field within this platform represents a group of individuals sharing a specific-interest digital space, as seen in the previous case study, in which the shared interest was initially Drum Camp and djembe drumming and latterly the world music scene as a whole. Connections are made through Facebook’s options, allowing people to ‘add a friend’, ‘share’ or ‘post a comment’. Many different types of network can be identified within my own timeline on Facebook. However, this case study focuses only on djembe-related content (see Figure 5.41).

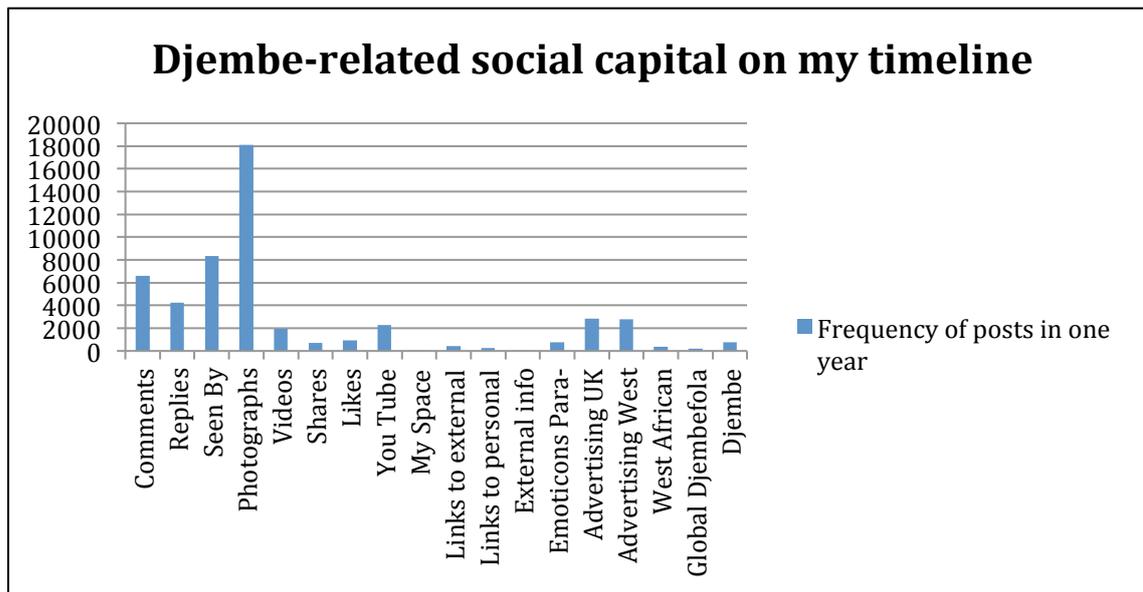


Figure 5.41 Djembe-related social capital

During the period under investigation, there were a number of instances where social and cultural capital could be identified in terms of djembe practice. These included invitations to djembe-related events, the sharing of information among a network of people present on Facebook, and digital text discussions between members. These discussions took the form of posts that were typed and uploaded to their own timelines, which resulted in the post being shared to their own network of friends, or else posted directly on the page of a particular group to which they belonged. Interestingly, the type of content uploaded and shared most frequently consisted of photographs. These were included in posts and usually represented an event that the individual had attended, or were used as a way of sharing information in a pictorial format.



Figure 5.42 Post shared from a Facebook friend to my timeline

The use of images to demonstrate an individual's actions or intentions is a useful and convenient method of sharing information between members of groups within Facebook. Figure 5.42 illustrates the significant amount of equipment a teacher might require in order to conduct a workshop for Western students and represents a level of economic capital. The ability to purchase instruments and other equipment and to travel to different places in order to learn, teach or perform is apparent in the many different images that appear frequently in my timeline. Other styles of images were also used to convey djembe-related information, depending on the topics being discussed.

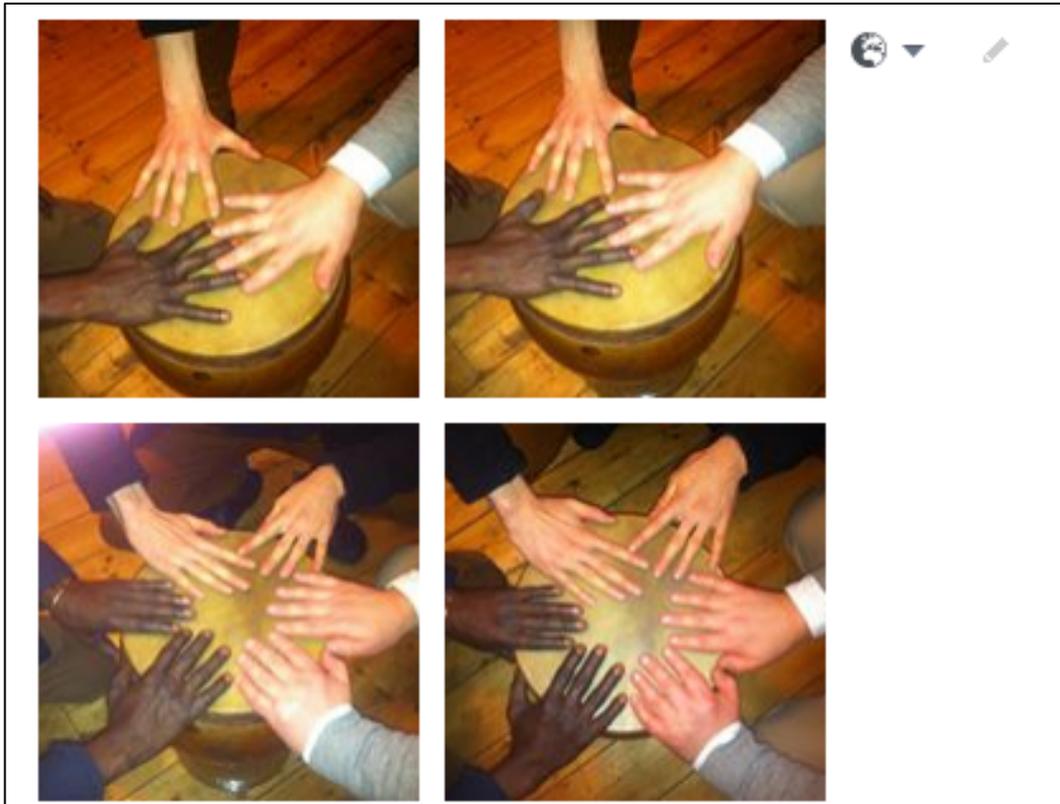


Figure 5.43 Image representing unity on Facebook

The image representing unity on Facebook (see Figure 5.43) was ‘shared’ by the individual who originally took the photograph. He uploaded it to his own timeline (I have removed the identification bar in order to keep this information anonymous in the thesis) and the image was then visible to his network of friends. People were then able to share it with others by clicking the ‘share’ button, as the privacy settings attached to the image had been set so that there were no restrictions on who could see a picture symbolising unity and friendship between all races. This is a powerful use of Facebook’s ‘sharing’ function. The image was shared through Facebook around the world. Each time a comment was made under the post, the name of the individual making that post became visible and it was then possible to look at that person’s profile in order to identify their geographical location.

This case study was undertaken during 2013 at a time when Facebook offered a facility where, by using an app (application) called ‘Friend Wheel’, the social networks of a Facebook member could be visually represented. This was seen as an interesting exercise

and the app was used millions of times while it was active. Subsequently, this facility was disabled due to privacy issues raised by members of Facebook, but I was able to create my own Friend Wheel in early 2013 and saved it to my computer as a jpeg image (see Figure 5.44). It is deliberately reproduced as a small image in order to ensure privacy for other members who may not wish to be documented in this way.

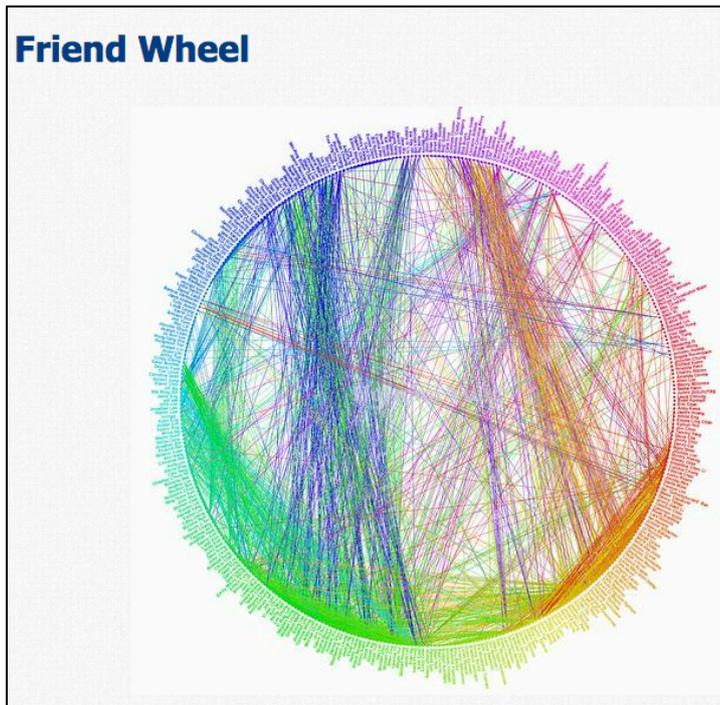


Figure 5.44 My social capital within Facebook 2013

From the visual representation of my 'Friend Wheel', it was possible to identify the highly organised nature of the personal social networks present on Facebook which were active between my Facebook friends and me. The location of the individual members was not immediately visible to users but one could source this information by clicking on an individual name and viewing their profile information page. Some of the people in my social network are not personally known to me, but are part of my network through being members of groups of which I am also a member.

5.5.2 Djembe players – the virtual collective

Bourdieu (1986: 241-258) defines cultural capital as a collection of symbolic elements.

These elements encompass skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings and credentials. This case study has demonstrated a diverse range of activity taking place in relation to the djembe in terms of djembe habitus and practice within the Facebook social network. In terms of the skills presented through Facebook posts, comments, replies, images and videos exchanged between West African djembefola, and Western djembe teachers and students, it is possible to see a form of hierarchy developing. People have considerable respect for the traditional djembefola and it has always been considered an honour to be taught by them (see Figure 5.45).



Figure 5.45 Cultural identity – people like us!

The physical appearance of a typical drum class was replicated frequently in images shown on my timeline. The most common arrangement is for the teachers or djembefola to be seated facing a semicircle of students with their djembes. A level of intellect is required by the student in order to be able to follow instructions given by the teacher, who in turn requires a level of intellect and a set of skills to enable him to teach non-West African

students. The management of Mamady Keïta's tour of Europe required a level of organisation within a business-centred space. The operational arrangements for the tour would have resulted in differing levels of economic capital being accessed by different people. Western djembe students were required to purchase a ticket to each individual class as well as organise travel to the venue. The organisers would have had to hire venues and to arrange travel and the transportation of any equipment. Traders would invest in trade stands where they were able to sell goods relating to the djembe practice, such as clothing and recordings, food and refreshments. The social and cultural capital associated with Mamady Keïta, and enhanced by the use of the sharing facility within Facebook, directly increased his ability to expand his economic capital. The relationship between the different elements of capital seen within djembe practice ensures that his status as a highly respected international djembefola is secured within the field.

Each individual post seen on my timeline represents a micro field within the macro field that is Facebook. Each micro field consists of its own group of players enacting a form of practice. The sharing of a post to other members of Facebook, in terms of djembe practice, was seen as a positive action as often it was related to the methods of teaching or performing, or described an event which had taken place.

Traditionally, djembefola in West African villages never received official recognition in the form of written credentials or qualifications as a result of their recognised status as djembefola. Today, however, some djembefola such as Mamady Keïta have opened physical teaching spaces where certificates of excellence are issued when certain levels of playing have been achieved (see Figure 5.46).



Figure 5.46 Institutional capital: Mamady Keïta

The teaching schools are advertised both on their own official websites and on Facebook, where they have their own set of pages, and these are regularly shared between djembe players on Facebook.

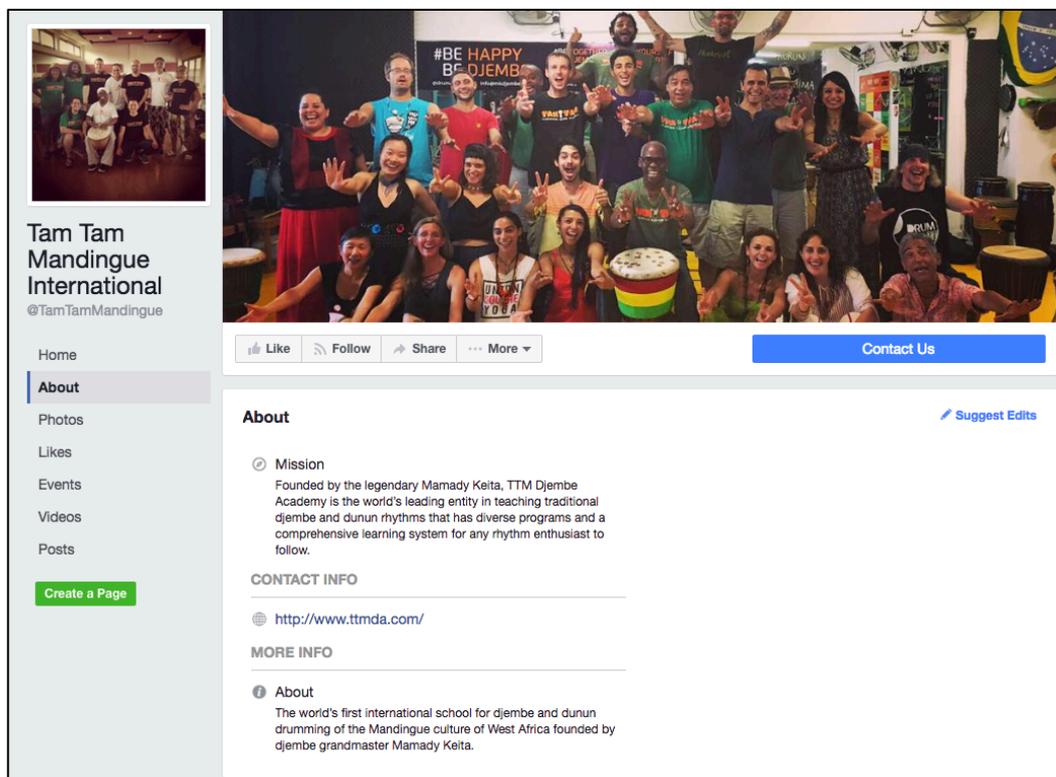


Figure 5.47 Tam Tam Mandingue International school

The page for Mamady Keïta's international djembe school, known as Tam Tam Mandingue International (see Figure 5.47), was shared to my timeline a total of six times during 2013.

A selection of his other schools (see Figure 5.48) which are present in the physical space as well as on Facebook (the virtual space) were each shared to my own timeline several times during the period of the case study.

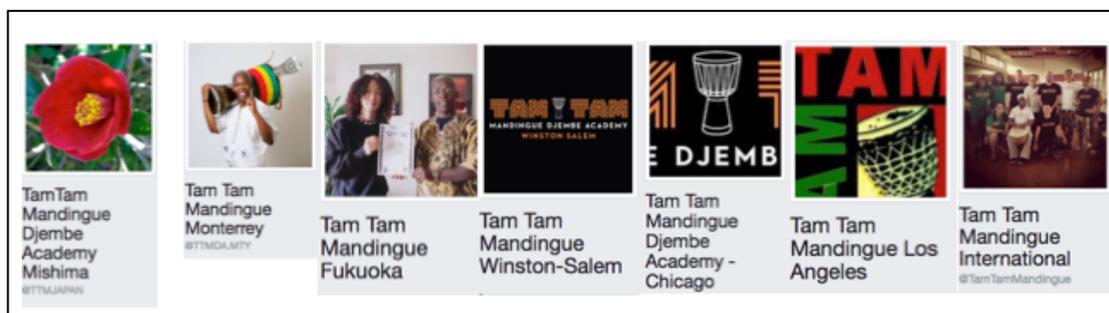


Figure 5.48 Other Tam Tam Mandingue schools

The raising of awareness of the Tam Tam Mandingue schools contributes to Mamady Keïta's status. His success as a global djembefola, in both the physical and virtual worlds, is enhanced by his digital presence within Facebook and on my own timeline. His symbolic capital increases when he and his students enter the different fields represented by each of his teaching institutions, where his status as a master djembefola is unrivalled.

The status level of the djembefola who teach at the schools referred to above increases and their economic capital was evidenced within the timeline by the visual representation of ownership of material goods relating to cultural capital. In terms of this case study, the economic capital was seen in levels of ownership, such as an individual's personal djembe and/or accompanying percussion instruments, or in Mamady Keïta's teaching institutions, as well as in local djembe bands performing or learning together. Within my timeline, both imagery and video collections were used to demonstrate clear financial gain, as well as building economic capital in terms of gaining respect from students, teachers and audiences, which in turn creates further opportunities for business.

The fourth case study was undertaken in order to investigate how the online Facebook communication which took place within my personal timeline influenced the continuity of

business and the cultural and organisational aspects of traditional cultural practice. The use of external websites such as YouTube further enhances the social, cultural and economic capital exhibited by Facebook users in terms of the sharing facility within Facebook, which allows information to be shared on a global scale within a virtual space. Specific marketing material posted on Facebook by high-profile djembefola was examined in terms of economic and cultural capital, as well as the resulting increase in their social capital.

5.6 Conclusion

The case studies have demonstrated the enactment of contemporary djembe habitus in West Africa and the Western world, both in the physical space and in the virtual space. While I have divided this analysis into four case studies, they do to an extent overlap one another, not least because I was personally involved in all of them, but also because some of the participants in an individual case study will also have been present in other case studies investigated, if not all of them. The distinction between the physical spaces and the virtual spaces is not as clear-cut in terms of the different ways in which people interact in both the physical world and in the virtual world.

I have discussed the different forms of capital that are necessary and meaningful for the players under current conditions. It is clear that the social capital associated with a djembe player is increasing these days because of the technological advances which affect the way that people communicate and establish networks virtually through Facebook. What is evident from the four case studies is that the economic aspect is now more important than ever. Advances in technology were identified as being a key factor in terms of the popularisation, globalisation and communication of djembe habitus. People in the West require a certain economic capital in order to be able to learn, travel and to access the djembe, which relates to the Bourdieusian approach where certain classes of people who are

able to access economic capital are then able to acquire particular types of cultural capital. The advances which have taken place within the transport industry have also been crucial, in that people are now able to travel in a variety of ways in order to learn or teach the djembe. What is also important is how the case studies are centred around people who want to play the djembe, as well as people teaching the djembe. The case studies have shown very clearly that, these days, the business aspect of the djembe is prominent, resulting in its commodification.

The four case studies address four different spaces in which contemporary djembe habitus can be discerned.

The first case study examined the learning process, in both a physical and a virtual space.

The second case study explored the role of virtual digital communities and how those communities transformed within a physical space during the intensive workshop with NK in The Gambia. The contemporary djembe habitus was examined within the rural West African village.

The third case study focused on particular aspects of the commodification of djembe practice in relation to a virtual space within Facebook where traditional djembe practice has become a commercial product.

The fourth case study examined my own personal timeline within Facebook over a period of one year, in order to identify how people communicate for the purpose of conducting business and sharing information between their networks.

The next chapter offers a discussion of the research findings in the context of the theoretical literature surrounding Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus, hysteresis and doxa, as well as the notion of cultural paradigms and Turner's approach to liminality. These key concepts are applied to three distinct paradigms separated by three distinct liminal phases. I propose that a new fourth paradigm is emerging – the online commodification of the djembe

– where djembe practice exists within a virtual space, and has become a commercial product to be bought and sold.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis reflects upon the main research question together with its associated objectives as follows:

How has the djembe habitus evolved over time to reach its current form and what are the implications of these changes for our understanding of the organisation of the djembe under different political, economic, social and technological conditions?

Objective 1

To undertake a thorough review and analysis of the existing literature on the history of the djembe, in order to explore the evolution of djembe habitus from its rural origins up until the present.

Objective 2

To investigate how the habitus of djembefola in the contemporary world is changing within both physical and virtual spaces.

Objective 3

To build an understanding of the changes in the organisation of the djembe under different political, economic, social and technological conditions.

The historical evolution of the djembe is explored in relation to Bourdieu's sociological concepts of *habitus*, *field*, *capital*, *hysteresis* and *doxa* and spans four cultural paradigms, each of which is separated and linked by an identifiable liminal transitional phase. In anthropology, van Gennep (1908) and, latterly, Turner (1967) developed the notion of liminality. Turner (1967: 95) terms the liminal period 'betwixt and between', noting that 'the subject of passage ritual is, in the liminal period, structurally, if not physically,

“invisible” (Turner, 1967: 95). The discussion concludes with my proposal that a new fourth paradigm is indeed emerging in a virtual and contemporary world, where social capital and technology are playing a crucial role in the evolution of djembe habitus.

For Bourdieu, the concept of habitus, the organised way of doing things, is intricately linked to the social structures within a specific field. In order to identify djembe habitus within the field and gather empirical data, four case studies were undertaken in both physical and digital spaces, enabling the identification of both historical and contemporary djembe practice.

Four distinct periods were identified over time, which I refer to as cultural paradigms, where particular organisation processes and practices take place. Each cultural paradigm was distinguished by its internal dynamics represented by the field and the players within it, as well as the social, cultural and economic capital relevant to those players.

The first cultural paradigm to be identified situates djembe habitus within a specific historical period from the thirteenth century to 1958. This period can be characterised as being local, present within the rural villages, and where the beginnings of the role of the djembefola can be identified, in terms of the research. Ritualistic and ceremonial events relied upon the skills of the djembefola to facilitate the event for which drumming was required, from a yearly event, seasonal event or ritualistic event, such as circumcision, birth, death, marriage in The Gambia. The second cultural paradigm was to emerge following a period of political intervention spearheaded by President Touré. The established practice of the djembe habitus and that of the djembefola was to undergo major changes. The sacred and symbolic meanings which had been associated with djembe drumming in local villages in West Africa were to evolve into what can be conceived as the first signs of commodification. The djembefola were ‘collected’ or ‘summoned’ from their villages and

collectively relocated to Guinea where they were instructed by the political leader, to re-learn the old ways, in order to present a new style of music which would act as a representation to, initially Guinea, as a centre of cultural heritage, and eventually on a global scale. The djembe music evolved into a performance/ballet or concert style, performed to fee paying audiences. Rhythms which had previously held deep sacred meaning, became homogenised, replicated and non-traditional. However, the move into the second paradigm was to also offer the djembefola financial security. The djembefola were paid a salary, which ensured their families, still present within the local villages, some sort of security. This resulted in the economic status of both the individuals in the village and the village itself increasing, which in turn enabled the local people the ability to buy and sell good. Equally the djembefola capital was increased as he travelled further and further afield. This was the beginning of the third identified cultural paradigm. The ability for the djembefola to travel around the world, performing and teaching was much easier, due to the technological advances in travel. The original ballet/concert groups began to part ways, resulting in the djembefola re-locating to other parts of the world. They could teach non-West African who had attended concerts, and who wanted to learn the craft. Non-West African middle class people could pay for these services, the djembe was becoming commercialised product, and available to all kinds of people. The ability of the djembefola to conduct different forms of business increased, to include the selling of djembe related products, music (on tape, cassette, and latterly dvd), and also the creation of djembe tourism. The fourth identified cultural paradigm was to emerge directly as a result of the advancement of the digital technologies, where people could access djembe related communications online, quickly and with no barriers of geographical location. The emergence of social media platforms, specifically for this research; Facebook, acted as a driver for people to create djembe forums, conduct and arrange business opportunities

online, and share information, such as images, text, videos and external website links, where further information could be accessed.

The role of the djembefola in the 21st century is that of a global entity, one who can interact both on and off-line. The practice of the djembe habitus is characterized by an online presence, where people can reference information, The status of the djembefola is recognized globally, and the financially successful djembefola, has an almost ‘pop star’ appeal, ensuring his ability to attract new student or attendees to concerts, festival and teaching workshops.

Analysis of the case studies revealed, however, that the case studies undertaken were more relevant to the third and fourth cultural paradigms spanning the period from the 1980s to the present, although the second paradigm occurring in the 1960s is also considered in terms of the evolution of djembe habitus from a ritualistic style of playing to a performance style of playing.

Each distinct stage is examined through a Bourdieusian lens, using existing theoretical literature identified in the literature review and empirical material gathered throughout the four case studies.

This chapter discusses the four cultural paradigms and their liminal transitional phases and concludes with a summary of my proposed contribution to knowledge, thus justifying the significance of the study.

6.2 Paradigm 1: The thirteenth century to 1958

The first historical cultural paradigm was identified as extending from the thirteenth century to Sékou Touré’s presidency in 1958. Historically, the style of communication within this

identified cultural paradigm was of an oral nature, with history being retold through music, dance, song and storytelling.

During the formation of the Malian Empire, djembe habitus occupied a distinct position within West African society, although no exact point in time can be identified as to when the djembe first appeared. Its actual origins remain hazy, with differing stories being told in different areas by the *griot*, the storyteller. Most stories associate the djembe with the blacksmiths of the rural villages, who were responsible for the construction of basic utensils and tools. The main purpose of the djembe was its use during village ceremonies, rituals and social events. However, this first paradigm is concerned not only with the role of the djembe itself, but also with that of the djembefola and his role within rural West African village life. According to Billmeier and Keita (2004), the displacement of millions of enslaved Africans from their homes between 1448 AD and 1880 AD resulted in a great loss of heritage and cultural tradition. Niane (2005) suggests that this relocation of such vast numbers of inhabitants was to have a lasting effect upon the tribal communities within West Africa. Up until this point, African rural villagers lived in an organised society, with the village chief having sole responsibility for village matters and the witch doctor presiding over health and ritualistic and ceremonial rites. The social capital associated with the chief was extensive, for, as the overseer, he was required to attend all political gatherings, which were exclusive to the menfolk of the village. Within the rural West African village, which I refer to as a 'field', there are many players who adhere to the rules of the field. Charry (2000) identifies the blacksmiths, known as *numu*, as being the master drum makers responsible for crafting the djembe, often feared for their skill in working with iron, yet at the same time revered in terms of their technological skills. Typically, the blacksmith would hold a high level of social status and would often be required to travel to other villages to work, both in iron mongering or drum making. The cultural capital associated with the blacksmith was

extensive. The *numu* were a secret society responsible for the magical force within the village, which elevated their social status further and were often advisers to the chief of the village. The djembefola for whom the drum would be crafted is also identified as one of the main players in the village. Traditionally, only menfolk would be permitted to learn the djembe. The symbolic capital held by the djembefola within the field was uniquely characterised by his exemplary skills learned from his elders. His status as the facilitator of ritual resulted in his being required to play for all manner of ceremonies. However, his economic capital at this point was deemed to be virtually non-existent and often the only rewards would be in the form of bartered goods rather than money. His most precious material belonging would have been his instrument, imbued with symbolism and associated with the spirits of the animals which were sacrificed and the trees which were cut in order to make the drum. During the late 1880s, the role of the djembe began to change as trading posts were established. Economic capital was becoming a viable part of West African life which had traditionally been rooted in poverty. In 1893, the colony of French Guinea was created and the social and cultural capital which, up until this point, had been associated primarily with the village chief, the blacksmith and the witch doctor, was now transferred to the French rulers. Rural villagers were required to increase their individual levels of cultural capital by learning new skills within a formal education system, which meant giving up old customs and traditions. The field was radically changing, with the players occupying different positions within the field. The influence of the chief of the village was being contested and new ways of doing things were impacting on traditional practice. A crisis was happening within the existing cultural paradigm; the rules of the game were changing, which would herald the emergence of a new liminal phase.

6.3 Liminal phase 1: 1958–1960s – Political interventions

The changing representation of West Africa, and of Guinea in particular, from traditional rural villages steeped in mystery, magic and ritual to a more economically based society under the French rule was to change once again. In 1958, Guinea proclaimed its independence. The then Chairman of the Parti Démocratique de Guinée (the Democratic Party of Guinea), Sékou Touré, stated that ‘we [Guinea] prefer poverty in freedom to wealth in slavery’ (Billmeier and Keïta, 2004: 11–26). This statement alludes to the ‘field’ (Guinea) being ruled by the French. Interestingly, the use of French as a language was to become an intrinsic part of Guinean life. The social capital held by the French was withdrawn, resulting in a breakdown of established relationships. The shift in power, however, remained within the political sphere. The village chief, although still in possession of a certain level of cultural capital, was now answerable to the government and the role of the djembefola was to alter dramatically. The French administration had outlawed all ritualistic and ceremonial aspects of traditional village life, with the result that those ceremonies associated with djembe practice became illegal. During this transitional stage, referred to here as the first liminal phase, the djembefola’s symbolic capital which he had held within the rural village in pre-colonial times was neutralised, as he was no longer required to preside over specific ceremonies. My empirical research demonstrates that, these days, the role of the traditional djembefola may no longer exist. Mekuria (2006: 148) noted that it was under Touré’s dictatorial rule that the largely destroyed heritage, culture and musical traditions were to take a radically different path and evolve into a new genre of music and performance. The field and the rules that governed its players were to evolve again, resulting in a second identifiable emergent cultural paradigm in which the role of the djembefola was to change significantly from that of traditional times.

6.4 Paradigm 2: The 1960s – A staged performance

The emergent field seen within this second cultural paradigm had evolved as a direct result of political intervention. Sékou Touré exhibited a considerable amount of cultural capital in terms of his intellect, skills and social modernity. His symbolic capital, characterised by his competence and authority to rule, was unrivalled. His desire for the traditional music of Guinea to become known further afield was to result in the emergence of a new form of djembe practice. He termed this process ‘demystification’. Master djembefola were required to participate in competitions held on a biennial basis with only the best selected to perform. Consequently, an entirely new form of djembe practice, where traditional and sacred rhythms meant for ceremonies, rites of passage, weddings, births and deaths no longer had any meaning. This is the first identified paradigm in which traditional practice was to transform into performance practice. The djembefola present within this field were required to acquire a new set of skills in order to learn new choreographed and modernised musical sets. Their social capital increased as more musicians became involved in what was to become known as ‘ballet-style’ djembe practice. Rhythms which had once been played for hours, or even days, at a time for a specific purpose, were now performed to an audience over the space of an hour or so at most and practice ceased to be participatory in that clapping, singing and dancing no longer took place. The audience was simply required to observe the performance, which was presented as a representation of Guinean culture. The ballet concert groups began to leave Guinea and travel all over Africa, performing varied interpretations of traditional djembe practice, although these bore no relation to the actual form of practice seen in the first paradigm. Specific social, cultural and economic levels of capital were required in order to enable the djembefola to travel to new venues and the members of the audience to acquire tickets.

The second empirical case study involved me travelling to The Gambia, West Africa, to experience first-hand contemporary African methods of teaching and learning the djembe. The intensive workshop with Nansady Keita and friends was advertised as an opportunity to learn the djembe in a 'traditional' setting. Upon arrival at the compound in The Gambia, I was surprised to find that it was not in fact a 'traditional' setting in terms of the historical rural village discussed in the first paradigm, but was considered to be a traditional setting in the twenty-first century. The style of teaching used was of the ballet style identified in the second paradigm, rather than the traditional style seen within the pre-colonial rural village community. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, Touré ordered the ballet companies to present highly choreographed performances that revealed the centuries-old sacred and secret rituals to audiences around Africa. The field which the djembefola inhabited during this period was totally alien to them. The rules of the game had further changed, requiring new skills to be learned in order to adapt to the new field, in which playing the djembe for an audience resulted in financial reward. As the djembefola continued to tour around Africa their social capital increased rapidly and new networks of personal and business acquaintances were formed as they gained increasing recognition as skilled musicians and began to attract people who were interested in and learning the djembe. The economic capital of the djembefola began to increase as, during Touré's rule, they received a nominal payment for each concert in which they were involved. The new field was becoming an accepted space in which djembefola were able to gain recognition for their skills. They soon became familiar with the process of representing their musical culture to an audience and their social circumstances generally improved. Money could be earned to support their families whom they'd been forced to leave behind. Touré's death in 1984 was to herald a further liminal transitional phase which would result in the ballet style of drumming becoming the accepted and most common form of djembe drumming seen today. As this

second liminal phase began to emerge, the djembefola being trained in ballet-style practice were younger and had usually not experienced the ritualistic practices seen in the first paradigm. The way in which the djembe was taught, learned and represented had changed significantly from its historical roots.

The mobilisation of the djembefola was a direct result of Sékou Touré's vision that djembe culture should represent Guinea. The ability of the djembefola to travel far from their families and homes meant they became the subject of much interest both from people seriously interested in learning the djembe and those who wanted them to perform in their geographical area. The field, and the rules which applied to the field, were evolving further into a new form of djembe practice.

6.5 Liminal phase 2: 1970–1980 International djembe practice

Bourdieu (1984: 170) notes that habitus, defined as a 'structuring structure' which organises practices and the perception of practices, and the field, which he further defines as a setting in which agents and their social position are situated, function through the successful adherence to the rules applicable within the field. When the rules of the field change, the agents or the players are required to enter into a process of change where new rules are examined within the context of new social circumstances. The ability of the djembefola to travel far from their traditional homes and families increased their social, cultural and economic capitals, in that they were represented as more than djembe players for ritualistic ceremonies; they had become recognised as teachers of a new and exciting form of music never before seen outside Africa. With their new social mobility and increased status attributable to their earnings, we see a transformation take place from village drummer to respected musician. This changing representation of djembe habitus is reflected in the emerging commodified and commercial practice which is entering a global market. The

availability of technology has created opportunities for the djembefola to physically leave Africa and tour or live abroad, a process which has required both musicians and tour organisers to acquire special organisational skills. The djembefola was beginning to adapt to the third cultural paradigm where a global presence ensured increased economic stability enabling him to support his family in West Africa.

6.6 Paradigm 3: 1980–2000 The re-invented traditional djembe

The third cultural paradigm identified in this historical timeline enters an objectified space where technology and communication are vital components of djembe habitus and practice. Political impact, as well as social, economic and cultural change, is acknowledged as being vitally important within the emergent paradigm. The djembe habitus had evolved successfully from a rural ritualistic and ceremonial practice in West Africa, through the first liminal transitional phase marked by substantial political intervention and resulting primarily in the transformation of the field into a new form of concert performance rather than traditional ritualistic practice. The new form of djembe practice migrated throughout Africa, where the traditional methods of playing were transformed into performances, referred to as ‘ballet style’.

The election of Lansana Conté, following President Sékou Touré’s death in 1984, resulted in the withdrawal of commercial funding from the ballet troupes, which led to their demise. However, due to the growing interest in djembe practice, some djembefola who had settled in different countries where they could make a living teaching and performing to Western people were able to successfully transition from the ballet troupes and become self-sufficient through teaching non-West African students. Lee (2010) conducted a study which focused on the growth and acceptability of djembe drumming in its evolving habitus. He conducted fieldwork in Hong Kong, where he concluded that djembe drumming had

become popularised due to the availability of ‘hands-on drumming possibilities’ offered by the djembe master. I found this of interest for two reasons: first, he refers to ‘djembe master’ as opposed to djembefola – the terminology used to describe the West African djembefola had transformed into a non-African form of descriptive language; second, he refers to the fact that djembe practice was becoming further popularised due to a commercial and commodified approach to a traditional West African artefact. Both the djembefola and the djembe itself were evolving into a commodity, able to be bought and sold, in contrast to their original purpose. The empirical data which I collected during my own field trip to The Gambia identifies the availability of the ‘hands-on drumming possibilities’ as being a vital component in the evolving nature of djembe habitus.

Many of these djembefola were members of the ballet troupes which emerged under Touré’s dictatorship. I found it particularly interesting that a Western student would travel extensively to learn from West African djembefola in preference to learning from a Western djembe teacher, and put this question to one of the students at the workshop in The Gambia why this was so. Her reply was that it is important to learn from a West African djembefola because ‘it’s in their blood’. This suggests to me that the deeply symbolic aspects present in djembe practice are still important, and shows that the historical learning conveyed from the djembefola to the student is of paramount importance. The social circumstances involved in this form of teaching and learning reshape the djembe habitus within the cultural paradigm. In terms of the social capital of the relocated djembefola, it is possible to observe, through the cultural capital he possesses, his ability to form new networks and acquaintances within the new field of practice. His cultural capital is identified by his superior skill in playing, as well as his ability to teach Western students, and he requires a level of skill in order to adapt to Western styles of learning. Traditionally, his cultural history was not documented in writing but was based upon an oral form of communication where storytelling and songs

were used to convey generational knowledge. The Western world, in contrast, relies upon the written word, a reliance that has resulted in several forms of written notation, developed by Western students. The process of writing down notation was a new experience for the West African djembefola who, as they were unable to read or write, learned by repetition of the rhythms taught by the teacher over long periods, even years. The field present within the third paradigm was experiencing a radical change. Spencer-Oatey (2012: 13) suggests that it is internal as well as external forces that affect the field. The process of ‘borrowing’ from other cultures is evident. My field trip to The Gambia resulted in many cross-cultural ‘borrowings’ being observed. For instance, a traditional breakfast in The Gambia would consist of bread or peanut porridge, but within the workshop compound Westerners were offered both a traditional West African breakfast and a French stick with butter and marmalade, plus fresh ground coffee. This borrowing of different cultural practices was acknowledged as having a positive effect, one that was used specifically in order to enable the less adventurous of the participants to join the other participants for meals, therefore remaining part of the community in the new field in which they were present. Another example of cultural borrowing within my field trip to The Gambia was that participants were bringing their own instruments, which originated in the UK, to Africa.

The importance of technology must be acknowledged at this point in order to observe its importance in new spaces and how it is used to organise travel to and from events, as well as having access to equipment with which to record the music as part of the learning process. Lawrence and Davies (2015: 99–113) suggest that new physical and social environments are encountered as a result of migration. Their study focused on the Cornish migrants in Australia and how they adapted their traditional technological skills used for working alluvial tin deposits to the exploitation of alluvial gold. The relevance of this ability to adapt traditional practices was seen frequently on my field trip to The Gambia. Although

the West African djembefola were unable to read or write, they had become adept at knowing how to use various recording devices brought by the Western students. The field, which they occupied as a result of migratory activities, had evolved into a space where a new form of djembe practice was observed, and where teaching was adapted to Western styles of learning. Djembefola now understood that this new way of teaching involved practices such as playing complex parts of a rhythm slowly in order to enable the Western student to use their recording devices, which could be accessed at a later date and learned by listening and repeating. This notion of learning can be compared to the repetitive style undertaken by the West African djembefola student as observed within the first paradigm, where the djembefola would teach West African djembe students over long periods of time. The social fields discussed by Bourdieu (1975: 19) are observed as being a 'locus of struggles' which represent a network of positions and are today characterised, in terms of this research study, by the role of the djembefola within the field in which he is actively present. He is representative of both a cultural tradition and a contemporary form of practice resulting in the commodification of the original practice. The evolving nature of djembe habitus is positioned in the field identified within the third cultural paradigm, which subjects the djembefola to new objective relations between the other agents in the field, determining what the djembefola can and cannot do in terms of his type of practice within the limits of the particular field. This position-taking process known as 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1972) forms a sense of place and of what is possible and what is not or, in terms of djembe practice, what is appropriate and what is not.

Richardson (2015) drew a comparison between his memories of the back row of seats in a theatre and how that same row appeared in 2012. Bourdieu's notion of doxa can be applied here in terms of the disparity or class difference associated with the theatre-goers in the past and contemporary theatre-goers today. The study focused on the activities taking place on

'the back row'. In 2012, the back row was 'glowing blue,' due to so many people using their phones to text or access the Internet, whereas his memories of the back row were of an entirely different type of activity (Richardson 2012: 206-219). The disharmonious connection observed between the past and the present can be compared with Bourdieu's notion of hysteresis. This observation led him to research the 'radical reconfiguration and cultural re-articulation' now taking place in educational and social life due to technology (Richardson 2012: 206-219). He concludes by identifying young people these days as 'digital natives' and older people as 'digital immigrants' (Richardson 2012: 206-219). The role of technology and communication present within the third cultural paradigm is one that further advances djembe habitus within the field.

The djembe considered as a cultural practice is still evident within the third cultural paradigm although by now has transformed from a ritualistic practice to a commodified practice. Central to this cultural paradigm is the habitus of the djembe emerging and evolving as a result of changing cultural circumstances expressed by Hall (1980: 1) as being a time where 'something old is constantly being replaced by something new'. Mary Douglas (1985: xxiii) further suggests that 'culture is not a static thing, but something which everyone is creating, affirming and expressing'.

The changes in teaching and learning practices within the field situated in the third cultural paradigm, where technology enables access to the djembe habitus in terms of place, pedagogy and community, continue to develop and evolve.

The development and advancement of the Internet has further enabled people to connect with one another in a different way in a global and commodified world. This new digital form of communication was to herald a third liminal transition in which the field which had become established within the third cultural paradigm was to undergo a radical transformation. Djembe practice had, until this point, existed within a physical space. Its

evolution from its traditional roots in the rural village in West Africa to a performance practice encompassing all of Africa and then to a global practice where it could be bought and sold, was to undergo a further period of transformation into the digital world which is present in the twenty-first century. The third liminal transition places the djembefola and djembe practice in a state of 'in-betweenness' as they transitioned and adapted to the new field, and the new rules of that field, which would be present both in the physical and the digital space. Communication could take place in a virtual manner in the digital realm at an unprecedented rate, with geographical borders no longer a consideration for distant communication networks.

6.7 Liminal phase 3: 2000–2004 The digital djembe

The evolution of the boundaryless form of communication beginning to emerge as a result of the growth in the use of digital technology changed the rules applying to the third paradigm in which the djembefola had established himself as a global entity, characterised by increased levels of social, cultural and economic capital, gathered through the globalisation of both himself and the practice. Although the Internet was first conceived in the 1960s, it was not until the 1990s that commercial business and networking platforms began to appear in a format readily accessible to the business user.

In 2004, the social networking site Facebook was launched, facilitating the virtual creation of user profiles that were easily shared with other users. This ability to share user profiles and to chat online in a real-time dialogue resulted in a significant change in the skills required by both the djembefola and the student. The appearance of this third liminal transitional period highlights the tensions which arise as a result of new communication methods, as well as the implications of an alternative form of djembe practice.

Schmidt and Cohen (2014) have observed that the reshaping of communication methods is a direct result of the emergence of the Internet. Previously acknowledged within this thesis is the fact that, historically, djembe practice was transmitted through an oral tradition. With the emergence of the Internet, followed by the availability of social networking platforms, the field of communication is observed as having shifted from purely face-to-face to being present within both a physical setting and a digital, or virtual, setting. The players present within the newly developing digital cultural paradigm are required to adapt their habitus in order to maintain a presence within this latest paradigm. The social capital acquired by the djembefola during the previous cultural paradigm is significant, in that it is able to continue to exist within the emerging digital space, in particular within Facebook, where the social networks of both djembefola and potential and existing students are also present. Of particular interest to me here is the effect that Facebook has had, not only on the different forms of communication but also on those forms of communication represented. The case studies which took place in both a physical space and a virtual space demonstrate the different methods of communication within the emergent fourth paradigm, where the capital exhibited by the djembefola represents his new habitus within the newly formed field, and where the physical field and the virtual field must merge to create fundamentally a new space within the fourth cultural paradigm.

6.8 Paradigm 4: 2004 to the present day – The commodification of a tribal practice

There are significant commercial implications regarding the organisation of the djembe, with commercialisation currently being the dominant logic, according to which the djembe is evolving both in the West and in Africa. In order to understand how the djembe is organised, we need to see how much djembe-related activity is connected to commercial

interests. These are discussed here in relation to the case studies undertaken, as well as the methodological approach used to identify the evolution of djembe habitus within the emergent cultural paradigm present within Facebook.

The four case studies were conducted using a qualitative and interpretive approach and ethnographical and netnographical methods were applied and contributed to the overall data, resulting in rich descriptions of events which took place in both virtual and physical arenas.

The emergent cultural paradigm is investigated through a Bourdieusian lens, in terms of habitus, field, capital, doxa and hysteresis applied in a digital space.

The first case study was undertaken with me adopting the role of facilitator, participant and participant observer. The 'Liminal' Facebook group was created in order to identify the digital communications which took place in order to imitate the learning process traditionally seen within a physical space, but now replicated in a digital or virtual space online. Digital society is made up of multiple fields. The Liminal Facebook group itself represented a field, displaying a set of rules adhered to by the players, in this case the participants. Each participant involved exhibited their own habitus informed by their levels of capital. The social capital and habitus associated with the participants depended on their presence within Facebook.

Although two djembefola were involved in the case study, they (and three other participants) did not have direct access to Facebook, but were able to participate in the group through their partners' membership of Facebook. I found it interesting to note that the djembefola, neither of whom are able to read or write, were happy to be involved in the case study. The cultural capital displayed by both djembefola was influenced by their institutionalised capital, reflecting their significant expertise in djembe practice as well as the skills they had accrued while learning the djembe in a traditional manner, as discussed within the first cultural paradigm. Their cultural capital was further extended by their social

mobility in terms of their symbolic presence both in the real world and online. The social and cultural capital associated with both djembefola enabled the remaining participants to acknowledge the absent presence of the djembefola throughout the online period of the case study, resulting in the desire to perform for and with the djembefola to an acceptable level. The empirical research collected during the Liminal case study was of particular interest in terms of illustrating the multidimensional existence of cultural paradigms, both virtually and physically, in that each participant taking part in the case study existed in multidimensional spaces at the same time. The findings of the case study resonate with the findings of Rogoff et al. who examined cultural paradigms in terms of learning by pitching in. The notion of habitus discussed within their study was described as being variable, depending on the cultural heritage associated with the participants being observed. They further highlight that the way children act at home was found to be in contrast to the way they act at school, resulting in the confirmation of alternative social and cultural paradigms existing side by side.

Access to the Internet, and to Facebook in particular, originated in a physical space where a particular set of skills was required in order to achieve online access. Economic capital was also required in order to purchase the equipment that would provide this access. The participants were therefore concurrently present in a physical field (their homes) and a virtual field (Facebook). While members were actively participating in the case study, it became apparent that there was a desire to meet face-to-face in order to practice together in a physical space. As a non-directional facilitator, I attended the physical spaces where the group would gather. The reason given for meeting within a physical space was that the participants were always aware of the absent presence of the djembefola in terms of the learning process. The meetings which took place in a physical space resulted in learning

material, such as videos, sound recordings and images, being uploaded to the online group page in order to further facilitate the learning process.

The case study culminated with a performance, which included the two djembefola at a world music festival known as Drum Camp. The field in which Drum Camp was enacted consisted of a physical space where djembe practice was carried out along with other forms of world music. The audience who observed the Liminal Facebook group performance comprised individuals who were familiar with djembe practice and therefore exhibited their own habitus, highly informed by social, cultural and economic capital.

The second case study took place in The Gambia and involved a group of participants who were Western students, as referred to earlier. Prior to the actual workshop with NK, the participants were required to become members of a closed Facebook group in order to access relevant information pertaining to the physical event itself, such as travel and health information, as well as to enable them to become acquainted online with the other participants who would be attending.

I drew on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and capital in my case study in The Gambia in order to demonstrate the presence of djembe culture. This, in turn, further underpinned the presence of both the virtual and physical fields inhabited, sometimes simultaneously, by the participants, each of whom who shared a system of dispositions: skills, thoughts, beliefs, and behaviours which, when combined together, transformed into the individual's habitus and associated symbolic capital. It was important to note that the habitus of the participants was closely related to the physical and virtual social fields connected with the Gambian field trip case study, within the fourth cultural paradigm. The findings of the Gambian field trip case study align with Śliwa and Johansson's (2015) study, which investigated the ways in which academics' performance was affected within UK higher education institutions when working in English as a non-native language. In order to achieve this, they drew on

Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital, as well as the symbolic capital necessary to achieve success. They observed that the academic environment could be seen as a social field with its own set of rules and they further noted that those belonging to the particular field shared a 'specific system of perception, thought, evaluation, feeling, speech, and behaviour', i.e. habitus. Additionally, they noted that 'the social field and the habitus of individuals are closely connected'. Political, economic, social and technological change was evident throughout the Gambian case study, in terms of the social mobility of both the djembefola and the participants. Certain levels of economic capital were required by the Westerners in order to travel to The Gambia and to pay for the tuition. However, the lack of economic capital linked to the West African musicians resulted in them not being able to travel, and directly resulted in the limitation of global recognition in both the virtual world and the physical world, meaning that their social capital was decreased. Political interventions by Western countries meant that West Africans were not easily able to travel to other countries, yet Westerners interested in learning the djembe were able to gain access to West African countries, depending on their individual economic capital.

The third case study focused on the commodification of traditional djembe practice enacted online within a closed Facebook group. The case study was undertaken in order to observe the various forms of business practice which occurred through the use of different communication methods, in order to identify the economic capital visible in a virtual space. The analysis took place over a period of sixteen months and was often seen as being of a repetitive nature. The Drum Camp Facebook group allowed people who would be physically attending the Camp to access relevant information pertaining to the event itself, and also provided a digital platform for communication between both attendees and artists, allowing them to interact in a virtual space. Particular attention was given to how business relating to a traditional practice and artefact was conducted.

The Drum Camp closed Facebook group was observed as a virtual field, which was occupied by players who exhibited their own individual habitus. Each person's habitus was associated with their individual symbolic capital when they were present within the field. Their presence is determined by the acceptance of their request to join the group. Even when the individual was not connected via the Internet to the group, their Facebook profile was present and could be seen by members of the group. Communications within the group between connected members were shared to the member's personal timeline, resulting in a notification that a communication had taken place within the Drum Camp group. This sharing of communications connected members with one another.

Several different forms of communication resulted in business taking place both virtually and physically. The advertising of events by djembefola and by Western teachers was a frequent occurrence. This form of advertising was reliant upon the teacher being known to people interested in learning the djembe. Information about performances or concerts given by djembe groups from West Africa but based in the UK was also frequently seen. This advertising served the purpose of raising awareness among people interested in West African music, with the result that people would attend the concert, thus increasing the economic capital of the group in question through the payment for tickets to attend. People attending these concerts also required a level of economic capital allowing them to purchase the tickets and also to pay for their travel arrangements. The economic capital associated with the performer transformed into cultural capital as his status grew. Expensive sound equipment was necessary for a good quality show. The high standard of the performance or concert enabled Drum Camp to post comments informing the ticket holders that a particular artist or band would be present. This form of advertising entices people to come to Drum Camp, increasing sales of tickets to those wanting to take advantage of learning to play from

a commercial performer, thus increasing the economic capital of both the performer and the festival itself.

A further successful form of marketing seen within the Drum Camp page was the unique collection of Drum Camp-specific merchandise. The ticket holders would often become collectors of Drum Camp t-shirts, which were printed with a new design each year. Each year there is almost a race to see who the first person is to post that they have bought and received their merchandise. The t-shirts printed with the Drum Camp logo would be worn to many other djembe-related events, further advertising the festival to other people interested in West African music. Photographs depicting the merchandise being worn were posted on the Drum Camp Facebook page, often accompanied by many other comments on these posts from members of the group asking for more information. The field associated with Drum Camp therefore exists in both virtual and physical fields, interrelating simultaneously, and incorporating a wide range of business practices, which often began within the virtual timeline online and concluded in the physical space incorporating the festival itself.

Turner's approach to liminality can be applied here, for example by observing the spaces between the virtual field and the physical field. The different forms of capital required to successfully function within each field are adapted to apply in both the virtual and the physical spaces.

The fourth case study was undertaken in order to examine the virtual dialogue which took place over a period of one year on my personal timeline and to explore how that dialogue influenced the continuity of the business, cultural and organisational aspects of the traditional cultural practice in the physical world. Data relating to djembe practice were collected daily from the main news feed items posted by other members who were included in my social network, known as 'friends' within Facebook, and then shared to my own timeline. The variety of posts was particularly interesting to me in terms of references to

cultural heritage, teaching and learning the djembe, both in West Africa and in the West and the dialogue between ‘friends’, which enacted conversations in a similar way to those heard in a physical space, where multiple people could be involved in a discussion. However, the virtual discussions usually included emoticons as a digital way of expressing emotion regarding a particular comment or post. Smiley faces or ‘thumbs up’ emoticons were used consistently to express pleasure or excitement about an upcoming event. This can be compared with the emotions seen throughout the previous two paradigms, where emotion is expressed both virtually and physically.

Bourdieu (1972) discusses the concept of habitus as a means of understanding the ways in which individuals and society are related to each other. This is identified within my year-long study of djembe-related content shared to my timeline. A total of 6,569 individual posts were made, with 4,243 replies or comments made in response to those posts. Overall, there is a vast amount of djembe-related content posted within Facebook, but I have only examined data included in my timeline. My own social network within Facebook extends across the world through membership of different Facebook groups. Once a request for membership to a group is accepted, then all members of that group are subsequently added to my own social network. Any posts made by members of a group become visible to all the other members, meaning that the sharing facility was recognised as being crucial to the ways that individuals and society relate to each other.

The habitus of the individual is informed by their social, cultural and economic capital, which transforms into symbolic capital upon entering a field. Facebook can be considered as a macro field within which are multiple micro fields. Each separate area of communication can be considered as being related to a specific field. For example, the personal home page of a Facebook member is constructed by the member, who adds his or her social capital in terms of personal relationships, interests, friends and images thereby creating a personalised

space which is their micro field within the macro Facebook field. During the one-year study, there were a number of instances which demonstrated the Facebook users' ability to promote djembe performances, workshops and other events. The use of imagery within these shared posts further encouraged the viewer of the post either to click on the title of the post, which revealed all of the information, or simply to make use of the 'like' button. Most shared events which were marketed by other Facebook members included a link to an external website where further information could be found or tickets purchased. Again, as discussed throughout the thesis, the economic capital associated with the potential attendee is recognised with the purchasing of tickets and organisation of travel arrangements.

The type of event also identifies the economic capital associated with the djembefola or Western djembe teacher. For example, Mamady Keïta's International Academies accrue a great deal of economic capital as a result of his social mobility, in both the virtual and physical worlds, which has further increased his cultural capital, as discussed in the previous case study. Because of this, Mamady Keïta's events sell out very quickly, mostly due to the sharing of his particular event within djembe-related forums or groups on Facebook. A further type of business practice, which appears frequently within my timeline, is the virtual representation of a physical shop. The owners of the shop situated in the physical space create a page or a group which represents the physical shop. Goods are photographed and the images posted within that group so that people can purchase them, thus demonstrating a level of continuity from the physical world to the virtual world.

Most of the goods for sale are percussion instruments, including djembes, and tend to originate from either the Western world or the UK. There are not many instances of instruments originating from West Africa. Interestingly, however, the djembefola all have traditional handmade instruments, in keeping with their traditional history, which they maintain themselves, rather than commercialised instruments made for mass production.

This further elevated the status of the traditional djembe as an authentic instrument. The djembefola who advertise teaching holidays in West Africa also organise for local drum makers to be present with a variety of local handmade goods to sell to the attendees, ranging from clothing and jewellery to high-quality djembes. This has a positive impact upon the economic capital of both the craftsmen/women, and also raises awareness of djembe practice, because the goods or clothing and jewellery are associated with West African culture. The purchased items, usually djembes and authentic clothing, are packaged and prepared for dispatch with their Western owners, who will arrange for them to be flown home at additional significant cost to themselves. The cultural capital of the individual who owns a djembe handmade in West Africa is increased, as it is instantly recognisable as a traditional djembe originating from an authentic setting. Often, when such a transaction has taken place, the individual will post an image of their recent purchase and comment on the quality of sound, the appearance or the intricate carving. Occasional examples have been shared to my timeline depicting the Western student or teacher playing a complex rhythm on a recently purchased djembe, again demonstrating their cultural capital in terms of their skill level and the fact that they have been to West Africa and experienced learning to play the drum in an authentic setting. Finally, what is particularly interesting is the amount of West African djembe music for sale or simply available to watch and listen to. The music is available in many formats, from a simple video recording uploaded to a Facebook group, which is shared to other people, to commercial mp3 files, which can be downloaded at a cost.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the development and evolution of djembe habitus and how it has changed to better reflect the diversity and complexity of djembe practices that can be

observed nowadays. It identifies the organisational processes, practices and structures which enable to movement of the djembe culture through three identified, and existing cultural paradigms, and subsequently into a new digital cultural paradigm, present in today's 21st century world. The notion of macro fields and micro fields has been discussed in terms of habitus and practice within the field.

This discussion has also included the diverse forms of digital dialogue shared on Facebook by members of groups as well as individuals in order to observe the continuity and change in business practices, and the cultural and organisational aspects of djembe practice.

Increasingly it was observed that business practices were flourishing due to the sharing capabilities of Facebook, as communication between individuals interested in the djembe often related to events being advertised and shared.

The following and final chapter will present a conclusion to this thesis by discussing my original contribution to knowledge, the limitations of the study and suggestions for proposed areas for future research.

Chapter 7 **Thesis conclusion**

This chapter summarises the key findings of the research process and the empirical research that was undertaken in the form of four case studies, in order to address the main research question and objectives regarding the political, economic, social and technological changes over time, as well as examining the implications of those changes and continuities for djembe practice today. In addition, I discuss the significance and limitations of the study and possible directions for future research in the field.

In examining the historical evolution of djembe habitus, we see a rural West African culture steeped in oral practice and intergenerational traditions of ritual, ceremony and culture, which has been radically altered in response to political, economic and social upheaval as well as technological change. Digital transformation has facilitated the interconnectivity between people regardless of economic status, educational attainment and/or geographical location.

Up to now, there have been a number of analyses of the djembe (Charry, 1996; Polak, 2000; Flaig, 2010; Lee, 2010) in terms of its history; however, little has been said about the way that the djembe is practised currently.

7.1 Conceptual framework

In order to investigate the evolution of djembe habitus from its traditional roots to a commercial and commodified presence within Facebook, and to understand the implications of the evolution of the djembe in today's contemporary world, a Bourdieusian approach was applied using the concepts of field, habitus, capital, hysteresis and doxa (Bourdieu, 1972). The practice of the djembe was seen as a field and, in order for different players to succeed within that field, a certain kind of cultural and symbolic capital was required. The notion of

habitus referred specifically to the changing role of the djembefola over time. As the djembe was evolving, relatively stable periods or cultural paradigms were identified. Williams (1961: 55) offers a central description of culture as being a process, and defines it as ‘the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life’. This is informative in the understanding of the cultural paradigm. Additionally, anthropologist Mary Douglas suggests that culture is not a ‘static thing’, but something which everyone is creating, affirming and expressing (Douglas, 1985: xxiii). Seel (2005: 2) observes that, in accordance with Douglas’ views, ‘if you want to change a culture you have to change the questions happening inside that culture, i.e. how to make meanings about the events of the world around them’.

The notion of the cultural paradigm was applied through a cultural and anthropological lens in order to consider the existing beliefs, practices and general perspectives of a discipline. The identification of multiple cultural paradigms resulted in the observation of the liminal or transitional space which both separated and linked each one. Liminality, first discussed by Arnold van Gennep (1908) as being a rite of passage, and latterly by Victor Turner (1969) who suggested that liminal phases can be associated with small-scale, tribal societies. In structuring the conceptual framework for this thesis, I applied Turner’s notion of liminality (the betwixt and between), together with Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice and the notion of the cultural paradigm, in order to understand how djembe habitus has changed over time, as well as to understand the implications of those changes within the contemporary twenty-first century world.

7.2 Research findings

The empirical research into current djembe habitus was guided by the main research question and the objectives of the thesis. Operationally, the fieldwork took place in four stages resulting in four case studies.

An interpretive, ethnographical and netnographical form of data collection and analysis was chosen to conduct the empirical investigation. This included fieldwork and case studies (Bourdieu, 1958), traditional ethnography (Wacquant, 2010; Kerr and Robinson, 2011) within a physical space, netnography (Kozinets, 2010) within the digital space, participant observation, visual data in the form of photographs taken by me and also from Facebook itself, videos available online, and data gathered both online (within social networking groups) and in person (within group settings such as workshops). Semi-structured interviews were prepared, incorporating Bourdieu's key concepts and the notion of both cultural paradigms and liminal transitions. The case studies were analysed and interpreted. It was observed that, throughout the complete period of data collection, the presence of the djembefola was observed, signifying both continuity and change in his role. The analysis of the findings has allowed me to highlight both continuities and changes between djembe habitus and the role of the djembefola in the past and at present.

7.2.1 Case Study 1

The first case study was enacted within a closed Facebook group, which I set up for a number of invited members and took place both virtually and physically between March and July 2013. My role was that of both participant and participant observer, with Facebook being the facilitator. The group was collectively learning to play a particular rhythm purely within a virtual space in contrast to traditional methods of learning within a physical space. The purpose of this case study was to examine if it was possible for the transmission of djembe practice to happen through the digital medium. The data were interpreted by observing the interactions between members of the group, both virtually and physically. Textual commentary within the Facebook group, video recordings, and images were analysed in terms of their content.

Key findings

Within the fourth cultural paradigm, the role of Facebook is key to the transmission and enactment of djembe practice. This is the first identified space within this research where the enactment of djembe habitus is observed within the social networking platform Facebook, thus establishing the evolution of djembe habitus within an emergent new cultural paradigm. Primarily, the study took place within a Facebook closed group. It was observed that djembe practice was able to traverse both virtual and physical spaces. The role of the two djembefola throughout the case study was of particular interest, as they did not actively participate during the virtual part of the case study, but still had an influence on the group's learning process through their 'absent presence'.

Bourdieu's concept of the field as a space where the habitus, consisting of cultural, social and economic capital, can be applied to the Liminal Facebook group, which was seen as having its own form of social capital created by the participants who, in turn, each had their own social capital in terms of their own acquaintances and friendships, in both the virtual and physical worlds. However, as learning took place, it was acknowledged that the participants within the case study were simultaneously present in different spaces related to the study. These spaces were identified as people's homes and, indeed, the Drum Camp festival, where the rhythm was finally performed to an audience. Bourdieu's theory was developed in relation to what happens in real life; however, I have applied it to a combination of actions which happen both in the virtual arena and in the physical world outside Facebook. Each distinct field was organised by a set of rules adhered to by the participants, referred to as doxa.

The development of the case study, and its subsequent analysis demonstrated that Bourdieu's Theory of Practice can be applied to fields that exist both in virtual and physical spaces.

7.2.2 Case Study 2

The second case study consisted of research conducted prior to and during a fieldwork trip to The Gambia, West Africa, where I was both participant and participant observer in a group learning to play the djembe. The purpose of this case study was to explore the role of both virtual and physical communities and the forms of communication taking place within those communities, in order to examine contemporary djembe habitus within the West African village, with the participation of Western students. The main objective of this field trip was to immerse myself as both researcher and participant observer within djembe drumming culture for a period of three weeks. The period of both virtual and physical data collection was from 21 March 2013 to 5 February 2014.

Key findings

A key finding within this case study is related to Bourdieu's concept of the field, observed as the different spaces which existed purely as a result of migratory activities, by the African djembefola who, although resident in the UK, would travel back to West Africa to teach Western students in a traditional setting. This setting was perceived as a traditional setting by those who travelled in order to learn the djembe, but it was also a new setting. It evolved into a space where a new form of djembe practice was observed and where teaching was adapted to Western styles of learning.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus, field and capital has been applied to enable the examination of the digital communications that took place between the participants and the organiser. Both the participants from the West and the djembefola (who had previously migrated from West Africa to the UK) required a variety of capital resources to enable them to travel to The Gambia. Specific skill sets were also required to access, and understand, digital technology in order to organise their travel arrangements, illustrating a level of both cultural

and economic capital. Therefore, technology and economic capital were again recognised as being an important factor in enabling the Westerner to travel to The Gambia.

The case study is relevant to the third cultural paradigm, where the effects of globalisation, commercialism and commodification were observed, the third liminal transitional phase, where the advancement of digital and technological practices were becoming an accepted form of practice, and the new emergent fourth cultural paradigm, where digital communication enabled the emergence of djembe habitus within virtual communities.

7.2.3 Case Study 3

The third case study was based on an analysis of digital communication over a period of sixteen months within the closed Facebook group 'Drum Camp', with a particular emphasis on how djembe practice is subjected to business transactions. The purpose of the case study was to investigate the different types of business practice that were taking place through various forms of communicational methods within a closed Facebook group in order to identify economic capital in a virtual space. The data collection methods were similar to those used in Case Study 2.

Key findings

A key finding observed within this case study is the significance of the economic capital displayed, in terms of the djembefola attending Drum Camp, the students who would be learning to play the djembe, the trading of goods by both individuals and commercial establishments, and the substantial cost of holding the event itself. Economic capital is a necessary commodity required to enable all members of the closed Facebook group to communicate with each other and to keep up to date with information pertaining to the physical event.

Additionally, the presence of the stakeholders associated with Drum Camp, both virtually and physically, was considered significant as one directly affects the other. The symbiotic

environments seen both in the physical space and within the virtual social networking platform Facebook, which represented Drum Camp, enabled a narrative and dialogue to occur between people present in both spaces. This multidimensional aspect extended the space where business transactions could take place, resulting in the digital trading of an ancient form of cultural practice.

In considering the traditional oral narrative surrounding the djembe, it was observed through both individual and group interactions within the Facebook closed group that the advancement of digital technology, recognised as beginning during the third transitional liminal phase and continuing into the new emergent fourth paradigm, has revolutionised the way communication occurs in terms of the reshaping of multipresentational formats which replicate the oral commentary traditionally seen. This digital revolution promises to alter the perceptions of West African culture for all time.

The social capital exhibited by the festival attendees is significant and is enhanced further by membership in the Facebook group, where participation in a developing dialogue enabled people who would not normally connect in a physical space, to easily connect within the digital space.

7.2.4 Case Study 4

The fourth case study addressed the nature of djembe practice within my own news feed on Facebook, over a one-year period. The purpose of this study was to examine how digital social media dialogues within a personal Facebook timeline influenced the continuity of the commercial, cultural and organisational aspects of the traditional cultural practice. I examined the dialogue occurring within djembe-related posts shared from my Facebook news feed to my personal Facebook timeline in order to identify the habitus, field, capital, hysteresis and doxa present within a virtual community space online. The key element central to this data collection was the availability of the Internet, and more specifically the

social media platform Facebook, as well as the people who participated on a global scale in constructing the digital narrative.

Key findings

An interesting key finding which emerged as a result of undertaking this lengthy period of data collection was the way in which individuals, groups and societies interpreted and negotiated their way through the social practice seen within Facebook. This was observed through the significant number of posts which discussed and promoted ‘the return to the traditional ways of teaching or playing the djembe’. I found this to be intriguing, as the focus of the comments was formed around the return to a traditional practice, but made to a significant number of people in a virtual environment, thereby using a digital oral narrative to promote a traditional oral practice.

The significant number of djembe-related comments shared to my timeline during this case study is an indication of the vast overall global presence of djembe culture available on Facebook, which can be accessed easily and quickly. This is in complete contrast to the scope of traditional access.

7.2.5 Summary of key findings

The purpose of the study was to investigate the evolution of djembe habitus and the emergent djembe paradigm within Facebook. The main research question is separated into two research areas:

How has djembe habitus evolved over time to reach its current form?

The evolution of the djembe was identified as spanning three established time periods before entering into the new emergent cultural paradigm following the third transitional liminal phase, which identified the significance of the Internet and the social networking platform Facebook in particular. Four distinct cultural paradigms were identified, both separated and linked by three transitional cultural shifts or liminal phases.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus, field, capital, doxa and hysteresis were applied to the djembefola in order to situate their presence within a particular field. The circumstances present within each cultural paradigm were affected by political interventions (as identified within the first liminal phase), technological changes (as identified within the second liminal phase) and the advancement of technology into the digital space (as identified within the third liminal space). These transitional phases provided a link between the past and the future, signifying continuity, yet at the same time are a step towards a change.

What are the implications of these changes for our understanding of the organisation of the djembe under different historical and technological conditions?

The objectives of the research question were addressed by adopting a qualitative approach in order to understand the process of organisation of the djembe through historical and technological change, and by identifying the paradigmatic and liminal transitional phases, in order to enable us to understand the implications of continuity and change upon the organisation of the djembe.

As each cultural paradigm began to show signs of change, a marginal (preliminal) phase of the next transitional phase developed, requiring the players present in the existent field to question the appropriateness of the rules of that paradigm. The process of questioning led to the emergence of a transitional phase, where adaptation to new rules could take place and become accepted, thus signifying the emergent cultural paradigm, where players could exhibit certain types of capital which would justify their positioning and status within the field present within the new cultural paradigm. Critically, the actions of the players (in this case the djembefola) within the new field present in the emergent cultural paradigm are shaped by the rules in operation within that field. Their associated and accumulated symbolic capital, consisting of social, cultural or economic capital and other forms of

capital necessary to establish their position in the field, such as additional embodied, objectified or institutionalised capital, acts to increase their social standing.

While this thesis refers to the evolution of the djembe through cultural paradigms and transitional liminal phases as a linear process, it is important to note that this can be problematic as such linear development does not initially reveal the many similarities and overlapping characteristics that occur in reality. However for the purposes of analytical clarity in this type of historical exposition, I have used a linear format as a helpful means of visualising the changes that have occurred.

7.2.6 Limitations of and reflections on the study

One of the main limitations of this study was the small number of interviews undertaken with djembefola, not only within The Gambia but also in the West. I believe the quality of the data would have been enhanced if more djembefola had been interviewed, as this would have significantly increased the quantity of data and consequently enriched the analysis process. Also interviews with other West African musicians, who were not classed as djembefola but were nonetheless highly skilled djembe players, would have further benefited the theoretical scope of the analysis by an examination of their presence within both the paradigms and the transitional liminal shifts, thus highlighting the emergence of their habitus within an evolving cultural paradigm.

Reflecting on the empirical data collection process, in terms of my visit to The Gambia, was particularly interesting, as well as distressing. The Ebola outbreak occurred in West Africa not long after my return to the UK. Initially, I was planning on visiting The Gambia during February and, if I had done so, this would have resulted in my not being able to conduct the study. I was also concerned about the people I had met and become friends with, who lived in the villages where healthcare provision was scarce.

Additionally, in hindsight, I also consider that when I first started doing a PhD I had little idea about how the thesis would develop, but at the same time I had an opportunity to travel to The Gambia, fairly early on in the process. I did conduct a comprehensive qualitative fieldwork study, but back then I had not yet fully understood what shape the thesis would take. If it were possible to change my approach, I would have taken more time to refine my conceptual approach before conducting the fieldwork. However, if I had delayed my fieldwork trip to The Gambia, there was a real possibility that I would not have been able to go to The Gambia at all, due to the Ebola virus outbreak.

7.3 Significance of the study

The importance of this research study is that it has identified a changing form of cultural practice, which has come about as a result of changing political, economic, social and technological circumstances. What is significant is that the study looks comprehensively at the evolution of the djembe from the beginning of the practice up until now, because it traces the continuities and the changes and it looks from an organisational perspective at how the djembe has been organised at different points in time.

It contributes to the previous literature about the djembe (Charry, 1996; Polak, 2000; Flaig, 2010; Lee, 2010) and at the same time it contributes to our understanding of the djembe as a form of practice which is organised and which is enacted and which changes over time.

What is also significant about the study, is that it brings together a number of ethnographic methods combining both the traditional ethnographic approach (Douglas, 1985: xxiii; Seel, 2005: 2) and netnography, (Kozinets, 2010) and therefore expands the repertoire in organisation studies, as well as drawing on Bourdieu's (1972) Theory of Practice.

Conceptually, it addresses the concept of habitus as a dynamic concept, demonstrating

continuity within the djembefola habitus as well as the discontinuities observed as a result of political, economic, social and technological advances.

I have introduced a new approach to organisational practices, which differs significantly from the conventional research practice and perceptions seen within organisation studies, and my methods could be adapted and implemented by organisation studies scholars in the future.

7.3.1 Contribution to knowledge

The development of a conceptual framework which combines Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, in particular his concept of field, habitus, capital, hysteresis and doxa, with the notion of cultural paradigms, separated by Turner's approach to liminality, is considered to address a gap in knowledge in terms of organisational studies. This framework has enabled me both to track the continuities of djembe habitus and practice, or how the djembe has been enacted historically, and to highlight the changes which have occurred.

Also identified are the manifestations of different forms of capital and the interplay between all the various forms of capital (i.e. social, cultural and economic, as well as institutionalised, objectified and embodied) and the habitus as they are present within a field.

The theoretical contribution of the thesis has identified that, although Bourdieu's work has been used to explore different types of occupations or different types of cultural phenomena, the djembefola have gradually evolved through different cultural paradigms, as well as linked transitional liminal phases to become organisational actors in the sense of the non-conventional understanding of organisation.

A methodological contribution was proposed through conducting a research study that applies a Bourdieusian lens, but uses methods which previously have not been applied, in relation to Bourdieu-inspired studies. This was an experimental approach, where I chose to

develop and apply different methods in order to investigate the evolution of the djembe over time in both physical and virtual arenas.

7.4 Future developments

7.4.1 Future research possibilities

While this was not the specific focus of my research, future research on contemporary djembe practice could address the evolution of the djembe culture from a post-colonial perspective, a gender perspective, or by using a racial studies lens to inform the understanding of how the djembe is organised. Earlier in the study it was observed that women can also be djembefola (see Figure 1.1 First all-women percussion troupe – Nimbaya!) and yet there is still a strong male gender bias, as far as djembe teachers today are concerned. To further understand the organisation of the djembe from this perspective, issues surrounding gender could be investigated at a deeper level.

Kerr and Robinson (2011) applied a Bourdieusian Theory of Practice to explore banking, and Śliwa and Johansson (2015) looked at academics, similarly through a Bourdieusian lens. A lot of work within organisation studies that applies Bourdieu's Theory of Practice has been carried out within conventional organisations in relation to organisational actors, whose roles are relatively well understood and well researched. I have applied Bourdieu's Theory of Practice to a much less conventional organisational form, illustrating how the djembe is organised, through djembe tourism, djembe marketing and the learning of the djembe itself. Future research could follow this unconventional approach, and address other ways of organising within contemporary economy and society, which have not been covered by the standard organisational analysis.

It would also be interesting to further expand Bourdieu's Theory of Practice to other forms of non-conventional organisational actors affected by changing circumstances, specifically within both virtual and physical fields.

7.4.2 Implications of the study upon my own research

7.4.2.1 Implications of the research as a festival co-owner

The research undertaken for the thesis has broadened my own understanding of the importance of communication, both in a physical world, and in the virtual world, where geographical borders present no barriers in terms of time and space.

The undertaking of interviews within the Gambian intensive workshop, with the djembefola elders, as well as with other workshop participants, has enabled me to acknowledge the importance of engaging deeply with the subject under research, specifically in this thesis; the djembe. My ability to play and understand the rhythms, demonstrated to the elders my commitment to the craft, thereby ensuring a legitimacy and rigour. My deep knowledge of this ancient craft also demonstrated respect for the tradition, and the people involved. I feel that this legitimacy will aid me in further research, having established a coherent rapport with djembefola both in West Africa as well as on a global virtual scale, using regular Facebook communications, regarding several ideas for future research.

My understanding of the organizational processes which are in place within Drum Camp regarding the djembe culture, specifically in terms of arranging for the djembefola, and other djembe players to be able to perform and teach, also are extremely beneficial, in terms of respecting an ancient culture present in today's 21st century online world. The use of the social media platform Facebook, has enabled me to discuss the wide areas of research needed to complete this thesis with people across the globe, who hold a deep knowledge on specific areas of the djembe culture, as well as incorporating new ideas into the world music festival: Drum Camp. Specifically, different ways of teaching and learning, both within the

actual festival, and after the event itself, where notation, accompanied with video clips, can be accessed and discussed with other festival attendees.

7.4.2.2 As a djembe practitioner

Being involved with Drum Camp, both as a visitor, and more recently as a co-owner, has enabled me to engage on a deeper level with the djembefola, as well as with many other practitioners. Becoming friends with many djembe teachers from West Africa and beyond has, without a doubt increased my understanding of djembe culture, from the ancient stories and rituals told over many centuries, to new traditions being created by master djembefola, such as Mamady Keita. I asked Mamady Keita a question about race and its importance within djembe culture, he replied very succinctly:

"The djembe is a drum that speaks a language.

What the djembe is speaking is a message of love, togetherness and peace.

The djembe does not see colour, race or gender.

What the djembe sees is our hearts.

The djembe is an instrument that teaches us.

What the djembe teaches us is about ourselves.

If we all thought like the djembe, then we would not have so much trouble in the world.

What else can I say." (field note).

His answer has stayed with me over many years, and has often directly influenced my decisions when organizing Drum Camp. As an organizational team, we try to bring in the most respected and talented djembe players, as well as their accompanying musicians to teach a broad range of music, including song, dance and story-telling. Although I personally prefer to learn from a djembefola from West Africa, there are many talented white djembe teachers across the globe.

It has been an interesting journey for me, as I have been researching the evolution of the djembe over time, in respect of external changes which have taken place. I have seen non-

West African students react better to a western style of teaching in the first instance, and who then develop further with West African teachers. The effect of globalisation upon the djembe habitus has allowed the djembe teachers and performers to be able to successfully make a sustained living from their heritage. I can see both the positive and more problematic aspects of commercialisation and commodification of the djembe. Cultural exchange is an extremely positive benefit to djembe culture, enabling djembe practice to spread around the world, as well as providing a musical platform where people can communicate, with the advances in technology, both on and off line. Tourism is encouraged, and people can visit the traditional villages and meet the djembefola in their homes. Problematically, these changes can also be seen as a type of neo-colonial project, where culture is designed and produced for the tourist.. A common problematic issue related to West African djembe culture is corruption, in terms of financial issues and blackmail, additionally, the requirement by the West African Djembefola for travel visas is included in this description. Visas are not usually granted to the djembefola unless there is a strong body of proof from a Western organization of financial support. Sex tourism, as well as old colonial links are evident within West Africa, and can be observed frequently. Importantly, over time, djembe culture has, as a result of globalization and digitization, especially within social media, lost its deep sacred, ritualistic and ceremonial meaning to many djembe players, both in West Africa and the rest of the world. This has resulted in the practice being perceived as a product, rather than a sacred practice, thereby losing some of its deep meanings. There is evidence that some traditional djembefola are still being taught the old ways, where the importance of the meaning of the rhythm, the song, the dance, and the reason it is played is still taught by the elders to the younger West African djembefola, although this is certainly not always the case.

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Appendices

Appendix A Interview information sheet

Helen Cooke

University Campus Suffolk/Essex University.

PhD Research,
Observation/Interview Information Form.

Title of Study:

**Djembe in the field: an exploration of the evolution of the djembe
habitus, and the emergent djembe paradigm within Facebook**

The researcher (Helen Cooke) would like your permission to interview you, and to record the session with audio/visual recording equipment, and to allow the analysis of the interviews, and any visual material to be used within her thesis.

The research aims to identify a new fourth paradigm of djembe music, following on from the;

1. **First Paradigm** – Founding Fathers: rural village drumming.
2. **Second Paradigm** – Into Africa, the extension of the Djembe to the African continent and changing form into a more social media and technique.
3. **Third Paradigm** – Out of Africa, the further extension of the Djembe to a wider, international audience, increasing popularity, a further move away from the traditional and ritualistic origins but, at the same time, the acquisition of characteristics which further and differently define the nature of the music and its communicative value.
4. **Fourth Paradigm** – A global phenomenon with its roots firmly embedded within the global Facebook "tribe". The emergence of a new form of drumming defined as a further extension of Djembe technique and practice. This is further removed from the original traditional and ritualistic practices. This section raises the issues on which the thesis is based and seeks to evaluate the contribution of the new form in terms of its global contribution: gains and losses, in order to consider the relative significance of the increasing commodification of the Djembe when set against the contribution of the new paradigm in world music.

If you have no objections to interviews, photography and/or video as an observational and interview aid, then please sign the attached consent form. Please also feel free to ask any questions throughout the research period.

Many thanks

Helen Cooke – December 2013.

Appendix B Interview consent form

University Campus Suffolk/Essex University.

PhD Research, Observation/Interview Consent Form.

Title of Study: West African Djembe: A Critical Analysis - Tribal Roots to Facebook.

Name of Researcher: Helen Cooke

**Please tick
the box**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the research information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation in Interviews/audio/visual recording in terms of the research project as above is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time.
3. I understand that the above researcher from the University Campus Suffolk & Essex University who is working on the project will have access to my personal details.
4. I understand that any data or information used in any publications which arise from this study will be anonymous, unless agreed in writing with all parties concerned.
5. I understand that all data will be stored securely and is covered by the data protection act.
6. I agree that the researcher can contact me to arrange an interview at a time and location to suit me.
7. Name of participant: _____
8. Date: _____
9. Signature: _____

Appendix C Interview questions (The Gambia)

University Campus Suffolk/Essex University.

PhD Research

Interview - Questions.

Topic Guide:

Title of Study: Djembe in the field: an exploration of the djembe habitus, and the emergent djembe paradigm within Facebook

Objective:

To conduct qualitative interviews with Djembe players, both Masters and students from different countries, both in person and on-line (within djembe related threads/groups/events/discussions, on the social media site – Facebook) to evaluate the contribution of the djembe in terms of its global contribution: gains and losses, in order to consider the relative significance of the increasing commodification of the Djembe when set against the contribution of the new paradigm in on-line world music.

Introduction:

- Introduce myself to participant
- Brief introduction to my research
- Explain confidentiality and consent forms
- Request permission to record – audio and or visual

Personal Background:

- Tell me about your childhood and where you come from?
- Place of birth, how long lived there,
- When did you leave there? Is your family still there?
- Family members? Parents, siblings etc.
- Do you consider that your birthplace is your 'home' – why?
- What relationship do you have now with your birthplace?

Home now:

- Do you consider the place where you live now as home, why?

Musicology:

- Can you please tell me about your interest in djembe drumming?
- When did it begin?
- Can you tell me about your first experience with the djembe?
- Where did this happen, and in what capacity?
- Can you tell me about the way that you have been taught to play the djembe, and who was your teacher? (Where is he/she from) Also how long you have been playing?
- Do you lead or belong to a djembe group, and if so can you tell me about it? How many members, how often do you meet and where?
- Can you tell me about the styles of djembe playing, in terms of ritualistic, performance, workshops etc? Do you understand the rhythms being taught now, their history and the reasons they were traditionally played within the rural village in West Africa?
- How would you rate your own skill level on the djembe? Or how would your students describe you as a teacher of the djembe?
- Has playing the djembe involved you travelling at all? Le to gigs, workshops, intensive specialized training classes? If so please tell me about it, where have you been, did you enjoy the experience? Did the event/class cost money? What do you think about the cost involved in learning this instrument?
- Have you met and become friendly with other djembe musicians as a result of playing the djembe? Please explain...where, when, who, location.

Digital communities:

Considering what we have spoken about so far, I would like to ask you some questions, which relate to your online presence, in particular, Facebook.

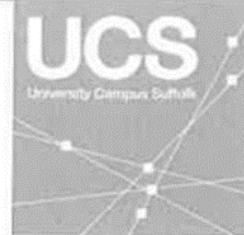
- Can you tell me if you have a Facebook page? If not, why not? Access? Is there any other online presence in terms of social networking other than Facebook??? Explain?
- If so does the djembe feature on it in any form, for example, images, videos, discussions, shared posts etc.
- I would like to know how often you log on to Facebook in a day? What sort of activity would you participate in? for example, general chat, status update, uploading visual material, investigating what is going on in your area, in terms of leisure activities, meetings, events etc? please explain.

- Do you specifically add new friends to your network, in terms of the djembe – shared interests? Does it matter where in the physical world they are located? Why?
- Do you ever advertise djembe events, such as workshops, classes, concerts or fundraisers?
- Do you ever attend events, which have been shared with you from other djembe players? Can you give me some examples? Did you discuss the event afterwards on your Facebook page? Did you or others from the event share visual imagery such as photographs or videos? Did this in turn lead to further events being shared? Or new communication threads.
- Do you feel able to openly discuss the djembe within a group on Facebook? For example, specific drumming styles or notation?
- Have you ever specifically searched for djembe related information on Facebook? And do you post this to your own wall, for others to see?
- Do you ever use the 'chat' facility to discuss the djembe with people in other countries?
- What do you think of the effect, that Facebook has in enabling people to connect with each other all over the world, virtually instantaneously?
- I would like to know now, if you consider that the ritual and symbolic traditions that surrounded the djembe in the rural villages, in terms of celebrational drumming, are still in evidence today, or whether a new performance style of drumming has emerged.

After the questions have been asked, I will thank the participant, and remind them that the information will be transcribed for analysis for my thesis. Participants are again asked if they wish to remain anonymous or whether they are happy for their names and or any images to be used within the thesis.

End of Interview.

Appendix D Ethical approval



11th December 2013

Student: Helen Cooke

Student number: S1068904

Dear Helen,

Re: Ethical Approval Application

I am writing as the Chair of the Ethics Panel for the School of Business, Leadership and Enterprise. Your application has been approved.

You are therefore able to proceed with your research.

Please keep this letter and include it within your final report.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ian Baxter', is written over a faint, larger version of the same signature.

Dr Ian Baxter
Head of Division, School of Business, Leadership & Enterprise

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