Dance as Living Cultural Heritage: A Transcultural Ethnochoreological Analysis of Egyptian Raqs Sharqi.

By

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A thesis submitted to, and under the auspices of, Cardiff Metropolitan University

for the degree of PhD (Dance and Cultural Heritage Studies)

April 2019

Abstract

This research is concerned with the 2003 UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage, which allows the inscription of activities such as performing arts, skills and traditions into the UNESCO world cultural heritage lists. One practice potentially worthy of consideration for such recognition is raqs sharqi ('oriental dance' in Arabic; a style of bellydance), originating in Egypt in the 1920s and now practised worldwide.

Egyptian raqs sharqi, in this thesis, is examined in a way that centralises the question of how such forms of heritage are embodied and transmitted by people (within and across cultures) via their practices, experiences and traditions. The aim is to identify the cultural heritage characteristics of Egyptian raqs sharqi and evaluate if it can be considered heritage and how it locates itself within the field of ICH. In pursuing this aim, this thesis explores the challenges involved in safeguarding Egyptian raqs sharqi as transcultural, living and embodied heritage, whilst critically examining the suitability of separating cultural heritage into tangible and intangible forms.

A multidisciplinary, dialogical and holistic framework for dance/heritage is constructed, connecting dance theory, philosophically influenced sociology (particularly the non-dualistic theories of Merleau-Ponty, Bourdieu and Giddens) and cultural heritage studies. An ethnochoreological approach and a qualitative methodology are adopted, analysing formal aspects of dance (including movements and artefacts) and its socio-cultural context, using: analysis of online videos of dance and textual sources; online ethnography and one-to-one interviews.

The result is a reconstruction of Egyptian raqs sharqi history and the current discourse around it. What emerges is a holistic, ever-evolving phenomenon that develops through the interaction of transculturality, tangible and intangible elements and dialectic between individual agency and social structures, change and tradition. These elements influence the authenticity discourse, heritage transmission, threats and opportunities for its safeguarding.

Subsequently, a dynamic approach, with four interdependent stages (heritage identification, curation, sharing and promotion) is suggested for its safeguarding. As people are central to this type of heritage, the involvement of members of the public is strongly encouraged, at every stage, through public engagement initiatives.

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Acknowledgements

Thank you very much to my supervisory team for their support, without which I would not have been able to complete this PhD:

- Dr David Brown, my Director of Studies, for having believed in me from the beginning and guided me through the complex process and challenges of the PhD. Thank you for being such an inspiring supervisor, but also for giving me the freedom to explore my own ideas, while, at the same time, offering guidance and support.
- Dr George Jennings, for reading my thesis several times and providing extremely useful feedback.
- Dr Lisa Edwards, for her insightful input, which helped me sharpen the focus on some of my key ideas.

Also, I would like to thank Fiona Brooker, Sally Varrall and Heidi Wilson, from the dance department who, during the first year of my PhD, allowed me to sit in on their dance theory classes. The knowledge gathered from their classes has informed and inspired a great part of my literature review on dance.

A huge thank you goes to my husband, Paul Symonds, for his continuous support, the intellectually challenging conversations that inspired my research and for proofreading my thesis with such love and attention. Thank you, Paul, for your continual encouragement and for your help in boosting my motivation, especially at the hardest times during this research process.

Thank you also to my parents, Tecla Gatto and Antonino Lo Iacono, for providing me with love and care throughout my life (and for supporting me through the education that allowed me to embark on a PhD). Without you, I would have not had the confidence, in life, to take on a challenge such as a PhD.

Last but not least, a big thank you to my research participants, the bellydance practitioners who gave up their time to help me in this journey of discovery of Egyptian raqs sharqi. Thank you to: Abbie Mason (aka Alanya); Alia Thabit; Angela Moe; Ann Hall; Anu Toivonen; Elindia Bellydance; Francesca Calloni; Joana Saahirah; Lidia Rosolia and Lorna Gow.

Thank you also to the wider bellydance community, to all the practitioners and enthusiasts of this dance who shared videos, thoughts, ideas and precious information online and through books and DVDs. Without them publicly sharing their knowledge and materials, this research would have not been possible in its current form.

Publications

Journal articles:

- Loiacono, V. and Fallon, J. M. (2018) 'Intangible Cultural Heritage Beyond Borders: Egyptian Bellydance (Raqs Sharqi) as a Form of Transcultural Heritage', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 39(3), pp. 286–304. doi: 10.1080/07256868.2018.1463842.
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- Lo Iacono, V., Symonds, P. and Brown, D. H. K. (2016) 'Skype as a Tool for Qualitative Research Interviews', *Sociological Research Online*, 21(2), pp. 1–15. doi: 10.5153/sro.3952.
- Lo Iacono, V. (2017) 'Authenticity and its implications for Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Case Study of the Dance Genre Egyptian Raqs Sharqi'. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Conference Presentations:

- Is VoIP a Feasible Tool for Dance Research? Use of Skype for Qualitative Interviews on Dance as Transcultural Heritage. – DanceHE Symposium, University of Bedfordshire, Bedford, 7th April 2016.
- Can video sharing sites be valid platforms to archive, share and re-live dance as heritage? The case of Egyptian raqs sharqi. – Digital Echoes, Coventry University, Coventry, 4th March 2016.
- Can online videos be powerful tools to curate dance as a form of cultural heritage? The case of Egyptian raqs sharqi. – Presented at PopMoves, University of Roehampton, London, 24th October 2015.
- How do we protect living cultural heritage? – Presented at Breaking Boundaries, Cardiff University, Cardiff, 23rd April 2015.

Author's Short Bio and Contact Details

Valeria Lo Iacono Symonds is a researcher and runs her own business designing training courses. In particular, she designs training packages for trainers on soft skills such as time management and mindfulness.

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Following her PhD, Valeria keeps researching dance as a form of cultural heritage and she continues her research on Egyptian raqs sharqi history and culture.

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Egyptian Raqs Sharqi (and Me)

I have decided to explore Egyptian *raqs sharqi* (oriental dance[1] in Arabic, a form of bellydance[2]) from the heritage point of view, for various reasons. My academic background is in preservation of cultural heritage at undergraduate level[3] and tourism at master's level[4]. At university, I studied history and the history of visual art, music and cinema and restoration of artefacts, but there were no modules on dance, even though dance is part of cultural heritage (as well as other forms of physical cultures, such as sports (Hill, Moore and Wood, 2012), physical games and martial arts). This absence instilled in me the desire to investigate dance from such a point of view.

The 2003 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage (henceforth shortened as ICH), which allows activities such as performing arts to be added to the UNESCO world cultural heritage lists, has further encouraged my desire to investigate dance as a form of cultural heritage. Why this interest in dance? Because I have had a lifelong passion for dance and Egyptian raqs sharqi in particular, which I have been practising since 2003.

Egyptian raqs sharqi is not in the UNESCO ICH lists, but, because of its strong cultural connotations, it is potentially worthy of consideration for inscription. This genre is still practised in Egypt, its country of origin, but, over time, it has spread around the world. It is a genre that fascinates me as a sociocultural practice, because of its hybrid and transcultural nature (on which I expand in the thesis), which extends not only to the dance, but also to the music and the artefacts associated with it.

My experience is an example of learning dance in a transcultural context. I am from Sicily (in Italy), a Mediterranean island, conquered over the centuries by many peoples, including Greeks, Phoenicians, Romans, Normans, Arabs, Spanish and French. Because of

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[1] *Raqs* means 'dance' and *sharqi* 'of the east'. According to the American dancer Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 14), Egyptians started calling their dance oriental, in the early 20th century, to distinguish it from European and American dances.

[2] In the introduction, I will explain in more detail what genres bellydance includes. These are many and diverse, including Turkish (*oryantal dans*), Lebanese, American tribal.

[3] I graduated at *Università degli Studi della Tuscia* in Viterbo, Italy, in Preservation of Cultural Heritage. Topics of study included art history from the Middle Ages to the 20th century and my dissertation was on industrial archaeology (a historical study of a complex of sulphur refineries in Catania, Sicily, called *Le Ciminiere*, which were restored and transformed into a cultural and exhibition centre).

[4] Master in Tourism Management and Economics at *Università Ca' Foscari*, in Venice, Italy.

this, I grew up in a place where both tangible and intangible elements of its culture (such as architecture, culinary traditions, inhabitants' looks and dispositions) are permeated by all these different influences. Having been fascinated by Arabic music ever since I can remember, I then learnt raqs sharqi for the first time in 2003, while I was living in Seoul, South Korea, from an Iraqi-American teacher. A year later, I performed for the first time in an Egyptian restaurant in Seoul, with my teacher and an Irish friend, for an audience made up of various nationalities including people from Korea, Australia, Canada, UK and Ireland. Previously, in my childhood and teenage years, I had studied Western dance forms such as ballet and jazz. After I left Korea, I kept learning and performing raqs sharqi, particularly the Egyptian style as this was the style that my teachers in the UK practised (and started teaching it from 2009) and training also in other genres such as contemporary dance, ballet, jazz. This background has led me towards the study of Egyptian raqs sharqi through the lens of cultural heritage, informed by a transcultural and international perspective.

This was a brief biographical section to explain my interest in this topic on a personal level. Chapter 1 will provide a conceptual introduction to this thesis. Before beginning, I will delineate my aims and objectives. The aim of this thesis is:

- To identify the cultural heritage characteristics of Egyptian raqs sharqi and evaluate if it can be considered heritage and how it locates itself within the field of ICH.

The objectives, in order to achieve the above aim, are:

1. To identify what ICH is, how it is managed, how the ICH recognition is achieved and who benefits from it. I will do this through a review of literature in the field of ICH.
2. To position Egyptian raqs sharqi (as a form of transcultural dance) within culture and society. I will achieve this objective by reviewing literature from the areas of dance studies and sociology.
3. To gain a deeper understanding of Egyptian raqs sharqi by analysing videos of this dance form. This will enable me to trace a history of Egyptian raqs sharqi, identify its movements and evaluate what consolidated tradition exists, which can be considered a cultural asset.

4. To acquire an insight into how Egyptian raqs sharqi, as an expression of culture, is understood today by an international community of practitioners other than myself. In order to do this, I will interview experienced practitioners from across the world and I will analyse texts (including books, documentaries on DVD, blogs, websites and online discussions from forums and social media).

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Study Framework

Figure 1 provides a map of the concepts that have initially guided this research[1]. In Table 1, I have provided a brief explanation of four key terms in this thesis: cultural heritage, raqs sharqi, ethnochoreology and transculturality. Egyptian Raqs sharqi, as a dance genre, and the UNESCO concept of ICH are the starting points for this study. According to Article 2 of the 2003 ICH convention (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2):

> The intangible cultural heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.

Many practices, traditions and performing arts (429 at the time of writing) have been added to the UNESCO's lists of ICH[2]. There are three lists (UNESCO, 2016c): the List of ICH in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, for elements that need urgent measures to keep them alive; the Representative List of the ICH of humanity, which includes elements that show the diversity of this heritage and raise awareness of its importance; the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices, which includes practices that best reflect the principles of the Convention. Examples of elements included in the lists are[3] (UNESCO, 2017b): traditional craftsmanship, such as the smoke sauna tradition in Võromaa, Estonia (practice and construction); social practices and festivals, such as the coming forth of the masks and puppets in Markala, Mali; oral traditions, including the Vedic chanting in India; knowledge concerning nature, such as the Andean cosmovision of the Kallawaya (Bolivia) and performing arts of different types, including Iraqi *maqam*, Wayang puppet theatre (from Indonesia) and Tibetan opera. Browsing the lists of ICH on the UNESCO's website (2017b)

[1] The colours in the map were chosen for aesthetic reasons, with no colour coding.

[2] The UNESCO procedure states that (2016a, 2016b) only governments from states parties of the Convention can nominate ICH, but there must be full participation and consent from the community concerned. Nominations must be compatible with international human rights.

[3] All the elements mentioned are from the Representative List, except for *Bigwala* music and dance, which is in Need of Urgent Safeguarding.

and using the keyword ‘dance’, at the time of writing, 169 entries came up. Many of these refer to festivals or celebrations, of which dance is one of the components (for example, the pre-wedding ceremony of Geet-Gawai in Mauritius, which combines prayers, songs, dance, music and rituals). At least 40, refer to a form of dance (or dance and music) in its own rights, for example: Argentinean tango, Spanish flamenco, *Chhau* dance from India, *Bigwala* music and dance from Uganda, *Huaconada* from Peru.

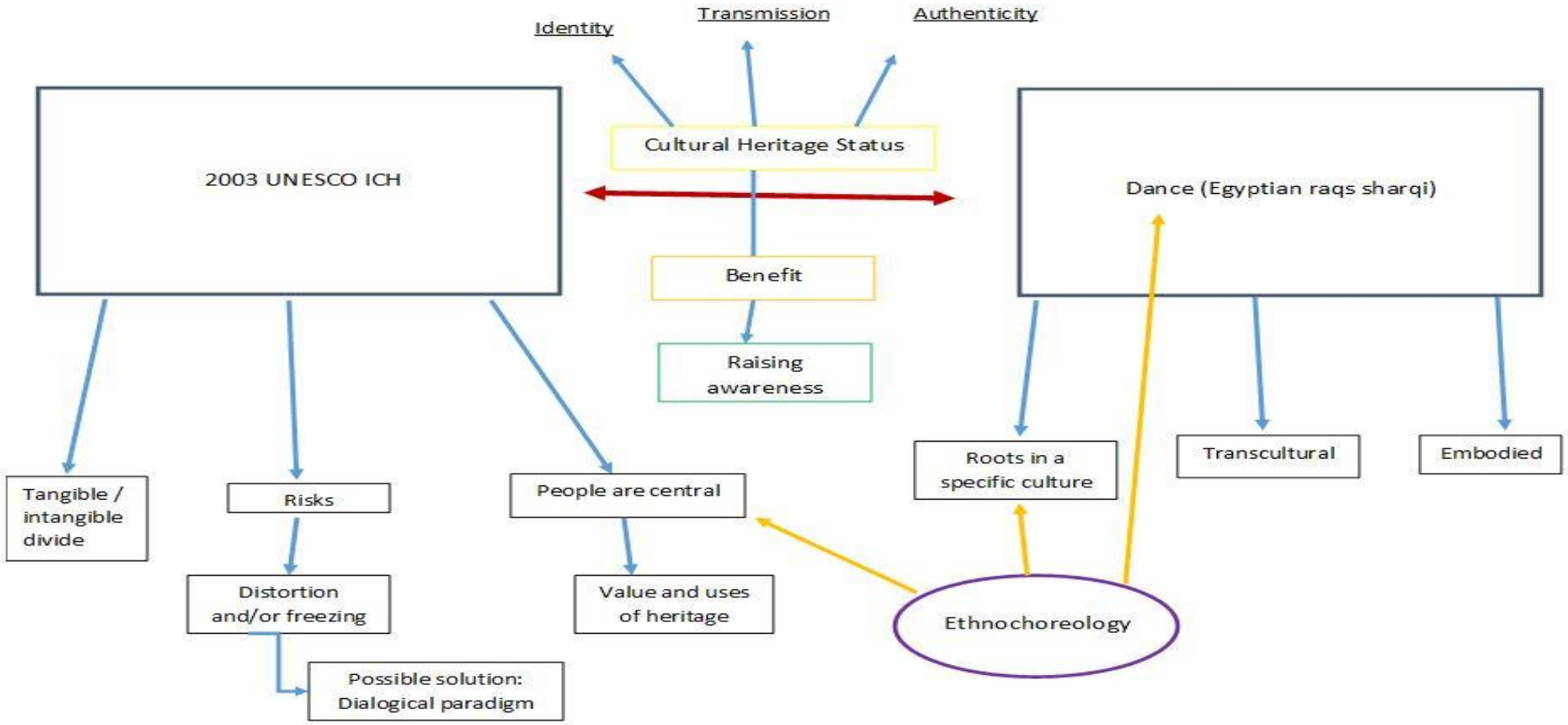


Figure 1 – Conceptual map

Cultural heritage	The starting point of this thesis is the definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage, as per 2003 UNESCO Convention that, in article 2, states that ICH is 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage'. Other definitions will be also mentioned in the literature review.
Raqs sharqi	Literally dance (raqs) of the east (sharqi) in Arabic. It is a type of what is commonly known as belly dance, of which I will investigate the Egyptian variety.
Ethnochoreology	Term that derives from 'ethnochoreologist' coined by Gertrude Prokosch Kurath, who saw her work as 'the study of dance and music in relation to a way of life' (Kealiinohomoku, 1992, p. 70). The International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) has a study group on ethnochoreology. The aims of ICTM include (ICTM, no date, para. 2) 'to promote research, documentation, and interdisciplinary study of dance'. the University of Limerick, in Ireland, uses the term ethnochoreology to identify its Master of Arts in Ethnochoreology, which is defined as (*MA Ethnochoreology - University of Limerick*, no date, paras 1, 2) 'the study of dance, movement and culture ... an academic interdisciplinary field'. In this research, I adopt an ethnochoreological perspective, because the aim is to investigate dance (choreology means the study of dance) in relation to the people and culture who create it (ethnos meaning population) in an interdisciplinary way.
Transculturality	Welsch's (1999) idea of transculturality, which is based on the assumption that cultures are entangled with each other in a web (rather than being next to each other like in a mosaic) and they have a high degree of internal differentiation and a high degree of hybridism. Cultural affiliations, in a transcultural world, are no longer dependent on nations or ethnic groups, but are negotiated at the level of the individual, who can make choices.

Table 1 – Key terms

Egyptian raqs sharqi is not recognised by UNESCO as cultural heritage (the Egyptian government would need to nominate it, for consideration by UNESCO[1]), but I use it here as a case study to explore how to safeguard a transcultural dance genre as a form of cultural heritage. I have chosen the expression 'safeguarding' as defined by UNESCO (2003, p. 3), in article 2 of the 2003 Convention, as it is a term that includes the 'identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission' of cultural heritage. The benefits of the cultural heritage recognition consist in raising awareness about a cultural expression, valued by a community, by, as UNESCO state, (2016a, para. 21) 'encouraging dialogue, thus reflecting cultural diversity worldwide and testifying to human creativity'. The issues of identity, transmission and authenticity emerge from the cultural heritage literature but also from the dance literature. For ICH, as defined by UNESCO, people are central, hence communities need involving in its safeguarding. Indeed, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004, p. 58) posits, people are subjects of cultural preservation and 'agents in the heritage enterprise itself'. The idea of people's centrality led me to seek the values of heritage and the uses that people make of it (drawing on Smith [2006]), which would justify its safeguarding.

The ICH recognition, however, includes risks. These, as outlined by UNESCO (2016a, para. 21), are that attention drawn to this type of heritage could create distortions or freeze heritage into unchangeable forms, preventing its natural change and evolution. UNESCO (ibid. para. 22) point out that care would need to be taken that the heritage is not damaged by, for example, 'freezing heritage through a 'folklorisation[2]' process or the quest for 'authenticity'. Indeed, Gore and Grau (2014, p. 121) contend that 'a reified heritage could easily be hijacked by ethnic nationalists and be used to promote "tradition" and the "nation" in a hegemonic fashion'. For example, Wilcox (2011) points out how the Chinese government has appropriated the movement traditions of ethnic minorities from China, thus leading to a distorted and simplified representation of them (ibid, p. 327) 'devoid of any historical context'. Another danger, pointed out by UNESCO

[1] Egypt was one of the first signatories of the 2003 ICH Convention (UNESCO, no date e). Presently, two Egyptian traditions are in the Representative List of the ICH of Humanity (UNESCO, 2017a): *Tahteeb* (a stick game) and the *Al-Sirah Al-Hilaliyyah* epic. UNESCO (no date f) provides weblinks to organisations that promote Egypt's heritage. From these links, it emerges that in Egypt there is a fair amount of interest in protecting folkloric music and dance of Egypt, oral traditions and festivals. However, I could not find any mention of raqs sharqi.

[2] McDowell (2010, p. 182) defines folklorization as 'to remove traditional expressive culture from an original point of production and relocate it in a distanced setting of consumption'.

(ibid), is that its 'market value' could become more important than its cultural value if, for example, heritage is distorted to accommodate tourists' expectations.

A solution to the above problems could be adopting a dialogical paradigm of heritage (following Bodo [2012]), which, rather than seeing heritage as constant and immutable, sees it as the result of continuous developments and renegotiations. Another issue is the tangible/intangible divide, created by the label of intangible, which I question in my conceptual framework (1.3.2). Some heritage scholars (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Skounti, 2008; Smith and Akagawa, 2008; Howard, 2010; Isar, 2011; Naguib, 2013) are also uncomfortable with separating intangible from tangible elements in heritage.

On the right side of Figure 1, I have placed Egyptian raqs sharqi (and dance more generally). Egyptian raqs sharqi is a genre, included in the group of dances called bellydance, which have in common the use of hips and torso isolations. As Shay and Sellers-Young (2005, pp. 1–2) argue:

> Belly dance is not historically a single dance but a complex of movement practices or vocabularies that extends from North Africa through the Middle East and Central Asia to the western portions of the Indian subcontinent as well as western China. [1]

Although this thesis refers to Egyptian style raqs sharqi, it is worth first introducing the concept of bellydance as a whole and how it was transmitted across the world. Bellydance was first introduced in the USA during the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, when expressions of culture from different parts of the world were represented, including Northern African and Middle Eastern dances. Shay and Sellers-Young (2003, p. 16) report that Sol Bloom coined the term bellydance. This was a direct translation from the French *danse du ventre*, used to refer to Northern African dances, involving hips and torso movements.

In the late 1800s/early 1900s, the hips and torso movements, characteristic of bellydance, were imitated by burlesque dancers in North America, who called this dance style 'hootchy-kootchy' (Desmond, 1991; Bryant, 2002; Jarmakani, 2004). Likewise, 'Middle

[1] North Africa, in this context, includes the countries on the Mediterranean coast going from Morocco in the west to Egypt in the east. The Middle East region goes from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, with countries such as Greece, Turkey, Lebanon and Syria, to the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Iran. Central Asia consists of the countries east of Iran and west of India and western China.

Eastern and East Asian elements were concurrently appearing in dance performances that were considered more highbrow' (Bryant, 2002, p. 177). For example, Maude Allan and Ruth St. Denis used such elements in their theatrical performances. As Shay and Sellers-Young report (2005), in the 1960s Middle Eastern dancers started performing in nightclubs and restaurants in America run by emigrants from the Middle East. Later on, American born dancers, trained by Middle Eastern dancers, started performing and teaching. In the 1960s/70s, Shay and Sellers-Young (2005) continue, bellydance acquired a new meaning in the West, thanks to the feminist movement. Bellydance was embraced as a way to displace Western conceptions of the female body as negative and it was seen as a liberating form of dance. Bellydance then spread across the world from the USA to Europe, South America, Asia and Australia. Today, bellydance (and raqs sharqi as a subgenre) is practised in countries as diverse as Argentina, Brazil, China, Finland, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea and the UK, just to name a few (McDonald, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, bellydance includes a range of dances originating from a number of different countries (Shay and Sellers Young, 2005). According to Sellers-Young (2016, p. 4), these are solo improvisational forms based on isolations of different body parts (head, arms, hands, hips and torso); they differ in style depending on the country in which they are practised or originate from and they have different names. For example, bellydance is called raqs sharqi ('oriental dance' in Arabic) in many Arabic speaking countries; *cifte telli* in Greece; *karslima* in Turkey and *raqs alfarrah* (meaning dance of happiness) in Lebanon. American tribal bellydance is a new hybrid form that originated in San Francisco (USA) in the 1980s (Sellers Young, 2016).

Egyptian raqs sharqi, a form of bellydance, is the dance genre analysed in this thesis. This particular style of bellydance has become one of the most influential genres of bellydance worldwide, so much so that, for example, Cooper (2015) argues that training in Egypt or having connections to that country confers an aura of authenticity to belly dancers in England. One of the most likely causes for the privileged position of this bellydance style, is the influence of Egyptian cinema in the Arabic world, particularly in the mid-1900s. During that time, Egypt became 'the film and entertainment center of the Middle East' (Shay and Sellers-Young, 2005, p. 19) and many films were produced, in which dance scenes with belly dance were prominent (Dougherty, 2005). Cinema, therefore, allowed

Egyptian style raqs sharqi to spread, acting as a type of 'imaginative travel' (Loiacono and Fallon, 2018, p. 294). Even today, dance scenes from these movies can be seen online on sites such as YouTube or Vimeo.

Egyptian raqs sharqi is the stage version of local Egyptian dances such as *baladi* (the local social dance) and *ghawazi* (the dance of the Egyptian travellers), with influences from Egyptian folkloric dances. Raqs sharqi was born as a stage adaptation of these dance forms in the 1920s in Cairo, for an audience that included both foreigners and Egyptian people. As such, it was also influenced from its inception by Western dance forms, such as ballet and ballroom dancing (Van Nieuwkerk, 1995). The history of raqs sharqi will be elaborated in more detail in the dance analysis section (Chapter 5). Since the 1920s, by spreading around the world, raqs sharqi has changed and evolved both in Egypt and abroad, assimilating many different influences in the process. Because of this, raqs sharqi is an example of hybridism and transculturality in dance. This transcultural element adds another, often ignored, dimension to cultural heritage, as something that crosses cultural, national and ethnical boundaries.

The moving human body is central to dance's existence. This point reconnects with questioning the suitability of separating cultural heritage into tangible and intangible forms. The way in which such forms of heritage are embodied, carried and transmitted (within and across cultures) by people via their everyday practices, experiences and traditions will be investigated from an ethnochoreological and sociocultural perspective. The term ethnochoreology (see Table 1 for a definition), coined by Prokosch Kurath (1960), means the study of ethnic dance and, according to Kealiinohomoku (1970), every dance is ethnic. Kealiinohomoku came to this conclusion in her 1970 seminal article *An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as a Form of Ethnic Dance*, which I will talk about in more detail in the literature review (2.3). Since the publication of her article, Kealiinohomoku's idea (which I agree with) has been widely embraced in the dance literature (Daly *et al.*, 1992; Daniel, 1996; Van Zile, 1996; Reed, 1998; T. Buckland, 1999; Grau, 2008). I adopt an ethnochoreological perspective to approach dance as something that has its roots in a specific culture/s.

The heritage discourse does not shed enough light on what happens when heritage becomes transcultural, nor on the human body as a carrier of cultural heritage. Hence, this study will explore these aspects in connection with dance/heritage. Also, while there

is abundant material on the topics of heritage and dance studies, they are two separate fields in the literature, with limited material addressing dance as a form of cultural heritage: this study aims to fill the gap. Moreover, many studies cover bellydance as a whole or American tribal bellydance (a different genre created in the 1980s), but no academic studies have focused solely on Egyptian raqs sharqi. Studies have been published on bellydance as an international phenomenon (Laukkanen, 2003; McDonald, 2013), on Orientalism (Dox, 2006; Jarmakani, 2008; Maira, 2008; Haynes-Clark, 2010), on bellydance and body image (Downey *et al.*, 2010; Tiggemann, Coutts and Clark, 2014), on its health benefits (Szalai *et al.*, 2015), aging (Moe, 2014), identity (Kenny, 2007; Kraus, 2010), spirituality (Kraus, 2009) and gender (Karayanni, 2004, 2009; Keft-Kennedy, 2005; Kraus, 2014). No ethnochoreological study has been done so far, however, which examines the dance movements as well as the sociocultural dimension of raqs sharqi, nor a study which connects this dance to the heritage discourse. This study aims to fill this gap, to unite the two areas of research.

This point of view would provide recognition of raqs sharqi as a cultural practice, thus highlighting its contribution to human creativity and cultural diversity. Following Gore and Grau (2014, p. 130), dance is 'not only as a movement practice, but also as a special mode of relational experience with its own distinct properties'. Thus, a framework for dance/heritage is required, which 'will allow dance to be elevated in value as a vital part of human world heritage, but on its own terms, without being forced into pre-existing heritage models' (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016, p. 102).

In seeking to develop the above-mentioned framework, I moved from the idea of ICH, towards the idea of 'Living Cultural Heritage' (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016). My interdisciplinary research on dance, embodiment, heritage, sociology and anthropology, has led me to the conclusion that heritage is not only something external to us, such as an artefact, a building, an object that we have inherited from the past. Instead, cultural heritage is alive and it is within us, embodied within the people who experience it and transmit it.

The idea of living cultural heritage is implied in the 2003 UNESCO definition of ICH, but it is worth making this concept explicit and expanding on it. In the 2003 UNESCO's definition, cultural heritage still appears as something detached from the individual, an external object that needs preserving, as people (UNESCO 2003, p. 2) 'recognize' it. Living

cultural heritage is instead something that is alive within each individual and in each society and something we recreate or modify with our everyday actions. Moreover, the label of intangible implies a separation between tangible and intangible elements of heritage, which I will be arguing against as tangible (embodied people, artefact, space) and intangible (traditions, emotions, knowledge) elements are instead interconnected. Hence, I propose a holistic framework of heritage, which develops from a duality (a unity of two divergent aspects of the same reality), rather than a dualism (two divided and distinct entities) of tangible and intangible. The idea of duality is inspired by Giddens' (1984) Structuration Theory, which presents social structure and individual agency as a duality.

Central to this interpretation of cultural heritage are Merleau-Ponty's ([1945] 1992) phenomenology and idea of habit and Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and concept of habitus. These have been selected as conceptual tools in the understanding of living cultural heritage, because of their post-dualist nature, which helps address the separation between mind and body, subjectivity and objectivity and, therefore, tangible vs intangible. We embrace dance and movement traditions through our own moving bodies and these movements become part of who we are, embedded into the core of our being. As Csordas states (1990, p. 5): 'The body is not an object to be studied in relation to culture, but is to be considered as the subject of culture . . . the existential ground of culture'.

As well as the body, traditions are central to living cultural heritage. Embodied traditions shape individuals defining their sense of identity (on an individual, social and cultural level). In turn, individuals shape traditions. This idea connects with a dialogical (or dialectic and reflexive) paradigm of heritage (Bodo, 2012). Giddens's (1984) post-dualist Structuration Theory (which seeks to address dualisms between structure and agency in sociology), provided the theoretical underpinning for the interaction between the individual dancers and traditions. The traditions, transmitted between generations and between cultures, are analogous to Giddens's social structures, while the human agency is embodied by the dancer (as well members of the audience, choreographers and other people involved in the performance process), who correspond to the individual agents identified by Giddens.

Hence, the tradition, with its structure, influences and shapes the body of the dancers and the way they train and move. The dance tradition, the heritage, is visible in the body of the dancer. At the same time, the embodied dancer and any previous training s/he had, together with their cultural background and personality, creates unique individual performances. These can, in turn, generate new traditions and conventions.

In addition to Giddens', Bourdieu's and Merleau-Ponty's post-dualist theories, the framework I adopted is based on dance studies, particularly Adshead's (1988) dance analysis principles, ethnochoreology and Cynthia Cohen Bull's (aka Novack) approach to the study of 'movement as culture' (Novack, 1988). From the literature on heritage, this thesis will explore the concepts of transmission, identity, authenticity and 'uses of heritage' (Smith, 2006). Since ICH, I propose, is not limited by geographical and nation-state boundaries, I will analyse the international aspect of raqs sharqi based on Welsch's (1999) concept of transculturality (see Table 1).

1.2 Rationale

The first reason for the need to investigate Egyptian raqs sharqi as a form of ICH is its transcultural and global nature. The majority of practices listed as ICH are traditions that are practised in limited geographical locations. Indeed, the process for UNESCO's inscription (as it will be highlighted further in the literature review) needs to be initiated by nation states, even if the practices are considered heritage of humanity. However, there are instances of globally practised traditions that are now listed by UNESCO, such as flamenco and tango. This raises the question of whether such practices benefit from being listed by UNESCO and what the feasibility is of giving 'ownership' of such practices to a specific nation-state. In an article about tango, Stepputat (2015, p. 337) states that 'if the element is practised internationally . . . and people of various origins and backgrounds identify with it, in a strict sense, it would not fulfil the ICH requirements'. She acknowledges the fact, however, that the (ibid.) 'ICH agenda is changing towards the acceptance of genres with a clearly defined regional history and an international current practice'.

The global dimension of Egyptian raqs sharqi is not the only rationale for the need to investigate such dance genre from the ICH angle. Another aspect worth investigating is the impact of technology on ICH and its transmission and Egyptian raqs sharqi is an apt case study, as its transmission owes much, as it will be highlighted in this thesis, to

technology including cinema, TV and the Internet. In particular, sharing videos of cultural practices and ICH online, raises a variety of issues such as those pointed out by Pietrobruno (2013, 2014, 2016). For instance, videos can be deleted at any time; there can be a conflict between the official narrative of a practice promoted by a nation-state and the one that practitioners identify with; the search engine's algorithms and the way in which users interact with the site influence the results that can be found and, therefore, the transmission of a practice. Thus, it is worth exploring the transmission of a practice, such as Egyptian raqs sharqi, that relies so much on technology.

Finally, I found it interesting to explore the power relations involved in the transmission of a practice that is controversial as Egyptians have a love-hate relationship with raqs sharqi. Many of them appreciate it as part of their heritage, but this dance also attracts stigma particularly towards those who dance it professionally (Fahmy, 1987; Van Nieuwkerk, 1995; Lorius, 1996; Shay and Sellers-Young, 2003; Dougherty, 2005; Dox, 2006; McDonald, 2010; Talaat and Guibal, 2011; Cooper, 2013; Roushdy, 2013; Fraser, 2014). Therefore, it is worth exploring what it is that has allowed Egyptian raqs sharqi to survive and, at times thrive, regardless of the stigma attached to it. Indeed, unlike tango, which is practised internationally but is claimed as heritage by two nations (Argentina and Uruguay), Egyptian raqs sharqi is not officially claimed by Egypt as its heritage because of the above-mentioned stigma. Nevertheless, Egyptian raqs sharqi is transculturally significant and important because it is practised and valued worldwide. Thus, this dance form is worth investigating as a form of ICH because it raises the question of whether only practices that are officially claimed by nation states have heritage characteristics that make them worth safeguarding, or whether other unclaimed transcultural practices could or should be safeguarded too.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This thesis is articulated in two main sections. The first section contains the preparatory work carried out before gathering the data, which includes the literature review (Chapter 2), the creation of a conceptual framework (Chapter 3) and the methodological strategy (Chapter 4). The second section consists of the findings, which include the dance analysis (Chapter 5) and discussion of the data (Chapter 6). The conclusions (Chapter 7) include recommendations for the future safeguarding of living heritage.

1.3.1 Literature Review

Chapter 2 reviews literature in the fields of heritage and dance, which generates the sensitising concepts and the questions by which the conceptual framework is informed, as well as highlighting gaps in the knowledge.

The chapter starts with a section on heritage (2.2), its current definitions, the most current paradigms and a review of some practices that have been awarded ICH status. A section on dance studies (2.3) follows, which includes a review of the literature on dance anthropology and ethnology, ethnochoreology and Egyptian raqs sharqi. The subsequent five sections (2.4 to 2.8), combine literature in the fields of heritage and dance, to analyse a series of themes recurrent in both these fields: transmission; authenticity; internationalisation; identity and uses of (dance) heritage. At the end of this chapter, emerging sensitising concepts will be summarised and a series of questions emerge:

- Are individuals' creativity/agency and changes in heritage due to various factors, and traditions compatible?
- Is the separation of tangible/intangible elements of dance/heritage feasible?
- How would a holistic model of dance/heritage, which includes people (with bodies, thoughts and emotions), artefacts, space, society and cultures work?

The above questions have informed my conceptual framework, by stimulating me to turn towards theories to help start making sense of these complex issues.

1.3.2 Conceptual Framework

Chapter 3 starts with a critique of the feasibility to separate between tangible/intangible elements in heritage (3.2). The second part (3.3) highlights how the body, which is central for dance, is missing in the heritage literature. The rest of the chapter leads up to the delineation of a holistic model of living heritage for dance, underpinned by the post-dualist theories of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology (3.4), Bourdieu's theory of practice (3.5) and Giddens' Structuration Theory (3.6). Finally, a definition of living heritage will be given (3.7), before focusing on the research questions (3.8) generated by the literature review and the conceptual framework.

1.3.3 Methodological Strategy

Chapter 4 starts with considerations on the paradigm, ontology, epistemology and methodology adopted (4.2), before detailing the data collection techniques used (4.3). For each of these methods (online dance videos analysis, other sources of data and interviews), the rationale for using them, the sampling process and other considerations will be discussed. The research methods will be followed by ethics (4.5) and data analysis (4.6), reflexivity of the researcher (4.7), validity and reliability (4.8) and judgment criteria (4.8.1).

This study approaches its topic from an interpretivist paradigm (which will be reflected in the data representation and judgement criteria) and an ethnochoreological position. This position requires three different pieces of information about the dance: its form, the culture and the experience. Hence, data collection was divided into three overlapping phases, using a qualitative methodology.

The first phase (form) gathered data from videos of dance available online, on YouTube and Vimeo. The dance in these videos was analysed, based on Adshead's (1988) principles of dance analysis, which take into account movements, dancers, visual and aural elements; Laban analysis of movement, in particular the effort system, to understand the feelings and emotions in the dance; and Kaeppler's (1972, 2001) concepts of kinemes, which helped me isolate the individual meaningful movements for the dance, constituting the core movements of raqs sharqi. The first phase allowed me to understand how movements can change across time, cultures and between individuals.

The second phase (culture) gathered data from various sources, which generated important information on the common views of raqs sharqi and its history. Sources included practitioner focused books, DVDs, blogs, websites, open forums and online videos with interviews of famous raqs sharqi dancers. This phase, although it included some offline material, was mainly based on online sources, hence it included elements of an internet ethnography, or as Kozinets defined it, a 'netnography' (Kozinets, 2010). The Internet has been so prominent in the methodology because raqs sharqi is practised worldwide. Hence, practitioners use social media sites, websites and blogs extensively. These were explored to make sense of what is communicated and how. The presence of

raqs sharqi on the Internet is both an indication of and a driver for increasing levels of internationalisation and transculturalisation of the dance.

The third phase (experience) of the ethnochoreological analysis used semi-structured interviews with selected participants. The interviews brought a more personal and deeper account of raqs sharqi practitioners' experience of this dance form. Interviews took place in person for participants based in Cardiff or nearby. For those located further afield, Skype® was used for interviews with the voice and video recorded by EVAER® software. Skype was an invaluable tool to reach participants in distant locations in an affordable and time efficient manner and the data it generated were as rich as those provided by in-person interviews (Lo Iacono, Symonds and Brown, 2016).

1.3.4 Results and Conclusions

Chapter 5 is a chronological analysis of raqs sharqi, deriving from dance videos analysis and complemented by other various data sources and interviews. The chapter is divided into six timeframes, ranging from the birth of raqs sharqi in the 1920s (5.2) to its worldwide diffusion up to the second decade of the 21st century (5.7). To stress the importance of individual agency (alongside structures) in raqs sharqi heritage, most sections revolve around the figures of some famous raqs sharqi dancers, who influenced the development of this dance. In Chapter 6, the timeframes are brought together, revolving around six main themes that emerged from the literature review and the data. The conclusions (Chapter 7) focus on recommendations for the future safeguarding of living heritage. This chapter also includes other considerations, such as the limitations of this study, the problems arising during the research and a summary of the findings.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In trying to identify the cultural heritage characteristics of Egyptian raqs sharqi and evaluate if it can be considered heritage and how it locates itself within the field of ICH, the first step was to analyse the literature in the heritage and dance fields. I looked at definitions of heritage, including the one from the 2003 UNESCO Convention on ICH, as well as other definitions given by UNESCO and by experts in the field. I also explored the literature around ICH (including some forms of performing arts) and the process by which the status of ICH is awarded. Doing so has allowed me to identify the discourse surrounding heritage and the different approaches to its management and protection. At the same time, I analysed the literature on dance studies, dance anthropology, ethnochoreology and Egyptian raqs sharqi to understand how dance in general (and Egyptian raqs sharqi in particular) has been studied thus far, particularly in relation to culture and society.

As I analysed the literature in the fields of heritage and dance, I realised that they share some issues. Hence, I start the chapter by focusing on the heritage literature, examining definitions and paradigms of heritage. A section on dance studies follows, before a series of topics on issues that dance and heritage studies share. In these sections, I draw from the literature in both fields, to connect the two. The issues covered after heritage and dance go under the headings of: transmission, authenticity, internationalisation, identity and uses of dance/heritage.

The analysis of the literature provided me with a series of sensitising concepts, which started to inform my conceptual framework. I was also able to identify gaps and pose some tentative research questions, regarding the nature of dance/heritage and how to safeguard it.

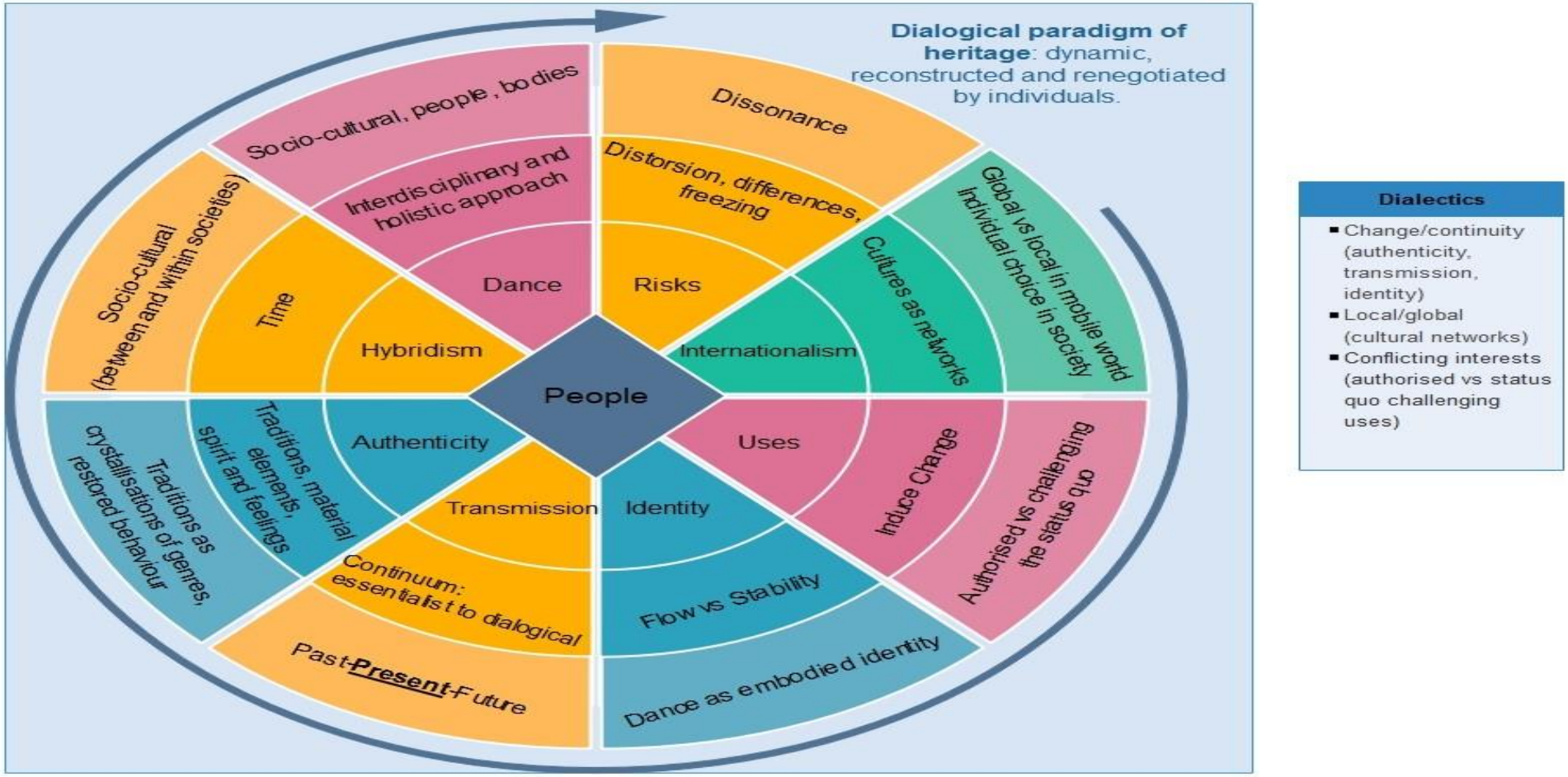


Figure 2 – Issues emerging from the literature

Figure 2 summarises concepts emerging from the literature review. This is an overview and I will provide references (to the literature that informed the model) and more details, in the course of this chapter. These concepts can be identified as issues that have an impact on the safeguarding of ICH. I follow a dialogical paradigm of heritage (Bodo, 2012), which sees heritage as dynamic, reconstructed and renegotiated by individuals. This informs my position regarding all the concepts explored in the literature review. People, in the ICH discourse, are central, so they are at the centre of the diagram. Around the centre, there are eight sections, of which six correspond to the sections of this chapter, minus heritage, which is not included in the diagram as it is the underlying theme. Hybridism and risks are not separate sections, but they are concepts that appear across the sections. I will explain the figure, starting from risk and moving clockwise.

The risks, in the safeguarding of ICH, are: distortion and simplification of heritage for economic gains; freezing of heritage in the pursuit of authenticity; differences and divisions potentially fostered by heritage and dissonance, meaning that the same heritage can be changed and interpreted differently by different groups to suit different needs. Adopting a dialogical paradigm can help acknowledge these risks as part of a dynamic heritage discourse.

The internationalism of heritage means that heritage is not contained within geographical boundaries. Various concepts will be explored but, overall, a transcultural perspective will see cultures as interconnecting networks, rather than isolated bubbles, accepting both the global and the local in a mobile world. The uses of heritage refer to uses that people (institutions, individuals, groups) make of heritage. These uses generate change and there is sometimes a dialectic between authorised uses promoted by institutions to fit a certain agenda and uses that can be made of heritage to challenge the status quo. Identity is also dynamic and generated by the interaction between flow and stability. Dance emerges as an embodied site to express identity.

Transmission involves a continuum between an essentialist (static, strictly following traditions) and dialogical (open to change) position. Past, present and future are connected through transmission, but there is an emphasis on the present, as this is the time when people use heritage. Authenticity involves a series of elements, such as traditions, material elements and feelings. Traditions, in dance, can be seen as crystallisations of genres or, from a performance perspective, as restored behaviours.

Hybridism (mixing of elements that were previously separate to generate something new) is a recurrent theme in the literature reviewed. Hybridism takes place in various ways. Firstly, in time, as heritage uses elements from the past in the present, so past elements are mixed with contemporary values. Secondly, by mixing different cultural elements together either from different societies or, within the same society, from different classes. The last section of the circle highlights that dance is a complex phenomenon, for which an interdisciplinary and holistic approach is needed. Also, dance encompasses socio-cultural aspects and embodied people/agents.

2.2 Heritage

As the UNESCO 2003 definition of ICH has been the inspiration for my research, I start with UNESCO's definitions of cultural heritage[1] . As stated on their website (UNESCO, no date d), UNESCO was founded in 1945, at the end of the Second World War. Its constitution was ratified in 1946 by 20 countries, but more countries joined over the years. At the time of writing, UNESCO has 195 nation members and 10 associate members (UNESCO, no date b). The idea behind UNESCO's creation was to have an organisation representing a culture of peace. Table 2 and Table 3 list some of the most significant treaties, recommendations and conventions regarding cultural heritage, in relation to this thesis. The first UNESCO convention regarding the protection of cultural property (movable: museum collections and immovable: architecture) was issued in 1954 (UNESCO, 1954). It was inspired by The Hague Conventions of 1899[2] and 1907[3] and by the Washington Pact of 1935, and its aim was to protect cultural property in the event of war. In 1968, recommendations were made to protect cultural property endangered by public or private works (UNESCO, 1968).

[1] The word 'heritage' was adopted by UNESCO in 1972, whereas, before, UNESCO used the word 'property'. According to Ahmad (2006), UNESCO adopted the word 'heritage' to reconcile its terminology with ICOMOS, which used the words 'monuments and sites'. The original UNESCO classification of 'cultural property' included movable (museum collections) and immovable property (architectural heritage). In 1972, Ahmed (2006) explains, UNESCO adopted the word 'heritage', encompassing natural and cultural heritage (monuments, groups of buildings and sites). Museum collections were excluded from UNESCO's definition and left to the International Council of Museums (ICOM) to deal with. UNESCO issued only two recommendations regarding museums and collections, one in 1960 (UNESCO, 1960) and one in 2015 (UNESCO, 2015).

[2] See Teixeira (2010, p. 61) for text.

[3] See McDonald (2000, p. 35) for text.

Notes	Date	Organisation	Title	Comments
Precursor	1899	Multilateral treaty between countries	Hague Convention.	Art. 56: 'All seizure of, destruction or wilful damage done to … historic monuments, works of art and science, is forbidden'. (Teixeira, 2010, p. 61)
	1907	Multilateral treaty between countries	Hague Convention.	Art. 56: 'All seizure of and destruction, or intentional damage done … to historical monuments, works of art or science, is prohibited'. (McDonald, 2000, p. 35)
	1935	Multilateral treaty between countries	Washington Pact.	Protection of artistic and historic monuments.
	1946	Agreement between countries	UNESCO constitution ratified by 20 countries.	To have an organisation that represents culture of peace.
Intangible	1950	Government of Japan	Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties.	Cultural properties include intangbile, as well as tangible elements.
	1954	UNESCO	Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention.	Guided by principles of 1899, 1907 and 1935 treaties above. Cultural property covers: 'movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people' (UNESCO, 1954, p. 8).
Authenticity	1964	ICOMOS	International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter 1964).	Focusing only on monuments and sites. According to Ahmad (2006, p. 293), it is 'a reference point for the development of a number of other conservation documents around the world'.

Table 2 – UNESCO timeline – Part 1

Notes	Date	Organisation	Title	Comments
	1968	UNESCO	Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works.	Cultural property includes movable and immovable property.
	1972	UNESCO	Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, otherwise known as the World Heritage Convention.	Monument, groups of buildings and sites of 'outstanding universal value'.
Authenticity	1977	UNESCO	Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention	Document where authenticity is explicitly mentioned for the first time and it is restricted to 'design, materials, workmanship and settings' (UNESCO, 1977, p. 8)
Intangible	1989	UNESCO	Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore	'Folklore … is the totality of tradition–based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity.' (UNESCO, 1989, p. 239)
Intangible and Authenticity	1994	UNESCO	Nara Document on Authenticity	Art 13: Sources for the judgement on authenticity 'may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors' (UNESCO, 1994)
Intangible	2003	UNESCO	Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage	Art 2: "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage'.
Authenticity	2005	UNESCO	Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention	Lays out same attributes for authenticity as those expressed in the Nara Document.

Table 3 – UNESCO timeline – Part 2

In this thesis, I compare the UNESCO 1972 definition with the 2003 definition of cultural heritage, as they are the most pivotal in the shift from a static and materialistic view of heritage to one that includes intangible elements and in which people are central. These two are not the only definitions on cultural heritage that UNESCO and other international organisations, such as the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) have ever issued. Other charters, recommendations and resolutions on cultural heritage have been issued, some of which include definitions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Ahmad, 2006). ICOMOS, for instance, issued the Venice Charter in 1964 (ICOMOS, 1964), which I will return to regarding authenticity (2.5). However, UNESCO 1972 and 2003 are the only two conventions with a definition of cultural heritage (the word 'conventions' meaning that they define rules to which UNESCO's member states have to abide by as law (UNESCO, no date c)). Article 1 of the 1972 definition states (UNESCO, 1972, p. 2):

> For the purpose of this Convention, the following shall be considered as "cultural heritage": monuments . . . groups of buildings . . . sites . . . of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

In this definition, the expression 'cultural property' is abandoned in favour of 'cultural heritage' and the division between movable and immovable is dropped. The only things considered as "cultural heritage" are monuments, buildings and sites, which are of "outstanding value" for history, art or science. What outstanding value means is not explained in the definition, but it is enough, for the purpose of this study, to highlight that monuments, buildings and sites were the only things that UNESCO considered worthy of being labelled "cultural heritage" for protection. It soon became clear though, that UNESCO's position was ethnocentric, as not all cultures in the world place the same value on monuments, buildings and sites. As Munjeri (2004) indicates, Europe became overrepresented in the UNESCO's lists and a preference for monuments portrayed a very fixed view of culture in which, 'what qualified as cultural heritage was deemed to be stable, and static' (Munjeri, 2004, p. 13). Isar argues (2011, p. 45):

> The World Heritage List would inevitably be skewed towards those countries richly endowed with buildings (mainly monumental) and places that satisfied criteria elaborated by experts whose value judgements reflected their own cultural moorings.

In 1989, the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* (UNESCO, 1989, p. 239) paved the way for the 2003 Convention definition, particularly regarding the recognition by communities:

> Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity.

The *Nara Document on Authenticity* (UNESCO, 1994) was another step towards the 2003 Convention, as it refers to intangible cultural aspects, by stating: 'All cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage' (UNESCO, 1994, Article 7). This document led UNESCO towards the realisation that cultural heritage cannot be limited to physical sites and monuments, but it needs to include traditions and activities. Moreover, it dropped the distinction between heritage and folklore.

In 2003, UNESCO wrote the ICH Convention. According to Isar (2011, p. 47), this convention was influenced by the election of the Japanese diplomat Koïchiro Matsuura to the position of UNESCO Director-General in 1999, because Japan was already a country with an established awareness of intangible heritage. Indeed, Japan (which became a UNESCO member in 1951) already in 1950 had issued the *Law for the Protection of Cultural Property* (1950), which included tangible (both movable and immovable) and intangible elements (such as performing arts, customs, folklore). Schmitt (2008) instead argues that it was the need to protect *Jemaa el Fna* Square in Marrakech, which started the process leading to the 2003 convention. Whatever the reason, the 2003 UNESCO convention on ICH marks a shift in paradigm for UNESCO. Article 2 states (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2):

> The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

The focus of this definition is on expressions of culture (other than buildings and sites), revolving around people and practices. I will critically address the tangible/intangible separation in Chapter 3. For now, I would like to focus on the paradigm shift expressed in this definition.

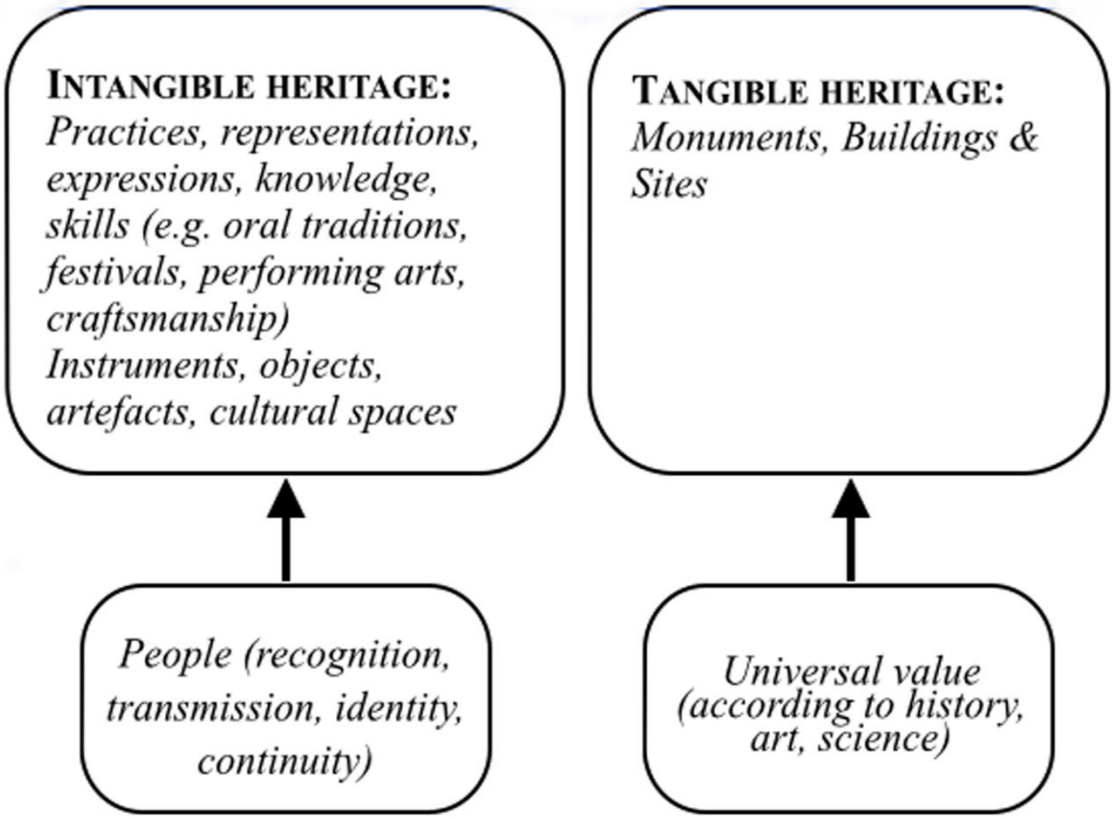


Figure 3 - Heritage paradigm shift based on UNESCO's 2003 and 1972 definitions (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016, p. 88)

Figure 3 illustrates the paradigm shift between the view reflected in the 1972 Convention (on the right) and the 2003 Convention (on the left). The 1972 UNESCO definition, focusing exclusively on monuments, as Munjeri (2004) identifies, promoted a static view of heritage. This reflects what Smith (2006, p. 4) calls the 'authorized heritage discourse', which has 'a particular focus and emphasis . . . [on] 'things'. However, Smith (ibid) continues, 'alongside this professional and authorized discourse is also a range of popular discourses and practices'. The 2003 definition points towards the popular discourse, unlike the 1972 definition. Nevertheless, there are still contradictions in UNESCO's heritage discourse. I will return to these in the internationalisation section (2.6) and in Chapter 3. Overall though, the 2003 definition is much more people oriented as

‘communities, groups and . . . individuals recognize’ (UNESCO, 2003) something as part of their heritage. Moreover, UNESCO introduces the idea that heritage can change, as it is (ibid) ‘constantly recreated’ and promotes ‘human creativity’.

The shift of focus from immutable objects towards people, their practices and heritage recreation, is reflected in two paradigms of heritage, which Bodo (2012) calls ‘essentialist’ and ‘dialogical’. The former, Bodo (ibid) explains, sees heritage as something static; of outstanding value; inherited from the past; unchangeable and transmitted in a linear way from the curator (or the tradition’s holder) to the public. The latter is more dynamic and sees heritage as a set of cultural expressions, material and immaterial, that should not only be preserved and transmitted but also reconstructed, renegotiated and made available for everyone to share in a social setting. Bodo (2012, p. 182) posits:

> Whilst in the former, decisions are made on what is worth preserving and transmitting to future generations, in the latter, this heritage is constantly questioned and rediscovered by individuals who breathe new life into it.

In my research, I adopt Bodo’s dialogical paradigm, to accommodate the dynamic, embodied and experiential nature of dance/heritage. I will explore further how this applies to dance in 2.4 and in the rest of this thesis. Another implication of a dialogical paradigm of heritage is that it leads to placing more emphasis on the present and the present needs of people, rather than only on the past.

Indeed, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, p. 369) considers that ‘heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past’, whereas Howard (2010, p. 1) suggests that heritage is ‘that which people wish to save for the future, which clearly puts the emphasis on people and on actions taken in the present’. Finally, according to Ashworth (2011, p. 2) heritage is ‘a process whereby objects, events, sites, performances and personalities, derived from the past, are transformed into experiences in and for the present’. Past, present and future are interconnected and each important in understanding heritage, its transmission and safeguarding. Harrison (2010, p. 9) connects these three time dimensions, stating:

> We use objects of heritage (artefacts, buildings, sites, landscapes) alongside practices of heritage (languages, music, community commemorations, conservation and preservation of objects or memories from the past) to shape our ideas about our past, present and future.

Furthermore, transmission, which will be explored further on in this chapter (2.4), connects past present and future as heritage is 'transmitted from generation to generation' (UNESCO, 2003). Ashworth (2011, p. 2) argues that heritage is connected to 'current political, social or economic needs'. The ways in which these needs can be met, represent what Smith (2006) refers to as 'uses of heritage'. According to Smith (2006, p. 4), heritage can be used 'by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present' as well as 'to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups'. Hence, 'heritage is not necessarily about the stasis of cultural values and meanings, but may equally be about cultural change' (ibid.).

The needs of people in the present and the uses they make of heritage reconnects with people's centrality in heritage. Therefore, people must be engaged in the safeguarding of cultural heritage, because 'people are not only objects of cultural preservation but also subjects' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, p. 58). Indeed, people are also central to my conceptual framework (Chapter 3), as embodied social agents with emotions. On emotions and heritage, Smith (2006, p. 2) posits (referring to a necklace passed between generations, from mother to daughter):

> The real moment of heritage when our emotions and sense of self are truly engaged, is not so much in the possession of the necklace, but in the act of passing on and receiving memories and knowledge. It also occurs in the way that we then use, reshape and recreate those memories and knowledge to help us make sense of and understand not only who we 'are', but also who we want to be.

The inscription in UNESCO's lists could be beneficial to a cultural activity, as it can bring awareness and visibility to it, thus benefitting the people involved (financially and/or socially), for whom this practice is important. However, this increased visibility can lead to problems. UNESCO (2016a, para. 21) declares that:

> Care must be taken to make sure this increased attention does not have a harmful effect on the intangible cultural heritage. For instance, increased tourism could have a distorting effect, as communities may change heritage to suit tourists' demands, or create differences among groups or communities by recognizing one living expression and not another. There is also a danger of freezing heritage through a 'folklorisation' process or the quest for 'authenticity', or of the disregard of customs that govern access to secret or sacred information.

Adopting a dialogical paradigm (and acknowledging the existence of a continuum between essentialist and dialogical positions) can help to avoid the freezing of heritage, whilst at the same time placing value onto its transmission. Throughout this thesis, I address the key themes of transmission, authenticity, identity, uses of heritage and internationalisation, using a dialogical approach.

2.2.1 ICH Case Studies

In what follows, I will review the literature about ICH and, more specifically, about practices that have received ICH recognition, to assess what happened as a result of the recognition. The main benefit of ICH recognition seems to be that it raises awareness of a practice. For example, Graeff (2016) and Robinson and Packman (2016) point out that this was the case for *samba de roda*[1] in Brazil, where this art form was re-valued as a tradition and the community found a new sense of cohesion, following the UNESCO recognition. The UNESCO award also helped to stimulate new interest towards the *Kun Qu opera*[2] in China (Wong, 2009) as activities involving this art form were revived and DVDs were produced. Similarly, *Kutiyattam*[3]*,* from India, received increased recognition (and the practice attracted more public funding) (Lowthorp, 2015). Even practices that were vilified (being ancient healing traditions but considered by some as superstitions), such as *Vimbuza*[4] from Malawi (Gilman, 2015) and Jeju Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut, a shamanic practice[5] from the Republic of Korea (Yun, 2015) attracted renewed interest and recognition, following the UNESCO award.

[1] Samba de roda of the Recôncavo of Bahia, is a dance and music tradition from Brazil that was recognised as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005 and, in 2008, it was added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/samba-de-roda-of-the-reconcavo-of-bahia-00101).

[2] Kun Qu opera is a theatre tradition from China that was recognised as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2001 and, in 2008, added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/kun-qu-opera-00004).

[3] Kutiyattam, Sanskrit theatre, from India, was recognised as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2001 and, in 2008, added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/kutiyattam-sanskrit-theatre-00010).

[4] Vimbuza healing dance from Malawi, was recognised as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005 and, in 2008, added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/vimbuza-healing-dance-00158).

[5] Jeju Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut was added in 2009 to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/jeju-chilmeoridang-yeongdeunggut-00187).

Some communities felt pride at learning about the UNESCO recognition, such as the practitioners of the *Canto a tenore*[1], in Sardina, Italy (Macchiarella, 2008) or were thrilled and surprised, such as the inhabitants of Shimo-Koshiki Island in Japan, when *Toshidon*[2] was approved for UNESCO recognition (Foster, 2015).

According to Seeger (2009, 2015), the ICH nomination process is laborious, long, and involves a number of stakeholders. Seeger (2009) explains that, when submitting a nomination, a member state needs to produce a dossier. This must include: a history of the form and its current status; a 10-minute video; additional videos to document the form; proof of agreement from the community that holds that practice; a detailed action plan and a budget for the safeguarding of the practice and the practice has to be compatible with human rights and the principles of UNESCO. Seeger (ibid.) explains that the dossiers are sent to UNESCO, which then employs the help of individual specialists or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs, such as the ICTM[3]) who assess the dossier and then report back to UNESCO.

Seeger (ibid.) lists the most common reasons for the failure of a nomination. One of the reasons is nationalism, in the sense that nations often tend to nominate the traditions of dominant groups within a country, neglecting the traditions of minorities. Another reason for failure is if nominations are prepared by people who are not familiar with the traditions they nominate. 'Cultural cleansing' and 'intentional cultural forgetting' (Seeger, 2009, p. 122), i.e. neglecting to mention the influence of certain ethnic minorities in a tradition (such as the Rom musicians in rites of passage of non-Roma people) can lead to failure. Finally, two more reasons for failure, according to Seeger (ibid.), are not meeting the principles of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and not involving local practitioners in the plans.

In spite of the good intentions, however, even the nominations that manage to achieve the ICH recognition can experience negative or ambivalent effects following the award. According to Seeger, (2015) the ways in which nations around the world implement the

[1] Canto a tenore, Sardinian pastoral songs, recognised as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005 and, in 2008, added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/canto-a-tenore-sardinian-pastoral-songs-00165).
[2] Koshikijima no Toshidon is a local tradition from Japan, which involves adults disguised as deities called Toshidon visiting children and their families every New Year's Eve to scold children about any mischief they got into and preach good behaviour. Toshidon was added in 2009 to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/koshikijima-no-toshidon-00270).
[3] International Council for Traditional Music (https://ictmusic.org/).

UNESCO programme are varied. Seeger (ibid.) explains that, although UNESCO can offer guidance, training and sometimes funding (although most often funding is provided to communities by the individual nation states), it cannot interfere with the internal workings of the member states. Hence, the influence of UNESCO is limited once the ICH recognition is awarded.

In spite of the fact that communities have a central role in the 2003 Convention, a common problem of its implementation is that the approach is "top to down", with authorities and experts imposing their views and limiting the local communities' agency. This has been noted, for example, regarding the:

- bell ringers'[1] in Croatia (Nikočević *et al.*, 2012), who resented the UNESCO's intervention as they saw UNESCO as an outside entity;
- *kolo* dance[2] in Croatia (Zebec, 2013, 2015), where the lack of consultation with local practitioners led to the omission of details that were very important for its bearers;
- 'a tenore' singers in Sardinia (Macchiarella, 2008), who saw UNESCO as an alien entity and felt that the nomination had been driven solely by the political ambitions of the city mayor;
- Vimbuza in Malawi, where many people in the community involved did not even know what UNESCO was or that the practice had been listed (Gilman, 2015);
- *Mak Yong* theatre[3] in Malaysia, with practitioners feeling that (Mohamad, 2012, p. 456) 'scholars who may not speak the local language or actually engage in the practice "speak" for them';
- Kalbeliya[4] in India, whose practising communities were not even aware of the UNESCO recognition (Joncheere, 2015).

[1] Annual carnival bell ringers' pageant from the Kastav area, added in 2009 to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/annual-carnival-bell-ringers-pageant-from-the-kastav-area-00243).
[2] Nijemo Kolo, silent circle dance of the Dalmatian hinterland, added in 2011 to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/nijemo-kolo-silent-circle-dance-of-the-dalmatian-hinterland-00359).
[3] Mak Yong theatre, recognised as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2005 and, in 2008, added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/mak-yong-theatre-00167).
[4] Kalbelia folk songs and dances of Rajasthan, added in 2010 to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/kalbelia-folk-songs-and-dances-of-rajasthan-00340).

This “top to down” approach might be driven by the political and economic interests that are at stake once a practice is given heritage status. Very often, one of the main reasons behind the nomination is to use the ICH status of a practice to promote it as a tourist attraction (Wong, 2009; Robinson and Packman, 2014; Foster, 2015; Gilman, 2015; Joncheere, 2015; Silverman, 2015; Stepputat, 2015; Yun, 2015). Sometimes this process can benefit a community. For example, Robinson and Packman (2014, p. 120) highlight that there have been ‘new opportunities for *samba de roda* practitioners to participate in Bahia’s cultural tourism and entertainment industries’. However, the use of ICH for commercial purposes can lead to power conflicts, commodification and, one of the risks that UNESCO itself (2016a, para. 21) warns against, the distortion of heritage to suit tourists’ expectations. This can lead to changes due to decontextualization of the practice, or to what UNESCO identify as ‘freezing’ of heritage or ‘folklorisation’, which involves imposing forced ‘authenticity’ on the practice.

Indeed, Robinson and Packman’s (2014, p. 120) research team have observed ‘dramatic changes in samba de roda . . . that are best described as rapid folkloricisation, professionalisation, institutionalisation and commodification’. One of the most dramatic changes that Robinson and Packman (2014, p. 131) highlight is the loss of connection between music and dance. They explain (ibid.) that musicians only groups are easier to book because they are smaller and require less floor space and no special lighting, thus they might in the future become the norm. This means that dancers are left out, breaking the traditional relationship between dance and music and, Robinson and Packman (ibid.) argue, depriving women (who are often dancers) of income opportunities.

Similarly, Munsi (2012) reports that *Chhau* dance[1] is now performed for new audiences, outside its original community, both in India and abroad, which leads to changes as the dance is decontextualized. Moreover, Munsi (ibid.) continues, new challenges arise when individual performers are chosen to perform outside of the village (for urban and/or international audiences), they are successful and become (Munsi, 2012, p. 170) ‘the epitome of all that is the formula to success, in the eyes of all those who were left back home’. This means that, according to Munsi (ibid.), the change is not organic or driven by the community but influenced by outsiders.

[1] Chhau dance, from India, was added in 2010 to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/chhau-dance-00337).

In a similar vein, according to Yun (2015), shamans performing rituals in Jeju Island (South Korea) become overconcerned with aesthetics when tourists and media are in the audience and rituals are often shortened for the stage. Changes due to adaptation of the performance for the stage have also taken place for samba de roda, as observed by Graeff (2016), whereby performances become shorter, less improvised and more rehearsed and the mode shifts from participatory to presentational (I will return to the changes that social dances go through when adapted for the stage in more detail in 2.8).

Kalbeliya is another tradition that has been affected by UNESCO's recognition through institutionalisation. Joncheere (2015) reports that the transmission of the dance has changed and this could affect the dance itself, as it is now taught in schools, whereas traditionally it was only taught through informal observation. Moreover, Joncheere (2015, p. 90) observed what she calls 'a "purist" wave in Kalbeliya performances in recent years that was mainly enforced by Rajasthani folklorist-managers'. Thus, this is an example of the 'freezing' of heritage that UNESCO warns against. The concern about stagnation and freezing of a ritual that may become too formal because of the UNESCO's recognition was voiced by community members regarding the practice of Toshidon, as mentioned by Foster (2015).

Another issue relating to change in practices is over-simplification, due to the heritage identification process and the inventory-making involved. For instance, Macchiarella (2008, p. 9) argues that 'Sardinian multipart singing by chording has a great complexity of which there is not absolutely trace in Unesco proclamation acts' as the cataloguing process simplifies musical complexity. Similarly, Graeff (2016, p. 416) argues (referring to the subjectivity of a performer) that there are values in samba de roda that 'can only be grasped, transmitted, understood and valued by sensing them through experience, as and within practice' and these can never be catalogued in an inventory. I will return to the subjectivity and feelings involved in ICH in the Conceptual Framework chapter.

A solution to 'freezing' and, I would add, oversimplification, has been suggested by Bakka (2015) who argues that, normally, the documentation in support of nominations tend to privilege manuals or instructions in a linear and simple form. What Bakka (2015, p. 152) proposes instead is to record and archive many realisations[1] of the practice, which can be

[1] Bakka (2015, p. 151) explains, with regards to dance, that its realisation is 'the act of dancing a certain dance', while the concept is 'base of skills, knowledge and understanding' that a dancer draws upon.

used as 'inspiration and knowledge base to support the continued practice', rather than as a set of instructions.

Changes to a practice sometimes can be seen as adaptations that allow a practice to survive, following the loss of its original context. Wong (2009, p. 34), for example, acknowledges that Kun Qu opera 'has lost its traditional habitat forever' and how it 'will evolve . . . depends . . . on the whims of a modern mass audience, on policies shaped by the national and local government, and on the quality of local leadership and supporters.' Talking about the way in which kutiyattam has adapted to modern audiences and is now patronised by the government rather than by royalty as in the past, Lowthorp (2015) talks about 'fluid authenticity'. She (Lowthorp, 2015, p. 33) defines it 'a process facilitating the continuity of artists rather than a strictly defined form . . . a dynamic safeguarding based on a concept of art as inherently changing and adapting to contemporary audiences'. In this respect, 'fluid authenticity' seems to fit into the dialogical approach to cultural heritage, which this thesis follows. I will further analyse the concept of authenticity in 2.5.

The commodification of ICH, besides leading to more or less welcome changes, can also lead to power struggles, inequality and exploitation. For instance, You (2015) explains that locals were mobilised to achieve recognition for the practice of worshipping the ancient sage-kings Yao and Shun[1] in Hongtong County, in China, and were promised some funds from the state. The funds, however, never went to the community and were all kept instead by the Hongtong Center for the Safeguarding of ICH. Thus, as You (2015, p. 125) argues, 'The ICH project . . . became a means for the local ICH center to exploit the local population and harvest the profits from the state'. Another example is that of local Chhau performers who live in poverty, while those who represent this art form outside the community are the only ones who benefit from the ICH status (Munsi, 2012).

Conflicts often arise when funding is allocated to protect a practice, with some practitioners losing out because of the allocation system. For instance, Lowthorp (2015) mentions that the new allocation system favours the seniority of institutions over the experience of individual artists. So, more senior artists who belong to newer institutions receive less funding than less experienced ones who are affiliated to older bodies. The ICH recognition can also be cause for conflict and envy between practitioners of different

[1] Hongtong Zouqin Xisu, translated by You (2015, p. 113) as 'the custom of visiting sacred relatives in Hongtong' is practiced in Hontong County, Shanxi Province, China and was named an item of national ICH in 2008.

practices. This was the case, as reported by Macchiarella (2008), of the canto a tenore in Sardinia, whereby practitioners of other musical traditions wrongly assumed that a tenore singers received more funding from the government and preferential treatment because of the ICH recognition.

Before concluding this section, I will focus on the case of tango from Argentina and Uruguay, which was added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2009. The version of tango that received recognition is the one from the Rio de la Plata basin, between Argentina and Uruguay. Tango, as highlighted by Stepputat (2015), was initially developed in that region by European migrants and is now practiced worldwide in many different versions and styles, which makes it (Stepputat, 2015, p. 337) 'a prime example of a cosmopolitan genre' while its (ibid.) 'geographic power center . . . is Buenos Aires'. In this respect, its situation is quite similar to that of Egyptian raqs sharqi, which is practised worldwide but its geographic centre is located (as will be discussed later in the thesis) in Cairo. Stepputat (ibid.) also points out that the local centres where tango is practised, even if small, are connected by media and travel, which is also the case for Egyptian raqs sharqi as will be discussed in this thesis.

According to Stepputat (2015), there are contradictions in the tango nomination though. In particular, the fact that the nomination uses the expression 'the tango' is, for Stepputat (ibid.), problematic as this would include all different styles of tango practised globally. Alternatively, Stepputat (2015, p. 337) argues, the nomination should have referred to 'tango as practiced in the Rio de la Plata region' and it should have acknowledged the fact that the dance is practised worldwide. Also, Stepputat (2015) continues, the pictures used to advertise the tango nomination depict the stage version of tango, rather than the social version; the stage version (that has a different look) is what most non-tango dancers associate with 'the tango'. Hence, Stepputat (2015, p. 339) posits, 'If the reason for the declaration was to cleanse the image of tango, this goal was not reached'. Indeed, Stepputat (2015, p. 340) points out that 'no changes in the tango culture . . . that could be directly linked to its status as UNESCO ICH surfaced, and it is unlikely, that this will change in the near future' and she draws the conclusion (ibid.) that tango was nominated only for two reasons: to reclaim the culture of tango for Argentina and Uruguay and 'to boost international cultural tourism in Buenos Aires'.

From this review, what emerges is that the biggest positive outcome from the ICH recognition is that it raises awareness about practices. The economic dimension, including the opportunity to draw more income from tourism, is a big factor also though. The opportunity to raise income could potentially be beneficial for the communities involved, but it often seems to have drawbacks, such as: commodification; exploitation; inequality in the distribution of resources; freezing of the practice through folklorisation; decontextualization; top to down approach and conflict between groups or individuals. It seems, however, that these issues are not caused so much by the nature of the UNESCO convention but rather by social, cultural and political issues that the practical application of the 2003 Convention has to deal with in real life. Thus, I would argue, looking at the implementation of the ICH recognition from a sociological point of view is essential as it can shed light on the social dynamics of power and agency. The major problem caused by the categorisation and inscription process itself is the oversimplification of practices.

There are steps that can be taken to counteract some of these problems, to a certain extent. Firstly, the oversimplification could be tackled by adopting Bakka's (2015) idea of non-linear documentation. Secondly, the concept of 'fluid authenticity' suggested by Lowthorp (2015) should be embraced, particularly when it is the only way in which a practice can survive, having lost its original context. With regards to cosmopolitan practices, such as tango, it seems important to maintain clarity as to which version exactly of a practice is being protected, while acknowledging the global reach of that practice and the existence of other styles. The case of Egyptian raqs sharqi is different though, in the sense that Egypt is ambivalent towards it and there is no power struggle between nations over who should own it as heritage. Nevertheless, this is an important transcultural practice with an international community of practitioners, so it is worth investigating. I will return to these ideas in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, to discuss their application in relation to Egyptian raqs sharqi. However, first, in what follows, I will focus on the dance studies literature.

2.3 Dance Studies

In this section, I highlight how dance studies have influenced my research. I start with a brief history of dance studies in relation to culture, in order to show the developments that led to the approach that I will be following. According to Giurchescu and Torp (1991), in the 19th century, folkloric dances in Europe were rediscovered as expressions of

national identity, and the attention of researchers was primarily on the movements, rather than the social context of the dance. The discipline of folklore was born out of politics of nationalism and aspirations of smaller communities to be recognised, within big empires. Giurchescu and Torp (1991) highlight that, in the 19th century in Europe, there was an idealistic aspiration towards authenticity, as experts were trying to save 'vanishing' dances whose authentic expression could only be found in small villages, away from the corrupting influence of big cities (Giurchescu and Torp, 1991, p. 2):

> The development of folkloristics was based on the opinion that the "spiritual roots" of a nation were to be found in the deeply hidden, unadulterated music-making and dancing of the village people. This romantic ideology led to a search for and study of "vanishing" dances, songs, and music. . . . In their search for "authentic folklore", collectors rigorously excluded "new styles", non-national or non-ethnic traits, together with all that which was marked by the "destructive" influence of town life.

This static and conservative approach to dance in the 19th century can be considered the equivalent of an essentialist paradigm in heritage which, according to Naguib (2013), originates from that same timeframe and was linked to nationhood and authenticity ideals. Giurchescu and Torp (1991) argue that, after World War II, in Europe, the approach towards dance studies changed to include the artistic and social dimensions of dance. However, the interest in the connection with society, culture and economics was still limited and the focus was still 'exclusively on dance as a product' detached 'from its context' (Giurchescu and Torp, 1991, p. 3). At the same time, Giurchescu and Torp (1991) posit, in America dance was studied from an anthropological and cross-cultural perspective, with great focus on culture and society, but little interest in the choreological aspect.[1]

Prokosch Kurath (1960) summarises the state of dance ethnology up until the 1960s, depicting a field that had grown in the first half of the 20th century, but which was still in need of further developments. According to Kealiinohomoku (2001), Franz Boas, Curt Sachs and Gertrude Prokosch Kurath were the first scholars who systematically studied

[1] Giurchescu and Torp (1991, p. 1) explain that European dance scholars came from a musicology background, which developed methods and theories from the dance material (its choreographic features). Conversely, they (1991, p. 1) argue, American dance scholars came from the field of anthropology, so they applied already elaborated theories and methods to dance focusing on 'dancing people', seldom analysing the choreographic structure.

dance in culture, both in the culture of origin and cross-culturally. Kealiinohomoku (2001) mentions that these scholars developed an anthropology of dance, through ethnographic studies. Reed (1998) argues that the early anthropologists who included dance in their studies (such as Tylor, Evens-Pritchard, Redcliffe-Brown, Malinowski and Boas) emphasised the social functions of dance but with little attention to the movements.

Conversely, Gertrude Prokosch Kurath stands out because she was one of the first dance scholars (between the 1920s and 1960s) who concentrated equally on culture and movements. She was an American dancer and ethnomusicologist who, later in life, conducted anthropological studies of Native American dance. Kealiinohomoku (1992, p. 70) reports that 'Gertrude . . . coined the term "ethnochoreologist", to parallel the term "ethnomusicologist". . . . She called her work "the study of dance and music in relation to a way of life"'. As discussed in Table 1, the term ethnochoreology is used today by the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM, no date) and by the University of Limerick (*MA Ethnochoreology - University of Limerick*, no date), and I have chosen to adopt an ethnochoreological perspective in my interdisciplinary investigation of dance, in relation to people and culture. In 2.3.1 I will discuss in more detail some recent literature on ethnochoreology.

Prokosch Kurath saw dance as a multi-dimensional phenomenon and, as such, she encouraged a multidisciplinary approach to dance (1960, pp. 240–242). This approach is now widely accepted and contemporary dance scholars, such as Butterworth (2012), stress the importance of using various disciplines and theories to understand dance. Butterworth (2012) argues that we need to know about the cultural background of a dance piece in order to understand it fully and we should support our understanding with disciplinary, thematic and methodological tools such as theatre studies, anthropology, ethnography, sociology, semiotics, phenomenology, cultural studies, feminism/gender studies, race/ethnicity, politics, interculturalism, classicism, modernism, postmodernism.

In the 1970s, the connection between choreological and anthropological perspectives developed further. Grau (1993) states that dance and social sciences started cooperating in a structured way only since the 1970s while, according to Giurchescu and Thorp (1991), it was then that the semantic dimension of dance started being explored, to better understand the relationship between the form and the meaning of dance. Reed (1998)

supports this idea, stating that it was in the 1960s and 1970s when the anthropology of dance emerged as a distinct subfield.

In that same period of time, Kealiinohomoku (1970) wrote her seminal article in which she considered ballet as a form of ethnic dance, highlighting the fact that every dance form derives from a cultural background and that, therefore, every type of dance is ethnic. According to Kealiinohomoku, ballet is a form of ethnic dance because it is the expression of a precise culture at a certain moment in time. This culture is reflected in every aspect of ballet, from the movements and aesthetic values to the choice of costumes, stories, gender roles, social roles, music and choice of flora and fauna that is represented. Kealiinohomoku's article was ground-breaking at the time, as it broke the barriers between theatre dancing and popular/folkloric dancing, as well as moving away from the old evolutionary approach in dance studies, affirming that (1970, p. 34) 'there is no such thing as a primitive dance'. This attitude is now embraced by contemporary dance scholars such as Buckland, who posits that (1999, p. 3) 'all cultures are plural and relative to the peoples who create and maintain them. This potentially results in the non-hierarchical treatment of all dance practices'.

A very influential figure in the field of dance studies in Britain, active from the 1970s, was the ethnomusicologist and anthropologist John Blacking. He (1983, p. 95) contended that dance 'must be analysed in context, together with dancers' and spectators' notions of what they are doing, what they experience and how they make sense of it'. In Blacking's (1983) view, dance, cannot be properly understood outside its context of use; it is a social institution expressing culturally encoded feelings and it is shaped by audiences and their expectations, as much as by the dancers and the choreographers. For Blacking (1983), dance has to be studied cross-culturally; we cannot use a Western theory of dance and apply it to dances from other cultures, but we can use different theories from various cultures to try and create a general theory of dance.

Since the late 1980s, there has been a proliferation of dance studies in different cultural contexts, which connected culture, body and movement. Helen Thomas (2003) mentions Adrienne Kaeppler, Drid Williams and Judith Lynne Hanna, active from the 1980s/90s, as exponents of a new generation of American dance anthropologists, influenced by the dominant anti-ethnocentricity in anthropology. The new generation of dance

anthropologists sought to understand different dance forms using communication and linguistic models.

A dance scholar who brings together cultural and physical approaches is Cohen Bull (aka Novack). She analysed dances from the physical and cultural points of view. Her analysis is based on the idea that the body and the mind are connected and analysing one without the other is limiting. According to Cohen Bull, (Novack, 1988, p. 103) 'to detach one aspect from another for analytical purposes can contribute valuable insights into the nature of movement, but if one aspect is taken as the whole, distortion results'. Physical movement and cultural background in dance are two interconnected elements, which cannot be separated without creating misunderstandings or excessive simplification. Cohen Bull adopted this approach in her study on contact improvisation and disco dance (Novack, 1988), in which she analysed how changes in dance movements and styles reflect changes in society.

In another study, Cohen Bull (2003) focused on the senses and how they are used in dance genres that originate in different cultures. She selected three dance genres as objects of her investigation: ballet, contact improvisation and Ghanaian dance. She then analysed them from a sensorial and kinaesthetic point of view, looking at the movements, as well as at society and the context in which dance is lived and to which it belongs. The outcome of her analysis is that: in ballet, the strongest element is visual, in contact improvisation it is tactile and in Ghanaian dance, it is auditory. This does not mean that all senses are not involved, but just that one is privileged over the others. This preference is culturally influenced. Cohen Bull states (2003, p. 270) that:

> A primary interest of recent ethnographies of dance is the conjunction between the sensible and the intelligible, taken as different but profoundly interrelated levels of analysis, description, and understanding . . . to consider experience as intrinsic to meaning, action in dialogue with thought.

Cohen Bull is suggesting that we need to overcome the dichotomy between body and mind, material and immaterial domains, because meaning is created by human beings as unities of mind and body. As Burkitt states (1999, p. 2) 'the way in which we sense our body in the world seems to be just as important in creating meaning as cultural meaning

is itself in shaping the image of our body'. Indeed, Sklar (1994, p. 11) stresses the importance of being kinetically involved in dance research:

> I had discovered that to "move with" people whose experience I was trying to understand was a way to also "feel with" them, providing an opening into the kind of cultural knowledge that is not available through words or observation alone.

Grau (2011, p. 5), emphasizes that 'dance is a somatic, kinetic and linguistic phenomenon; that these three domains are inextricably intertwined; and that all are culturally and socially rooted'. However, because dance is socially and culturally situated, she warns against the temptation of applying our own cultural understandings on the concepts of space, senses and the body to dance genres belonging to different cultures. Grau (2011, pp. 5, 6) argues that:

> The terms . . . 'dancing bodies', 'space' and 'place' . . . cannot be accepted as universal concepts since they are embedded within typically western understandings. . . . Similarly . . . the commonly understood concept of the five senses is an ethnocentric construct, and . . . such a narrow framework is not very helpful in understanding the multisensory practice that dance is.

In this research, it will be important to consider, for example, how non-Egyptians need to learn not only a new movement vocabulary when learning Egyptian raqs sharqi, but also a different way of thinking about the body and space. For instance, the research will highlight how their sense of time may differ from that of people from different countries/cultures, and this is reflected in the dance and its relaxed feeling. Also, the concept of *tarab* (ecstasy that the dancer communicates to the audience), although it is not a sense per se, is a disposition, an embodied way of engaging with the music and the audiences, specific to Arabic performing arts.

Time	Approach to the study of dance in culture
1800s / Early 1900s	Folkloric studies: • Politics of nationalism. • Search for authenticity. • Study of dance but without its context. • Static and conservative approach to preserve traditions.
First half of 20th century	Dance studied in culture: • Gertrude Prokosch Kurath pays attention to both culture and movements, coins the tern 'ethnochoreologist' and encourages a multidisciplinary approach to the study of dance.
1970s	Deeper connection between choreological and anthropological perspectives: • Kealiinohomoku in 1970 writes her seminal article about ballet as an ethnic dance. All dances are ethnic, so there should be no hierarchical treatment of different dance forms. • Blacking argues that dance should be studied in context in relation to people's experience of it and it should be studied cross-culturally.
1980s / 1990s until now	Proliferation of cultural studies of dance. The body gradually enters into the picture: • Cynthia Cohen Bull blends together physical and cultural approaches in the study of dance. Body and mind seen as a unity. • Andrée Grau warns about cultural differences in perceiving space, the body and the senses.

Table 4 – Dance studies developments.

Table 4 summarises the changes in the field of dance studies in relation to culture from the late 1800s until now, as outlined in this section. This thesis adopts the most recent developments, bringing together culture with its embodied expressions in dance movements. I will now discuss some recent literature on ethnochoreology.

2.3.1 Ethnochoreology

In the previous section, I introduced ethnochoreology and I mentioned that my research has been influenced by this discipline, in particular with regards to its multidisciplinary approach to the study of dance. In this section, I will further explore the literature on ethnochoreology to highlight its origins, its most recent developments and how these helped me investigate Egyptian raqs sharqi from the cultural heritage angle.

Dunin (2014) traces the emergence of ethnochoreology back to the 1950s, with publications by the two Janković sisters in Serbia and by Gertrude Kurath in the United States, and the role played by Maud Karpeles in England. Dunin (ibid.) explains that the Janković sisters and Gertrude Kurath never met but they were linked via the International Folk Music Council (IFMC), which Maud Karpeles contributed to launching in 1947.

Maud Karpeles, as Dunin (ibid.) recounts, was researching folk dances in England with Cecil Sharp since 1911. After Cecil Sharp's death (in 1924), Maud Karpeles continued researching dance but her connections led her to travel abroad, to Prague and France, which gave her an (Dunin, 2014, p. 199) 'expanded vision of dance outside of English forms'. Subsequently, Dunin (ibid.) continues, Karpeles' expanded vision 'probably influenced her next steps, by guiding the merger of … the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS) and Folk-Song Society (FSS) into the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) in 1932', which then organised a European folk-dance festival in 1935. About 500 dancers from 16 different countries, according to Dunin (ibid.) took part who, before returning home, founded an informal body called 'International (Advisory) Folk Dance Council'. Dunin (ibid.) continues to explain that, after the interruption caused by the Second World War, the International (Advisory) Folk Dance Council reconvened in London in 1947, deciding on the constitution of the International Folk Music (Dance and Song) Council. Dunin (ibid.) writes that Karpeles initiated a group for the study of dance, as part of the IFMC, with an international reach, which included in the list of names for its international cooperation, Janković (for Yugoslavia) and Gertrude Kurath (for the United States).

I previously mentioned (in 2.3) the importance of Gertrude Kurath's studies for the development of ethnochoreology in the US. Eastern European dance studies were just as influential in the development of this discipline, as folk dances had been studied there since the 19th century to develop a national identity and, later, under the communist regime, to represent and reinforce the values of that regime (Giurchescu and Torp, 1991; Maners, 2006; Karoblis, 2013). Indeed, the ethnochoreology study group part of IFMC was further developed in 1962 by a group of Eastern European dance scholars coordinated, between 1962 and 1981, by Vera Proca-Ciortea from Romania (Giurchescu and Torp, 1991; Dunin, 2014). In 1981, the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) changed its name to the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) (Dunin, 2014, p. 202) and the ethnochoreology group became the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology as it is still known today.

It is evident from its history, that ethnochoreology has always been a field of international cooperation. However, according to Gore *et al*. (Gore, Grau and Koutsouba, 2016, p. 180), it was after the end of the Cold War, in the late 1980s, that the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology really became 'a global network for scientific cooperation', bringing

together scholars from all over the world. As well as increasing its international reach, over time ethnochoreology has also developed by expanding its focus. Already, according to Dunin (2014, p. 203) the Janković sisters, Kurath and Karpeles were pioneers towards a new way of studying dance in the sense that 'their approaches went beyond 'folk dance' or 'folk music' as collectable products as was the model at the beginning of the twentieth century with the purpose of preservation and revival'.

At the very start though, Giurchescu and Torp (1991) argue, the focus of the Study Group was mainly on the formal aspects of dance, such as establishing a universal terminology; creating an analytical method for the study of dance; developing a classification system and annotating dance. They (ibid.) then add that, more recently, the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology has become a forum for the exchange of ideas on ways to research dance, which (1991, p. 7) 'has resulted in . . . a broadening of the scope of research thus, encompassing, . . . the anthropological and the choreological approaches as complementary and necessary in the holistic study of dance'.

This development is in line with the development in the field of dance studies highlighted in the previous section. Moreover, the modern approach to ethnochoreology has also benefitted from a closer convergence of European and American approaches, as Zebec (2009) argues. According to Zebec (ibid.), ethnochoreology in Europe focused on the form of the dance and the research methods employed were interviews and participation. Dance ethnology in America instead, Zebec (ibid.) continues, focused on the participants to the event and their role in society. As a result, Zebec (2009, p. 143) argues, this approach also focuses on the researchers' experiences, 'their own starting points'. Zebec highlights that (ibid.) 'recent ethnochoreology examines everything that affects researchers in the selection of the object of research and how they write, who and what about'. An example of reflexivity in ethnochoreological studies is Buckland's (2006) chapter in which she reflects back on her experience of researching Morris dance at the beginning of her career, thus uncovering biases that she was originally unaware of.

Another development in the field of modern ethnochoreology, Zebec (2009) points out, is the use of the diachronic dimension together with the synchronic dimension in the study of dance, as well as a full involvement in the dance events. Zebec (2009, p. 141) credits Dunin with using this approach in her research by pointing out about Dunin that:

> She compares communities on three continents diachronically, and dance events synchronically. By doing so, she gains a better insight into the social dynamics of dance. She observes and participates in dance events and thus gains a better insight into the complex social interaction, which would not be possible using only the interview method.

Indeed, Dunin (2006, p. 195) supports this approach stating that 'a dance ethnology study is not based upon one-time contact but upon multilevel contacts in multiple time frames providing a continuity of data making for a historical record'. This is the same approach that Zebec (2009, p. 143) follows, by participating in dance events, as well as observing them. He (ibid.) uses both the synchronic and diachronic approaches, 'studying historical sources in order to discover the patterns of behaviour where history, migrations, social relations, religion and philosophy of a particular community are expressed in the modern context as well'.

A recent development is applied ethnochoreology, which derives from the ethnochoreologist's involvement in the field and his/her interest in a deep understanding of the context of the dance and in the individuals who participate in the dance. According to Zebec (2007) and Foley (2016), applied ethnochoreology involves placing the knowledge of the scholar at the service of the community. Foley (2016, p. 632) states that ethnochoreologists 'can place importance on the human, social and cultural aspects that comprise dance and the act of making and performing dance'. Applied ethnochoreology, for Zebec (2007, p. 18), also entails understanding the aesthetics of a dance performance through the eyes of a particular audience or community at a specific time and place, as he states that 'understanding the diverse aesthetic principles depending on difference in context and participants is more important than analysis of the content and structure of the performance'.

Because of their direct involvement in the field, their participation in events and their deep understanding of dance forms, ethnochoreologists, as explained by Seeger (2009) and in 2.2.1, are often consulted, through the ICTM, by UNESCO to review ICH submissions by nation states. Moreover, Zebec *et al*. (2015, p. 228) point out that the UNESCO recognition has made scholars involved in 'ethnology, cultural anthropology, and folklore research' much more prominent than they once were and that (ibid.) 'ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists are frequently engaged as advisors and consultants by local communities or governing bodies . . . as agents and mediators

between local communities and public administration or governing bodies'. In addition, an international European masters programme in dance and cultural heritage, called Choreomumdus, was established in 2012, located in ethnochoreology and the anthropology of dance (Fossen, n.d.)

The involvement of ethnochoreology with the decisions made by UNESCO in awarding ICH status to dance forms makes this discipline very relevant to my research. Moreover, I find an ethnochoreological approach fitting for all the other aspects highlighted in this section: the international and comparative approach, because of the transcultural nature of Egyptian raqs sharqi; the interdisciplinary and holistic approach to dance, because I wish to keep dance central to this research, whilst incorporating the wider socio-cultural context of the art form; the interest towards the individual experiences of the performers, because of the connection between social structures and individual agency (which I will explore in more depth in Chapter 3); the use of both diachronic and synchronic aspects of research, as I have decided to look back at historical videos and sources of Egyptian raqs sharqi, to better understand the dance today; and the applied aspect and the focus on reflexivity because, as well as being a researcher, I am also a practitioner of Egyptian raqs sharqi, thus I need to be aware of my role, influence and unavoidable bias during this research.

In summary, the version of ethnochoreology that I will be working with and that will shape my research (drawing on the publications cited in this section), is that of: a synchronic and diachronic interdisciplinary approach to the study of dance, which focuses on both the form of the dance and the experiences of participants and their role in society. In what follows, I will explore the recent literature on raqs sharqi, trying in particular, to extract information on the Egyptian style.

2.3.2 Egyptian Raqs Sharqi

In the introduction (1.1), I mentioned the fact that much has been written academically on different aspects of bellydance but no studies have been done so far focusing solely on Egyptian raqs sharqi style. In this part of the literature review, I discuss some academic studies that have included references to Egyptian style bellydance. I will also engage with studies that investigate how Egyptian raqs sharqi has been transmitted or experienced across different cultures.

The oldest article I found, which is very useful in understanding the dance vocabulary in Islamic countries (which includes Egyptian raqs sharqi), was written by Ibsen al Faruqi (1978). This article focuses on some of the formal characteristics of dance from Islamic countries (such as the small intricate movements, the preference for improvisation, the repetitions and serial structure, the abstract nature). Ibsen al Faruqi (1978) compares the characteristics of the dance with other art forms from the same countries, such as painting, calligraphy and music, highlighting a common aesthetic thread. These characteristics are not specific only to Egyptian raqs sharqi, but they can be observed in this dance genre, which helps to start understanding the formal aspects of the dance and how it relates to the culture it originated from.

A very informative study on Egyptian dances is Farida Fahmy's MA thesis (Fahmy, 1987) as she was one of the founders of the Reda troupe in Egypt. In 5.3.4 I will write in more detail about Mahmoud Reda. For now, it is enough to mention that Mahmoud Reda was a choreographer, who choreographed dance scenes for Egyptian movies in the first half of the 20th century and he travelled across Egypt to document local folkloric dances and then created versions of these dances for the stage, which his troupe performed. Fahmy's thesis (1987) details the troupe's experience of choreographing and performing Egyptian folkloric dance for the stage and, although it does not focus solely on raqs sharqi, there is an interesting section that explains how Mahmoud Reda changed raqs sharqi for the stage. His input, as explained in 5.3.4, was very influential for the development of modern Egyptian raqs sharqi.

There are two publications (Van Nieuwkerk, 1995; Lorius, 1996) from the 1990s that are often cited in the raqs sharqi literature and which I will draw on in the course of this thesis. They are not specifically on raqs sharqi, but they are useful for understanding the cultural background against which Egyptian raqs sharqi developed. Van Nieuwkerk's (1995) study focuses on the role of female performers in Egyptian society and it includes a history section. Although it is not specifically about raqs sharqi dancers, it is useful to understand the role of dancers in Egyptian society and some historical background. Lorius' (1996) article focuses on the Egyptian actress and dancer Fifi Abdou (I have written more about her in 5.6.1) and it describes one of her live shows, in which Fifi performs different styles of Egyptian dance. The main point though is made around how Fifi embodies the baladi (or working class) culture from Egypt and how she manages to

disrupt the traditional patriarchal discourse of Egyptian culture, through her use of humour and personal charisma during her performance. With regards to baladi culture, a very useful text to understand more about it is Early's (1992) ethnography carried out in a baladi quarter of Cairo, in which she explores the lives and attitudes of baladi women.

Within the last 15 years, three PhDs on belly dance have been completed in the UK, which are worth mentioning and which are particularly relevant to this thesis as they focus on the international dimension of this dance. Bacon's (2003) thesis is circumscribed to a specific group of 'non-Arabic' belly dancers in Northampton, England, who practise Egyptian style bellydance. Some of the issues raised include how this type of dance is experienced by this group and how the dance has been transmitted to England.

Bacon (2003) presents a review of the literature, available at the time of her writing, on Egyptian dance, but she focuses mainly on the role of women and of dancing women in Egyptian society, rather than on the dance itself. She describes and lists a few sources of popular literature on Egyptian dance and belly dance in general and she describes the panorama of belly dancing (including Egyptian style) in England (i.e., schools, festivals, some practitioners) to set the scene for her research. As part of her field research, Bacon (ibid.) presents a list of the most common dance dynamics and movements that her participants perform. These include the most common isolations in belly dance, such as, hip circles, hip drops, hip figures of eight and shimmies, which match some of the movements I have observed through my video analysis in Chapter 5.

In terms of the reasons why her participants want to learn Egyptian raqs sharqi, she highlights the fact that this dance provides them with a vehicle for transgression, to move in ways that are considered sensual and otherwise socially unacceptable. Moreover, the teacher encourages participants to develop their own style, thus exercising agency which is, as it will emerge from my thesis, an important element of Egyptian raqs sharqi. According to Bacon (ibid.), every participant follows her own pathway in her process of discovery of Egyptian dance, which is connected with their individual experiences. Finally, Bacon (ibid.) reports that the group she studied are not interested in the cultural origins of Egyptian dance, but rather their interest lies solely in the pursuit of leisure.

The most interesting ideas though that I have gathered from Bacon's (2003) research are her interdisciplinary approach and her interest in the ways in which Egyptian raqs sharqi

has been transmitted across different countries and cultures. In terms of the interdisciplinarity of her research, Bacon (2003, p. 12) declares that she is 'drawing from sociology, anthropology of dance, dance ethnography and performance studies, in order to give prominence to the way in which dancing is never fixed but always in a state of becoming' and that her (ibid.) 'intention is to find a suitable theoretical frame where the action of dancing can be represented beyond Cartesian body-mind dualities'. The interdisciplinarity is what my thesis is also aiming towards, for similar reasons, and I agree with Bacon with regards to the need to overcome body-mind dualities in the representation of dancing (as explained in Chapter 3).

Bacon (2003, p. 104) is interested in the way in which Egyptian raqs sharqi has migrated across the world and she writes 'it is not simply that Egyptian dancers travelled to the United States or England and brought their dance with them, nor is it as simple as the Orientalist agenda that suggests the West appropriates from the East'. I agree with Bacon in this respect. The transmission of Egyptian raqs sharqi between different countries has not been a straight and unidirectional process, as I highlight in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Bacon (2003, p. 210) employs the concept of 'network' to explain this phenomenon:

> The network of Arabic dancing is something that exists prior to a participant's involvement with the world of Arabic dancing... This consists of workshops, classes, teachers, support organisations and the paraphernalia created by these organisations such as newsletters, magazines, videos and the like . . . Within the networks individually embodied paths exist and co-exist . . . knowledge exists in the popular memory, on the internet, in books, videos and the like and these exist and co-exist with the performative knowledge of the dancing.

Bacon (2003) adds that people become aware of these networks once they start dancing and they choose their own path within the network, thus experiencing different aspects of the dance. In 2.6 and 6.4 I will also try to ascertain how Egyptian raqs sharqi is transmitted through bodies, experiences and artefacts and I will draw on Urry's (2007) concept of mobilities and Welsch's (1999) transculturality to support my argument. In particular, I will argue that Urry's mobilities provide the link between transcultural networks and physical and virtual movement of people, artefacts and ideas.

Another PhD thesis on Egyptian raqs sharqi that has inspired my own research is Caitlin McDonald's (2010) research in Egypt, the UK and the US. McDonald (2010) focuses on the

globalisation of Egyptian raqs sharqi and the performativity of gender and identity through this dance. Her research is not so much concerned with the dance itself (although she took a series of videos of dance, which she shared online), but rather with the way in which participants experience it and with the discourse around this dance. In particular, her focus on globalisation and the role of the Internet for the transmission of this dance form has provided me with some ideas and starting points for my own research, which I then took in different directions.

McDonald (2010) identifies a global 'belly dance community', which uses the Internet to keep connected, and, in her research, she focuses on a game called 'Second Life', in which players use Avatars to live a virtual life. This game, according to McDonald (2010), provides a platform for belly dancers to interact virtually. Inspired by McDonald's research on the use of IT, I focused instead on websites, social media and online video sharing platforms to investigate how these facilitate the global transmission of Egyptian raqs sharqi.

The most recent PhD research on Egyptian raqs sharqi carried out in the UK is Cooper's (2015) thesis, which is concerned with the way in which this dance genre is practised in England and the reasons why Egyptian style is considered a mark of 'authenticity'. Cooper's (2015) argument is that, although bellydance practice in the UK involves (and has always involved) elements of different styles of bellydance, if dancers are connected to Egypt (if they trained or worked there) their dancing will be considered more 'authentic'. Cooper (2015, p. 17), drawing on Bourdieu's concept of capital, argues that 'authenticity acts as a functional exponent that adds or subtracts cultural currency . . . in Belly Dance discourse'. Cooper's (2015) research focuses on discourses around the dance rather than the dance and its formal aspects but her concept of authenticity is interesting. She connects the authenticity narrative with power relations (and thus, the opportunity to increase a dancer's social, cultural and economic capital). Cooper (2015, p. 65) describes authenticity as a:

> Narrative that validates a Belly Dance practice . . . these narratives reinforce any pre-existing power relations found within a given Belly Dance community of shared practice . . . a narrative of authenticity represents a form of constructed authenticity.

According to Cooper (2015, p. 9) being trained in Egypt allows English practitioners 'to authenticate their Belly Dance identity, create and own an English Belly Dance tradition, and improve their economic value as artists in a larger Belly Dance global market'.

In this thesis, I will also deal with the concept of authenticity but seen from a different angle (see 2.5 and 6.2). While I agree with Cooper (2015) that authenticity is based on a shared narrative and it is constructed, I try to find out not what makes the dancing of non-Egyptians be perceived as authentic, but if there is a shared discourse among international practitioners on what actually is 'authentic' Egyptian raqs sharqi, if there is such a thing.

Two publications that include references to Egyptian raqs sharqi (as well as to other styles of bellydance), and which I will be quoting throughout this thesis where appropriate, are two collections of essays by Shay and Sellers-Young (2005) and by McDonald and Sellers-Young (2013). Topics in these collections include: social dancing in Egypt (Adra, 2005); dance in Egyptian films (Dougherty, 2005); the feeling of Egyptian dance (Bordelon, 2013) and the recent developments of raqs baladi in Egypt (Roushdy, 2013).

A recent and informative publication is Fraser's (2014) research on records of bellydance in Egypt between 1760 and 1870. Fraser (2014) reconstructs a history of belly dance in Egypt before it was possible to film it. She bases her reconstruction on sources (writings and drawings) from European travellers. Egyptian descriptions are not included simply because, according to Fraser, there are none. Citing Saleh's PhD thesis, Fraser (2014, sec. On Writing This Book) points out that, although 'Egypt is known as a nation with a rich folk dance tradition, both its historical records of the past and the research interests of the present pay little or no attention to its ethnic dancing' possibly because of the negative attitude in Egypt towards dance.

Fraser (2014) is aware of the caveats involved in using European travellers' account of the dance, i.e. their biases, their orientalist attitude and the exoticisation of a different culture, thus she tries to compare as many sources as possible. Fraser's (ibid.) study is the first one that analyses these sources in a systematic and rigorous way and she manages to build a verisimilar picture, which includes the types of performers and their status in society, their professional organisations, the costumes, and the movement vocabulary. This gives the reader a useful insight into what Egyptian dance might have been like

before the 20th century. Thus, I will draw on Fraser's research at the beginning of Chapter 5 and I will continue reconstructing my version of the story from the first half of the 20th century. In reconstructing a story of Egyptian raqs sharqi through video analysis, however, I share Fraser's (2014, sec. On Writing This Book) concern that:

> As a dance researcher writing about another culture . . . it was not possible for me to write "the" history of these Egyptian performers, but rather . . . I was creating "a" history, inevitably a personal one defined within the limits of my skills of cultural awareness.

The most recent publication by Sellers-Young (2016) on bellydance, includes references to Egyptian raqs sharqi, orientalism, the transmission of Middle Eastern dances across the globe and the way in which it has shaped the identities of its practitioners and the new forms, such as tribal, that have emerged. This publication is based on visits to bellydance communities around the world that Sellers-Young did, as well as a review of the literature on bellydance. There are some useful insights which I will be drawing on, where appropriate, throughout this thesis.

In the next section of this literature review, I will bring together the literature on heritage and on dance to discuss some issues that these two fields have in common. I will focus on transmission, authenticity, internationalisation, identity and uses of dance/heritage.

2.4 Transmission

In the heritage literature, the element of transmission has emerged, particularly regarding ICH, which is 'transmitted generation to generation' (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2). As Naguib (2013, p. 5) comments, 'the notion of safeguarding is central to intangible cultural heritage. It conveys the idea of protecting and preserving, while at the same time transmitting far and wide'. The paradigms of heritage discussed in 2.2 can be applied to the idea of transmission, as a tradition can be transmitted in a very conservative way (closer to the essentialist paradigm) or in a way that allows for greater innovation (following a dialogical paradigm).

In dance, there seems to be a continuum from an 'essentialist' way of transmitting a tradition to a 'dialogical' one and different genres, or even different practitioners within the same genre, occupy a different position in this continuum. In the essentialist approach, tradition is closely adhered to, while the dialogical approach is more fluid and it

allows re-adaptations. No genre occupies one extreme position, but different degrees in between. As Hodgens states (1988, p. 75), dance is 'firmly embedded in specific conventions and traditions' but 'within genres and styles . . . there is considerable freedom and fluidity'. For example, the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance in the county of Staffordshire and the Britannia Coco-Nut dance of Bacup, in the Rossendale Valley of Lancashire, studied by Buckland (2001), gravitate towards the essentialist approach, as traditions that are hundreds of years old have been transmitted in the most conservative way possible. Closer to the opposite end of the spectrum, towards a dialogical paradigm, there are genres, such as post-modern dance, which are very open to experimentation (Daly *et al.*, 1992). In my research, I will try to assess which position Egyptian raqs sharqi occupies in this spectrum, particularly for culturally aware practitioners. The dialogical approach to heritage will be relevant throughout this thesis, even when discussing other key themes, such as transmission, authenticity and internationalisation.

Transmission is also connected with time and past-present-future connections, as suggested in the heritage section (2.2). In the heritage discourse, connecting the past with the present allows people to acquire a sense of identity and continuity. As Smith states (2006, p. 4), 'heritage is about . . . using the past, and collective or individual memories, to negotiate new ways of being and expressing identity'. Howard (2003, p. 21) clarifies this point further and connects the past with the present and the future in heritage, by arguing that 'history is interested in the past, heritage is interested in how the past might be conserved and interpreted for the benefit of the present and the future'. In the heritage discourse, past, present and future fuse in what Hernàndez i Martí (2006, p. 102) considers a type of hybridization, as it mixes 'elements which have been rescued from the past with elements generated in the present, for its future endurance'.

I would argue, however, that transmission does not always follow a linear and uninterrupted pattern. At a time in which it is easier to record and share recordings of dance (thanks to electronic technologies and communication), the transmission of heritage has become de-territorialised and de-temporalised. As Heidegger (1971, p. 163) foresaw before the Internet was invented, 'all distances in time and space are shrinking. . . . Distant sites of the most ancient cultures are shown on film as if they stood this very moment'. The concepts of deterritorialisation and detemporalisation are connected with

globalisation, which leads to a shrinking of time and space, as Giddens (1991, p. 21) posits, 'globalisation is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distanciation . . . the intersection of presence and absence'. I will return in more detail to the global dimension of heritage in the section about internationalisation (2.6).

During transmission, ICH can undergo changes. In dance, changes can affect choreological elements, meanings, attitudes, artefacts and the kinds of people and bodies that are interested in or allowed to perform. However, certain elements remain the same allowing us to identify genres and distinguish them from one another. As Hodgens states (1988, p. 72), 'genres are 'crystallisations' of specific knowledge, beliefs, ideas, techniques, preferences or values around which particular traditions and conventions for producing and receiving dance have grown'. In dance, these 'crystallisations' are transmitted. One of this thesis aims is to identify what has changed in raqs sharqi, as well as what its genre-specific 'crystallisations' are.

Change is not only driven by practitioners' agency. When dance genres are transmitted between different cultures, different societies, or different segments within the same society, the process may lead to 'dissonance' (drawing on Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996, p. 8) expression of 'dissonant heritage' (1996)). According to Reed (1998), sometimes, in countries subjected to colonialism, local dances were suppressed, whilst at other times they were transformed under the lens of exoticism, which reinforced (Reed, 1998, p. 509) 'stereotypes of mystical spirituality and excessive sexuality'. Desmond (2003) comments that, when a dance genre is transmitted between two cultures, the media flatten the complexities of the culture of origin, as happened with the samba dancer Carmen Miranda. She was a Hollywood movie star between the 1930s and 1950s, representing a simplified version of Brazilian culture in Americans' imagination. Edensor (2001, p. 70) argues that tourism performances can perpetuate misconceptions and exoticism in dance through a 'cultural staging', which 'raises controversies about the reproduction of stereotypes associated with primitivism, exoticism and eroticism. Paradoxically though, it may also replenish moribund local traditions'.

Changes also happen when dance is transmitted between different classes within the same or different societies. For example, according to Savigliano (1995), tango, which originated in Buenos Aires brothels, became less sensual since becoming popular among the Argentinean and Uruguayan middle classes and the Parisian elite. It then became

more sentimental, choreographically more polished, with a slower tempo. Desmond (2003) argues that, when a dominant group borrows a dance from a subordinate group, that dance changes to suit the tastes of the new group. However, the values of the dominant group change too, as a result of this new contact. Appropriation also happens in reverse, when less powerful groups borrow from more powerful ones. For Desmond (1993, p. 57), the appropriation process sheds light 'on the unequal distribution of power and goods that shape social relations'. However (ibid p. 41), 'concepts of hybridity or syncretism more adequately describe the complex interactions among ideology, cultural forms, and power differentials that are manifest in such transfers' (I will return to the concept of hybridity in 2.6). In this respect, dance/heritage can be subjected to dissonance. According to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, p. 8):

> The heritage product is a response to the specific needs of actual or potential users . . . thus there is an almost infinite variety of possible heritages, each shaped for the requirements of specific consumer groups . . . reinforcement, coexistence or conflict between the products may be encountered.

The relationship between change and authenticity, tradition and innovation will be discussed further in the following section.

2.5 Authenticity

Transmission and change are connected with the concept of authenticity, which is difficult to assess for intangible heritage, in particular following a dialogical paradigm of heritage. Moreover, the idea of authenticity clashes with the idea that intangible heritage promotes 'human creativity' (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2), since creativity implies agency and freedom to change.

The word authenticity was introduced by UNESCO in 1977 in *Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1977, p. 8) (see Table 2), which restricted the concept of authenticity to four components: 'design, materials, workmanship and settings'. This was in line with the 1964 Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964), which, Cameron and Inaba (2015, p. 31) remark, focused on 'tangible attributes'. However, Cameron and Inaba (2015) continue, it soon became clear that focusing only on tangible elements, even for architectonic and monumental heritage, was problematic, due to the perishable nature of the materials used for buildings in some

parts of the world. Indeed, as Zhu (2015, p. 597) argues, Japanese and Chinese buildings have what he calls a 'built-in obsolescence' as they are constructed with perishable materials, in need of regular replacement, but the buildings locations always maintain a symbolic meaning. These issues led to a long process, described by Cameron and Inaba (2015), leading to the Nara Document on Authenticity (UNESCO, 1994), which pre-dates the 2003 ICH Convention. Through the Nara Document on Authenticity, UNESCO recognised that different cultures have different ways of understanding authenticity. Article 13 of the Nara Document on Authenticity states that sources for judgement on authenticity 'may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors'.

After the 2003 Convention on ICH, UNESCO issued the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 2005, p. 20), stating that authenticity is one of the determining conditions for the recognition of 'outstanding universal value' by UNESCO. The 2005 Guidelines list the same marks of authenticity as the Nara Document, adding two more elements: 'management systems' (as part of traditions and techniques) and 'language, and other forms of intangible heritage' (UNESCO, 2005, p. 21). In summary, the authenticity indicators for UNESCO (ibid.) are:

- Form and design.
- Materials and substance.
- Use and function.
- Traditions, techniques and management systems.
- Location and setting.
- Spirit and feeling.
- Language, and other forms of intangible heritage.
- Other internal and external factors.

Some of the above-listed elements can be applied to dance. Form and design can refer to choreography or movement vocabulary; materials and substance to props and costumes; use and function could be the reason why a dance is performed (for example, ritual or social); traditions, techniques and management systems can refer to dance traditions, such as ways of moving and of managing performances; locations and setting can be the physical performance space, the social setting, or if the dance is participatory or

presentational; spirit and feeling can be the feelings of the performers, the feelings that a dance genre or performance is supposed to convey, or the emotions induced in the audience.

However, as Bortolotto (2013) and Deacon and Smeets (2013) point out, the term authenticity does not appear in the 2003 UNESCO Convention. Rather, it 'has been discouraged by the Organs of the Convention' (Deacon and Smeets, 2013, p. 139). Moreover, the Yamato Declaration, as also pointed out by Bortolotto (2013) and Deacon and Smeets (2013), states that 'the term "authenticity" as applied to tangible cultural heritage, is not relevant when identifying and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage' (Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs and UNESCO, 2004, para. 8). Bortolotto (2013, p. 75) argues that 'UNESCO's rejection of the concept of authenticity in its approach to heritage is a development consistent with academic theories of culture'. I will consider a few of these below.

Handler (1986) and Bendix (2009) are two of the scholars who critique the concept of authenticity. Bendix (2009, p. 7) identifies folklore as 'a vehicle in the search for the authentic, satisfying a longing for an escape from modernity'. Bendix (ibid.) posits that nationalist movements, since the Romantic era (in the 19th century), have always used folklore and the idea of authenticity to build a sense of belonging and national identity. The reason why authenticity is problematic for Bendix (2009, p. 9) is that its existence implies its opposite, the fake, a spurious tradition, thus 'continually upholding the fallacy that cultural purity rather than hybridity are the norm' (I will return to the concept of hybridity in 2.6). Also, labelling something as authentic, according to Bendix (2009, p. 8), leads to its commodification and 'once a cultural good has been declared authentic, the demand for it rises, and it acquires a market value'. Thus, it follows that authenticity is a discourse that facilitates issues of power and economics. Indeed, Purkayastha (2014, p. 55) presents a compelling example of an Indian dance practitioner and choreographer, Uday Shankar, whose innovative works were considered 'inauthentic' as they 'defied the hegemonic tendencies of the classicism project of the Indian nationalists'.

Similarly, for Handler (1986), authenticity is a modern cultural construct that is linked to the idea of individualism, part of a view of the world that sees cultures as discrete and separate entities asserting each other against other cultures. He connects authenticity with ideas of individualism and commodification by stating that (Handler, 1986, p. 4):

> Contact with authentic pieces of culture [i.e. museums, private collections or experiencing food in so called ethnic restaurants] . . . allows us to appropriate their authenticity, incorporating that magical proof of existence into what we call our 'personal experience'.

I agree with the arguments put forward so far according to which authenticity is a modern construct that leads to commodification, issues of power differentials and that a quest for authenticity could lead to the 'freezing' of heritage that UNESCO (2016a, para. 22) warns against (as mentioned in 1.1). Nevertheless, I agree with Bortolotto (2013) and Deacon and Smeets (2013) who argue that the idea of authenticity is still present, even if implicitly, in the 2003 Convention and that stakeholders may still value authenticity. In order to support this point, Bortolotto (2013) uses the example of the Mexican cuisine nomination, in which the terms authenticity occurs nine times. Bortolotto (2013, p. 78) argues that 'the values conveyed by this word [authenticity] are not likely to be eradicated from heritage discourse since the two are closely interrelated'. Margari (2016) identifies such connections when, writing about dance, she points out that, even if the 2003 Convention acknowledges that ICH is constantly recreated, it is nevertheless connected to ideas of stability and continuity. Thus, Margari (2016, p. 243) posits, 'the idea of a fragile and endangered intangible heritage that needs national or even international protection appears to be based on the monumental perception of ephemeral cultural elements' and dance events acquire a different entity and become 'intangible monuments' (2016, p. 246).

Deacon and Smeets (2013, p. 140) note this discrepancy in the 2003 Convention regarding authenticity by highlighting the presence of the words 'identity' and 'continuity' for communities in the text of the Convention (UNESCO, 2003 art. 2.1) and UNESCO's warning about the danger of 'decontextualization' and 'denaturalization' in the Operational Directives (UNESCO, 2005, para. 102). Furtermore, Deacon and Smeets (2013), conclude that communities should decide what should be maintained and what should change and they add that (2013, p. 140):

> The Operational Directives implicitly acknowledge a broader view of community-defined context and continuity that is quite compatible with a community-centred reading of authenticity in the Nara Document. Communities themselves are often reluctant to abandon the notion of authenticity.

Seeger (2015) explains this discrepancy as a compromise between academics (who pushed for a non-fixed idea of ICH whereby there was no space for authenticity), and non-academics (more used to the words 'authentic' and 'original'). Thus, Seeger (2015, p. 139) writes that 'the final wording was often a mixture of various positions . . . both old and new elements'.

Overall though, I agree with Deacon and Smeets (2013) that the Nara definition of authenticity is compatible with a community-centred interpretation of authenticity and thus the text of the Nara Document should be applicable to ICH. I, therefore, embrace Lowthorp's (2015) concept of 'fluid authenticity' and Bakka's (2015) distinction between the dance concept and the dance realisation, as explained in 2.2.1 Thus, a dance form can abide by certain guidelines that help people distinguish between different genres, but at the same time the realisation (the actual moment of performance) can be unique and open to interpretations, 'a practice can thus remain stable without being frozen' (Bakka, 2015, p. 152).

Adopting a fluid definition of authenticity would also allow us to come to terms with the idea that traditions, as Handler and Linnekin (1984, p. 288) argue, are 'neither genuine nor spurious' because traditions, although based on or inspired by events from the past, are always adapted to present needs and circumstances. For example, Zebec (2007) when researching *tanac* dance in Croatia, noticed that the younger dancers used a faster tempo compared to previous generations, probably because of how they wanted to come across on stage. As an expert, Zebec (2007, p. 15) recognised the difference but he thought it was not appropriate to impose a slower tempo to the young dancers in the name of authenticity, 'since the young now embody the tanac according to their own conceptions and the circumstances of contemporary life'.

Similarly, Van Zile (2002, p. 62), when writing about traditional Korean dances and whether those that are performed today are authentic or invented traditions, she comes to the conclusion that it does not matter as 'whether dance selected for recognition are actual activities from the past or recent constructions of a romanticized past, they nonetheless contribute to an important contemporary living tradition'. Thus, what is more important is the value that is given today to a practice that makes it important for a community. Another example of living modern traditions is highlighted by Ness' (1992) study on the *sinulog* dance tradition from the Philippines. Ness (1992) reports that there

are many forms in which dance is performed and the most modern can be seen in parades that have today become a tourist attraction in Cebu City. In spite of being modern and removed from the traditional context of the original dance, Ness (1992, p. 182) argues that 'through a complicated but conventional series of reinterpretations, the parade dances reconstructed an authenticated local identity . . . reinvention of tradition, done not to reenter the past but to reclaim its unique integrity for contemporary purposes'. Ness (1992) explains that these parades were not an exact reconstruction of codified choreographies, but they were based on a rigorous study of the past, to which they made references whilst being made for the present and allowing for creativity. Thus, they were 'authenticated forms of the tradition' (Ness, 1992, p. 190).

Having discussed how authenticity can still be relevant today for ICH, albeit in a flexible and not essentialist form, in what follows, I will investigate if there are any elements that could be added to the Nara Document's authenticity indicators list, which are specific or better suited to dance and Egyptian raqs sharqi in particular. In the course of this research, for example, spirit and feeling will emerge as particularly important for raqs sharqi. I will adopt a middle ground position with regards to authenticity, following a dialogical approach to heritage, and taking into consideration traditions, feelings and attitudes, as well as the unique circumstances under which each performance takes place. Therefore, I will try to accommodate for change, as explained towards the end of this section.

In the field of dance studies, as highlighted in 2.3, in the 19th century authenticity was sought in dance practised in rural areas, away from the corrupting influence of the city. Today's approach is more dialogical and holistic, but assessing authenticity for dance has always been difficult because, until recently, there were no ways of recording it, nor easy notation systems. Moreover, a filmed dance performance only represents one point of view, as Thomas comments (2003, p. 131), 'the idea of documentary film as a 'living record' in itself has increasingly been called into question . . . the way in which dance is shot . . . positions the gaze of the audience in a more fixed manner than a live performance'. Videos are an interpretation of dance, because of the subjective way in which they are shot. According to Adshead (1988, p. 19):

> Whether the record of a dance is contained in a written description or an oral account, or exists on film or video, the standpoint of the person who records the event is a vital factor in the evaluation and use of that source.[1]

Regarding authenticity in dance, Thomas (2003) explores one aspect, which refers to the reproduction of old choreographies and how faithful it is possible to be to the 'original'. This aspect of authenticity in dance will not be explored further in this research because in raqs sharqi, although choreography is used for group performances and for teaching purposes, the focus is mainly on improvisation. Another aspect, analysed by Daniel (1996) and Buckland (2001), revolves around what makes a performance a genuine representation of a specific genre.

This aspect of authenticity is more relevant to the purpose of this study. In the course of this research, one of the aims will be to discover what participants perceive as being authentic in raqs sharqi and if this is important for their experience of this genre. This will be particularly relevant because of the transcultural dimension of raqs sharqi today, which means that dance changes not only between generations, but also in the transition between different cultural settings. As Butterworth states (2012, p. 31), 'through globalisation, practice and the advent of scientific research, dance techniques have been developed, appropriated and fused into hybrid forms'. Change and hybridism, are not phenomena new to dance. Kealiinohomoku (1970, p. 35) remarks that 'all dances are subject to change and development no matter how convenient we may find it to dismiss some form as practically unchanged for 2,000 years'.

Ritzer (2008, p. 178) suggests that, in tourism setting, performing arts are in danger of losing their authenticity, because 'shows are often watered down . . . designed to please the throng of tourists and to put off as few of them as possible'. While Ritzer's point is worth acknowledging, it is, nevertheless, limited since it does not take into consideration the performer's (or, indeed, the culturally informed spectator's) point of view. Daniel (1996) shows a different perspective, by arguing that dance performances can still be authentic in tourism settings, despite the changes in the scale and context of the performances. For example, Daniel reports that, in spite of changes in settings, costuming and light, voudou dance performances retain their authenticity in the mental disposition of the performers who, sometimes, manage to achieve a state of trance even whilst

[1] When I analysed the dance videos for this research (4.6.1), I was mindful that that they are visual artefacts, which have their own 'sites' and 'modalities' (Rose, 2012) as well as representing dance.

performing for tourists. Hence, in this situation, authenticity is to be sought at a deeper level of experience, in the energy that performers transmit to the audience.

In Cuban rumba, according to Daniel (ibid), authenticity is achieved during the 'sabados de la rumba' (events organised by the Cuban government), in which performers invite tourists to dance with them. Both tourists and dancers enter a liminal[1] world in which boundaries disappear and everybody enjoys dancing. When dancing with tourists who do not dance the rumba 'properly', performers are free to improvise and experiment, getting new ideas from outsiders, something they cannot do during staged performances. Hence, Daniel (1996, pp. 781, 782) concludes that, rather than exhibiting 'the usual effects of artistic commoditization . . . dance is often . . . a holistic and multisensory phenomenon that . . . communicates to tourists and performers at a fundamental level'. Daniel's insights reveal several aspects and layers of authenticity in dance, which will be explored in the course of this research.

Regarding folkloric performing arts in Japan, Hashimoto (2003, p. 226) locates authenticity 'in practitioners' subjectivity, and in the creativity with which they adapt to new contexts'. Hashimoto's research shows a variety of contexts in which performances take place and different concepts of authenticity apply to each. The Hana-Taue is the traditional performance that takes place once a year and is classified by the government as 'cultural property'. This has to follow traditions, in order to 'preserve' the old ways. Other performances of the same art take place all year round in athletic grounds. This type of performances does not have to adhere to traditions so strictly, thus creativity and innovation are not only allowed but expected. In this context, authenticity is found in the performers' attitude and deeply felt feelings, rather than in the form alone. According to one of Hashimoto's (2003, p. 234) interviewees, 'the ritual will die out if we stick to only the old forms'. Hence, Hashimoto (2003, p. 227) argues, 'we should reconstruct the notion of authenticity by considering the experiences, attitudes, and feelings of the practitioners of folk performing arts'

While I agree with Daniel and Hashimoto on the importance of performers' attitudes and feelings in assessing authenticity, dance genres still have traditions that need adhering to, to a certain extent, for a certain genre to be identifiable. Adshead (1988, p. 78) notes:

[1] Drawing on Turner's (1969, p. 95) concept of liminality as being 'neither here nor there; … betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial'.

> Genres and styles place constraints upon, and in some cases actually specify, the nature and range of the material of the dance and the relevant kinds of techniques for creating, performing and presenting it.

However, Adshead (1988) adds that genres also allow considerable freedom and fluidity, letting choreographers and dancers develop individual styles, which makes dance performances unique. This fluidity can extend to the point at which a new genre is born out of an old tradition and, Adshead (1988, p. 76) posits, 'the gradual formulation of new genres . . . exist as both continuations and reactions to what has gone before'.

The dialogical paradigm of heritage includes change, thus being suited for dance authenticity, as it leaves space for creativity. However, this needs to be balanced with the traditions without which genres would not exist and without which a concept of heritage would be meaningless, as there would be nothing to transmit and safeguard. Indeed, each dance performance is unique and, because of this, scholars such as Mackrell (1997) have stated that dance is an ephemeral activity, because: each performance is unique; different viewers interpret the same performance in different ways; performances change depending on the bodies of different dancers who perform it at different times; there is no common object against which to test our opinion and we do not yet have a satisfactory way of recording dance that embraces all perspectives of a given dance.

However, Mackrell's (1997) position does not consider permanent elements, identified by Hodgens (1988) as 'crystallisation' (as mentioned in 2.4) and by Adshead (1988) as genre specific 'constraints'. Performances (not limited to dance) are at the same time permanent and ephemeral, similar and different. Just like the human condition in Heraclitus' river analogy, performances are always different:

> LI (D. 91) Plutarch: [According to Heraclitus one cannot step twice into the same river, nor can one grasp any mortal substance in a stable condition, but by the intensity and the rapidity of change it scatters and again gathers. Or rather, not again nor later but at the same time it forms and dissolves, and approaches and departs.] (Kahn, 1981, p. 168)

Heraclitus concluded that the paradoxical truth of life was that change was the only enduring aspect of existence; this might be applied to the permanent/ephemeral distinction. According to Schechner (2013, p. 29), performances are never completely new because they are made by bits of 'restored behaviour', which are 'physical, verbal, or virtual actions that are not-for-the-first-time; that are prepared or rehearsed'. At the

same time though, performances are unique and 'many events and behaviours are one-time events' (ibid). So, Schechner wonders (2013, p. 30), 'how can both Heraclitus and the theory of restored behaviour be right? Performances are made from bits of restored behaviour, but every performance is different from every other'. The answer, Schechner (2013) contends, is the uniqueness of each performance context, how the parts are combined and performed and the reception from the audience. Schechner (2013, p. 36) explains that 'performances can be generalized at the theoretical level of restoration of behaviour, but as embodied practices each and every performance is specific and different from every other'.

In dance, traditions constitute restored behaviour, while specific situations and the relationships between elements of the performance provide uniqueness and allow for creativity. If traditions are considered, alongside feelings and attitudes (following Hashimoto's (2003) and Daniel's (1996) insights), two types of authenticity emerge: an 'objective' level, which refers to traditions, and a 'subjective' level, connected with participants' feelings and attitudes. As mentioned earlier, I apply a dialogical paradigm to authenticity, which takes into consideration the traditions, as well as the unique circumstances under which each performance takes place. I agree with Naguib (2008, p. 472) who posits that tradition 'involves imitation, repetition, and also a certain degree of innovation, which is a basic requisite to the process of transformation and helps turn stagnation into movement and change'.

This section has highlighted the hybridity of dance, due to different cultures interacting, which affects the issue of authenticity. The data from the ethnochoreological research in this thesis will support the idea of dance hybridity, as it will be detailed further in Chapters 5 and 6. In the section that follows, the topic of internationalisation and how it affects dance/heritage will be covered in more detail.

2.6 Internationalisation

In Chapter 1, I mentioned that I would be using Welsch's (1999) concept of transculturality and the concept of hybridism to understand a type of heritage that originates from a specific place, but which is also practised internationally. Before I delve more into the internationalisation of heritage and how transculturality and hybridism can

help explain this phenomenon, I will need to mention other ideas, connected with cultural internationalisation.

Concept	Definition	Critique	Connections	UNESCO's position
Globalisation	The **intensification of worldwide social relations** which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens 1990, p. 64)	Globalization is a concept of **uniformization** (preferably following the Western model)' (Welsch 1999, p. 204)	**De-territorialisation and de-temporalisation**: 'Deterritorialization, considered a central feature of globalization, implies the growing presence of social forms of contact and involvement which go beyond the limits of a specific territory … which generates closeness in distance' (Hernàndez i Martí 2006, pp. 92-93). **Hybridism:** 'Hybridization is the making of global culture as a global melange' (Pieterse 1996, p. 60).	The processes of globalization and social transformation, alongside the conditions they create for renewed dialogue among communities, also give rise, as does the phenomenon of intolerance, to grave **threats of deterioration**, disappearance and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage' (UNESCO 2003, p. 1).
Glocalisation	The **simultaneity and the inter-penetration of** what are conventionally called **the global and the local**' (Robertson 2012, p. 196). 'The globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization ... that are absorbed into local political and cultural economies' (Appadurai 1996, p. 42).	The world is growing increasingly similar... In contrast to the view associated with glocalization … forces flow from the global to the local, and **there is little or no possibility of the local having any significant impact on the global**' (Ritzer 2004, p. 168).	**Globalisation**: 'The current form of globalization involves what is best described as glocalization' (Robertson 1996, p. 40).	
Transculturality	The differences no longer come about through a juxtaposition of clearly delineated cultures (like in a mosaic), but result between **transcultural networks**, which have some things in common while differing in others, showing **overlaps and distinctions at the same time**' (Welsch 1999, p. 204)		**Hybridism:** 'Cultures today are in general characterized by hybridization' (Welsch 1999, p. 198). **Cosmopolitanism:** 'Transcultural identities comprehend a cosmopolitan side, but also a side of **local affiliation**' (ibd, p. 206).	

Table 5 – Concepts connected with internationalisation - Part 1

Concept	Definition	Critique	Connections	UNESCO's position
Hybridism	The **mixture of phenomena** which are held to be different, separate' (Pieterse 1996, pp. 55-56). 'The ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Rowe and Schelling 1991, p. 231).		**Transculturality** and **globalisation.**	
Cosmopolitanism	Derives from the ancient Greek term kosmopolites (kosmos plus polites) to signify "**citizen of the world**."' (Long 2008, p. 50). 'The cosmopolitan ... refuses to think of himself as defined by his location or his ancestry or his citizenship or his language' (Waldron 1995, p. 95). 'We are not self-made atoms of liberal fantasy, certainly, but **neither are we exclusively products** or artifacts **of single national or ethnic communities**' (ibid, p. 103)	'Politically naive and ... not yet free of the risk of being seen as **colonialism under another banner**' (Skrbis et al. 2004, p. 132)		**Cultural Heritage of Humanity**: 'Damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind' (UNESCO, 1954).
Multiculturalism	Proponents of multiculturalism reject the ideal of the "melting pot" in which members of minority groups are expected to assimilate into the dominant culture in favor of an ideal in which **members of minority groups can maintain their distinctive collective identities** and practices' (Song 2017). 'Multiculturalism is ... about developing new models of democratic citizenship, grounded in human rights ideals, to replace earlier uncivil and undemocratic relations of hierarchy and exclusion.' (Kymlicka 2012, p. 8).	Compared to traditional calls for cultural homogeneity the concept is progressive, but its all too traditional understanding of cultures **threatens to ... lead to ghettoization** or cultural fundamentalism' (Welsch 1999, p. 197).		In order for heritage to be added to the UNESCO's lists, a **case must be made by nation state**: 'heritage continues to be deeply tied to perceptions about nationhood, authenticity and deep, enduring roots' (Naguib 2013, p. 2178). '**Communities**, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of **their cultural heritage**' (UNESCO 2003, p. 2).

Table 6 – Concepts connected with internationalisation - Part 2

Table 5 and Table 6 list the main concepts connected with the internationalisation of cultures. For each concept, it gives: a short definition; references to some critiques; connections with other concepts; the position that UNESCO seems to occupy in relation to these ideas. The first concept listed is globalisation, which is linked to highly technological societies, in which time and space are compressed, due to fast and efficient forms of transportation and communication. As Amselle (2002, p. 220) states, 'there is not, nor has ever been, such a thing as a closed society', but recent technological developments have sped up the communication process. Giddens, who has written extensively about globalisation (1990, 1991, 1998, 2011), highlights (1990, p. 64) 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'. This leads to a process of de-territorialisation and compression of time (de-temporalisation), as 'globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations "at distance" with local contextualities' (Giddens 1991, p. 21).

The main critique of globalisation is that it leads to a process of homogenisation and a threat to local cultures, following the 'western model' (Welsch 1999, p. 204). This is what Giddens (2011, p. 15) refers to as 'pessimistic view of globalisation . . . largely an affair of the industrial North, in which the developing societies of the South play little or no active part'. UNESCO, indeed, is diffident towards globalisation. In the 2003 ICH Convention, it acknowledges that globalisation may increase dialogue between communities, but it warns against the (2003, p. 1). 'threats of deterioration' it poses for ICH. However, UNESCO can also be seen itself as an expression of globalisation. As Hernàndez i Martí (2006, p. 97) posits, through mass media:

> A local heritage asset reaches a global realm . . . on the other hand, the local community where the promoted asset is located is superimposed by a globalizing community as big as the human community. This global community is institutionally represented by the UNESCO.

This last consideration shows how the local and the global are interconnected. On this connection is based the concept of glocalisation, the response to globalisation's main critique. Glocalisation was first introduced in sociology by Robertson (1996, 2012). He argued that (1996, p. 35) 'the local is . . . included within the global'. In a global world, different localities are interconnected but, Robertson warns (ibid, p. 31), 'we should be

careful not to equate the communicative and interactional connecting of such cultures . . . with the notion of homogenization of all cultures'. Indeed, as Appadurai (1996, p. 32) comments, 'as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized'.

Glocalisation has been criticised by Ritzer (2004, p. 167), who instead proposes the concept of 'grobalization, which is based on the need of . . . nations, corporations, organizations, and the like . . . to . . . grow (hence the term *gro*balization) throughout the world'. Hence, local expressions of culture can be used by these organisations to achieve their own means, but they become diluted versions of the original. I quoted Ritzer's (2004) comments previously, in 2.5, regarding the lack of authenticity of dance in tourist settings. His point of view is akin to Desmond's (2003) comments, quoted in 2.4, regarding Carmen Miranda as an icon of simplified Brazilian culture for American audiences. Although the existence of such phenomena needs to be acknowledged, I would argue that the examples of genuine glocalisation are nevertheless very common.

Ballet, for instance, is an example of globalisation and glocalisation in dance. Ballet originated in Europe but, according to Daniel (1996), it is now the most popular dance performance worldwide. Ballet is now practised as far afield from Europe as Hawaii (Van Zile, 1996) and China. In China, Desmond (2003) reports, ballet underwent choreological and ideological changes to adapt to the Chinese social and cultural environment, thus originating a new hybrid style. According to Shapiro (2008, p. vii):

> The human migration across borders, the shrinking of distance and time through technology, and the growing connections between diverse communities are creating a world that is transforming our sensibilities . . . these changes . . . produce new . . . forms of art.

Tribal bellydance from New Zealand is an example of innovation and differentiation, as dancers fuse Middle Eastern and global influences with local influences. Kelly (2013, p. 138) reports that 'New Zealand "Oceanic belly dance" troupe Kiwi Iwi fuse Middle Eastern, North American, Latin, Maori and Rarotongan dance movements to interpret a contemporary Maori haka'. An example of a genre practised in its country of origin, but which continues to be innovated, is Irish dance whose practitioners, according to Seaver (2008), continue to draw from their traditions but also innovate and find inspiration in other genres.

The above-mentioned examples (Chinese ballet, New Zealander bellydance and Irish dance) are manifestations of hybridism. Naguib (2008, p. 473) sees hybridism ‘as a transformative, innovative process of continuous interaction between two or more cultures’. In particular, in connection to ICH, hybridism can be explained as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Rowe and Schelling, 1991, p. 231). Hybridism is part of the globalisation discourse. Pieterse (1996, p. 62) argues that globalisation involves cultural mixing and is the emergence of ‘translocal culture made up of diverse elements’, at the expense of introverted cultures, which have been at the forefront up until recently. Thus, Pieterse argues (ibid, p. 60), ‘hybridization is the making of global culture as a global melange’.

Another concept, which could be considered the opposite of a global melange is multiculturalism. This is based on the idea, as Song (2017) explains, that the culture and identity of minority groups need to be protected and on the rejection of the ‘melting pot’. Kymlicka (2012, p. 8), one of the main supporters of multiculturalism, states that this is ‘about developing new models of democratic citizenship, grounded in human rights ideals, to replace earlier uncivil and undemocratic relations of hierarchy and exclusion’. The main critique of multiculturalism, or multiculturality, is that its vision of cultures as separate entities could ‘lead to ghettoization or cultural fundamentalism' (Welsch 1999, p. 197)’. Indeed, multiculturalist ideas applied to cultural heritage pose dilemmas, due to what Appiah (2007, p. 129) refers to as ‘the inevitably mongrel, hybrid nature of living cultures’. Also, as Howard (2003, p. 182) states, ‘the . . . inevitable increase in the consciousness of local, regional and group difference may not make for peaceful coexistence’ and heritage can become an instrument to highlight divisions.

In this respect, in spite of UNESCO being an international (global and transcultural) institution, it seems to embrace a multiculturalist position, when stating that 'communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize [ICH] as part of their cultural heritage' (UNESCO 2003, p. 2). The underlying idea is the protection of cultural minorities leading to the ‘respect for cultural diversity and human creativity’ (ibid). However, particularly in a global age, it is often difficult to restrict a certain cultural expression to a specific group. Also, who the stakeholders of the 2003 ICH Convention are needs clarifying. The Convention defines ‘communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals’ (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2) as stakeholders of intangible heritage. Blake (2000, p.

64), indeed, points out a discrepancy between the idea of ICH belonging to communities and being heritage of the humankind.

There is no mention that communities, groups or individuals who share a certain heritage must belong to the same nation. Indeed, as Howard (2003, p. 182) suggests, heritage does not have to be connected to any geographical entity since 'communities that lack a territory are not debarred from developing a heritage'. However, as Cang (2007, p. 50) stresses, 'since the Convention is an international agreement, there is still a seeming adherence to the idea of national cultures'. For heritage to be added to the UNESCO's lists, a case must be made by nation states, which promote certain forms of heritage according to their own interests and understandings. This perpetuates the idea that, as Naguib posits (2013, p. 2178), 'heritage continues to be deeply tied to perceptions about nationhood, authenticity and deep, enduring roots that were developed during the 19th century'.

The tie between heritage and specific communities or nations raises problems for dance, considering that, as Grau (2008) argues using the examples of ballet and bharatanatyam, most genres have been transnational and multicultural from their inception (long before the 20th century). She then specifies though, citing Kealiinohomoku (1970), that this does not mean that dances such as ballet are acultural. This raises the question of how to deal with a type of heritage rooted in a specific culture (or cultures), but also performed globally, by people of various ethnicities and nationalities.

I agree with Grau (2007, p. 200) that dance practitioners should not be stereotyped or relegated to a ghetto depending on their ethnicity (allowing them to only perform genres that match their ethnicity) and that 'every individual has the right to claim multiple origins in accordance with his or her individual path'. I also agree with Grau that multiculturalism, as a 'juxtaposition of cultures' (2008, p. 244), risks limiting the possibilities of practitioners from certain cultural backgrounds whose work receives 'a 'cultural treatment', linking it to narrow notions of heritage and tradition, and thereby excluding them from the broader world' (2008, p. 239). Grau (2008, p. 247) suggests that cosmopolitanism is a better approach, as it encourages engagement and openness towards different cultures and 'a search for contrast rather than uniformity, accepting contradiction as well as coherence'. Indeed, Appiah (2007, p. 135) (embracing a

cosmopolitan approach to culture) argues that what is important 'is the connection not through identity but despite difference'.

Cosmopolitanism, which originated in Ancient Greece from teachings of the Cynic philosopher Diogenes of Sinope (c. 390 - 323 B.C.) (Long, 2008), continued being used in Roman times and was prominent during the Enlightenment (Fine, 2011). Literally, cosmopolitan means 'citizen of the world'. According to Waldron (1995, p. 95) 'the cosmopolitan . . . refuses to think of himself [*sic*] as defined by his location . . . ancestry . . . citizenship or . . . language'. Beck (2002, p. 17) connects cosmopolitanism with de-territorialisation, globalisation and glocalisation by stating that 'cosmopolitanization means . . . globalization from within the national societies' (meaning that people who live in the same country do not necessarily share the same 'life-world', but they might share it with someone who lives in a different country) and that ' the key questions of a way of life . . . can no longer be located nationally or locally, but only globally or glocally'.

UNESCO, in spite of its links to nation-states, is a cosmopolitan project, as it is based on the idea of cultural heritage of humanity. However, its position can be interpreted as hegemonic because, as Hernàndez i Martí argues, (2006, p. 100), 'the concept of cultural heritage is itself a product of modern Western culture'. Indeed, one of the critiques to cosmopolitanism is that, as Skrbis et al. contend (2004, p. 130), it is 'politically naïve' and it is 'not yet free of the risk of being seen as colonialism under another banner'. The reason being, Skrbis et al. (ibid) explain, that cosmopolitanism requires a certain amount of 'capital' (social, financial or cultural) to travel, find employment in another country and consume a range of goods (this connects with Urry's [2007] mobilities and networking capital, which will be discussed further on in this section). This creates an imbalance of power.

The final concept, which I use as a sensitising concept, is Welsch's (1999) transculturality. This concept does not necessarily exclude all the others. Admittedly, it is very close to cosmopolitanism, but the main point in transculturality is that cultures constitute a network, rather than being distinct entities. Welsch (1999, p. 204) argues that:

> The differences no longer come about through a juxtaposition of clearly delineated cultures (like in a mosaic), but result between transcultural networks, which have some things in common while differing in others.

Indeed, as Giddens (1984, p. XXVII) posits, 'societies rarely have easily specifiable boundaries'; hence, social systems can cut across societies and become what he calls 'inter societal systems'. Welsch (ibid) posits that the traditional idea of cultures as isolated bubbles, has never been realistic in the history of humankind, but even less so in the 21st century. Cultures have always been hybrid, open to external influences and never homogeneous, due to internal differentiation. Indeed, as Grau (2008, p. 236) comments:

> No society has ever been monocultural. Societies are never homogenous; even the simplest one will be made up of different social, gender and age groups that can be seen, if not necessarily as cultures, at least as subcultures.

For Welsch (1999, p. 203), cultures are entangled with each other in a web, 'each arising from transcultural permeations'; they have a high degree of internal differentiation and a high degree of hybridism. Nothing is completely foreign, nor completely 'own'. Hence, transculturality is connected to the concept of hybridism, but also to cosmopolitanism, as Welsch (1999, p. 205) states:

> Transcultural identities comprehend a cosmopolitan side, but also a side of local affiliation . . . the local side can today still be determined by ethnic belonging or the community in which one grew up. But it doesn't have to be. People can make their own choice with respect to their affiliations.

Transculturality, with its concept of cultures as interconnecting webs and the balance between convergence and differentiation, is a useful conceptual tool for understanding dance as transcultural heritage. In the dance literature, there are many examples of transculturality in dance. As Fensham and Kelada (2012a, p. 370) state:

> A young man from Calcutta who is the reigning Indian salsa champion, an Hawaiian hip-hop dancer and an Aboriginal Zorba represent . . . transcultural bodies. . . . It is difficult . . . not to see these transcultural bodies as new sites for the investigation of the dynamics of transnational cultural flows.

Thus, dancers embody transculturality. Dance is not bound by geographical nor ethnic boundaries, as shown by Van Zile's (1996) example of a Caucasian woman teaching Korean dance in Hawaii. Although Welsch (1999, p. 204) is careful to differentiate transculturality from globalisation, as he sees the latter as 'a concept of uniformization', I do not see these two as being incompatible, if the idea of glocalisation is also considered.

Globalisation, like transculturality, overcomes space delimitations and includes hybridisation. However, I see transculturality as more apt to explain how cultures (and social agents who carry those cultures) behave within a global world of interconnecting cultural networks.

The last idea that I would like to mention here is Urry's (2007) 'mobilities'. Urry' s concepts stem from (2007, p. 5) 'a mobile world' in which 'there are extensive and intricate connections between physical travel and modes of communication'. This can be considered as a global or transcultural world, in which travel and communication are key. For Urry (2007, p. 47), there are five types of mobilities, which are interdependent (as virtual communication has not completely replaced physical movement, but it complements it). These are: corporeal travel of people; physical movement of objects; imaginative travel through images in media; virtual travel, often in real time, and communicative travel through person to person messages, via a range of media. Urry identifies a specific type of capital, which he calls (2007, p. 197) 'network capital . . . the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit'. This is dependent on 'means of networking', a combination of technological, social and cultural means, which, according to Urry (ibid.), include the following eight elements of network capital:

1. Documents, visas, money, qualifications allowing people to move safely.
2. Friends, family members, workmates, acquaintances offering invitations, hospitality, meetings.
3. Movement capacities. These include physical abilities to move, walk and access transportation systems, ability to read timetables, to access and use computers, phones and other technological equipment.
4. Location free information and contact points; for example, diaries, answering machines, computers mobile phones, emails.
5. Communication devices.
6. Appropriate, safe and secure meeting places, both en route and at the destination.
7. Access to transport and technology for communication.
8. Time and other resources to manage 1 to 7.

To summarise, in my research, I will adopt a transculturality approach towards raqs sharqi as a form of cultural heritage that originated in Egypt, but which is hybrid and now performed worldwide in a global and glocal context. I will also analyse what type of mobilities raqs sharqi practitioners adopt and what kind of networking capital is needed. In the next section, I discuss how heritage is connected with (transcultural) identity.

2.7 Identity

The theme of identity is recurrent in cultural heritage discourse. It is mentioned in the 2003 UNESCO definition, which states that ICH provides people with 'a sense of identity and continuity' (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2). A sense of identity is connected with what Giddens (1984) calls 'ontological security', a feeling of comfort that comes from the daily repetition of familiar actions. Identity is connected with internationalisation, discussed in the previous section. A dialogical paradigm of heritage, lived within a transcultural world, leads to a fluid and dynamic concept of identity.

As Bauman (2006) argues, we live at a time of 'liquid modernity', where identities, as well as (2006, p. 182) 'reference frames, orientation points, classifications and evaluations' flow. However, I do not share Bauman's (2006, pp. 82–83) feeling of despair when he argues that 'the search for identity is the ongoing struggle to arrest or slow down the flow'. As discussed in 2.5, the idea of fluidity and change in life is not new, as Heraclitus, in the late 6th century BC, was already comparing the human condition to a flowing river. Hence, change and flow are inevitable conditions of existence (although, admittedly, Bauman's angst was caused by the pace and depth of change that these flows bring about for individuals in liquid modernity).

Heritage, through its combination of flow and stability (as explained in 2.5), can provide people with an anchor to shape their identities. As Isar et al. (2011, p. 9) posit, 'today, having a heritage is indispensable to having an identity and cultural memory'. However, heritage and identity, as explained in 2.6, need not be always linked to a static location, or the culture in which we were born. Welsch (1999, p. 6), for instance, posits that 'work on one's identity is becoming more and more work on the integration of components of differing cultural origin'. Moreover, as Grau argues (2007, p. 191), 'individuals can belong to a virtually unlimited number of categories, which will contribute to the make up of their identities [which] overlap, and . . . are . . . dynamic and ever changing'. An example

of transcultural identity is the transcultural dance scene in Hawaii where, according to Van Zile (1996, p. 43):

> Dance is a powerful visual and kinetic image that can serve as a symbol of ethnic identity-but the identity might simply reflect the origin of the dance rather than the ethnicity of those who do it.

In a transcultural world, choice is important. As Hendry states (2008, p. 271):

> Ideas about oneself and one's social allegiances that usually reflect birth and upbringing, but may also include an element of choice, especially in response to the global dissemination of good and cultural ideas, and the increased movement of people within this globalised world.

As a form of cultural heritage, dance, as Wilcox (2011, p. 239) states, constitutes an 'embodied site of identity formation'. Furthermore, Giurchescu (2001, p. 114) comments that, 'dance may function as identity symbol' in a way that is 'polysemic' on the two levels of 'personal identity' and 'group identity', which is 'the way an individual identifies with others, according to a set of common traits, interests and experiences'. In this research, I will attempt to discover how raqs sharqi affects its practitioners' identities, if it does and if identity matters for them. The section that follows will focus on uses of dance/heritage by individuals, communities and governments.

2.8 Uses of Dance/Heritage

As discussed in 2.4, heritage uses elements from the past for the benefit of people in the present. This is connected to Smith's (2006) idea of 'uses of heritage'. As Smith argues (2012, p. 69), 'it is not the things or places that are themselves 'heritage', it is the uses that these things are put to that make them 'heritage''. Heritage can be used in many ways, both at the levels of the individuals or groups and societies, providing individual or shared senses of identity. However, as Howard (2003, pp. 5–6) observes, heritage use can cause division, because 'so long as heritage can be used for profit, or to produce group pride or identity, or to subjugate or exclude someone else, then someone is going to use it'.

In my research, I will try to assess how practitioners use raqs sharqi, to find out why it is important for them and, therefore, worthy of being safeguarded. In the dance literature, I have found mostly examples of dance used by governments, for political and economic

aims. According to Giurchescu (2001), dance establishes contacts between humans or between humans and supernatural beings. Hence, it can be used to help maintain or change social structures. Giurchescu (2001) states that dance can be used as a propaganda tool or to strengthen relationships and sense of belonging. Use of space and gender roles can reflect social or hierarchical structures. Because of its power of communication and its multiplicity of dimensions, dance is often used to '"package" political-ideological, educational, religious or economic messages' (Giurchescu, 2001, p. 111). Reed (1998, p. 511), likewise, reports that, since the 19th century, dance has been a powerful tool of propaganda in shaping the identity of nations.

There are several examples, in the literature, of dance forms used under the banner of cultural heritage to portray a certain image of a country and its traditions, both abroad and in the eyes of its own citizens. For example, Daniel (1991) reports that rumba is used by the Cuban government to represent the country and its post-revolution values of 'inclusion and cohesion' (Daniel 1991, p. 3). Voudou dance in Haiti, as Ramsey (2003) illustrates, is another example of popular dance staged for political purposes, to represent Haiti on the international scene. Wilcox (2011) reports that Chinese traditional dances are used by the Chinese government to create community cohesion abroad (for Chinese diasporas globally) as well as for internal propaganda (as a way for the ethnic majority to patronise minorities). As Reed states (1998, p. 511):

> As an embodiment of cultural heritage, the dancer becomes inscribed in nationalist histories and is refigured to conform to those histories, yet ambivalence about the dancers and their practices is often evident because the practices themselves often resist being fully incorporated into nationalist discourses.

Moroccan *shikhat* are examples of dance/heritage ambivalence in society, as described by Kapchan (1994). The *shika* (plural *shikhat*) in Morocco is a female dancer who performs at rites of passage such as marriages or circumcision rituals. *Shikhat* are hired to perform, often in groups, and they embody the spirit of celebration. However, *shikhat* are also stigmatised because they are women who live alone, work to make a living, behave like men in public (by smoking and mixing socially with men) but most of all because they are paid to dance in public, thus using their bodies for public display in a commercialised manner.

Kapchan (1994) observes, however, that the *shikha's* status is changing. The most successful ones can make a good living and improve their status in society by saving money and buying properties and their success is aided by the use of media. When *shikhat* record their performances on video, Kapchan (1994) relates, and these videos become popular, this affirms their value as artists, thus raising their status in society. Kapchan (1994) adds that media broadcast *shikat* from different regions of Morocco with their specific styles, so *shikhat* now represent ethnic and regional identities, reflecting the richness and variety of Morocco. They have become an item of folklore whose artistry is highlighted while their social history is suppressed. S*hikhat* have gone from being 'embodiments of shame to embodiments of the one heterogeneous nation' (Kapchan, 1994, p. 82).

As Reed (1998) argues, the subversive elements of dance are sometimes tamed to fit in with power ideology. According to Reed (1998, p. 512), 'political ideologies play a critical role in the selection of national dances . . . regulating purity and authenticity in folkloric dance in a patriarchal and protective mode'. Similarly, in Egypt, the choreographer Mahmoud Reda created stage representations of Egyptian folkloric dances, which were devoid of the sensual elements that are instead part of traditional baladi dance (local dance, the social equivalent of raqs sharqi). Shay (2006, p. 154) comments, about Mahmoud Reda that 'he created a new dance tradition, one in which the inherent sexuality in traditional Egyptian dance became de-emphasized . . . for the approval of the new postcolonial elite'.

Another way in which governments use dance is for economic reasons in tourist settings. As Hawkes (2001) highlights, culture is the fourth pillar to sustainable development, in addition to the economic, social and environmental ones. As discussed in 2.5, there are contrasting views in the literature on whether tourism has a positive or negative impact on authenticity. Maoz states that (2006, p. 223) 'tourists, in their search for a pure and authentic past, project their desires onto the less developed, and the Third World becomes the playground of their imagination and a target to conquer and consume'. According to Edensor (2001, pp. 69–70), local performances for tourists are staged in a way that perpetuates stereotypes, but it can also revitalise moribund traditions. Indeed, Hashimoto (2003, p. 227) points out that 'the Mibu no Hana-taue is a contemporary cultural phenomenon which continues to be produced through tourism'.

Hendry (2008, p. 275), without denying the impact that tourism can have on resources, emphasises the possibility of a sustainable form of tourism, as he states that 'culture may be shared rather than consumed'. Hendry refers to cultural craft centres for tourists run by locals in New Zealand, in which locals take ownership of sharing their local traditions with tourists. Regarding raqs sharqi, this research will try to assess if and how tourism plays a part in the transmission and safeguarding of this dance genre, given that international practitioners travel to Egypt to learn raqs sharqi at the source. The political and economic uses of dance, often involve the adaptation of folkloric dances for the stage. These can be considered invented traditions, which Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992, p. 1) define as 'a set of practices . . . which seek to inculcate certain values and norms . . . which . . . implies continuity . . . with a suitable historic past'.

Reda's adaptation of Egyptian folkloric dances on stage is based on pre-existing traditions, which are, however, reinvented for the stage, to create a socially acceptable version. Indeed, the adaptation of folkloric dances for the stage raises issues of authenticity, as these dances need to change once on stage, not only for ideological reasons, but also for aesthetic and entertainment purposes. As Giurchescu (2001, p. 117) posits, 'in the context of a stage performance even the closest reproduction of a folklore model still remains an imitation'. Most of the changes that folklore undergoes when adapted to the stage happen because of the transition from a form of participatory, or social dance, to one that is presentational, for the stage.[1]

Based on Çakir's (1991) article on the protection of traditional dances and Ramsey's (2003) study on voudou dance's adaptation for the stage in Haiti, I conclude that the following changes happen in the dance, as it adapts from the participatory to the presentational form:

- Different production values are joined together: if a dance is performed for an audience with a different cultural background from the one in which the dance originated, or if the choreographer lived/worked abroad, as his/her experiences in a different context will be reflected in his/her art.
- Dance duration shortens, because of staged performance time constraints.

[1] The attributes of participatory and presentational applied to dance, are used here in the sense described by Nahachewsky (1995).

- Space patterns change, as the dance needs to become visible to the audience and aesthetically pleasing. In social and ritual contexts, the feelings and the experience of people dancing are more important than visual elements.
- Virtuosity becomes more important in a staged performance, for entertainment reasons.
- Some elements of the dance are used for different purposes from their original intent. In voudou dance, for example, the kase, a break in the drum's rhythm, in the original form is used to introduce a transition from non-trance into trance but, on stage, it simply marks the transition between two different moments of the performance.
- Fewer repetitions: participatory dances can be quite repetitive but too many repetitions can be boring to watch for audiences.
- In participatory dance, improvisation is preferable, for dancers to express their feelings spontaneously. Stage performances (especially groups) tend to be choreographed.

Changes also occur in the way individuals relate to the group. According to Giurchescu (2001, p. 114) 'in contrast to traditional folk dancing, characterised by variation and individualisation, staged performances are based on homogeneity and synchronism'. To conclude this section, it has emerged that the uses that people make of dance/heritage also contribute to its change and transmission.

2.9 Summary

The picture delineated by this literature review on dance/heritage is complex, thus the need for a fluid and holistic model of dance/heritage emerges. The inspiration for my research is the 2003 UNESCO Convention on ICH, so this ICH definition has been the starting point for my enquiry. However, that definition needs to engage with the current discourses on heritage and dance (which include issues of transmission, authenticity, internationalisation, identity and uses of heritage) and it raises more questions than it can answer. The literature has generated a series of sensitising concepts, which will provide me with 'a general sense of reference and guidance' (Blumer, 1954, p. 7) with which to approach my research.

In my quest, I will apply a dialogical paradigm, to allow the emergence of a fluid model of dance/heritage. This does not mean that I will not seek authenticity in heritage because,

at the core of a continuously changing activity (due to transmission between different generations and cultures; change of uses and contexts and individuals' creativity), there are traditions or 'restored behaviours' which define a genre and distinguish it from others. Also, I will acknowledge that authenticity can have different levels in dance/heritage: the level of forms, conventions and traditions and the level of the individual feelings and intentions of the performer. My interpretation of authenticity, however, will follow Lowthorp's (2015) idea of fluid authenticity as a practice adapts to new audiences.

Time/space transmission is crucial for dance/heritage. I will adopt a non-linear approach to time, as systems to record and notate dance (increasingly common in a globalised, technologically advanced world) allow practitioners to learn from cultural artefacts from the past, rather than just from live teachers, so heritage becomes de-temporialised. Similarly, heritage can be de-territorialised as it is not necessarily linked to a nation-state and individuals and communities do not need to share a territory, in order to share heritage. I recognise that dance/heritage is rooted in specific cultures of origin so it is not acultural. It can though be transcultural and hybrid, as cultures cross each other and influence each other in a web and individuals (as well as traditions) can be part of several cultures.

Dance/heritage, moreover, is valued as long as societies or individuals can use it. This use is often economic and political; thus it can be dissonant and foster division rather than peaceful coexistence. At the same time, heritage can have positive emotional and sentimental values. Dance/heritage can also provide its users with a sense of identity and ontological security, both at individuals' and at groups' level (belonging). Identity can be cohesive or divisive.

Finally, dance/heritage is people-centred and, as such, its curation needs to involve its practitioners as embodied individuals. Moreover, dance is a multidimensional phenomenon: embodied, emotional, discursive, cognitive, cultural and social at the same time. For this reason, I will adopt a holistic (meaning that I will try to engage with the multiple aspects of dance) and ethnochoreological approach to dance/heritage.

These sensitising concepts raise a series of questions, such as:

- Are individuals' creativity/agency, as well as changes in heritage due to various factors, and traditions compatible?
- Is the separation of tangible and intangible elements of dance/heritage feasible?
- How would a holistic model of dance/heritage, which includes people (with bodies, thoughts and emotions, identities and interconnections with others), artefacts, space, society and cultures work?

In the following chapter, I will try to answer these questions with the support of some sociological theories, which will underpin the resulting conceptual framework.

Chapter 3
Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

The literature review chapter has traced some issues to be considered regarding dance/heritage and has given the foundations for this research conceptual framework but also raised questions, which were listed at the end of Chapter 2. Moreover, while dance is an embodied activity and, indeed, recent studies on dance focus on the union between body and mind (Novack, 1988; Sklar, 1994, 2001; Horton Fraleigh, 1995, 2004; Cohen Bull, 2003; Thomas, 2003; Sheets-Johnstone, 2015), the body is missing from the heritage discourse. I will attempt to unpack these issues through sociological and philosophical theories. In particular, I will engage with Giddens' Structuration Theory, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology and Bourdieu's theory of practice. Although eclectic, their inclusion is not without principle; each of the concepts and theories drawn upon represents attempts at getting closer to the phenomenon of holistic dance/heritage, as a connection of its sociocultural context and lived/embodied experiences. All these theories challenge binary oppositions, attempting to integrate them (mind-body for phenomenology; structure-agency for Structuration Theory; subjectivism-objectivism in social sciences, for Bourdieu's theory of practice).

I will start with a critique of the tangible/intangible divide in dance/heritage and I will then focus on the missing body in heritage. Next, I will take a philosophically inspired sociological approach, by engaging with the post-dualist theories of Merleau-Ponty, Bourdieu and Giddens, to arrive at a position that collapses tangible/intangible dualisms in dance/heritage. Finally, I will propose a model of dance as living heritage (as per (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016)), which will guide my exploration of raqs sharqi as a form of heritage. I will then list my research questions as they have emerged from the literature review, based on my conceptual framework.

3.2 Tangible/Intangible Divide Critique

The 2003 UNESCO Convention (2003, p. 2) calls intangible all heritage that is based on 'practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills'. However, the same definition

includes 'the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith'. These elements are indeed tangible (according to the below dictionary definition of tangible). Even without mentioning the human body as a vessel for cultural practices, labelling heritage intangible is problematic. According to the leading online dictionaries of the English language, intangible means that it cannot be physically touched, from the Latin *tangere*, to touch (*Collins English Dictionary - intangible*, 2014; *Oxford Dictionaries - intangible*, 2014; *Cambridge Dictionaries Online - British English definition of "intangible"*, 2014; *Macmillan Dictionary - intangible - definition*, 2014). This is the meaning adopted in this thesis.

The word intangible with reference to heritage though, is problematic 'because of the polarities implied by the notions of tangible/intangible, which insert a false distinction, in the form of a binary opposition, between the material and immaterial elements of culture' (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016, p. 85). Bakka (2015) argues that the text of the Convention was not meant to be analytically dissected by academics, but rather to be workable in real life, in political terms and in terms of people' daily lives. He adds (ibid.) that the term intangible should not be interpreted literally as 'immaterial' and that the focus of the 2003 Convention is not the tangible/intangible divide, but rather the concept of 'practice'. Bakka (ibid.) posits that the 1972 and the 2003 Conventions, rather than keeping tangible and intangible apart, are simply two different paradigms. Bakka (2015, p. 138) identifies 'the first a paradigm for *preserving, seeing, experiencing and understanding monuments* in contrast to the second paradigm - *for keeping up and living with practices*'. Therefore, he concludes (2015, p. 139):

> The paradigm of the 2003 Convention starts with the question, is there a practice to be safeguarded? If there is, all relevant elements - material and immaterial - will be dealt with. If there are only material elements at hand, but no practice still in function can be spotted, the material elements are not relevant for the 2003 paradigm.

Although in practical terms Bakka's argument seems to settle the question, the theoretical concerns raised so far and their implications seem to be too many and too conspicuous to be ignored. Gore and Grau (2014, p. 122) (dance anthropologists and academic leaders for the Choreomundus International Masters in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage) argue that the distinction between tangible and intangible in heritage is arbitrary. In the wider field of cultural heritage, many scholars raise concerns

about this distinction. Naguib (2013) argues that tangible and intangible aspects of heritage are tightly interwoven as (2008, p. 278) 'concrete objects evoke historical events, ways of life, social structures and practices, religious systems and beliefs'. Isar (2011, p. 49) posits that 'all monuments, sites and artefacts embody intangible components such as spiritual values, symbols, and meanings, together with the knowledge and the know-how of craftsmanship and construction'.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), comments that there is increasing awareness of the arbitrariness of the distinction between UNESCO's natural, tangible and intangible lists. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett adds that ICH is not a new invention but it was originally called folklore. She argues that this change in nomenclature reflects a mentality shift. She states that:

> The earlier folklore model supported scholars and institutions to document and preserve a record of disappearing traditions. The most recent model seeks to sustain a living, if endangered, tradition by supporting the conditions necessary for cultural reproduction. This means according value to the 'carriers' and 'transmitters' of oral traditions, as well as to their habitus and habitat. . . . Like tangible heritage, intangible heritage is culture, like natural heritage, it is alive. (2004, p. 53)

Howard (2010) also struggles with the idea of ICH, preferring the word 'activities' to refer to what UNESCO calls ICH. He states, 'I prefer the concept of activities, as food and drink, for example, are quite tangible, though not easy to conserve, and in this case it is the continuance of the activity that is sought' (Howard, 2010, p. 4). Similarly, Smith and Akagawa (2008, p. 6) 'question the . . . utility of polarising debate between 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage. Heritage only becomes 'heritage' when it becomes recognisable within a particular set of cultural or social values, which are themselves 'intangible'. Smith (2006, p. 3) goes further, arguing that the in/tangible binary sustains an 'authorized heritage discourse' which privileges objects over people and practices, commenting, 'all heritage is intangible. . . . However, I am not dismissing the tangible or pre-discursive, but simply deprivileging and denaturalizing it as the self-evident form and essence of heritage'. Conversely, Skounti (2008, p. 77) contends that:

> Pure immateriality is a fiction. . . . There is . . . a material dimension to every element of intangible heritage: the human brain and body that detain it, the book that retains a trace of it, the audiovisual material that captures its sound or image.

Skounti is one of the very few experts in the field of heritage who mentions the human body as involved in heritage. Conversely, in the dance field, the human body is central. The next section will expand on the missing body in cultural heritage.

3.3 The Missing Body in Heritage

In the previous section, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004, p. 53) was quoted as suggesting that the model of ICH accords value to the carriers of oral traditions, to their 'habitus and habitat' and that intangible heritage is alive. This is an important point, but the carriers are also individuals who have/are bodies. Ruggles and Silverman (2009, p. 11) argue that:

> Place and performance are bound together through the human body . . . The dramatic shift in values implied in the Intangible Heritage Convention . . . represents a radical paradigm shift from the objective nature of material culture to the subjective experience of the human being.

In addition to Skounti (2008) and Ruggles and Silverman (2009), Logan (2007, p. 33) (investigating the links between safeguarding ICH, maintaining cultural diversity and enforcing human rights) opines that intangible heritage is 'embodied in people rather than in inanimate objects' and that 'managing intangible heritage . . . we are dealing with embodied and living heritage' (Logan, 2012, p. 236). Graeff (2014, p. 12) also draws attention to the body in ICH, with regards to music, by pointing out that, 'even if material objects like musical instruments, scores and recordings may be essential components of musical traditions . . . learning an instrument and a musical practice always implies the use of the body'. Graeff (ibid.) posits that musical repertoires can be archived within bodies, even when there are no external records and this is particularly true for 'Afro-Brazilian traditions, which having been violently oppressed on the one hand, and scarcely documented on the other, did not cease to live and to be transmitted'.

The field of dance, instead, embraces cultural embodiment and body-mind unity. In 2.3, I mentioned Novack (1988) and her embodied approach to the study of dance in relation to culture. Since the late 1980s, the dance field has been engaging more and more with sociological theories of embodiment (Daly, 1991; Kapchan, 1994; Reed, 1998; Buckland, 2001; Giurchescu, 2001; Sklar, 2001; Thomas, 2003, 2013; David, 2012; Fensham and Kelada, 2012b; Stock, 2012). Indeed, in dance, the body becomes a carrier of cultural heritage in a tangible way. As Buckland (2001, p. 1) argues, dance 'has a particular

propensity to foreground cultural memory as embodied practice by virtue of its predominantly somatic modes of transmission'. Grau (2007, p. 193) posits:

> Cultures and histories are embodied in all of our activities. . . . These in-corporations of world-views are often incarnated in a more "distilled" way in the extra-ordinary activities of dancers and other movement specialists.

Giurchescu (2001) argues that dancers can never be separated from their socio-cultural background, which is interlocked with the individual's physical and mental features. She observes that dance is cultural and it is alive in the body of the performer, 'as a psychosomatic entity, the dancer is the "soul and body" of dance' (2001, p. 109). Audiences, choreographers and other people involved in the production and fruition of dance also experience it in an embodied and culturally influenced way, with their senses, as argued by Reason and Reynolds (2010). These senses include the kinaesthetic sense and the kinaesthetic empathy that an observer feels by looking at movement. Indeed, there is a scientific basis to these assertions, as the neuroscientist Damasio posits (2012, p. 103), 'mirror neurons are . . . the ultimate as-if body device . . . the simulation, in the brain's body maps, of a body state that is not actually taking place in the organism'.

In the following sections, I will build the conceptual framework of holistic dance/heritage, by turning to the theories of Merleau-Ponty, Bourdieu and Giddens. These will give me the theoretical tools to gradually integrate all the tangible and intangible elements of heritage into a fluid, comprehensive model, in which material and immaterial elements interact. The first step to achieve this is to 'replace the dualism (two divided and distinct entities) of tangible vs intangible with the post-dualist idea of duality (a unity of two divergent aspects of the same reality)' (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016, p. 88). The concept of duality is borrowed from Giddens' Structuration Theory, in which social structures and individual agency are combined to form a duality.

The first dualism that will need overcoming is that of mind and body, as the body is the main channel through which material and immaterial life interact. As Shilling (2005, p. 11) posits, in sociology, the body is 'a *source of*, a *location for* and a *means* by which individuals are oriented towards society'. For Shilling, drawing on his analysis of Simmel, Marx and Durkheim, the body is a source of society because the body creates social life; a location because society expresses itself on people's bodies (for example, the way they move and dress); a means because the body is a medium through which individuals

interact with society and position themselves within it, either in accordance with or in opposition to it. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology will be the first theoretical tool that will help me to overcome the tangible/intangible dualism by means of a holistic view of mind and body, linked through habit.

3.4 Merleau-Ponty: Phenomenology

The use of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology has been established for a while in the field of dance studies, to overcome the dualism between the body and mind in the process of dance making and to bring to the fore the lived experience of dancers and audiences alike (Horton Fraleigh, 1995, 2004; Sheets-Johnstone, 2015). Merleau-Ponty wrote *Phenomenology of Perception* in 1945, when Western thought was dominated by the Cartesian dualism of mind and body. Merleau-Ponty argued instead that mind and body are a unity. He drew this conclusion by observing war veterans injured during the war, analysing phenomena that showed an interaction of mind and body. One such phenomenon was the phantom limb, whereby a veteran could feel his missing limb that had been amputated, as though it was still present and attached to him. Observing these phenomena, led Merleau-Ponty to deduce that mind and body are not two separate entities, but they are one thing and they act like one in every moment of our lives. He postulated that 'the union of soul and body is not an amalgamation between two mutually external terms, subject and object . . . it is enacted at every instant in the movement of existence' ([1945] 1992, p. 102).

People learn and act in the world through habit. Habit is the physical manifestation of culture, as the body is the physical manifestation of consciousness. According to Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 1992, p. 158), 'consciousness projects itself into a physical world and has a body, as it projects itself into a cultural world and has its habits'. Hence, the body is the link between the physical and the cultural world, because it assimilates habits, which are culturally influenced. People acquire habit, Merleau-Ponty argues, through 'corporeal schema' and the acquisition of habit is nothing more ([1945] 1992, pp. 164–165) than the:

> Rearrangement and renewal of the corporeal schema . . . it is the body which "catches" (kapiert) and "comprehends" the movement. The acquisition of habit is indeed the grasping of a significance, but it is the motor grasping of a motor significance.

A body schema is, Bullington (2013, p. 31) explains, ‘a description of the intuitive understanding of one’s own [*sic*] the body and its position in space’. To clarify this concept, Merleau-Ponty gives various examples, one of these being learning to type. Once we have learnt how to type we do not need to think about where our fingers are but the movement is 'knowledge in the hands’ ([1945] 1992, p. 166). So, for Merleau-Ponty, habit is the way in which the body learns in a cultural world through movement, since our movements are culturally influenced. The keyboard is a good example because there are different types of keyboard layouts, depending on the countries and the languages, thus these are cultural artefacts and we learn to type according to the keyboards we use.

Similarly, learning how to dance is the acquisition of a habit. The dancer’s body comprehends the movements, to the point where s/he does not need to think about them when performing, they become knowledge in the body. These dance vocabulary movements belong to culturally influenced traditions. Hence, cultures become embodied in dancers. As Butterworth argues (2012), a dancing body can transmit to others: where the dancer comes from, his/her attitudes and what kind of previous training they have experienced. According to Sklar (2001, p. 92), ‘movement systems are . . . ways of thinking that embody different structures (and habits) for thinking’.

In phenomenology, perception is the unifying element, the post-dualist link between body and mind, tangible and intangible. As Kearney (2008, p. 211) posits regarding cultural heritage, Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology:

> Renders distinctions of tangible and intangible almost redundant as the only imperative status of tangible is held by the human actor and agent, as physical embodiment of culture and heritage. Through this 'being', human heritage is always and at once tangible and intangible.

As Lo Iacono and Brown (2016, p. 92) argue, ‘the mind corresponds to the intangible elements, the body to the tangible elements. As body and mind are a unity, they are constituted of a holistic amalgam of tangible and intangible elements of being’. Indeed, in dance, Preston-Dunlop (2010, p. 7) contends, ‘embodying . . . fuses the ideas with the movement and with the performer of the movement . . . embodying a dance work fuses all the participants in the event in a multilayered tangible process’.

The realm of the mind includes feelings and emotions, which are inseparable from individuals and from culture. Hence, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology helps to connect emotions to the holistic picture of dance/heritage. Emotions were mentioned in 2.2, as one of the elements connected to heritage by Smith (2006). They are also important for dance and audiences' connection with performances (Hanna, 1983, 1999; Reason and Reynolds, 2010). Phenomenological holism shows how heritage, dance and emotions are deeply connected. An example can be found in Egyptian dance. When a dancer performs to traditional music, according to Bordelon (2013, p. 39):

> Arabic customers see movement they know and understand, recognize it as part of their cultural heritage, and echo that movement in their own bodies . . . Some people get up and dance on stage, there is . . . a physical empathy in the room.

When the dancer performs to traditional music, s/he feels the emotions transmitted by the music and translates them into the body, creating a shared sense of *tarab*, which in Arabic means ecstasy, transcendence, enchantment:

> The dancer evokes feelings and emotions from the music and lyrics and invokes images and memories from the past. The feelings produced by those memories, are, in turn, transferred to the current performance environment inching the dancer, the musicians, and the audience, towards a state of tarab. (Bordelon, 2013, p. 42)

Through *tarab*, the dancer connects with the audience, sharing feelings and memories with them, embodying the music, so that 'the audience members can identify with the dancer and thereby access the music in an entirely unique, physical fashion' (Bordelon, 2013, p. 45). Indeed, as Horton Fraleigh (1995, p. 61) states, 'A good dance moves the dancer and the audience toward each other'. In 3.3, I mentioned that the unity of body and mind is supported by the work of the neuroscientist Damasio (2012, p. 21), who posits that 'body and brain bond'. Moreover, Barsalou at al. (2003, p. 44) highlight how the body can re-enact memories:

> When an event is experienced originally, the underlying sensory, motor and introspective states are partially stored. Later, when knowledge of the event becomes relevant in memory, language or thought, these original states are partially simulated.

This explains why, as Reason and Reynolds state (2010, p. 62), ‘with trained dancers the responses are more heightened and precise in their imagination of details and movements’ when they watch somebody else dancing. Sedlmeier, Weigelt and Walther (2011) uncover the connection between body movement, emotions and musical taste, stating that:

> When . . . music is listened to in situations in which "positive" body movements and muscle inner actions are frequent, this positive affect could become strongly associated with the music . . . dancing might increase the liking for the music one is dancing to. (p. 303)

At the same time, Reason and Reynolds’ (2010) study showed that, among the audiences who watch dance performances, ‘a positive response to the music appeared to facilitate a kinesthetically and/or emotionally empathetic response to the dance’ (p. 63).

The connection of music with embodiment introduces aural elements, light, space and time in the holistic picture of heritage. Indeed, Adshead (1988) includes in her model of dance analysis: aural elements (sound); light and spatial elements (such as location and natural and built environment). This connection is aided by Merleu-Ponty’s phenomenology, who posits that ‘by considering the body in movement, we can see better how it inhabits space (and, moreover, time) because movement is not limited to submitting passively to space and time, it actively assumes them’ ([1945] 1992, 117). Thus, for Merleau-Ponty, space and time are interwoven with the body. Dance illustrates this; as Lo Iacono and Brown (2016, p. 93) state, ‘the dancer, through movement, interacts actively with time . . . space . . . and light (such as “mood” lighting in performances) each occurring through the body-mind as a perceptual unity’. Horton Fraleigh (1995, p. 183) goes even further, by stating that in dance ‘we actually embody time and space in our movement’.

Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology is a useful conceptual tool to integrate body, mind, space, time and aural and visual elements into dance/heritage. Indeed, Horton Fraleigh (1995, p. 13) posits that Merleau-Ponty phenomenology gives rise to a lived-body theory that ‘provides a means toward overcoming dualistic concepts of dance, which regard the body as an instrument, movement as the medium, and mind or soul as the mover or motivational source for dance’.

Denying the body-mind dualism is the first step towards moving from a dualism of tangible/intangible in heritage, to a duality, as all the elements analysed so far cannot be disentangled. However, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology does not allow for a deep enough analysis and integration of culture into the holistic heritage model. Bourdieu's theory of practice provides the next conceptual tool to fill this gap.

Although Bourdieu and Merleau-Ponty come from different disciplinary positions (Merleau-Ponty from phenomenology and Bourdieu from philosophy/sociology/anthropology), their theories have been used before as complementary tools for a better understanding of the body in culture. Csordas (1993, p. 137) comments that:

> Merleau-Ponty . . . recognized that perception was always embedded in a cultural world . . . at the same time, he acknowledged that his own work did not elaborate the steps between perception and explicit cultural and historical analysis . . . at this point where Merleau-Ponty left off, it is valuable to reintroduce Bourdieu's emphasis on the socially informed body as the ground of collective life.

3.5 Bourdieu: Theory of Practice

Bourdieu's theory of practice is a useful conceptual tool to connect the tangible (embodied) elements of heritage with the intangibles (culture). As Csordas posits (1993, p. 137) 'Bourdieu's concern with the body, worked out in the empirical domain of practice, is parallel and compatible with Merleau-Ponty's analysis in the domain of perception'. Bourdieu's interest towards the body builds on Mauss' ([1934] 1992, p. 455) 'techniques of the body', which are 'the ways in which, from society to society, men [*sic*] know how to use their bodies'. The dualism that Bourdieu set out to overcome, with his theory of practice, is the pervasive opposition of subjectivity and objectivity in the social sciences. He commented (1990, p. 25) 'of all the oppositions that artificially divide social science, the most fundamental . . . is the one that is set up between subjectivism and objectivism'.

To overcome such opposition, Bourdieu developed a theory of practice, based on a mutual connection of social structures and embodied human agents, through practical everyday activities (practices) and behaviours, producing habitus. Habitus is produced by

sociocultural environments through practices; habitus, in turn, generates practices. Bourdieu (1977, p. 72) explains that:

> The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (for example, the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures.

Habitus, therefore, is a fusion of tangible/intangible, because it is partly physical, partly perceptual and it consists of practical dispositions, which are learnt by watching (perception), judging (appreciation) and doing (action):

> Produced by practice of successive generations, in conditions of existence of a determinate type, these schemes of perception, appreciation, and action, which are acquired through practice and applied in their practical state without acceding to explicit representation, function as practical operators through which the objective structures of which they are a product tend to reproduce themselves in practice. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 97)

Through practice, people produce dispositions, which are parts of habitus and orientations towards the world. Bourdieu (1977, p. 15) argues that dispositions are durably 'embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental dispositions . . . and also . . . in . . . ways of standing, sitting, looking, speaking, or walking'. Hence, dispositions are key in understanding how practice shapes agents, because the mental dispositions, through actions, influence the body. For example, Ness (1992) refers to Bourdieu's concept of habitus to make sense of how the *sinulog* dance incorporated specific ways of moving, which were identified by Ness as distinctive ways of moving of the inhabitants of Cebu City, in the Philippines.

Another reason why Bourdieu's concept of habitus is important for the field of heritage is the idea that habitus is rooted in history. Bourdieu (1990, p. 56) contends that habitus is 'embodied history, internalized as a second nature . . . the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product'. This helps explain how intangible heritage can be transmitted through the body. Moreover, as Lo Iacono and Brown (2016, p. 95) posit:

> Habitus helps to think beyond the dualism of tangible bodies vs intangible rules and traditions, as habitus is physical, but also partly intangible being the location for the expression of social structures and the legitimate, valued practices and tastes they contain.

The historical dimension of habitus is also important because it helps explain how dance/heritage is transmitted from the field to the habitus of the dancer (as well as other people involved in the field of dance, such as the audience and the choreographer), through field-specific practices. Field and capital are two crucial elements in the theory of practice. A field is a specific area of society, with its own rules and internal relationships, and more or less autonomous from the other fields. Bourdieu (1992, p. 97) explains that 'the social cosmos is made up of a number of such relatively autonomous social microcosms . . . that are the site of a logic and a necessity . . . *specific and irreducible* to those that regulate other fields'. He continues:

> At each moment, it is the state of the relations of force between players that defines the structure of the field. We can picture each player as having in front of her a pile of tokens of different colors, each color corresponding to a given species of capital she holds, so that her *relative force in the game*, her *position* in the space of play, and also her *strategic orientation toward the game* . . . the moves that she makes . . . depend both on the total number of tokens and on the composition of the piles of tokens she retains, that is, on the volume and structure of her capital . . . players can play to increase or to conserve their capital, their number of tokens, in conformity with the tacit rules of the game . . . but they can also get in it to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. (1992, p. 99)

According to Bourdieu (1992, p. 119), there are three types of capital:

> Economic capital, cultural capital and social capital . . . cultural capital . . . exists in three forms, embodied, objectified or institutionalized. Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of . . . relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

The relationship between habitus, capital, field and practice is summarised by Bourdieu (1984, p. 101) with the equation: '[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice'. The amount of capital that each individual possesses influences their place in society (the class they belong to). Each class, for Bourdieu (1977, p. 85), has a class habitus, dispositions common to the agents who belong to that class as 'social class . . . must be brought into relation . . . with the class habitus, the system of dispositions (partially) common to all products of the same structures'.

Taste, according to Bourdieu (1984, p. 147), is influenced by the class individuals belong to and is 'a system of classificatory schemes which may only very partially become conscious'. Indeed, Reason and Reynolds (2010, p. 55) (during their research on audience appreciation of dance performances, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's ideas on taste, cultural capital and habitus), found that 'spectators' responses were often . . . influenced by prior experience, expectations, and taste'. Therefore, a dance genre can be considered a field of cultural production (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993) with its own rules and in which individuals (dancers, audiences, choreographers), possess:

> Different forms of convertible capital (for example, developing and converting physical capital - as practical dance performance - into symbolic capital/prestige, from becoming known as a great dancer and/or into economic capital from earning money from performances). The intangible elements (all culturally shaped) are the sets of movements and conventions of the dance, as well as the taste both of the audience and of those who create and/or perform the dance. The tangible elements are the embodied individuals and the performance is the moment in which the dance is expressed. However, performance, being a form of habitus, . . . includes conscious elements (such as consciously learning and performing a piece of choreography), and also ways of moving that are culturally and socially influenced. (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016, p. 96)

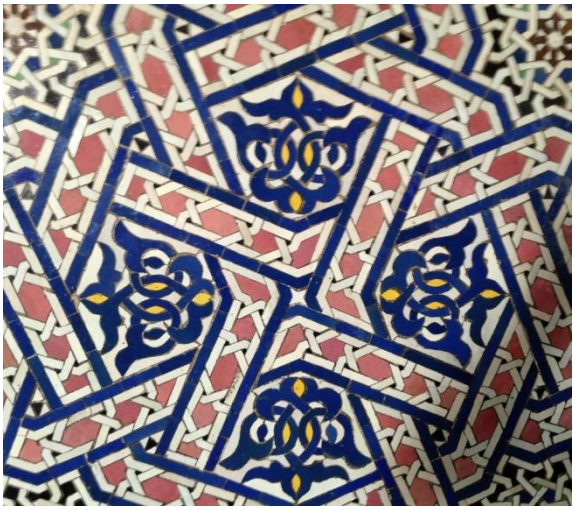


Figure 4 – Example of Islamic design from the Mausoleum of Mohammed V in Rabat, Morocco

As Sklar (1994, p. 11) argues, 'movement is a corporeal way of knowing'. Dance in Muslim countries (and raqs sharqi is no exception) is a good example of corporeal/cultural habitus and way of knowing. For Ibsen al Faruqi (1978), dance in those countries reflects

the way in which other art forms are expressed. Arabic designs, for example (see Figure 4), are abstract (as Islam does not allow figurative visual representations) and characterised by intricate and minute details. Similarly, raqs sharqi is traditionally improvised and abstract and focuses on small movements and isolations of the torso, rather than high leaps or big limbs movements. Ibsen al Faruqi (1978, p. 10) reflects that 'the beautiful details of an Islamic painting or building or dance remain hidden from the casual viewer. Only with that viewer's careful investigation of the minutiae do they disclose their treasure'.

Bourdieu's theory of practice and use of reflexivity also helps to start understanding the issue of change in in/tangible dance/heritage, because habitus is rooted in history and individuals can actively influence the field through their habitus. They can influence the field and the rules of the game through practice. According to Bourdieu (1992, p. 136):

> Social agents are the product . . . of the history of the whole social field and of the accumulated experience of a path within the specific subfield . . . social agents will actively determine, on the basis of these socially and historically constituted categories of perception and appreciation, the situation that determines them.

This helps to explain how dance/heritage is not only transmitted over time, but also how it changes according to cultural contexts and practices and individuals' relationship to them. Bourdieu also attributes change to power struggles within a field. For example, in cultural fields:

> Change . . . is the result of change in the power relation . . . When a new literary or artistic group makes its presence felt . . . the previously dominant productions may . . . be pushed into the status either of outmoded or of classic works. (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993, p. 32)

In spite of addressing the issue of change in terms of power struggles in the field, Bourdieu's theory has been criticised because it does not allow social actors enough agency. For example, Jackson (1996) criticises Bourdieu for placing habitus outside of the influences of the individual, who, therefore, has no agency to make a decision. According to Jackson (1966), habitus has become a dogma, an abstract entity. So, Bourdieu's theory does not account for 'those moments in social life when the customary, given, habitual, and normal is disrupted, flouted, suspended, and negated' (Jackson, 1996, p. 22). Similarly, Farnell (2000) posits that Bourdieu perpetuates a body-mind dichotomy

because habitus is acted by the body without any conscious input from the mind (as habitus is so ingrained in social actors, that it does not require any conscious or discursive process to be carried out). Thus, Farnell (2000, p. 409) argues that 'the conception of habitus denies the possibility of thoughtful action because it limits the body to its Cartesian status, a mind less, unconscious repository and mechanistic operator of practical techniques'.

Regardless of the above critiques, Bourdieu's theory is still worth using as it is a very valuable conceptual tool to understand society and its power struggles in their totality. Bourdieu's theory is particularly comprehensive because of the way it connects different forms of capital, embodied practice (habitus) and social agents who interact in social fields.

Moreover, Bourdieu's determinism is arguable as Bourdieu (2005, p. 47) himself acknowledged the changing nature of habitus as he stated that 'in rapidly changing societies, habitus changes constantly, continuously, but within the limits inherent in its originary structure'. Other sociologists who engage with Bourdieu's theory recognise the changing nature of habitus. For example, Hilgers (2009) acknowledges that habitus is in perpetual mutation, and Wacquant (2007, p. 268) posits that habitus 'can be modified through the acquisition of new dispositions and . . . can trigger innovation whenever it encounters a social setting discrepant with the setting from which it issues'. Thus, Bourdieu's social agents still think and act, but they do so whilst being shaped and informed by the structural knowledge they have incorporated.

In order to overcome any dichotomies further, in the conceptual framework for this thesis, Merleau-Ponty's and Bourdieu's theories are used to complement each other, stressing the importance of both a subjective (phenomenological) approach to dance/heritage, as well as the objective influence of society and its power struggles. In addition, Giddens Structuration Theory is another complementary theory included in this framework, as it allows individuals an additional level of agency. Thus, for further insights into how individuals and their creativity can change heritage, the next step will be to refer to Giddens' Structuration Theory and the agency/structure duality. In the following section, cultural artefacts, which are also forms of objective capital, according to Bourdieu (1992, p. 119), will be integrated into the model of living heritage through

Giddens' concept of resources, thus helping to bridge further the tangible/intangible divide.

3.6 Giddens: Structuration Theory

Giddens' Structuration Theory is the third conceptual tool I will use for my understanding of dance as in/tangible heritage. This theory helps to explain change in society and, therefore, a form of heritage that is in constant flow, as highlighted in 2.5. In the authenticity section, it was discussed how dance can be ephemeral and permanent at the same time drawing on Schechner's (2013) concept of restored behaviour. Also, the issue of traditions vs. individual creativity was raised. Giddens' Structuration Theory goes deeper in connecting society, with its rules and resources, with change and individuals. This question is pertinent to dance and, as Giurchescu (2001, p. 114) argues:

> It may be translated as: individualisation versus socialisation, informal versus formal, innovation versus tradition, variability versus fixation. The dancer's need to express his or her own artistic personality comes into conflict with the necessity to integrate into the social group, to interact with other performers, and to reproduce the traditionally set dance patterns.

Giddens (1984) developed Structuration Theory, to resolve the subjectivity/objectivity dichotomy in social theory, a relationship of dualism, opposition. Giddens argued that functionalism and structuralism had an objectivist view of society, in which functions and social systems dictated how people would behave. At the opposite end of the spectrum, hermeneutics and interpretive sociology focused on meanings and interpretations, which were subjective and linked to the individual. So, the individuals had either no agency (functionalist and structuralist approaches) or social reality almost entirely depended on interpretations of individuals (hermeneutics and interpretive sociology approaches). Giddens is not the only social scientist to have grappled with this problem, as others engaged with it too (Walsh, 1998; Parker, 2000), but few at the level of scope and scale as Giddens.

Giddens's core idea was to change this dualism into a duality of structure and agency, meaning that they not only could coexist, but depended on each other, with the 'bridge' being the engagement with rules and resources that structures produce. He explains: 'by the duality of structure I mean that the structural properties of social systems are both

the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems' (1984, p. 69). He argues that 'human societies, or social systems, would plainly not exist without any agency. But it is not the case that actors create social systems: they reproduce or transform them, remaking what is already made in the continuity of praxis' (1984, p. 171). He identified three elements: the structures, the social systems and the individuals. These three elements overlap because structures are internal to individuals. At the same time, social systems include the activities of many individuals, thus the 'structured properties of social systems [can stretch] away, in time and space' (1984, p. 25), from the control of individuals. Giddens states (1984, p. 25) that 'structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling'.

There is a dialectic relationship between individuals and structures, as individuals challenge and/or reproduce structures through their own actions. According to Giddens, the way in which individuals act on structures can be unconscious or through discursive or practical consciousness, the latter of which 'consists of all the things which actors know tacitly about how to 'go on' in the contexts of social life without being able to give them direct discursive expression' (1984, p. XXII). This means that the individuals are conscious of what they are doing but not in a discursive way; they do not express it in words but rather in actions.

Individuals interact with structures through the rules and the resources that structures comprise. For this reason, structures can be enabling or constraining for individuals. Resources give individuals power, while rules limit what individuals can do (although both are enabling and constraining, depending on the individual). Rules and resources are simultaneously tangible and intangible, as they can include material instruments, as well as knowledge and skills. Resources, defined by Giddens as 'forms of transformative capacity' (1984, p. 33), exist in two different forms: allocative and authoritative. Allocative resources generate command 'over objects, goods or material phenomena' (ibid) (in the case of dance these could be props, performance spaces, music and sound), while authoritative resources generate command over persons (for dance, these include the movements that performers could do, the feelings they express, or the power of a choreographer to control the dancers).

Rules are also of different types. Giddens (1984, p. 19) identifies four: 1) *habitual or routine*, a weak rule, as it simply refers to things that an individual does routinely but it

does not imply prescription; 2) *constitutive*, this describes the nature of what something is (for example, the rules of a game such as chess constitute the nature of the game itself); 3) *regulative*, these are rules that must be followed, such as, for example, the time workers are supposed to arrive at their workplace; 4) *formulas*, described as 'a generalizable procedure' (ibid. pp. 19-20), linguistic rules are an example. Rules, for Giddens, are (ibid. p, 22) 'procedures of action, aspects of praxis', as they tell agents what to do, thereby harnessing agency and guiding action.

In the field of dance/heritage, rules (which would be mostly of the constitutive type) refer to traditions and movement vocabularies, which dance practitioners follow. However, these rules can also be resources (both authoritative and allocative), which give practitioners the means to express themselves, if they have the right skills, thus maintaining or transforming traditions. Traditions, skills and movement vocabulary are intangible (although they are embodied by dancers). Artefacts though, such as props or costumes used during the dance performance, are tangible resources or 'structural properties of social systems' which are 'both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize' (Giddens, 1984, p. 25). Burkitt (1999, p. 36) further articulates the transformative capacity of artefacts:

> Artefact refers to a created object in which human acting is embodied because it has been fashioned for some use within human practices . . . certain forms of bodily carriage and movement appear, or ways of handling objects and manipulating them, which are culture specific. Thus, our way of 'being in the world', of acting, knowing and thinking, is largely dependant on artefacts.

This above point echoes Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 1992, p. 166), as 'habit expresses our power of dilating our being-in-the-world, or changing our existence by appropriating fresh instruments'. Hence, artefacts can become extensions of a person's body when they learn how to use them through habit. Therefore, Lo Iacono and Brown (2016, p. 99) conclude:

> The duality of structuration is represented through the social action/praxis of dancers, choreographers and audiences drawing on in/tangible rules and resources to produce, perform and observe dances through which traditions are continued but also challenged and modified.

Also, artefacts, I propose, are a form of capital (following Bourdieu's idea of objective capital, as mentioned in 3.5), the things we have or know how to use. Hence, the interaction of human beings with objects is multifaceted.

The next section will summarise all these theories and connect them with dance analysis principles, to outline a model of dance as living heritage. This model is by no means prescriptive and rigid, but flexible and adaptable, as it will provide my research with conceptual guidelines that will adapt to any themes that may emerge from the data.

3.7 Living Heritage

The critique of the tangible/intangible divide, the sensitising concepts evinced from the dance and heritage literature, the questions emerging from them and the post-dualist sociological and philosophical theories analysed in this chapter, have led me to the idea of 'Living Cultural Heritage', defined as heritage:

> Embodied by individuals, in connection with the artefacts they produce and use and the environment they interact with and as expressed through practices, activities and performances. Living cultural heritage is also constituted by socially and culturally influenced traditions and conventions, as well as by the feelings and emotions of people and the way they relate to this heritage, including taste and perceptions. Heritage and human beings are indissolubly connected and continuously shape each other in an open-ended fluid dialogue. (Lo Iacono and Brown, 2016, p. 100)

The expression 'living heritage', or at least the idea that heritage is alive, is not new. For instance, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004, p. 53) already mentioned the fact that intangible heritage is alive and Logan (2012, p. 236) states that intangible heritage is embodied and living. Moreover, according to Isar, the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) in 2005 (with the Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites) developed a notion of 'living heritage'. The concept was based on a dynamic relationship between tangible and intangible elements in architectural heritage. Isar (2011, p. 49) reports that 'all monuments, sites and artefacts embody intangible components such as spiritual values, symbols, and meanings, together with the knowledge and the know-how of craftsmanship and construction. . . . The intangible is embedded within the tangible'.

However, the definition of living heritage in this thesis has been specifically built from a dance studies perspective and is primarily aimed at dance/heritage. Nevertheless, it could potentially be applied to other physical cultures and other forms of heritage too. Moreover, this definition is a systematic attempt to create a holistic model of living heritage.

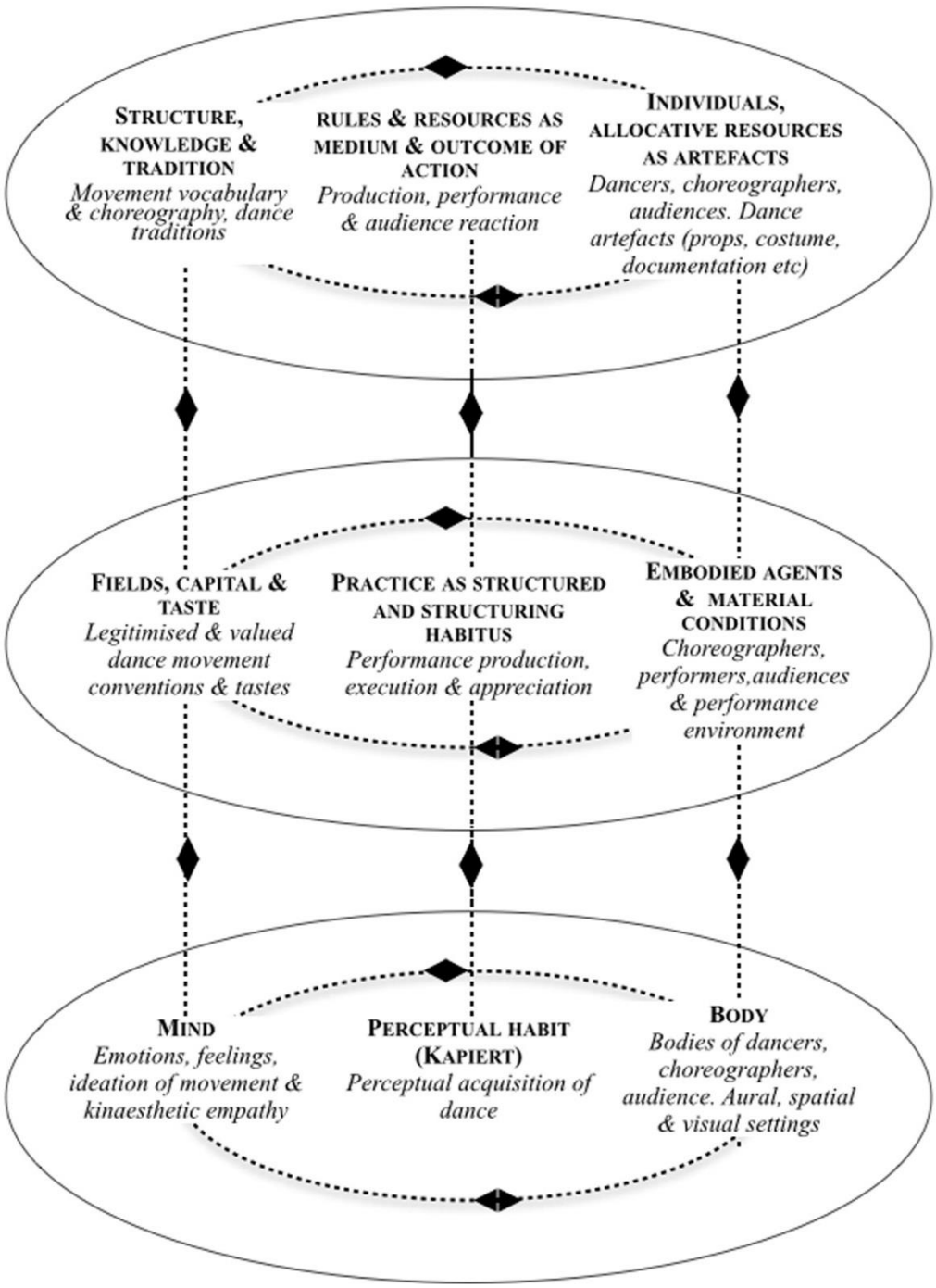


Figure 5 - Model of (in/Tangible) living cultural heritage (Lo Iacono and Brown, p. 101)

Figure 5 illustrates the concept of living heritage as influenced by the three post-dualist theories of Merleau-Ponty, Bourdieu and Giddens. The way this model is applied to dance is based on Adshead's (1988) model of dance analysis, which relies on four elements: dancers, movements, visual settings and aural elements. The model of dance as living heritage includes these elements and expands on them. The figure is composed by three ovals (representing the flow of engagement with rules and resources, practice and habitus, perceptual habit respectively), drawn as one on top of the other for ease of representation, but in effect, the three ovals intermingle. This connection is represented by the vertical dotted lines. Within each oval, the tangible elements are on the right, the intangibles on the left and the performance (when dance takes place) is in the middle. With performance, I refer to any instance in which dance takes place, including social dance, stage performance, classes and dance videos. Even though tangible and intangible elements and performance are separate in these ovals, this is only for clarity of representation. They are instead interconnected, influencing each other. The dotted circles represent this connection or reflexivity. The arrows on the dotted lines represent movement, signifying that all these elements interact dynamically and also that they are transmitted in time and space and change accordingly.

The first oval at the bottom is based on the duality of body and mind, inspired by Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology. The elements on the right are the tangibles: embodied people involved in dance performances (dancers, choreographers, audience[1]) and aural, spatial and visual settings (for example, sound, the physical place where the dance happens, light). On the left, there are the intangible elements which, for dance, are movements, kinaesthetic empathy and feelings and emotions. These are connected by the perception of dance during performance and the perceptual acquisition of dance through habit.

The middle level represents the duality of subjectivity and objectivity through practice, inspired by Bourdieu's theory of practice. On the right, there are embodied agents (in this case, dancers, choreographers and audience), who are players in the field, and the performance environment. On the left, the intangible elements are legitimised and valued dance movements, conventions and taste, seen as forms of capital used in the

[1] Beyond audiences, others may also be involved at other points, in the process of safeguarding the heritage aspect of dance.

field. In the middle, performance (production, execution and appreciation) is a type of practice that structures and is structured by habitus.

The top level represents the duality of agency and structures, inspired by Giddens' Structuration Theory. The tangible elements on the right are embodied individuals involved in dance and material artefacts. These include costumes, props, musical instruments and documentation of dance, such as DVDs, notation sheets or videotapes, and the instruments associated with them, such as cameras and technological tools. On the left, the intangibles are knowledge, traditions, skills (movement vocabulary, choreography, for instance). Both the tangible artefacts and the intangible elements can serve as rules and resources, which individuals are constrained and/or empowered by. The performance, in the middle, is the outcome of action using rules and resources. Individuals have the agency to innovate and be creative using resources, which are part of structures.

From this living heritage model, it emerges that people (as embodied agents/actors) are central. They are central not only because the human body is central to dance, but also because, as embodied individuals, they have skills (which they learn through culturally and historically rooted, embodied habit and habitus); knowledge of traditions; emotions and perceptions; they can use tools and artefacts and they have agency. People are also central as part of a society and community in the way they interact, sometimes competing to increase their own (or their group's) capital in the field (this can explain why heritage can be dissonant, as different interests in the field of heritage clash). The relationship between people as embodied agents/actors and culture (in the form of knowledge, taste, skills, traditions) can also explain why heritage is crucial in giving people a sense of identity. This relationship also explains why uses of heritage (at the level of individuals, communities or societies) are so important in heritage conservation, as people need motivations to recognise something as heritage and protect it. This model of heritage, which includes traditions and conventions, as well as emotions and individuality, fits with the idea of the two levels of authenticity, mentioned in 2.5, where one level is connected to forms and conventions and the other level is shaped by individuals' feelings and intentions.

The living heritage model fits within a dialogical paradigm of heritage, in which people continuously renegotiate heritage and breathe new life into it. This is a model open to

change on different levels: from the phenomenological level of creating new habits, by enlarging one's own body schema; to the level of practice, in which social agents reproduce historically rooted habitus through their actions which, however, can change the rules of the game in order to advance their own positions in the field and increase capital; to the level of individuals who can be creative and change traditions through the resources they are allocated. Regarding transmission, this model acknowledges that heritage is transmitted through the body, because of habitus and practice, in a fluid way that permits changes. However, transmission can be de-temporalised and does not have to follow a straight and uninterrupted line, because artefacts (through recording technology and devices) can document the performances of a dance genre. If then, for one or more generations, the dance is not practised because the current social environment is not conducive to it being valued and used, future generations can re-discover it and re-enact it, in a process akin to what Elliott (2013) would call reinvention. Resulting changes in the dance are accommodated in a dialogical paradigm of heritage. Transmission in this model is also de-territorialised, because heritage is not connected to geographical locations, but to people, who can be mobile, as discussed in 2.6.

3.8 Research Questions

The aim of this thesis, which has guided this research from the beginning, is: to identify the cultural heritage characteristics of Egyptian raqs sharqi and evaluate if it can be considered heritage and how it locates itself within the field of ICH. The sensitising concepts and the conceptual framework derived from the literature review, have then shaped the research questions listed below.

Main question - 'From a dialogical perspective[1], what challenges are involved in the safeguarding of raqs sharqi as a form of transcultural, living and embodied heritage?'

Sub-questions:

1. Given its transcultural status, what is 'authentic' Egyptian raqs sharqi?
2. What makes Egyptian raqs sharqi worth safeguarding as a form of cultural heritage, in and outside of Egypt?
3. How do tangible and intangible elements of dance/heritage interact?

[1] The dialogical perspective refers to the dialogical paradigm of heritage (Bodo, 2012), discussed in 2.2.

4. How is the dialectic between change and traditions negotiated by exponents of raqs sharqi (=narrower) / those involved in the field of raqs sharqi (=broader)?
5. How is Egyptian raqs sharqi transmitted across time, space and cultures?

The main question revolves around the safeguarding of living and embodied heritage: which obstacles we face and how can we minimise the risks and maximize the benefits. The sub questions have been placed in a logical order. Question 1, deriving from the sensitising concept of authenticity, tries to assess the identity of the object we are trying to safeguard.

Question 2, based on the 'uses of heritage' sensitising concept, tries to assess if the heritage identified is worth safeguarding and why. For example, what is the importance in people's lives of this heritage, how does this affect their identities, their quality of life, their economic needs?

Question 3, influenced by the living heritage model from the conceptual framework, analyses the tangible/intangible elements of heritage and how they interact (these can include the body and physical training, values, traditions, emotions, artefacts, music).

Question 4 is inspired by the model of living heritage (which is based on a dialogical heritage paradigm and includes the agency/structure dialectic), and also by the ideas of transmission and authenticity, from the literature review.

Question 5 is driven by the sensitising concepts of transmission, space, time and internationalisation, because transmission happens across time, space and cultures.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, I have developed the conceptual framework for this research, based on sensitising concepts and on questions that have emerged from the literature on dance and cultural heritage. The process started with a critique of the tangible/intangible divide in heritage, seen as a form of dualism similar to the Cartesian opposition of body and mind. It was then highlighted how the body is missing from the literature on heritage but is central in dance studies.

In order to resolve the dualism of tangible/intangible, understand the tradition/change dialectic and reintroduce the body in heritage, the post-dualist theories of Merleau-Ponty, Giddens and Bourdieu have been employed. These theoretical tools facilitated the

development of a holistic and dynamic model of dance/heritage (based on a dialogical heritage paradigm), which will guide this research. In the resulting model of living heritage, embodied people are central as they bring into heritage their culture, emotions, skills and position in society. Artefacts, space and time are also part of this holistic model, which includes change through transmission across time and space, but where time is not linear and heritage is not necessarily linked to a territory. As a result of the conceptual framework of living heritage, the questions for this research have been developed. The next chapter discusses the methodology employed to develop the research, which will address such questions.

Chapter 4
Methodological Strategy

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I developed a holistic model of living heritage, based on a dialogical paradigm of heritage. In this chapter, I will describe the methodological process and approach for this research, following from the conceptual framework. First, I will explain how the conceptual framework has influenced the research questions, paradigm and methodology. I will then focus on my choice of research methods, based on the research questions, practical considerations and validity issues. In the rest of this chapter, I will cover: the three research methods I adopted; ethical issues; data analysis and presentation; reflexivity; validity and reliability and judgment criteria.

4.2 Methodological Framework

The conceptual framework of living heritage has been a sensitising heuristic tool to guide my interpretation. Because of the holistic, dialogic and people-centred nature of this framework, the resulting research framework is based on: an interpretivist paradigm; a relativist ontology; a constructionist epistemology and a qualitative methodology.

Theoretically, the living heritage model is grounded in humanistic disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology and philosophy. As a result, the most appropriate research methodology is qualitative. Many research scholars (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Mason, 2002; Marshall and Rossman, 2010; Hammersley, 2013; Sparkes and Smith, 2014) posit that qualitative methodology is based around people; it is flexible and exploratory as data emerge as the research progresses; it is inductive, meaning that, rather than trying to prove a general theory it builds a view of the phenomenon under scrutiny starting from the data; it is interested in the social context from which the data emerge and it focuses on a few individuals, rather than a big number of participants. Because people are central in living heritage, qualitative research is appropriate because it is, as Marshall and Rossman (2010, p. 2) posit, 'pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the lived experiences of people'. In this research, although I followed a sensitising conceptual framework, which was deductive in the sense that it guided my gaze, the analysis (in

particular the way I decided to structure and present the data through timeframes of transition) was inductive as it was guided by the data as they emerged, primarily from the video analysis[1].

According to Sparkes and Smith (2014), qualitative methodology is based on a relativist ontology; subjectivist, transactional and constructionist epistemology and has a hermeneutical and dialectic approach. This research, in line with its qualitative methodological approach, is based on a relativist ontology, as opposed to a realist one. A realist ontology is based on the assumption that social reality exists outside of social agents (Bilgrami, 2002; Smith, 2008; King and Horrocks, 2010). For instance, a positivist paradigm is based on a realist ontology, as Sparkes (1992a, p. 20) notes, 'positivism postulates that the social world external to individual cognition is a real world made up of hard, tangible and relatively immutable facts'. As my conceptual framework revolves around people, I am more interested in the discourse that these social agents create in relation to heritage, rather than any possible social reality. Hence, I have adopted a relativist ontology, which, as Bilgrami (2002, p. 21) explains, is 'unperturbed by the disagreement over truth between two believers, relativizing the truth of the disagreed upon belief to each of their points of view'. As a result, I have adopted a constructionist epistemology, according to which knowledge is constructed from the interaction between 'the investigator and the object of investigation' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 114) in a transactional and subjectivist way. According to Mason, (2002, p. 3) qualitative research is 'grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly 'interpretivist' . . . concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted'.

Consequently, I have adopted an interpretive paradigm. Mason (2002) and Hammersley (2013) suggest that an interpretivist paradigm revolves around how people see the world they live in and how they interpret it. The focus is idiographic, meaning 'trying to understand particular people and events in specific socio-historical circumstances' (Hammersley, 2013, p. 27). Mason states that researchers who employ the interpretive paradigm can use texts, interviews or objects as sources of data, but all approaches see people as 'social actors, or active social agents' (Mason, 2002, p. 56). According to

[1] As Elo and Kyngäs (2008, p. 109) explain, 'an approach based on inductive data moves from the specific to the general, so that particular instances are observed and then combined into a larger whole or general statement . . . A deductive approach is based on an earlier theory or model and therefore it moves from the general to the specific'.

Sparkes (1992b, p. 24), 'a range of research traditions can be located within the interpretive paradigm that go under various names including: . . . qualitative research'.

I chose the research methods based on research questions that emerged from the literature review and the conceptual framework (as mentioned in 3.8), following a qualitative methodology and an interpretive paradigm. I linked the research questions to the methods following Mason (2002, p. 30), who posits that 'your methodological strategy is *the logic by which you go about answering your research questions*'.

Table 7 illustrates my choice of research methods, according to the questions.

I chose to select more than one research method, in order to capture the complexity of the phenomenon of raqs sharqi heritage from different angles, to understand, as Maykut and Morehouse state (1994, p. 146), 'the phenomenon of interest . . . from various points of view and ways of knowing'. Also, the idea was to give 'strong credibility to the findings' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p. 146), in the event of convergence of themes emerging from the different methods and, as Mason maintains (2002, p. 33), to 'enhance the quality of the data through some non-realist form of 'triangulation' of method'. In the following section, I will delve deeper into each method, the reasons for choosing them, and the sampling process.

Research questions	Data sources and methods
1) Given its transcultural status, what is 'authentic' Egyptian raqs sharqi?	• Practitioners: interviews • Various data sources (blogs, websites, social media, books, DVDs): documentary analysis / netnography • Online videos of selected dancers: analysis.
2) What makes Egyptian raqs sharqi worth protecting/curating as a form of cultural heritage, in and outside of Egypt?	• Practitioners: interviews • Various data sources (blogs, websites, social media, books, DVDs): documentary analysis / netnography.
3) How do tangible and intangible elements of dance/heritage interact?	• Practitioners: interviews • Various data sources (blogs, websites, social media, books, DVDs): documentary analysis / netnography. • Online videos of selected dancers: analysis.
4) How is the dialectic between change and traditions negotiated by exponents of raqs sharqi (=narrower) / those involved in the field of raqs sharqi (=broader)?	• Practitioners: interviews • Various data sources (blogs, websites, social media, books, DVDs): documentary analysis / netnography. • Videos of selected dancers: analysis.
5) How is Egyptian raqs sharqi transmitted across time, space and cultures?	• Practitioners: interviews • Various data sources (blogs, websites, social media, books, DVDs): documentary analysis / netnography. • Videos of selected dancers: analysis.

Table 7 – Research questions and methods, adapted from Mason (2002, p. 30)

4.3 Summary of Data Collection and Analysis Process

Before describing, in detail, the process adopted for each method of data collection and analysis, I have provided a summary below of the procedure I followed. This summary consists of a list of the main steps I took for each method, in chronological order, and it provides links to the sections in which the process is unpacked in more detail. The three data sources I used were: online dance videos; other textual and visual data (which included specialised books, DVDs, websites, blogs, social media and open forums); and interviews.

These three sources allowed me to adopt an ethnochoreological approach (based on my interpretation of ethnochoreology outlined at the end of 2.3.1) as: the analysis of historic online videos provided a focus on the formal aspects of the dance and a diachronic insight into it; the other textual and visual materials and the interviews highlighted the synchronic dimension and the experiences of participants and their role in society. These three sources were accessed during the same period of time, but each presented its own challenges and needed to be used in a different way (see 4.4).

Videos

1. Before starting the search for videos available online (see the rationale in 4.4.1.1), I decided to focus on Egyptian style raqs sharqi performances (rather than bellydance in general) as this is the topic of this research.
2. I then decided to search for videos of famous Egyptian style raqs sharqi dancers (most of them Egyptian nationals, but also some famous non-Egyptians who have strong connections with Egypt), as they are the ones who are most likely to be influential among the international community of practitioners for this genre.
3. I Identified the most famous and influential dancers (see sampling strategy in 4.4.1.2 for details on how I did this).
4. I searched for videos on YouTube and Vimeo, as they are the most commonly used platforms that the international Egyptian raqs sharqi community uses to share dance videos.
5. Following the sampling strategy (4.4.1.2), I selected the dancers whose videos I was going to search for and analyse. I analysed a total of 1,028 videos.

6. I analysed videos a first time by paying attention to: movements, dancers, visual settings, aural elements and socio-cultural context in which the dance seemed to take place. To analyse movements qualitatively, I used Laban analysis and Kaeppler's kinemes system to isolate individual movements and/or sequences of movement that recurred and formed part of the Egyptian raqs sharqi movement vocabulary. For this first round of analysis, I wrote notes for each video.
7. From the analysis, patterns and trends emerged so that videos that had things in common could be grouped together (for example, by dancer, movement vocabulary or timeframe).
8. I selected the most representative videos from the groups I had identified, to be watched again during a second phase of the analysis. As many videos presented similar features to each other, I chose the ones that represented certain characteristics more clearly.
9. I created an Excel spreadsheet with different tabs for movements, props, costumes, dancing styles and other items.
10. The second phase of the video analysis overlapped with the writing of Chapter 5 and with the analysis of other visual and written texts (which also included going through the notes I had written during the first round of the video analysis).
11. As I wrote Chapter 5 and analysed texts and videos, a timeframe emerged, which led to a historical presentation of the dance. While I wrote Chapter 5, I again watched the videos selected in phase one and I coded them using tags in Zotero.
12. During phase two of the video analysis, I chose which videos I would refer to in the final text of the thesis (based the best video quality and how representative they were) and watched these a third time. (See 4.4.1.2 for more details on the video analysis)

Additional considerations and difficulties: I analysed all the videos myself, but the initial plan was to use some of the videos during the interviews and ask the participants to comment on them. However, due to time constraints, I had to do the video research and the interviews at the same time, so I did not have a list of videos to use by the time I started the interviews.

A problem connected (see 4.4.1.3) with the use of online videos was that sometimes videos are removed or accounts are closed. Thus, it was vital to write down and save notes for each of the videos I watched, for future reference.

Other textual and visual data

1. I decided to use online and off-line texts on Egyptian raqs sharqi, in order to get an idea of the discourse surrounding this genre in the international community of practitioners (see the rationale in 4.4.2.1).
2. The first sources I found were through my own experience as a practitioner and blogger and my knowledge of what other practitioners had produced.
3. I focused on reliable sources, produced by practitioners (Egyptian and non-Egyptian) with several years' experience in the field (see 4.4.2.2 for details).
4. I then selected sources that included themes connected to the sensitizing concepts from the literature review.
5. Through the sources I found, I came across new information and links to other sources, in a process of virtual snowballing (see 4.4.2.2)
6. Themes emerged from analysing these sources and from the interviews with participants, which allowed me to narrow down the number of textual sources to use from 321 to 186.
7. I analysed the texts using thematic analysis (see 4.6.2). At the same time, I also analysed texts from interviews and from the video analysis notes, using the same method.
8. I generated the first category of codes from the research questions, theory and literature. Thus, these were the etic codes, based on a deductive process.
9. The second category of codes emerged from the data. These were the emic codes, based on an inductive process.
10. I then proceeded to theming the data by cutting and sorting quotes (identifying them and then grouping them together). I arranged the quotes in groups by using paper and scissors and applied tags using Zotero.

Further considerations on the analysis process: the approach to the analysis process I adopted was hybrid, as employed by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), to make sure that the theoretical framework and the research questions were represented, as well as letting new insights emerge from the data. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) explain

that they employed an inductive approach, for which they cite Boyatzis, as well as a template approach, for which they draw on Crabtree and Miller. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane's (2006, p. 83) template was 'developed a priori, based on the research question and the theoretical framework'. In addition, they explain that 'inductive codes were assigned to segments of data that described a new theme observed in the text' (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 88). Similarly, I generated two categories of codes, as mentioned above: one category was shaped by the theory and the other one by the data.

Interviews

1. I selected participants via purposive and expert sampling (see 4.4.3.2)
2. I selected international participants to understand the transcultural dimension of Egyptian raqs sharqi. I also used convenience sampling, as I interviewed those practitioners I managed to have access to. For instance, I tried to include practitioners who are not interested in the cultural aspects of Egyptian raqs sharqi, but I did not manage to involve them as they were not interested in this type of research. My participants were all over the age of 30 as it seems that the longer practitioners are involved, the more they become interested in the cultural aspect of Egyptian raqs sharqi. I tried to interview Egyptian nationals but I did not succeed. Had I travelled to Egypt during my research, I would have managed to involve some Egyptians. However, my research had to be based in the UK and online as it was not possible to travel to Egypt due to financial and logistical constraints (see 4.4.3.2). So, I tried to interview Egyptian dancers and musicians who live in the UK (who are few) but they either did not engage or agreed, at first, but then did not follow up. In one case, a gatekeeper stopped me from accessing a male Egyptian dancer as he is quite famous and is always very busy with a variety of paid engagements. Similarly, I did not manage to interview male Egyptian style raqs sharqi practitioners as they are very few. The practitioners I interviewed were international, but they had either lived in or travelled to Egypt.
3. I contacted potential participants via email or social media messages. I proactively approached six, while four volunteered after seeing my posts online.

4. I built rapport with participants by contacting them before the interviews. Moreover, I already knew some of them as I had met them before in person or communicated with them online.
5. I prepared questions for semi-structured interviews (which provide guidance while allowing for flexibility), based on my research questions.
6. I asked participants to read the information sheet and fill the consent form.
7. Three interviews were carried out in person, six via Skype and one by email.
8. The interviews were recorded and were all conducted in English.
9. I interviewed only 10 participants because of the amount of data I had gathered from other sources, which meant that I reached saturation point after interviewing just nine participants.
10. I analysed the interviews in the same way as I analysed and coded the other textual data.

Additional considerations: I found that language was an obstacle. I do not speak Arabic and, if I did, maybe I would have managed to contact more Egyptian practitioners and possibly interview some of them. In the sections that follow I explain the research process for each method in more detail.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

Data collection was divided into three overlapping phases. The first and second phases gathered data from video and textual sources, to generate important information on the commonly held views of raqs sharqi history, its movement vocabulary and how this changes across time, cultures and between individuals. During the first phase, videos of famous raqs sharqi dancers were collected from online sources, to understand the key movements that comprise the dance, how these movements are individually embodied, experienced and how, as a tradition, these are transmitted through performance.

The collection of textual/video data in the second phase included practitioner-focused books, DVDs, online magazines, internet blogs, websites, online videos of interviews to famous dancers, open forums and social networking sites. The third phase of the research involved collecting data through semi-structured interviews with selected participants, to understand, on an individual level, how practising raqs sharqi has affected their lives and to explore how they experienced and interpreted the dance.

Most of the data gathered in the course of this research included a combination of offline and online materials. Hence, this research included an internet ethnography or, as Kozinets (2009) calls it, a nethnography. According to Kozinets (2009, p. 56):

> In many cases, netnography uses the information publicly available in online forums . . . netnography can provide the researcher with a window into naturally occurring behaviours, such as communal discussions, and then enhance that understanding with more intrusive options such as communal participation and member interviews.

In this research, the online element was predominant because raqs sharqi is practised worldwide and its participant base is transcultural. Practitioners make considerable use of the Internet to communicate ideas about their dance, especially via social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter; forums; videos sharing sites; blogs and websites. Moreover, the online and offline worlds often overlap because practitioners may meet in person at festivals, performances and trips and then keep in touch online. As Kozinets (2009, p. 14) states, 'a majority of people who belong to online communities meet other online community members face-to-face'. Even the offline texts from this research, such as books and DVDs, are connected with the online world because the authors have become known worldwide through the Internet and they use this medium to promote their offline published material. The online ethnography included observation of discussions taking place online, as well as analysis of online written and visual texts and videos because, for online ethnography, as for offline ethnography, as stated by Sparkes (1992b, p. 29), in addition to participant observation:

> The researcher can also draw upon a wide range of methods to help understand the views of the participants. These include, various forms of interviewing . . . analysis of other written documents, the analysis and collection of non-written sources.

The reasons for not conducting a traditional ethnography in Egypt were of a practical nature. Firstly, the cost of travelling to and staying for a long time in Egypt was not affordable. Secondly, the political situation in the last few years (following two revolutions in 2011 and 2013) in Egypt has made it less secure to travel to (indeed, some of my research participants mentioned that they did not go to Egypt because of this). Therefore, I decided against travelling to Egypt for this research, being aware of the potential risks for ethnographers in certain situations (Wax, 1986; Sampson and Thomas,

2003; Macaulay, 2004; Stewart *et al.*, 2009). Before starting this research, I had been to Egypt twice for dance training (to Luxor and Cairo), hence I used this experience to guide and sensitise my research.

Out of necessity, my focus shifted from the local towards the global and transcultural dimension of raqs sharqi, drawing on McDonald's (2010) strategy for her PhD on bellydance (she started her field-work in Egypt but could not stay for long, as originally planned, due to a set of contingencies). I tried to keep Egyptian sources in my research, by analysing dance videos featuring mainly Egyptian rather than non-Egyptian dancers, including interview participants who lived a long time in Egypt and searching online for texts and videos in which Egyptian practitioners were interviewed.

In the following four subsections of this chapter, I will describe the different research methods I used, explaining for each: why I chose it; my sampling strategies; practical issues; general considerations and ethics. Although the sampling strategies I adopted were different for each method, because of their different natures, I generally tried to sample strategically to 'produce . . . a relevant range of contexts or phenomena, which will enable you to make . . . comparisons, and . . . build a well funded argument' (Mason, 2002, p. 123).

4.4.1 Online Dance Videos

4.4.1.1 Rationale

I chose to analyse dance videos, in the quest to identify the key movements of Egyptian raqs sharqi, that remain roughly constant, in spite of stylistic and performance context changes. This search touches on the issue of authenticity on the level of form, as discussed in 2.5. Moreover, as the videos available online span from the late 1800s to the contemporary period and are performed by people belonging to different cultures, in different settings and places, my aim was to create a panoramic of raqs sharqi across time and cultures, to see how it has changed in terms of movements, feelings and according to the styles of individual dancers. Hence, the idea was that analysing dance videos would shed light on the issue of transmission and the dialectic between tradition and creativity.

Heath et al. (2010, p. 2) posit that video 'records can be subject to detailed scrutiny. They can be repeatedly analysed'. Thus, the videos I have analysed provide a record of props and costumes and how they change over time; what social spaces the dancer was

performing in and a lot more. Dance videos were the core source for the dance analysis, because they include choreological, embodied and socio-cultural elements, all of which, if analysed, contribute to the creation of a holistic picture of dance/heritage. As Pink (2006, p. 4) argues, ethnography 'should account . . . also for objects, visual images'.

In dance research, it is commonly accepted that videos for the study and documentation of dance have both advantages and limitations, as they can never replace live performances, but have great documentary value (Blacking, 1983; Adshead, 1988; Desmond, 1997; Preston-Dunlop and Sanchez-Colberg, 2010). Preston-Dunlop and Sanchez-Colberg (2010, p. 125), for instance, argue that 'video recordings have their own syntax and cameramen [*sic*] do not have an impartial eye . . . the video is a record of one version of the work, dance by one cast, in one interpretation, on one occasion, filmed by one cameraman'. Moreover, according to Blacking (1983, p. 92), videos and other forms of notation 'cannot describe or explain what is happening as human experience'.

Whilst acknowledging these limitations, I found online videos invaluable to explore raqs sharqi as a form of heritage. These videos provided me with a wide range of performances, from a variety of dancers, across a huge spatiotemporal spectrum, thus allowing me to start tracing a history of the dance. Moreover, the way of recording and transmitting the dance through technological devices (many videos were originally filmed for cinema or TV, before being shared on the Internet) shows the influence that technology can have on heritage safeguarding.

4.4.1.2 Sampling Strategy

There are over a million bellydance videos online (2,640,000 results for the term 'bellydance' at the time of writing), mainly on YouTube and Vimeo. They range from videos dating back to the late 1800s (very few) to the present and feature dancers worldwide. The first decision was to focus on Egyptian raqs sharqi performances (either by Egyptian or non-Egyptian dancers), rather than other bellydance styles/genres. The dancers in the videos had to be famous worldwide between raqs sharqi practitioners, as they would be the most likely to have influenced other dancers across generations and geographical locations. My sampling strategy for the videos was, therefore, purposeful. As Cohen (2007, pp. 114–115) explains, in purposeful (or purposive) sampling

‘researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought’.

The majority of dancers I chose for my search were Egyptian and a few from other countries (of these, some who lived and performed in Egypt). I identified who the most famous and influential were in three phases:

1. Based on my knowledge, having being involved in raqs sharqi for 14 years to the point of starting the data collection.
2. Researching websites about raqs sharqi to see which dancers’ names appeared more frequently.
3. Using the Google AdWords Keyword Planner tool to assess which, out of the dancers I had identified in the first two phases, were the most searched for online. This tool allows the user to see how many times, on average every month, a keyword has been entered in Google searches. I set the options to ‘all languages’ and ‘all countries’ to have an idea of dancers’ popularity globally. The results of this search are not necessarily significant on their own, but, if triangulated with data from interviews and from raqs sharqi written sources, can be significant (indeed, the dancers who were most frequently mentioned during the interviews, are also in the top 10 in this search).

As a result, I listed 54 dancers’ names. The top three most searched online globally were, in order, Fifi Abdou, Samia Gamal and Dina Talaat. Other Egyptians in the top ten were Nagwa Fouad, Randa Kamel and Naima Akef. The next step was to search these 54 dancers’ names online (I used Google, YouTube and Vimeo) to find their videos. As I found videos and as I was also discovering other online material about raqs sharqi, though, new directions emerged for the video research. Thus, dancers who were not initially in the list of 54 were added and some of the initial 54 dancers were not included in the analysis, as it became clearer which dancers would be more or less relevant, based on my purposive sampling strategy. The final list of dance videos I watched and analysed consisted of 1,028 videos. In 4.6.1, I will explain how I analysed the videos and the dance.

A final consideration with regards to sampling for the videos I searched for using YouTube, has to do with how YouTube itself influences the results of the search when looking for videos and, therefore, how this impacts on sampling. Sampling was influenced

not only but my strategy and decisions, but also by what I was able to find online and the way in which Google and YouTube (which belongs to Google) work. As Pietrobruno (2014) notes, YouTube runs algorithms that interact with users, as they upload videos, add tags, like videos, post comments, in a recursive process. These algorithms influence the visibility of videos and will have influenced the ways in which YouTube responded to my queries.

This raises the question of what type of sampling strategy this human/machine interaction is. I would suggest that this could be identified as 'virtual snowball sampling'. Baltar and Brunet (2012) use this expression for their research, which employed surveys administered via Facebook. They searched for Facebook groups in which they could find their target population (Argentinian business people living in Spain), contacted these people via Facebook and then asked the people they contacted if they knew somebody else who was interested in taking part in the research (either online or offline). I propose though, that the expression 'virtual snowballing' should be extended to include not only interaction with humans in the virtual world, but also with machine-generated algorithms, given their role in guiding how we find information and how we follow leads online.

4.4.1.3 Practical Considerations

A practical consideration (which applies to all online material), is that videos that are available one day may no longer be there the next. In some cases, users choose to remove videos or to close their channel. Often though, particularly on YouTube, accounts are closed forcibly, if a company alerts YouTube of copyright infringements (this was the case, especially, for some of the dance scenes from old movies). Some of the videos I first analysed unfortunately disappeared from the web. Hence, it is essential to keep a record of the videos before they are removed. I will discuss this issue more in detail in 4.5 and in 7.3.

4.4.2 Other Data Sources

4.4.2.1 Rationale

In addition to online videos, I used other online and offline sources to gather data. These included books and DVDs, specialised websites and blogs, social media (especially Facebook) and open forums. These sources provided useful material to understand the

raqs sharqi practitioners' views and beliefs about this dance, as individuals and as a community. As Marshall and Rossman (2010, p. 160) suggest, 'the analysis of documents is potentially quite rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting'.

Raqs sharqi is practised globally and practitioners sometimes meet in person at festivals, trips and events, both locally and internationally. Hence, the Internet has become a tool for them to keep in touch and create new contacts with other practitioners worldwide. Even offline bellydance resources, such as books and DVDs, are promoted by practitioners online and, therefore, the offline and online world intermingle. As Beneito-Montagut (2011, p. 717) comments, today 'online and offline social interactions are often intrinsically linked' and, Hallet and Barber (2014, p. 306) posit, 'studying a group of people in their "natural habitat" now includes their "online habitat."'

4.4.2.2 Sampling and Considerations

My experience as a raqs sharqi practitioner has influenced the way in which I started sampling the textual material. Moreover, my experience as a writer, web designer and e-marketer for my own raqs sharqi website (www.worldbellydance.com) has guided my understanding of the practical functioning online world. Even before starting this research, I was part of the worldwide raqs sharqi community and I already knew which sites and blogs could offer the most useful amount and type of information. I had met in person some of the practitioners who have written or produced books and DVDs and I knew who was knowledgeable on the topic of Egyptian raqs sharqi and could offer the most reliable information. Hence, my knowledge helped me to achieve what Gratton and Jones (2004, p. 248) refer to as 'guarantee of quality'. Moreover, I was already on other practitioners' mailing lists, to keep up to date on news and current activities. Hence, some of the information came to me without me searching for it. To start, I selected the sources connected with ideas of culture and heritage and the sensitising concepts from the literature review. As I read these sources I found the links to other sources or I came across concepts which I searched for in Google, thus stumbling upon more data sources.

I used Facebook to connect with practitioners and find data. As mentioned by Baker (2013), Facebook can be used in ethnographic research as a tool, data or context. I used it as a tool to sensitise my research, as I found and saved some thought-provoking discussions on Facebook, but I decided not to use them as data, due to ethical concerns,

which I will highlight in 4.5. Also, following Kozinets's (2009, p. 56) suggestion that it is possible to use publicly available information online and then follow up with interviews, Facebook helped me find participants, whom I knew could be interested in the culture of origin of raqs sharqi.

As I progressed with my research and I started interviewing participants, themes emerged and others were not as relevant as initially thought. Hence, I narrowed down the number of online sources I used, from 321 I initially listed, down to 186. Some websites were more authoritative than others and richer in information. The most relevant sites for this research were mainly: Thebestofhabibi.com and Gildedserpent.com. These sites are the online version of two printed magazines with articles ranging from the 1990s to 2011, thus they are rich in historical information. The articles' authors are experienced practitioners, who have studied this dance for a long time and travelled to Egypt.

Two other websites I used are Casbahdance.org and Shira.net. The former belongs to a practitioner who has studied Middle Eastern and Northern African dances for 50 years (Carolina Varga Dinicu, aka Morocco or Auntie Rocky, as she is affectionately known among practitioners worldwide). The latter (owned by the American practitioner Shira) is a well-known site amongst practitioners, for its rich content, which also contains translations from Arabic of some interviews with raqs sharqi dancers from the 1940s and 50s.

I analysed two blogs: 'Bellylorna', by Lorna Gow from Scotland, and 'Kisses from Kairo' by Diana Esposito (aka Luna of Cairo) from the USA. They both have lived and performed raqs sharqi professionally in Egypt for many years and the blogs are about their experience of living and dancing in Egypt. Blogs are online diaries which, according to Hookway (2008, p. 107) 'offer a low-cost, global and instantaneous tool of data collection'.

Other sources of data found on the Internet are: online videos with interviews to Egyptian dancers; comments under YouTube dance videos and forum posts. The video interviews were invaluable, because they allowed me to hear the opinions of practitioners whom I would have found hard or impossible to arrange an interview with. The comments[1] under the dance videos on YouTube are many and I found a couple which were useful for this

[1] Comments can range from appreciation or dislike for a performance, to remarks about the dancer's costume or asking the title of the song being danced to.

research. Finally, there were a small number of forum posts relevant to my research and I used one or two, with uncontentious content.

Regarding the sampling strategy, the process adopted for this set of data was multiple. In the beginning, I adopted a purposeful strategy, because my experience led me to pick those sources where I knew I could find the type of data that could help me answer my research questions. Also, sources which I knew would be reliable. As I started exploring those sources, I came across more useful sources, in a process I referred to in 4.4.1.2 as 'virtual snowballing', as one source led me to another. This process also involved a certain amount of serendipity, which Hendry (2003) and Clark (2010) admit are often involved in the way ethnographers find their data and/or participants.

Although virtual snowballing allowed me to find new sources, I chose to analyse them according to their relevance. Thus, I engaged in theoretical sampling, which, for Flick (2009, p. 118), involves the fact that 'sampling decisions aim at that material that promises the greatest insights, viewed in the light of the material already used, and the knowledge drawn from it'. Theoretical sampling is often associated with grounded research, but Flick (ibid, p. 121) argues that it is not only limited to it and it is instead a principle 'also characteristic of related strategies of collecting data in qualitative research'. Indeed, theoretical sampling can be considered a form of purposive sampling, with theoretical sampling being more data-driven.

4.4.3 Interviews

4.4.3.1 Rationale

The ethnochoreological approach for this research required that I gathered three different pieces of information about raqs sharqi: its form, the culture and the experience. The first two pieces of information have been gathered mainly via the analysis of online videos and of online and offline texts. Regarding the experience, the interviews brought a more personal account of what it is for raqs sharqi practitioners to be involved in this dance form. Indeed, as Mason states (2002, p. 63), I chose to include qualitative interviews in my research, because of my ontological position, which 'suggests that that people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions are meaningful properties of the social reality which your research questions are designed to explore'. In-depth interviews are generally recommended when the

researcher holds a relativist ontology and constructionist epistemology, and when the aim is to understand how each participant views the world (Mason, 2002; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007; Marshall and Rossman, 2010). Indeed, as Gratton and Jones (2004, p. 142) posit, 'Interviews allow unexpected data to emerge' because participants are allowed to express their thoughts in their own words.

4.4.3.2 Sampling and Recruiting

Interviewees were recruited among those who I am in contact with online: some were drawn from my local dance community (in Cardiff and South Wales) and some were practitioners I had met during dance related trips in the past. Being an insider in this field, helped me to contact participants and, as Roulston posits, (2009, p. 98) 'relative intimacy and rapport with participants may enhance the generation of data in interview settings in ways not possible for 'outsider' researchers'.

The initial method of contact was by email or personal messages via social media. Indeed, I would not have been able to be in contact with any of the participants, without the Internet. All of the interviewees were connected to me on Facebook. This medium helped facilitate contact and build rapport, because the participants and I could see each other's profiles and updates. I agree with Baker (2013, p. 140), who states that 'using Facebook facilitated communication between the researcher and participants across geospatial and temporal boundaries'. Even with participants I contacted by email, we were connected on Facebook, which helped us maintain familiarity with each other.

The sampling of participants was strategic, through a purposive sampling strategy, as defined by Sparkes and Smith (2014), to provide a relevant range of experiences from the raqs sharqi community. However, since the participants were expert in raqs sharqi (the field of interest of my research), the strategy could also be defined as expert sampling, as Kumar (2011) explains. Because Egyptian raqs sharqi is a transcultural phenomenon, sampling included international participants, although they had to be either English or Italian speakers, due to my own language limitations. In order to gain an understanding of how cultural awareness about raqs sharqi develops, participants were selected to include different levels of experience in relation to raqs sharqi. Also, I included people who have travelled to Egypt for dance training; some who live or lived there to dance professionally and others who have never been there. To include a diversity of approaches to the dance

for comparison purposes, sampling was originally meant to include some participants who do not experience raqs sharqi as a cultural dance or are breaking with its traditions. However, such participants were too hard to involve, because their lack of interest in the cultural aspects of raqs sharqi, meant that they were not interested in this research.

Two groups of people that I did not manage to recruit, were Egyptian nationals and male dancers. Had I been able to travel to Egypt during the research, Egyptian practitioners would have been easier to contact, but online they do not seem as active as other nationalities and I faced a language barrier, as I cannot speak Arabic. There are two Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers living in the UK, whom I tried to contact but with no success. One of them was recommended by another interviewee, so I contacted her but she never replied. The second one is a man, who is in high demand as a teacher and performer worldwide, whom I had met in person during workshops. I could not contact him though, because his agent answers his emails, acting as a gatekeeper, only agreeing to paid engagements.

Dealing with gatekeepers is a common issue for researchers (Sampson and Thomas, 2003; Wanat, 2008; Reeves, 2010; Lund, Panda and Dhal, 2016). Gatekeepers, Cohen et al. (2007, p.123) explain, 'may wish to avoid, contain, spread or control risk and therefore may bar access or make access conditional'. As a result, gatekeepers can condition the choices that researchers make in terms of sampling. Similarly, male Egyptian style raqs sharqi practitioners are few and far between, so I could not find any men to interview. As a result of these difficulties, although my sampling strategy was mainly purposeful, there was also an element of convenience sampling, according to which (Cohen et al. 2007, p.114) 'researchers simply choose the sample from those to whom they have easy access'. I interviewed 10 participants. As I also employed other research methods, I reached saturation point (when no more new insights were generated from the data) at nine interviews, but I had already arranged the tenth at that point. In qualitative research, as Cohen et al. (2007), Flick (2009) and Kumar (2011) agree, the focus is on the quality of the findings rather than the quantity and the researcher decides when saturation point has been reached.

Out of the 10 participants: I proactively approached six; three volunteered by replying to posts I wrote on Facebook looking for participants and one volunteered after reading a post I wrote on my website about this research (Lo Iacono, 2015), following Kozinets'

advice (2009, p. 152). Table 8 shows the 10 participants with their nationality, whether they have been to Egypt, their level of involvement, how they have been interviewed and how I contacted them. They are all women, between the age of 30 and 72[1], and all the interviews were conducted in English. In the section that follows, I will be discussing how I designed the interview and how I prepared the questions.

[1] Although there are people under 30 worldwide who practice bellydance, as my research focuses on the specific genre of Egyptian raqs sharqi and specifically on its cultural connotations, participants under 30 were not easy to find. One reason may be that, when people start practising belly dance, they are more interested in its leisure aspect rather than the culture. The more they learn about this dance, the more they become knowledgeable about and interested in its cultural significance and the different genres and styles, and this may take years of practice. I had found one participant in her twenties who was initially interested in taking part to my research, but, in the end, she did not follow up.

Nationality	Been to Egypt?	Level of involvment with raqs sharqi	Interview medium	Contact	Interview date
USA	Yes - dance training	Professional: teacher and book writer.	Skype	Email. I knew her from a podcast and then as I attended one of her online courses.	06/07/2015
UK	Yes - dance training	Professional since retired: teacher and speaker.	Skype	Email. I met her during Egypt trips.	11/08/2015
UK	No	Professional: teacher.	In person	FB and email. She volunteered in response to my FB post. I knew her from attending workshops in the UK.	08/07/2015
USA	Yes - dance training	Teaches as a hobby. Academic writer.	Skype	Email. I found her academic articles on belly dance.	06/10/2015
UK	Yes - general tourism	Professional since retired: teacher.	In person	FB. I knew her from local dance events.	08/07/2015
UK	Lived there ≈ 10 years	Performed professionally in Egypt. Teaches and performs internationally. Blogger.	In person	FB. I saw her perform in Cairo and I attended her workshops in the UK.	05/07/2015
Portugal	Lived there ≈ 10 years	Performed professionally in Egypt. Teaches and performs internationally and writes books and blogs.	Skype	FB and email. I saw her posts on FB and read her e-book.	18/08/2015
Italy	Yes - general tourism	Student: Attends dance classes.	Skype	Email. She contacted me to volunteer, after reading the research page on my website.	12/07/2015
Finland	Yes - dance training	Professional: teacher.	Email	FB and email. She volunteered in response to my FB post.	30/09/2015
Italy	Yes - dance training	Professional: teacher, book writer and blogger.	Skype	FB and email. She volunteered in response to my FB post.	05/10/2015

Table 8 – Interview Participants

4.4.3.3 Design

I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews, writing what Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 83) define as an interview guide, 'a series of topics or broad interview questions which the researcher is free to explore and probe with the interviewee'. I used a guide to help me keep focused on issues relevant to my research, while allowing for flexibility to let the data emerge. The interview was as an open, informal conversation between the participant and me. As Mason suggests (2002, p. 62), in qualitative interviews, 'meanings and understandings are created in an interaction . . . involving researcher and interviewees'. Cohen et al. (2007, p. 351) identify a range going from the most formal interview, with a standardised schedule, to non-directive interviews, in which 'the interviewer takes on a subordinate role'. The interviews for this study occupied the middle ground, whereby a guide provided the base for an informal conversation. Gratton and Jones (2004) suggest that semi-structured interviews offer the researcher structure, with the flexibility to change the sequence of questions, or ask additional probing questions. According to Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 78), 'the skilled researcher will discover what is important to the interviewees, within the broad boundaries of the interview topics and questions, and pursue these new discoveries in the interview', but they advise (ibid, p. 82) (particularly research beginners) to have some questions prepared in advance.

My questions were based on the research questions, following Cohen et al.'s (2007, p. 356) suggestion that doing so helps to keep the interview on track with what the researcher wants to find out. The first question was a life story question, asking the participants to tell a short history of their involvement in raqs sharqi, to have an overview of their background and also as a warm-up. This could be classified as an experience/behaviour question, about things that participants know, which, as Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 85) advise, are 'useful to begin an interview'. In a similar fashion, Gratton and Jones (2004, p. 144) suggest that an 'easy' question asked at the beginning should put the participant at ease. The other questions revolved around transmission, authenticity, culture, uses of heritage and embodiment trying to understand participants' experiences and perceptions on these issues. Where possible, I tried to group, as Gratton and Jones (ibid) advise, 'questions about the same concept together'. However, I did not worry about it too much because, due to the semi-

structured nature of the interview, rather than keeping to a pre-set order, I chose the next question according to the flow of the conversation. Appendix 1 contains my interview guide. In what follows, I will explain the interview process, after recruiting the participants.

4.4.3.4 Process

In this section, I will outline the process I went through for the interviews, from the preparation stages to the rapport building phase, to the actual interviews. Before the interviews took place, participants read an information sheet and filled a consent form. In the ethics section, I will elaborate more on this topic.

For the interviews, I built rapport with participants over time. According to King and Horrocks (2010, p. 48), 'rapport is . . . about trust – enabling the participant to feel comfortable in opening up to you'. I had already met some of the participants before in person, long before starting this research, and I continued connecting with them online (mainly via Facebook) over the years. I exchanged emails with participants before the interview and, following the interview, we kept being connected on Facebook as friends. In terms of identity verification, having an online presence, helped both me and my participants build trust in each other, as we knew we were who we said we were because we have more than one profile online such as Facebook, YouTube, websites, blogs, e-books, online classes. Cross-referencing these profiles aided identity verification. As Sullivan (2012, p. 56) observes, drawing on Goffman's presentation of self (1990 [1959]), 'so much of our time is spent on the web that presentations of self online are potentially more accurate than they were 20 years ago'.

Interviews took place in person for participants based in/near Cardiff. For those located further afield, Skype® was used for interviews with the voice and video recorded by EVAER® software. All participants agreed to be recorded and recording was deemed important 'to obtain the best possible record of the interviewee's words' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p. 93).

Out of the ten interviews carried out, three were done in person, one by email and six via Skype, as shown in Table 8. In order to connect with practitioners globally, Skype was an invaluable tool that allowed me to reach distant participants in a time-efficient and financially affordable manner. All the research participants were computer literate and

there were no technical issues as they all had high-speed internet. The only exception was a call to Italy, during which the line was cut off a couple of times, but this was no obstacle and rapport was easily resumed after each interruption.

For Skype interviews, some researchers argue that building rapport is challenging (Cater, 2011; Rowley, 2012). Seitz (2015) points out that technical difficulties, such as when the call is interrupted, may harm rapport as it may be hard to start the conversation again. Others though agree that it depends on the topic of the conversation, or that Skype even helps rapport. Seitz (2015), for example, admits that, although she found it harder to receive answers on sensitive topics (such as online dating experiences) using Skype, this may be due to suspicions related to the video element of Skype, rather than lack of trust in the researcher. Lo Iacono *et al.* (2016, para. 5.7) argue that 'whether Skype or face to face interviews are better to build rapport, really depends on the topic of the research and on the personality of the participant and interviewer'. Deakin and Wakefield (2013, p. 8) found that 'Skype interviewees were more responsive and rapport was built quicker than in a number of face-to-face interviews'. Other researchers argue that Skype is beneficial in building rapport, particularly if the participant or the interviewer is shy, because, as Hanna (2012, p. 241) states, 'both the researcher and the researched are able to remain in a safe location without imposing on each other's personal space'. The fact that the participant is in a familiar environment may be, as Seitz (2015, p.4) suggests, 'more beneficial to participants who are shy or introverted, allowing them to feel more comfortable opening up in front of a screen'. Meho (2006) used email interviews in order to interview shy people and those who have difficulty to otherwise express themselves.

A notable difference between in person and Skype interviews is the fact that participants and researcher are not sharing the same space, so some of the non-verbal cues may be lost. According to Hesse-Biber and Griffin (2012, p. 56) 'tone of voice, and gestures, all provide a certain richness to qualitative data'. Cohen et al. (2007, p. 153) and Novick (2008, p. 5) agree on the importance of nonverbal cues and on the fact that these can be lost in some forms of interview, such as when using telephone interviews. According to Talja and McKenzie (2007, p. 102) 'paralinguistic cues such as gesture, facial expression, and tone of voice can both convey emotion and provide the hearer with clues for interpreting the meaning of an utterance'. With Skype at least, it is possible to not only hear each other's voices, but also to see each other, so not all the non-verbal cues are

lost. The screen though, unless an external wide-angle camera is attached to the computer (as Petralia (2011) did during a dance cooperation project between Europe and the US), allows us to only see the head and shoulders of the other person. This was not a problem for me, however, and, as Lo Iacono, Symonds and Brown point out (2016, para. 5.13) 'in the context of Skype interviews . . . by focusing on the head and the shoulders, we can gather more details of these specific body parts, which can counterbalance not being able to see the rest of the body'.

Overall, I found Skype a very good 'complementary data collection tool for qualitative researchers, which works well alongside other data collection methods as part of a broader research design and strategy' (Lo Iacono, Symonds and Brown, 2016, para. 7.1). With regards to the one email interview I did, I found that it allowed the participant time to reflect on the answers, thus generating rich data, and I was able to reach somebody who lives far away and who did not have access to Skype. However, I found that rapport was weaker and the interaction lacked spontaneity, comparing to the in-person and Skype interviews.

I did not notice much difference in terms of rapport and richness of data generated, between Skype and in person. I know this through watching the participants' body language and because, at the end of each Skype interview, I asked them directly how they found being interviewed via Skype and all their reactions were positive. Also, after comparing the richness of the data between Skype and in-person interviews, I could not see any differences. Because of the topic of the interview, which involved something that both the researcher and the participants were passionate about, establishing rapport during the interview and eliciting information was not hard. I shared Bourdieu's (1996, p. 24) feeling that:

> The person questioned took advantage of the opportunity we offered her to examine herself and . . . of the permission or prompting afforded by our questions or suggestions . . . to give vent . . . to experiences and thoughts long kept to herself.

Indeed, my research participants were able to share thoughts and ideas on a topic that they are able to cover only with those who share their passion, which may not be very often. Hence, their enthusiasm for sharing their thoughts was evident. The interviews lasted between one and two hours each. As the topic of the research was not sensitive,

there were no particular issues regarding ethics. However, specific guidelines still needed to be followed. What follows outlines the ethical procedures for each research method.

4.5 Ethics

The ethics for the research was submitted to and passed by the Cardiff School of Sport Ethics Committee (an interdisciplinary board), and the potential for risks in this study was considered minimal. These were identified particularly with respect to the interview phase of the proposed research and any concerns regarding the collection of textual data, especially online, have been addressed separately. All empirical qualitative studies must respond to a range of ethical considerations identified by Plummer (2001) as including 1) intellectual property, 2) Informed consent, 3) Right to withdraw, 4) Unintended deception, 5) Accuracy of portrayal, 6) Confidentiality and 7) Financial gain. In response to these seven points, the following principles were applied for this study, as shown in Figure 6.

Issue	Practice
1. Intellectual property	This issue was particularly relevant for textual and video data sources such as books, DVDs, blogs, websites and online videos. For all the data gathered in this way, the source was duly acknowledged and referenced.
2. Informed consent	As textual and video data were already in the public domain, only interviews were considered to run this risk. To answer this concern, a participant information sheet and consent form was given to participants prior the interview.
3. Right to withdraw	The consent form included the right to withdraw participation at any time. This right was also reiterated to the participants at the start of the interview.
4. Unintended deception	Any unintended deception was minimised by giving participants the information sheet in advance of the interview and by giving oral explanation where necessary.
5. Accuracy of portrayal	Participants were offered the opportunity to listen to the recording of the interview and give feedback after transcription and interpretation, to make sure they agreed with the accuracy of the transcription/interpretation of their words.
6. Confidentiality	All participants were given a pseudonym, unless they required to be named in the thesis. The data from the interviews was stored on password protected computers.
7. Financial gain	No data will be used for purposes of intentional financial gain for the researcher.

Figure 6 – Ethical Issues (adapted from Plummer, 2001)

4.5.1 Interviews

For interviews, the following risks were identified:

- The interviews were planned to last for up to 90 minutes each and therefore, may have caused slight physical discomfort to certain participants.
- Although this study did not set out to ask sensitive questions for the participants, it was possible that the recollection of experiences would have had the potential to make participants feel uncomfortable.

There were also a number of ethical considerations due to the use of Skype® / EVAER® software, for some interviews:

- Use of EVAER® software to record, which meant that the participant did not know when recording started unless informed by the interviewer.
- The storage of data on third-party online storage facilities.
- Lack of control over the research participants' physical environment during online interviews and the implications of this for participant confidentiality.
- The merging of personal and research Skype login identities for both researcher and participant.

To answer the above concerns, I adopted the following strategies. Participants chose the location, day and time of their interview and whether it was recorded. In line with qualitative ethics procedures of the British Sociological Association's (British Sociological Association, no date) ethical guidelines, it was stressed to the participants -by way of the participant information sheet, consent form and finally once again prior to the interview- that interviews sometimes elicit a variety of emotions, including distress. It was stressed there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and that they can control what is said and how it is said and that they can request the recording of the interview be paused, stopped or terminated altogether and that this request will be granted. In addition, in line with common ethical practice for most qualitative projects, it was made clear that the researcher is an academic and not a medical doctor, counsellor, or a therapist and therefore not trained to engage in discussions of this kind. Finally, immediately prior to the interview starting, having made this information explicitly clear, participants were

finally reminded that participation is their choice and asked if they still wish to partake in the interview. The participation sheets and consent form were issued to seek informed consent, as advised in the literature (Gratton and Jones, 2004; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007; Flick, 2009; Kumar, 2011). The participants who were interviewed in person signed their consent form on paper. Following Kozinets' (2009) advice, those who were interviewed via Skype were sent a form on MS Word, with boxes they could tick and where their email address could be entered as a signature. Before the interview, they sent me the form (Appendix 2) back as an attachment, by email, as a way to confirm agreement and identity.

The Skype® / EVAER® interview technique required additional ethical safeguards due to the non-face-to-face nature of the interview, therefore:

- Participants were informed when recording had begun, paused or stopped. All participants were offered the opportunity to listen to a copy of the audio recording of the interview (thus responding to Plummer's points 4 & 5: Unintended deception and accuracy of portrayal respectively).

- Online storage facilities were avoided in preference for a password protected and encrypted computer and external hard drives (responding to Plummer's point 6: confidentiality).

- Participants were counselled on the selection of appropriate locations from which they were interviewed with reference to issues of privacy (responding to Plummer's point 6: confidentiality).

- The researcher created a specific Skype account for this research study. At the termination of the study, the Skype account was closed and all the participant online details and data were removed (responding to Plummer's point 6: confidentiality).

Once collected, data were transcribed and stored on a password-protected computer. Only the people involved in the project have access to this information. The fact that it is desirable to keep the data indefinitely was, however, stressed to the participants. They were provided with the opportunity not to consent to this. This was documented on the consent form (Appendix 2).

One final consideration regards the issue of anonymity, linked to confidentiality (Plummer's (2001) point 6 in Figure 6). One of my participants, a professional dancer, asked for her name to be used, rather than a pseudonym. Also, McDonald (2010) in her PhD about belly dance, used the names of most of her participants and informers, which made me wonder if she did it because practitioners wanted to be recognised to show their contribution to the field. Indeed, Grinyer (2009), following her research on the families with young adults affected by cancer, found out that most of the families she interviewed wanted their real names to be used in publications, to retain ownership of their stories. Thus (also considering the non-sensitive nature of my study) I decided to ask all my other participants if they wanted to be kept anonymous, if they wanted their names to be mentioned in the acknowledgements but a pseudonym be used next to their quotations, or if they wanted to be named openly. The majority chose to be named openly and all of them were happy for their names to be mentioned at least in the acknowledgements. Overall, I felt I needed to give them the choice, as I wanted to show my gratitude and appreciation for their help.

4.5.2 Textual Data Sources and Online Videos

As all the materials gathered for this study are in the public domain, no ethical issues were identified. However, particularly regarding materials gathered online, I asked myself the question posed by Marshall and Rossman (2010, p. 162), 'are the producers of these artefacts likely to feel exposed or that their privacy has been violated if these materials are used?'. Regarding websites and blogs written by raqs sharqi practitioners, the answer was no, as practitioners write about raqs sharqi so that their ideas can be shared and I did not come across any material that was sensitive, offensive or that may embarrass the person who wrote it. In judging the potential harm caused by using these sources for the research I used an inductive approach, as suggested by Markham and Buchanan (2012, p. 4) who posit that 'ethical decision-making is best approached through the application of practical judgment attentive to the specific context'.

Regarding blogs, as they may be considered quite personal, I share Walker Rettberg's (2008, p. 57) opinion that 'bloggers . . . write into the world with a clear expectation of having readers'. I made sure though to properly quote the sources I came across, to give credit to the writers and to acknowledge their intellectual property rights as per Plummer's point 1 (Figure 6). I was aware of what Bakardjieva and Feenberg (2000, p.

236) refer to as 'alienation' in online research, meaning 'the appropriation of the products of somebody's action for purposes never intended or foreseen by the actor herself'; however, I did not think this was applicable to websites and blogs openly accessible to the public and with no sensitive information. Thus, I treated the Internet, as Bruckman (2002, p. 229) suggests, as a 'playground for amateur artists' in which 'people deserve credit for their creative work'.

With forum posts and comments under YouTube videos, I used some of them for my research, quoting the username of the person who posted them. I did so only for sites where comments could be seen by everyone without the need to log in and for comments that were neutral and not embarrassing for anyone, or that did not contain personal information. I did not directly use any data from Facebook discussions, as Facebook is half public/half private. As I read threads of comments on Facebook, it felt as though these were personal conversations between friends, which can be overheard but are still private to a certain degree. As Buchanan and Zimmer (2012) point out, it is never easy to know if Facebook users meant a post to be visible or not because a user may have 'failed to completely understand how to adjust the privacy settings accordingly. Or, the information might have previously been restricted to only certain friends, but a change in the technical platform suddenly made the data more visible to all'. I followed Kozinet's (2009, p. 142) advice, as he suggests that 'we should probably treat the recording of conversations in a chat-room, or activity and interaction differently from the way we treat asynchronous communications that are more clearly intended as postings for mass and public communication'.

Hence, I only used these conversations as 'a window into naturally occurring behaviours' (Kozinets, 2009, p. 56), to assess what the major concerns were in the online community and identify potential research participants. I then followed Kozinet's general guidelines according to which (2009, p. 151):

> As a netnographer . . . interacts as other members do on the site but also takes fieldnotes . . . there is no need to gain informed consent for those interactions. When these interactions occur as an asynchronous, persistent communication such as posting on a bulletin board, then this material may be quoted subject to the guidelines on direct quotations. . . . With ephemeral, synchronous, real-time communication media such as chat or conversation in game spaces or virtual worlds, the researcher should never record those interactions without gaining explicit permission.

Finally, regarding online videos, I watched and analysed them as they are available for all to watch freely. There are though copyright issues with videos, in particular, those with dance scenes taken from old Egyptian movies. Many practitioners used to post several dance scenes from Egyptian movies online. However, the companies that own the rights to these movies claimed that their copyright had been infringed and YouTube closed the accounts of the users who had posted those videos. So, with these videos, there is a conflict between those who regard the dance scenes in them as valuable cultural content worthy of being shared with all (these old Egyptian movies are very hard to find outside of the Middle East), and those who see the films as their property. During this research, I downloaded some of these videos so I could keep a record of them for further analysis, but I will not share them publicly, nor will I seek financial gain from them, in accordance with Plummer's (2001) point 7 (Figure 6) and with fair usage laws (U.S. Copyright Office, no date, sec. 107).

4.6 Data Analysis

In this section, I will describe how I have analysed the data for this research, from breaking down the data into codes and themes to reassembling these into the presentation of results. I will explain the analysis process for the videos and for the other sources of data in two separate sections, as the type of data was different for each.

As the types of analysis I carried out for videos and written texts were different, I acted as what Sparkes and Smith (2014, p. 115) define as an 'analytical bricoleur', that is someone who uses different types of analysis, but maintains an epistemologically and ontologically coherent position. I used visual analysis for the videos and thematic analysis for the notes derived from observing the videos, as well as from the interviews transcripts and the other written texts. 'Thematic analysis', according to Sparkes and Smith (2014, p. 124-127), seeks patterns (themes) emerging from the data, but without trying to quantify them and 'writing is openly part of the analysis' (p. 125). I found that, as I wrote the results, new ideas and connections between sets of data emerged and indeed, as Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 145) posit, 'writing up one's research is part of the analytic process'.

As with most qualitative research, the analysis was 'conducted as an early and ongoing research activity' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p. 123) and the analysis began as soon

as I started collecting the data, regardless of the type of data being analysed. Indeed, as Marshall and Rossman (2010, p. 208) point out:

> In qualitative studies, data collection and analysis typically go hand in hand to build a coherent interpretation. The researcher is guided by initial concepts and developing understandings that she shifts or modifies as she collects and analyzes the data.

This is exactly the process that I followed, and which is illustrated in Figure 7 from Brown (2001), showing that the most helpful approach for qualitative research is one where analysis and data collection feed into each other rather than being conducted in separated stages.

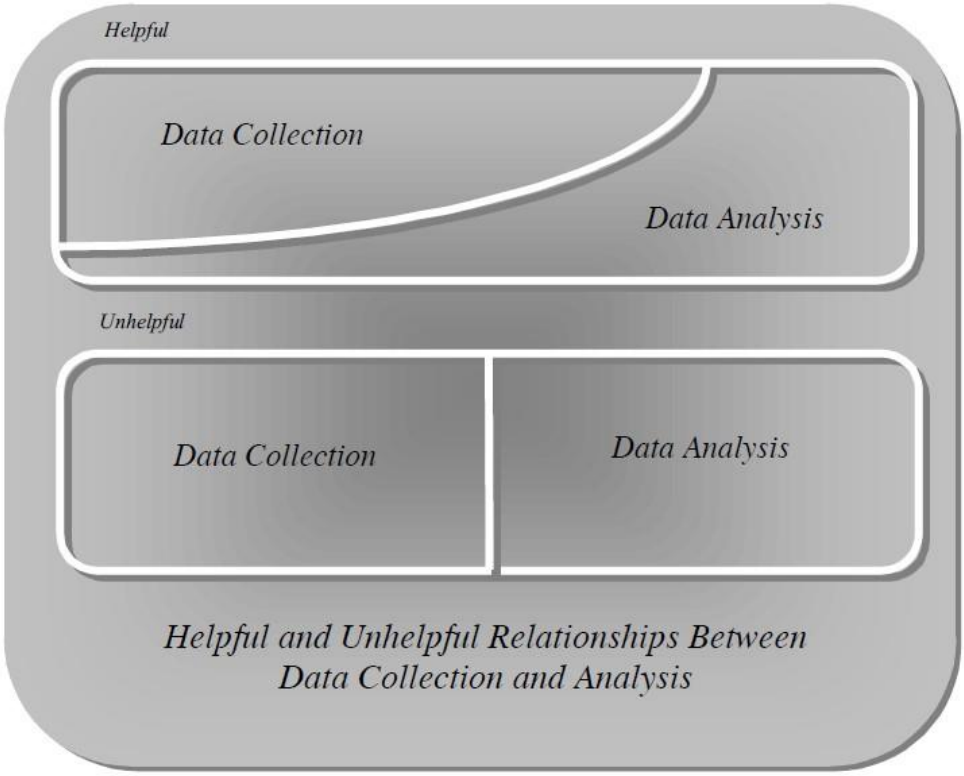


Figure 7 - Data Analysis Process (Brown 2001, p. 104)

4.6.1 Dance Analysis

The analysis of the different data sources happened in overlapping phases. The videos were the first data set I started analysing as the study revolved around the dance as physical performance and movement. The analysis followed Adshead (1988, p. 13), who states that:

> *Making sense* of a dance requires . . . that an interpretation is made, derived from a rigorous description of the movement and supported by additional knowledge of the context in which the dance exists.

According to Adshead, to describe dance, we need to consider four elements: movements, dancers, visual settings and aural elements. To interpret dance, for Adshead, it is also necessary to consider elements such as the socio-cultural background, the context, the genre and style and the subject matter. Hence, from the videos, I analysed the movements of the dance and also the context in which it was taking place, the people, the physical and social location, the props and costumes and the technology involved in the reproduction of dance.

In addition to the elements highlighted by Adshead, dance has semiotic levels. Giurchescu (2001, p. 112) posits that dance is a 'cultural text' in which social interactions and dance elements coexist and influence each other in various ways, according to the style. Dance communicates through movement, as well as non-choreographic means of expression, such as props, text/poetry, music, costumes, staging, social rules, pantomime, gestures, verbal expressions, facial expressions and proxemics (use of space). Giurchescu then identifies five interacting and coexisting semiotic levels:

- A transcultural level related to psychosomatic perceptions of the self (emotions, feeling, moods, intentions). Transcultural because human emotions transcend cultural boundaries.
- A conceptual level. This refers to acquired knowledge about dance.
- A ritual level, where dance has symbolic and mythical meaning.
- A level of social interaction. At this level, dance reflects the position of people in society and it includes reference to gender (and it could be added body types), kinship, social status, age.
- An artistic level, where dance is valued as a performance to entertain an audience.

Most of these levels can be observed in the videos, while written texts and interviews provide the discursive element, shedding more light on the observations gathered from the videos. I found that texts and interviews were useful to discover the commonly held views and beliefs among practitioners about raqs sharqi. Similarly, Butterworth (2012, p. 44) identifies four layers for the semiotic of dance:

- The meaning that the choreographer brings such as intention, concept, ideas, content, form.
- The dance itself and the signs that reside in it once it is completed (the dancers, quality, patterns, vocabulary, the context).
- The feelings, experiences and interpretations of the performers.
- Reading, perceiving and making sense by the audience.

Following the analysis of videos and textual elements, it became clear that, although raqs sharqi has all these elements, some levels were more evident and powerful than others in the discourse around it. It emerged that the feelings and emotions were particularly significant for raqs sharqi practitioners and audiences, as well as the individuality of the dancers and how their dance reflected their personalities.

As I started to analyse the movements from the videos, the type of analysis most suited to investigating the emotional aspects of movements (both with regards to individual dancers and to the qualities specific to a certain genre as a culturally influenced movement system), was Laban analysis. I did not use a dance notation technique, as the dance was already documented in the videos. Instead, I observed and analysed the movements qualitatively and then compared my observations with observations by other practitioners available online and from interviews with participants.

Laban's theory of movement includes a notation system and an analysis system, called Laban Movement Analysis (LMA). Within LMA, there are many aspects and concepts that can be drawn upon but, for the purpose of this thesis, I will only elaborate on the ones which were relevant for this work. The concept I have employed for my raqs sharqi analysis is the Laban's 'effort system', based on the ideas of body, weight, space, time and flow (Horton Fraleigh and Hanstein, 1999; Newlove and Dalby, 2003; Butterworth, 2012). In LMA, weight, space, time and flow as expressed by the body, are connected to each other and together they produce a variety of movement qualities, depending on the combination of these elements.

Weight refers to the resistance that the body (or one or more of its parts) opposes to gravity, whether it resists or gives in to gravity (raqs sharqi, for example, often displays a quality of being earthy, connected to the ground with the feet, but also lifted at the same time, especially in the upper body). So, a movement can be more or less heavy (strong) or

light. Time refers to the movement speed, which can be more or less quick (sudden) or slow (sustained). For example, in raqs sharqi, there can be quick movements of the hips to mark a drum accent or slow hips figures of eight to embody a slow melody. Space refers to the pattern followed by a movement, which can be in a straight line (direct) or waiving in and out (indirect). Most raqs sharqi movements are typically indirect, such as figures of eights, circles and snake-like movements of torso and arms, but a dancer can decide to make gestures with straight arms or travel in space in a direct trajectory. Movement qualities of weight, space and time combine together in 'qualitatively oppositional descriptions to indicate functional and expressive aspects of the lived body' (Kaylo, 2009, p. 1). Figure 8 (Clara, 2012) illustrates the eight types of movement resulting from the combination of these oppositional combinations of qualities.

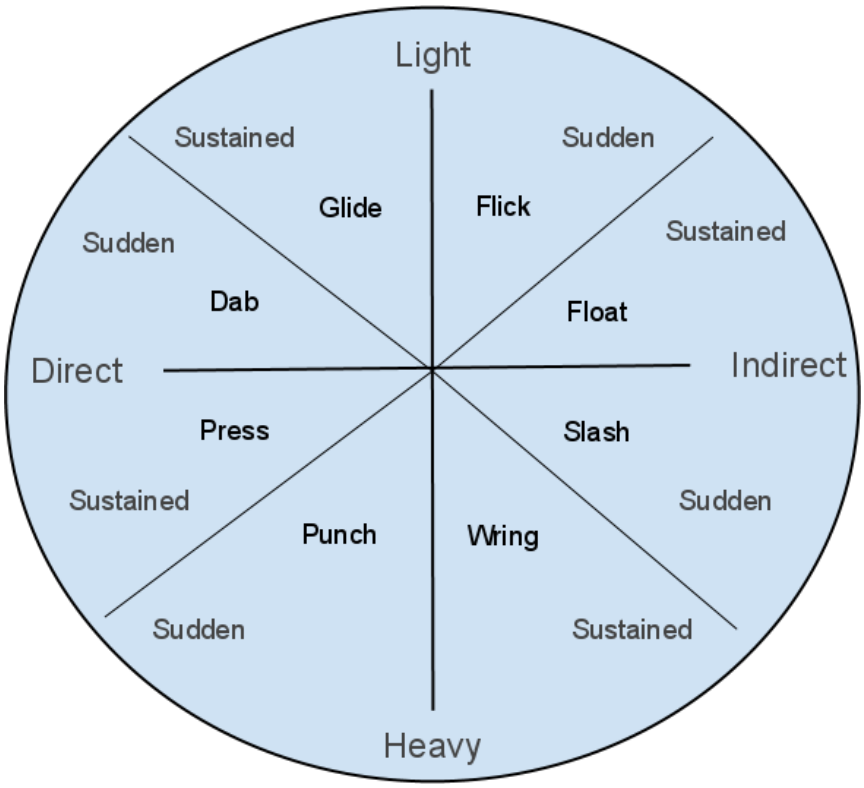


Figure 8 – Laban Movement Efforts and Qualities

Another attribute that contributes to the quality of movement, is flow, which can be free or bound. As Newlove and Dalby explain (2003, p. 127):

> Flow is mainly concerned with the degree of liberation in movement . . . To understand and describe flow it is necessary to consider its complete opposite: movement which is broken up and jerky with the quality of 'starting and stopping'.

In raqs sharqi vocabulary, both types of flow are seen (to embody the expressions of the music), but different dancers (depending on their individual style, but also on the prevalent trend during their lifetime) may have a distinct preference for one or the other. Free flow can be sweeping movements of the limbs or free-flowing hips and torso articulation, while bound flow is often seen in the hips and stomach, with slow contractions and quick releases of the muscles. All these movement qualities need to be analysed in combination, to create a holistic picture of the movement. As Foster (2016, p. 5) points out:

> Laban's mode of thought permits both analysis and synthesis. Every movement traverses space, and this takes time, the one implies the other, and every movement involves a degree of energy: but the three elements are inseparable, one cannot be altered without modifying the others and therefore the whole.

The qualities of movement do not just describe movement per se, but also express the emotional characteristics of a genre, as well as the inner feelings of the dancer. This was Laban's intention when devising his analysis system as, according to Preston-Dunlop (2010, p. 66), 'Laban asserted that the factors of motion, its weight/force content, its spatial form, its timing and its flow content are signifiers in all human performance . . . the embodiment of inner states of mind'.

Another conceptual tool that guided the analysis of dance for this research is Kaeppler's (1972, 2001) idea of kinemes, morphokines, motif and choremes, which she devised for the analysis of dance, drawing from linguistics. As Kaeppler (2001, p. 51) explains:

> Kinemes are minimal units of movement recognised as contrastive by people of a given dance tradition (analogous to phonemes in a spoken language). Although having no meaning in themselves, kinemes are the basic units from which the dances of a given tradition are built. Morphokines are the smallest units that have meaning as movement in the structure of a movement system (meaning here does not refer to narrative or pictorial meaning).

Kaeppler then mentions allokines, which are variations on a kineme; motifs, which are 'sequences of movement made up of kinemes and morphokines that produce short entities in themselves' (2001, p. 51) and choremes, which are 'motifs choreographed in association with meaningful imagery' (2001, p. 52). Motifs and choremes together form a

dance, which can have a structured choreography or can be improvised. Table 9, on the following page, gives further definitions and illustrations of these concepts.

Concept	Definition	Example
Kineme	The basic units from which all dance of a given tradition is built (Kaeppler 1972, p. 174).	For Tongan dance, Kaeppler identified specific positions of the arms, for example. In raqs sharqi there are no specific positions, as the dance is not very structured at the level of minute details. In raqs sharqi kinemes can be the very basic movements such as, for example, a hip drop, a hip circle, hip shimmies.
Allokine	Actual physiological differences which do not contrast can be said to be allokines. The sum of all the allokines defines the limits of the kineme and specifies the amount of variation allowable before it becomes a "different" kineme (Kaeppler 1972, p. 176).	For raqs sharqi it can be how individual dancers perform the same movement, depending on their physiology, stylistic choice or the quality they want to give to a movement (e.g. height, strength, fluidity etc.). For example, a hip drop done with or without lifting the foot of the moving hip at the end of the movement; or a hip shimmy keeping the knees more or less straight.
Morphokine	Morphokines combine kinemes-whether position or motion-into flowing movements that have a definite beginning and end. A morphokine may consist of a single kineme, repeated one or more times, or a combination of kinemes. (Kaeppler 1972, p. 186)	For Tongan dance, Kaeppler identified specific classes of movements (e.g. of the arms, of the legs etc.). For raqs sharqi, most of these coincide with kinemes. Classes of kinemes can have subclasses. For example, a hip figure of eight can be done moving the hips inward or outward.
Motif	A motif is a frequently occurring combination of morphokines that forms a short entity in itself (Kaeppler 1972, p. 202)	For raqs sharqi this can be a sequence of steps (with associated hips and arms movements) that has become part of the shared vocabulary and is taught as a sequence.
Choreme	A culturally grammatical choreographic unit made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and chronological, of any length. For example, motifs of the upper body and motifs of the lower body together may form a choreme (Kaeppler 2001, 52).	The example given above could be a motif or a choreme, depending on the amount of levels involved and if the movements of the arms that go, for example, with a step, can be considered a separate motif or not.
Dance	Motifs and choremes are put together to form a dance, that is, a specific choreography which can be pre-set or improvised/spontaneous (Kaeppler 2001, 52).	Traditionally, most of the time, raqs sharqi is improvised but sometimes pre set choreography can be used also.

Table 9 – Kaeppler's terminology and examples

For the purpose of this study, the elements analysed have been limited to the levels of kinemes and, in some cases, motifs. According to Kaeppler, a dance ethnologist can take note of the movements of a dance tradition (by using, for example, Labanotation) and then subject the resulting kinetic notation to '"emic" analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant movements' (1972, p. 174) and identify the kinemes, by consulting the participants who practise a certain dance tradition. For this research though, the researcher's point of view was already emic, because of my inside knowledge of the movements' tradition of raqs sharqi. By isolating small units of movement (kinemes and allokines[1]), it was possible to identify the basic raqs sharqi movement vocabulary, which identifies this genre from a movement point of view. This is important from a cultural heritage perspective, to start assessing authenticity since, as argued when outlining the research questions (3.8), to safeguard heritage we need to know what the object of this safeguarding is.

In analysing the videos, my main focus was on the dance and its context. However, the dimension of the videos as visual artefacts could not be ignored and these videos provided other types of data. I did not do an in-depth analysis of the videos as artefacts and carriers of meaning, as this would be outside the scope of this thesis, but some elements were considered. According to Rose (2012, p. 19), visual materials include three sites: 'the site of *production* . . . where the image is made; the site of the *image* itself . . . its visual content; and the site where the image encounters its spectators . . . its *audiencing'*. On top of these three sites, according to Rose, there are three aspects or modalities, which each of these sites has, and they are: technological, compositional and social modalities. Figure 9, illustrates how these sites and modalities overlap. In analysing the data from the videos, some of these elements have been touched on. For example, the social modality of the audiencing site is in part expressed by the comments available under the YouTube videos. The technological modality of all three sites was also taken into consideration in trying to understand how technology influences the recording, representation, perception and transmission of dance.

[1] I did not use morphokines, as kinemes and morphokines are usually indistinguishable in raqs sharqi (Table 9).

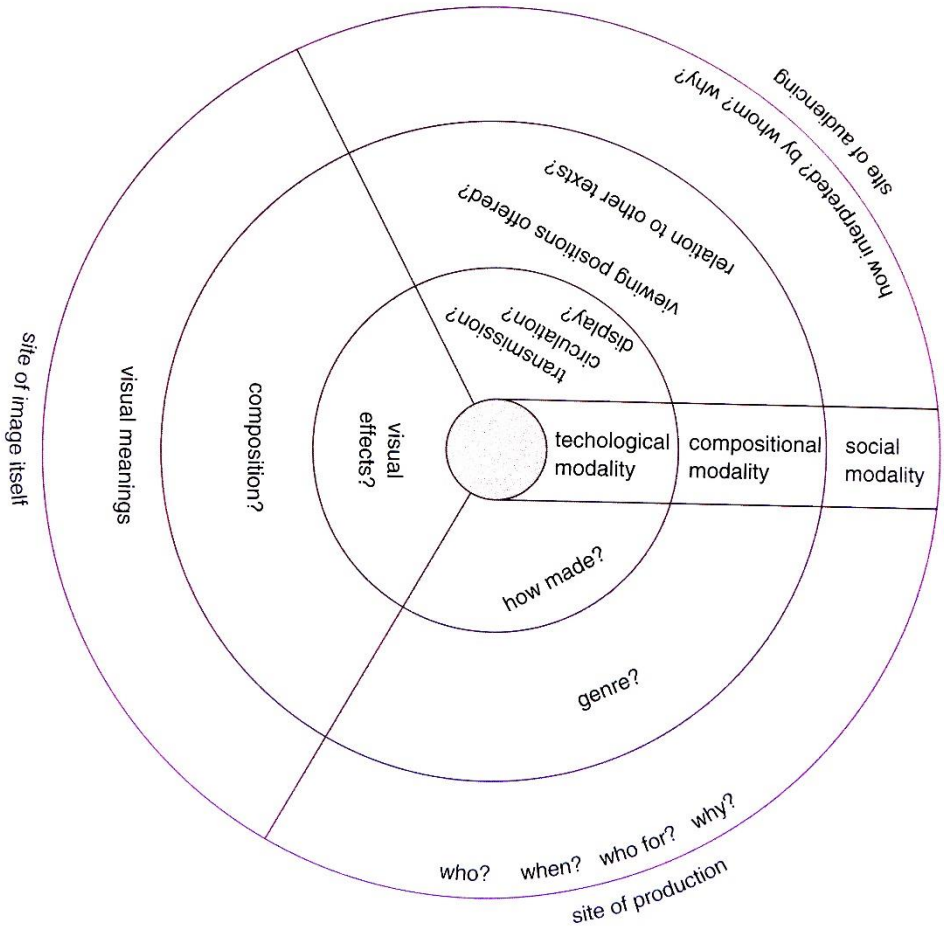


Figure 9 – Visual Sites and Modalities (Rose, 2012, p. 21)

The first phase of the video analysis took place as I watched the videos for the first time (just over 1,000 videos). As I watched and observed the videos, I wrote notes and, while doing so, I selected a smaller number of those videos, as being the most significant. After watching a certain number of videos for each dancer, certain patterns emerged, which showed each dancer's style and signature moves, as well as trends in the presentation and context of dance for each chronological timeframe. As most videos showed a repetition of patterns for each dancer, only some of the videos watched in the first phase were selected for the second round of analysis.

In addition to making notes in Word, I created an Excel table with four tabs (see the screenshot in Figure 10). In the first tab, I listed the most common basic raqs sharqi movements (kinemes/morphokines) that I noticed in the first column on the left and the names of the dancers across the top in the first row and, in each column, whether each dancer used each movement or not. In the first column, I also listed the Laban qualities,

to check which ones each dancer expressed the most. In the remaining three tabs, I listed, for each dancer, respectively: the dance styles; the costumes styles and which props they used.

	A	B	C
1	Movement	Samia Gam	Taheya Karioka
2	Backbend	yes	yes
3	Camel	yes	yes
4	Floor work	yes (in one video)	
5	Head slides	yes	yes
6	Hip circles		yes (often very big)
7	Hip drops	yes	yes (sometimes leaning back, others with foot release)
8	Soheir Zaki hip drops		
9	Hip horiz fig 8	yes	yes (at times big)
10	Hip lifts		
11	Hip shimmies	yes (but not t	yes (small 3/4)
12	Light	yes	sometimes
13	Heavy		yes
14	Sudden	sometimes	yes
15	Sustained	yes	yes
16	Direct		
17	Indirect	yes	
18	Free flow	yes	
19	Bound flow		
20			
21			

Movements | Styles by dancers | Costume fashions | Props

Figure 10 – Screenshot of movements and dancers Excel spreadsheet

The second phase of the movement analysis overlapped with the writing of the dance analysis (Chapter 5) and with the analysis of some of the written texts and other visual material gathered online and offline. After the first phase of the analysis, a well-defined timeline emerged, with specific timeframes. Hence, this called for a chronological presentation of the dance analysis, which led to a history of raqs sharqi. As I wrote the dance analysis, I referred to the analysis table in Excel and to the notes I had written for the first phase of the video analysis. At the same time, I watched again only the videos which I selected from the first phase of the analysis.

In the second phase of the video analysis, I also coded the videos and the notes taken while watching them, using Zotero (I will explain more of this process in 4.6.3). At the same time, I read, annotated and coded some of the online and offline texts, especially anything that related to the dancers whose dance was being analysed or any associated

emerging themes. As I re-watched videos, explored more textual data and coded this material, I was writing the dance analysis. For this chapter, I also used material from the interviews I had coded, where there was a reference to the dancers who appeared in the videos. In the dance analysis write up, I narrowed down videos further, quoting only the most representative ones in the text. While I watched the selected videos a second time, I also took screenshots of certain scenes, in order to use them in the thesis. This procedure helped me to focus and immerse myself even more in the data.

Before moving on to explain how I analysed texts, I would like to discuss the limitations of this dance analysis. In 2.5 and 4.4.1, I already mentioned that in dance studies it is widely acknowledged that videos, for documenting and analysing dance, are very useful but also limited, as they mediate the dance and provide just a point of view of the performance. Videos allow the dance to be seen from a specific angle only. For this reason, Farnell (1994, p. 963) advises to write a Labanotation score, as well as recording videos, in order to capture 'the spatial relationships between participants, and between participants and objects, and the organization of space internal and external to the rite'. Moreover, Farnell (ibid.) posits, in order to write a Labanotation score, the researcher cooperates with the performers 'to record the action from each agent's perspective' as videos are used as a base for discussions with participants while writing the score. As the majority of the videos I used are from a distant past, I could not be present to notate a score and also it was impractical for me to discuss the videos with the performers, as they are not accessible (the majority of them have passed away and the few who are still alive are difficult to contact). Thus, I had to settle with analysing videos only.

Another issue to take into consideration is that the majority of these videos are part of a movie. Hence, the ways in which these films were shot, the techniques, the director's point of view and the language of cinematography as a medium in itself will have influenced the way in which the dance was represented. For example, as Bacon (2003) discusses, dancers in movies tend to dance for the camera, thus creating a front similar to a stage rather than moving around facing different directions as they would do in a social setting. Nevertheless, in Egyptian movies, even if, as Dougherty (2005) states, many dance numbers were actually representations of dance on stage, there are many representations of dance in different settings. For example, there are many dance scenes during weddings or at nightclubs with the dancer performing amongst the tables. While in

some of these performances the dancer faces the camera, often the camerawork tries to present the dancers from different angles as well, in a way that is similar to what a spectator in a club or wedding setting would see the dancer. Overall, in my analysis, I tried to always be aware of how being part of a film would influence the dance.

Another consideration focuses on the use of Laban analysis for dance forms that are not Western. Johnson Jones (1999), for instance, points out that Labanotation, although useful for notating African dances, is considered limited as it fails to represent elements that are necessary for African dance's interpretation, such as empathy and storyline. Similarly, Sklar (2006, p. 103) drawing on the dance critic Marcia Siegel, acknowledges that Laban analysis is biased towards extremes (i.e. tends to ignore movements that, for example, are neither quick nor sustained) and tends to emphasise Western aesthetic categories, such as 'shape and spatial design, with little attention given to rhythm, interaction, continuity and change'. Moreover, Sklar (ibid.) adds, Laban analysis does not cover 'all possible kinds of vitality' nor 'social interaction or cultural constructions of meaning'. Nevertheless, Sklar (ibid.) acknowledges that the Laban system is the best system we have, for the moment, to capture qualitative elements of movement that go beyond shapes and patterns. With this in mind, I used Laban analysis as a tool to capture some of the feelings and energy of the movements of Egyptian raqs sharqi, whilst being mindful that Laban analysis does not cover everything. By analysing videos and using Laban analysis, I tried to overcome what Farnell (1994, p. 929) laments as being a 'stumbling-block with regard to Western ways of "seeing" or not seeing human body movement' by representing it only through a series of static images such as 'photographs, sketches, diagrams, or positions of limbs plotted on a two dimensional graph'.

The last point I would like to cover here is the fact that, although I have been practising Egyptian raqs sharqi for over 15 years, I am not Egyptian and I do not speak Arabic. According to Farnell (1999, p. 147), it is not possible to understand a movement system without an understanding of the spoken language as 'human beings are language users, and the mind that uses spoken language does not somehow switch off when it comes to moving'. Thus, Farnell (ibid.) argues, the way in which we think through language influences the way we move, and not acknowledging this means to perpetuate the Cartesian body/mind division. While I accept Farnell's (1999) argument, I would argue that having practised Egyptian raqs sharqi for many years and having trained often with

Egyptians who also communicated in words (even if in English) their understanding of the dance, helps my understanding of it. There are limitations though, as my being an Italian who lives in the UK will always influence my way of interpreting any dance system. Nevertheless, this thesis focuses on the international and transcultural dimension of Egyptian raqs sharqi. Thus, a transcultural influence in its analysis is not entirely out of place.

4.6.2 Texts and Interviews Analysis

This section covers the analysis of online and offline texts and of the interviews. For the textual sources, whether they were written (books, blogs, comments to online videos, web pages) or audio-visual (DVDs, videos of interviews with famous dancers found online) the analysis consisted in the coding of the text. For the interviews, the first phase of the analysis consisted in the transcription. I decided not to use a professional transcriber and do this work myself because, as Patton (2002, p. 441) states, 'doing . . . your own interview transcriptions . . . provides an opportunity to get immersed in the data'. As I transcribed the interviews, I started identifying patterns and emerging themes.

I gravitated towards what Oliver, Serovich and Mason (2005) call a 'denaturalised transcription', focusing on the content of the interview, rather than on non-verbal utterances. The reason being that I decided not to employ a discourse analysis, but rather focus more broadly on the content of what was being said rather than on how it was said. However, I transcribed some non-verbal vocalisations (such as hmm to express thinking time) and I made notes of moods (i.e. laughter) or body language, when they added meaning to the data. Hence, I decided to adopt an intermediate position between naturalism and denaturalism. Indeed, as Oliver (2005, p. 1273) et al. posit:

> Transcription practices can be thought of in terms of a continuum with two dominant modes: naturalism, in which every utterance is transcribed in as much detail as possible, and denaturalism, in which idiosyncratic elements of speech (e.g., stutters, pauses, nonverbals, involuntary vocalizations) are removed. . . . Between these two methods are endless variations using elements of each to achieve certain analytical objectives and research goals.

Part of the reason why I did not choose a completely naturalised transcription was also due to clarity. As Oliver at al consider, 'one advantage of removing non-verbals and tokens is that transcripts become easier to read' (2005, p. 1286). Indeed, every 'transcript

is an interpretation' (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999, p. 81) and 'even the most literal form of writing-up . . . represents a *translation* or even an interpretation' (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 30). Since, following the constructionist epistemology of my interpretivist paradigm, I assume that complete neutrality is not possible in transcription, I decided to strike a compromise between clarity and accuracy of representation. The next section of this chapter focuses on the coding process and the creation of themes.

4.6.3 Coding and Themes

Coding was based on a thematic analysis, which refers to the process of coding the data and grouping connected codes into themes. This process is common in qualitative research (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Attride-Stirling, 2001; Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002; Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Roulston, 2009; Marshall and Rossman, 2010).

The first step was to apply codes to selected parts of text from interviews, textual data and notes taken from watching the videos of dance. As Roulston (2009, p. 151) suggests, 'codes are labels that researchers apply to sections of data . . . that represent some aspect of the data'. The first category of codes was generated from the research questions, the theory and the literature; as I analysed the data though, new codes started to emerge. The former type of codes have been referred to as 'theory-generated codes' (Marshall and Rossman, 2010, p. 209) or 'sensitising concepts' which 'have their origins in social science theory, the research literature, or evaluation issues identified at the beginning of a study' (Patton, 2002, p. 456).

The latter codes, emerging from the data, were emic codes. These, according to Patton (2002, p. 454), are 'key phrases, terms and practices that are special to the people in the setting studied. . . . Anthropologists call this emic analysis and distinguish it from etic analysis, which refers to labels imposed by the researcher'. Hence, the codes I applied to the data were a combination of etic and emic and the analysis I adopted was both inductive and deductive, as it was based on the continuous interaction between theory and what was emerging from the data. As Patton (2002, p. 453) explains, 'inductive analysis involves discovering patterns, themes, and categories in one's data . . . in contrast to deductive analysis where the data are analysed according to an existing framework'. This connects with the stance I highlighted at the beginning of this chapter

(4.2) of my use of a sensitising conceptual framework, which guided my gaze, while the analysis was guided by the data as they emerged.

The codes applied to the dance video analysis were slightly different from those applied to the rest of the data, as dance videos contained a lot more references to the types of movements which were seen in the dance, rather than on discursive elements. However, some of the codes applied to all sets of data and these included, for example, codes referring to feelings, settings for the dance, sociocultural values, transmission or the use of costumes and props.

At the same time as coding the data, I carried out what Ryan and Bernard (2003, p. 94) call 'cutting and sorting', which 'involves identifying quotes or expressions that seem somehow important and then arranging the quotes/expressions into piles of things that go together'. In order to 'cut' the important quotes, I used the reference manager programme called Zotero. I copied and pasted relevant quotes into notes (a feature in Zotero) and then I tagged these notes with the relevant codes. I then created Zotero reports from these tags, which I saved as independent files and grouped in folders according to the themes they went under.

The process of arranging codes into themes was more physical and it involved the use of paper and scissors. I first listed all the codes (labelling the codes according to whether they were emic or etic) using an Excel spreadsheet. I then printed the spreadsheet, cut all the codes in the cells into individual pieces of paper, laid these pieces of paper on the floor, and started grouping them together into themes on A2 paper sheets. As codes were grouped together, themes emerged. Finally, I created a new Excel sheet with the themes in the first row and, in the columns under each theme, the codes that went under it. The process of using paper and scissors to process qualitative data is documented in the literature. As well as Ryan and Bernard (2003) cited above, for example, Maykut and Morehouse (1994) mention the practice of photocopying interview transcripts, field notes or documents, coding on the margins of the pieces of paper and then cutting them and rearranging them on index cards. I did this part electronically, using Zotero to code and arrange the meaningful text. However, I resorted to paper and scissors at a later stage to cluster codes into themes.

As Ryan and Bernard (2003, p. 95) suggest, 'investigators . . . will need to address the issue of which themes are the most important and worthy of further analysis'. The process of writing the dance analysis chapter, helped me to do this. As the dance analysis formed the core of this research, I decided to write it first, in the form of a history of raqs sharqi in which formal, physical and sociocultural elements of dance interact. Going through the dance analysis helped me highlight the most relevant themes, so I then searched the data again, in particular from interviews, to see if there was anything that could support, contradict or complement my findings. During this process, I connected with the wider sociological and heritage issues, which emerged both from the literature and the data. During the analysis, in order not to lose focus, I always kept an eye on my research questions, which I had printed out and placed on my desk, as Mason (2002, p. 160) suggests, 'if you literally keep your research questions nearby . . . you can make sure that you are constantly cross-checking between them and your data in the process of developing and applying categories'.

4.6.4 Presentation of Data

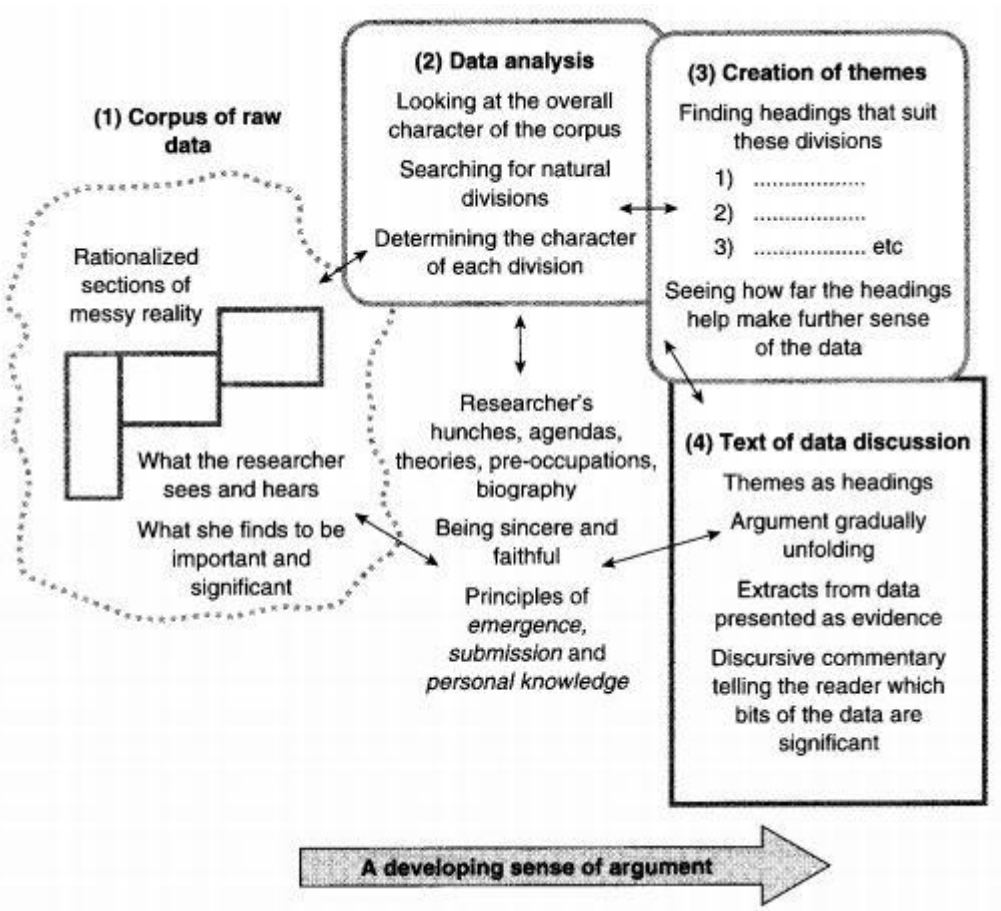


Figure 11 – From data to writing (Holliday, 2007, p. 90)

As I started writing the results, I was presented with various possibilities. As stated by Sandelowski (1998, p. 376), 'qualitative researchers must choose which story, of the many stories available to them in a data set'. In the choice of my storyline, I was guided by the data. The process of writing the results section developed in stages and was interconnected with the analysis process. As summarised in Figure 11 (Holliday 2007, p. 90), the phases of data analysis and writing the discussions fed off each other, in line with a constructionist epistemology. The first section I wrote was the dance analysis, which was organised around six timeframes. This structure was driven by the data because, as I analysed the videos, six timeframes emerged, each with distinct characteristics. Also, by watching the videos and analysing all the other data sources, it emerged that the most famous dancers were very influential in the way the dance developed. Hence, in line with the idea of agency in the way social actors shape heritage, the sections within each timeframe revolved mainly around some pivotal figures in the history of raqs sharqi.

At the end of each timeframe, I wrote an analysis section to draw some analytical conclusions and connect the data with the conceptual framework. I did not do analysis within the timeframes sections as I did not want to interrupt the flow of the story. In the analysis sections, I used tables to organise, summarise and present the data following Wolcott (1990, pp. 63–64), who suggests that graphics 'not only provide valuable supplements to printed text but can condense and expedite the presentation of supporting detail'.

As I wrote the dance analysis, the data clustered around key themes, some of which were key themes from the literature and the conceptual framework and others emerged during the analysis. Therefore, I wrote a subsequent chapter (Chapter 6), where these key themes were discussed synchronically across the timeframes. Doing so, allowed me to bring more analysis into the writing and also to add some relevant data (in particular, but not only, from the one to one interviews), which did not fit into the chronological representation of the dance analysis. Hence, I went from the more particular details of the dance analysis to the wider discussions, in an inductive writing process. I then wrote the conclusions, with general considerations and recommendations, in a final separate chapter (Chapter 7).

The type of narrative I chose could be considered a traditional or realist tale, as explained by Sparkes and Smith (2014, p. 156), because I tried to foreground the voices of the

participants, or of the authors of textual data. However, contrary to Sparkes and Smith's (ibid) explanation of traditionalist narrative, I did not try to disappear completely from the narrative. Since I have experience in raqs sharqi myself as a practitioner and having travelled to Egypt for dance training, I inserted opinions from my own experience where I thought it would enrich the representation of the data. So, although my writing does not fit into the category of a confessional tale, which Sparkes and Smith (2014, p. 157), identify with 'highly personalised styles' adding that the process of the research and its problems are 'the main focus rather than just the findings', it has some elements of it. Also, in line with my constructionist epistemology, I did not aim to express a 'reality'. Rather, following Smith's (2006) consideration that heritage is a discourse, I tried to build a discourse that emerged from practitioners' considerations and their interaction with the artefactual remains of dance from the past (the videos). Hence, my narrative could be best described as a 'modified realist tale', as described by Sparkes (2002, pp. 51–54), in which the presence of the author is felt (for example, the author declares his/her social background), whilst still foregrounding the findings and the participants' voices.

4.7 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is defined by Gratton and Jones (2004, p. 186) as 'a process whereby the effect of the researcher, and their own characteristics, background, values, attitudes and so on, upon the subject matter is taken account of'. Acknowledging researcher bias is a commonly accepted practice in the field of qualitative research (Sparkes, 1992b; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Bourdieu, 1996; Mason, 2002; Marshall and Rossman, 2010; Sparkes and Smith, 2014) because, as Sparkes and Smith (2014, p. 73) indicate, 'the person and their communicative competencies are the main 'instrument' of data collection. Because of this, they cannot adopt a neutral role in the field and in their interactions with people during interviews or observations'.

This research has been influenced by many years of involvement in the field of Egyptian raqs sharqi, as well as by my academic background in cultural heritage studies and my own cultural background and view of the world. These factors have influenced the choice of topic, the particular questions I pose and the methodology. My knowledge in the field has provided me with the starting point from which to begin gathering data. Throughout this thesis, the voice of the researcher can be heard, not only through reflexivity, but also because I considered myself to be not only the researcher, but also one of the

participants. I did not choose to write an autoethnography, because I wanted to include other people's voices, to gather richer data.

A way for me to use my own experience as data was by quoting pages from my raqs sharqi website. For the majority, I have used other people's sources but, when I thought that it would add useful information to the data, I quoted some pages from my website, which I wrote long before I started this research. Hence, by using those webpages, I was looking retrospectively at my own point of view as a participant in the field, before I became a researcher in the same field. I have not found a big amount of literature for the use of blogs in qualitative research. Moreover, none of the sources I found (Dickey, 2004; Hookway, 2008; Murthy, 2008; Walker Rettberg, 2008) mention using the researcher's own blogs, from before the research was conceived, as sources of data.

In terms of data analysis and interpretation, I am aware that the interpretation of data will inevitably be filtered through my vision because, as Bourdieu (1996, p. 34) states, 'the sociologist must never ignore that the specific characteristic of her [sic] point of view is to be a point of view on a point of view'. Hence, my bias as a researcher did not only affect the choice of the topic and the way I carried out the research in the field, but also the way I interpreted the data and how I decided to present it, since 'representational practices inform all stages of dance ethnography . . . from the conception . . . to its execution and completion' (Gore, 1999, p. 209). As Mauthner and Doucet (2003, p. 415) point out, 'methods of data analysis . . . carry the epistemological, ontological and theoretical assumptions of the researchers who developed them', thus they cannot be neutral.

As somebody who has been a practitioner of Egyptian raqs sharqi for over 15 years, I am an insider in this field, at least as far as the international community involved with this genre is concerned. This gave me a privileged point of view as I could access some of the participants easily and I had previous knowledge of the field, as well as a kinesthetic knowledge of the dance. As Bacon (2003, p. 57) reports citing Sklar, a 'researcher's dance experience enables an entrance to the field' because of the 'kinesthetic empathy' that s/he already has. At the same time, being an insider in a field can affect a researcher's interpretation of the data. For example, I was sometimes tempted to accept my respondents' comments at face value (even the most essentialist ones) as I largely shared the same cultural discourse and interpretations regarding Egyptian raqs sharqi. Also,

whilst writing, I had to often stop myself from making essentialist claims by trying to avoid taking assumptions for granted.

At the same time though, as a non-Egyptian, I was also an outsider to the field insofar as the local roots of this dance were concerned. So, I had a double outsider/insider status as a dance researcher (Koutsouba, 1999). The 'outsider' status gave me the opportunity to gain some distance from some aspects of Egyptian raqs sharqi, but at the same time, I lacked a deep, lived understanding of the 'Egyptianess' of this dance form. Hence, when writing the history of Egyptian raqs sharqi from the 20th century, I could not write "the" history of this dance genre but rather "a" history, as Fraser (2014, sec. On Writing This Book) contends, 'defined within the limits of my skills of cultural awareness'.

Overall, I will have to accept that, for as hard as a researcher tries, as Mauthner and Doucet (2003, p. 425) posit, 'there may be limits to reflexivity'. So, we may have to accept that, as Mauthner and Doucet (ibid.) suggest, it is not possible to be aware of all our present biases and we may need to allow time to pass from the end of the research, in order to distance ourselves from it. Time should allow a researcher to become aware of influences (and even prejudices) that permeated the interpretation of the data but were not noticed whilst s/he was still involved in the research process. Indeed, this is what happened to Buckland (2006) when she looked back at the way she had interpreted data from her PhD research, some decades after its completion.

After the end of my PhD, I will probably not leave the field in a practical sense, as I will still practice Egyptian raqs sharqi. Nevertheless, I might leave the field in what Bacon (2003, p. 61) refers to as a 'cognitive' way, that is in my 'ability and interest in examining a group of people through an ethnographic lens'. Thus, leaving the field in this sense will probably allow me to distance myself from this research and interpret it differently. Also, I may experience this genre differently (or practice different styles) and this could also influence my interpretation looking back, in a similar way as practising revival morris dance (which she had not tried during her research), gave Buckland (2006) a different appreciation of this style many years after completing her PhD.

This is something I will not know until a few years after finishing my research. In the meantime, I will give my interpretation of the data, which only constitutes a tale rather than the 'truth', 'just one of many tales to tell which reveals our interpretation at any

particular moment' (T. J. Buckland, 1999, p. 204). Nevertheless, having acknowledged that, as Buckland states (1999, p. 205), 'it also remains our responsibility to aim to distinguish stories from fantasies'. One way to help researchers achieve this, as Maykut and Morehouse (1994) suggest, is for researchers to work with others as a team. For a PhD student, the team would be the supervisors who review the work, giving critical feedback, as well as fellow researchers and other practitioners from the community in which the PhD student is involved. For me, the feedback from others in the field of dance research was particularly useful, including during conferences I attended and feedback received on the publications based on this research, during the review process.

Finally, even if qualitative research cannot be separated from the researchers and their bias and, as Mason (2002, p. 52) posits, because of this, 'it is more accurate to speak of *generating* data than *collecting* data', it is still possible to apply concepts of reliability and validity to qualitative data. In the next section, I will explain how I dealt with validity and reliability.

4.8 Validity and Reliability

According to Mason (2002, p. 39), in qualitative research, 'r*eliability* involves the accuracy of your research methods and techniques . . . if your research is valid, it means that you are observing, identifying or 'measuring' what you say you are'. Validity and reliability for qualitative research are intended differently from the way they are intended in quantitative research, where 'facts' can be measured and researchers hold onto the idea of a truth beyond individual subjectivities. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (4.2), I adopted a relativist ontology, a constructionist epistemology and an interpretivist paradigm. Hence, I cannot adhere to the quantitative idea of truth. Instead, according to Sparkes (1992b, p. 31), truth for interpretivists is a matter of coherence, a matter of internal relations within the research process, rather than correspondence with an external reality, which is difficult to verify outside of human subjectivity. He states that 'truth . . . is what we make it to be based upon shared visions and common understandings that are socially constructed'. Indeed, not everyone agrees on the idea of validity for qualitative research. For instance, Wolcott (1994, p. 366) mentions the 'absurdity of validity' and argues that instead, he seeks 'a quality that points more to identifying critical elements and wringing plausible interpretations from them [rather than pursuing] . . . the Truth'.

It is the internal coherence mentioned by Sparkes (1992b) that I sought for this project, rather than reliability and validity in a quantitative way. By recording the steps of my research and analysis, I tried to build what Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 146) refer to as ‘an audit trail’, which shows accuracy and coherence in the methods chosen. Moreover, I used more than one research method, to verify one set of data against another, in a process of triangulation. In the context of this project, however, triangulation is not intended in the quantitative meaning of the word. Indeed, I agree with Silverman (2013, p. 288) that triangulation is not satisfactory to establish validity in qualitative research because ‘a constructionist model is simply not compatible with the assumption that 'true fixes on reality' can be obtained separately from particular ways of looking at it’. Instead, I use the term triangulation in its broadest sense of ‘a combination of methods to explore one set of research questions’ (Mason, 2002, p. 190), in order to have a more rounded view of a phenomenon, from the point of view of a relativist ontology and constructionist epistemology.

In particular, I found helpful the comparison of my observations and analysis of the dance in the videos, with opinions held by other practitioners (gathered via interviews and by reading texts written by practitioners). I first watched and analysed the videos and then I read other practitioners’ opinions about the dance style of the dancers I had watched in those videos. Finally, I compared my notes (a research diary I kept with the observations of the videos) with the opinions expressed in other texts, to see how my opinions compared with the ideas of others. The aim of this comparison was to connect my observations with a shared discourse within the raqs sharqi community, the socially constructed understanding mentioned by Sparkes (1992).

Another principle I used for validity is what Silverman (2013) refers to as ‘deviant case analysis’. Initially, I tried to include in my list of participants practitioners who either do not care about the culture that the dance comes from, or who want to innovate completely without seeking any connections with the cultural roots of raqs sharqi. The problem was, however, that I could not find anybody from this group who wanted to volunteer, for the very fact that they are not interested in the culture behind the dance and, therefore, they are not interested in being involved in a project about its cultural heritage either. Similarly, people who are not interested in the culture of origin of raqs

sharqi are unlikely to write anything about this aspect of the dance. So, all the texts I could find were from people who cared about the cultural background of raqs sharqi.

There are raqs sharqi students and practitioners who are only interested in the leisure and fitness aspects of this dance, but the fact that they could not be included in this research does not make it less valid. Instead, I focused on those practitioners who are interested in the culture of raqs sharqi, to see if there are shared understandings within this group or a common discourse, relevant to living heritage. I managed to find deviant cases though, during the video analysis. These came in the form of Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers whose style is atypical and so unique that they can be considered deviant cases. In particular, they were of the type which, according to Silverman (2013, p. 293), supported my findings because they were identified as the exception to the 'rule'.

Finally, another issue connected with validity and reliability is generalizability which, according to Mason (2002, p. 39), 'involves the extent to which you can make some form of wider claim on the basis of your research and analysis'. In quantitative research, this concept is commonplace and is based on statistical sampling, such as random/probability, in which 'each element in the population has an equal and independent chance of selection in the sample' (Kumar 2011, p. 197). Qualitative research instead, is inductive and based on a small number of samples so a statistical sampling is not possible. According to Sparkes and Smith (2014) though, it is possible to generalise case studies to theoretical propositions. I have done so, by connecting the findings from the case study of raqs sharqi to the conceptual framework of living cultural heritage, which is derived from the literature. Following the data collection and analysis, I have refined the conceptual framework and then proposed that this could be applied to investigate other forms of physical cultures from a cultural heritage perspective. So, I have used the theory (or etic perspective) to inform the field (or emic perspective) and vice versa, and this relationship has helped me to cautiously generalise the findings from my research. In this perspective, my research was guided by the theory, but the data that emerged shaped the way the data was presented and also began to inform the theory that initially influenced it.

4.8.1 Judgment Criteria

Drawing from the above discussion, and given the socially constructed nature of my research, is based on people's subjectivities (following an interpretivist paradigm), my

work cannot be judged according to a positivist perspective of validity. Instead, I propose an alternative set of judgement criteria. In particular, the criteria by which I seek this research to be judged are: coherence and verisimilitude. I referred to the former in the above section, when talking about internal coherence, building an audit trail for my research and using a non-positivist triangulation. Indeed, Lieblich et al. (1998, p. 173) define coherence in qualitative research as 'the way in which different parts of the interpretation create a complete and meaningful picture'. Hence, by integrating the data from different sources, I intend to create such a picture.

The second criterion is verisimilitude, meaning similar to the truth. As an interpretive researcher cannot pretend to be searching an absolute 'Truth', I have constructed something which is verisimilar, based on the shared discourse of raqs sharqi practitioners. Schwandt (1997, p. 170) posits that verisimilitude deals with the quality of the text and one of the ways in which he defines it is 'the relationship of a particular text to some agreed on opinions or standards of a particular interpretive community'. The criteria of coherence and verisimilitude are connected with my chosen method of data presentation, which is, as mentioned in 4.6.4, a modified realist tale. A tale, that is, in which the voice of the author can be heard but that attempts to build a coherent and verisimilar story.

4.9 Summary

This chapter focused on the research process. It clarified the researcher's ontological and epistemological position, which led to an interpretive paradigm and a qualitative methodology. It was then covered how, starting from the research questions, the research methods were chosen, how sampling took place, how research methods were employed and what practical and ethical considerations were raised. The analysis process was covered, from issues specific to each research method, to how the whole set of data was coded and themes created. Finally, the position of the researcher as a reflexive presence in the research was made clear and issues of validity and reliability addressed. The next chapter is the first section of the results and it consists of the analysis of raqs sharqi. The dance analysis will be followed by a further discussion chapter around a set of key themes emerged from the literature and the data.

Chapter 5
Analysis of Egyptian Raqs Sharqi as Living Dance/Heritage

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the data I gathered on Egyptian raqs sharqi from an ethnochoreological approach. Drawing on the idea that the temporal dimension is important for heritage and agreeing with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's view that (1995, p. 369) 'heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past', I wanted to explore how this process might have taken place for Egyptian raqs sharqi. Furthermore, as discussed previously (2.4), past and present are linked in the heritage discourse through transmission. Hence, I have used a chronological and historical approach to present the data and I have identified six timeframes:

1. The Birth of Modern Egyptian Raqs Sharqi (late 1800s to 1930s) - It includes the very first videos we have of bellydance (before raqs sharqi developed) up to the 1930s when the first Egyptian movies were made. Thus, I have called this the birth of modern raqs sharqi.
2. The Golden Era of Egyptian Cinema (1930s to late 1950s) – It covers the time in which the first big stars of raqs sharqi appeared in Egyptian movies, when, however, there are no records of raqs sharqi being taught outside of Egypt.
3. The Internationalisation of Egyptian Raqs Sharqi (1960s and Early 1970s) – At this time, bellydance is documented as being learnt for the first time outside of its area of origin (starting in the USA), not just for professional reasons, but also for leisure. Subsequently, teachers and students started exploring the cultural origins of bellydance (including Egyptian raqs sharqi), and started travelling to Egypt.
4. Raqs Sharqi in Egyptian Cinema and TV (1970s and Early 1980s) – This is connected with the first appearances of live raqs sharqi performances on television.

5. The Last Big Raqs Sharqi Stars in Egypt (1980s and 1990s) – It is connected with economic changes (covered in more detail in 5.6), which spelt the end of big live performances with big bands of up to 40 or 50 musicians.
6. The Era of Raqs Sharqi as a Global Trans/cultural Heritage (2000s) - Raqs sharqi becomes global, thanks to the Internet and widespread travel.

The above timeframes, which emerged from the data, are based on the way in which certain elements associated with the dance changed over time. These include: music; costumes and props; technology to record dance; social trends and trends in the dance field, in terms of movements and/or feelings.

Within each timeframe, I will try to depict a comprehensive and holistic picture of Egyptian raqs sharqi. To avoid disrupting the flow of the history, I have written an analysis section at the end of each timeframe. Each analysis section is accompanied by two tables: one summarising changes in the movement vocabulary and another one highlighting the main themes that have emerged in each timeframe. The main themes table includes seven columns. The first column on the left lists the elements that I identified in the framework of living heritage, which comprises of tangible and intangible elements. These are: dance traditions; dance movements; people (this category includes the mind-body aspects, such as emotions, embodiment and agency); class; locations; aural elements; taste; social occasions; politics and economy; technology and other artefacts. The way in which these in/tangible elements interact and are expressed through practice, action and perception is shown through the elements in the remaining six columns. The titles of five of these columns, based on the sensitising concepts, emerged from the literature review and on the research questions, are: authenticity; heritage, transculturality; change vs traditions and transmission. Identity and uses of heritage are not present in this table, as they did not emerge strongly from this phase of the analysis, but I will return to them in Chapter 6. The last column on the right, called 'influences on heritage', has been added as data emerged that can help shed light on what elements seem to have an impact on how heritage develops and on whether it thrives or struggles to survive.

Each timeframe revolves around some pivotal figures in the history of Egyptian raqs sharqi, famous dancers who have been influential in the development and transmission of this art. I will highlight how, through their agency, they have shaped raqs sharqi and how they negotiated the dialectic between change and traditions. Moreover, I will draw

from interviews with practitioners and textual sources to unravel the discourse around these dancers, and how they have impacted on other practitioners' experience and understanding of Egyptian raqs sharqi.

I have presented the movement analysis in more detail in separated tables: one for the dance style of each dancer and one for each of the main timeframes, to summarise how the movement vocabulary has changed over time, given that, as Adshead (1988, p. 24) states:

> All dances have movement . . . but the interesting and important part is *what* kind of movement is typical and *how* it is patterned in time and space to produce the distinctive style of a choreographer or genre of dance.

So far, a detailed analysis of Egyptian raqs sharqi movement vocabulary has been missing from the literature on this genre. There are many instruction books and DVDs available (Lo Iacono, no date), where some belly dance movements are listed, but the aim of these sources is to teach and describe, rather than analyse the whole movement vocabulary of the genre, tracing its changes and developments. Ibsen al Faruqi (1978, p. 8) rightly identified some characteristics of dances from Muslim regions, namely that:

> In these dances the legs and feet seem relatively less important than the movements of other parts of the body. . . . The solo dance also stresses torso, arms, and head movements. High leaps and open leg movements are rare . . . the most important thing is the intricate rhythmic interplay between movements of a particular portion of the body and the percussion or melodic accompaniment.

The above statement is a general one regarding all the dance genres practised in Muslim regions, rather than specific to Egyptian raqs sharqi. However, it applies to Egyptian raqs sharqi, constituting a starting point for an in-depth analysis of this genre. The analysis needs to consider the differences in style between each dancer, how the dance as a whole changes over time and how it is influenced by various factors, including but not limited to other cultures, fashion, society, physical training of the dancers and material elements such as costumes and props. Based on the model of living heritage (3.7), dance/heritage needs to be explored holistically and this is the aim of this chapter.

5.2 The Birth of Modern Raqs Sharqi (Late 1800s to 1930s)

Egyptian raqs sharqi, in its modern form, developed in Cairo in the 1920s and was a hybrid dance genre from the beginning. The origins of raqs sharqi lie both in Egyptian traditions[1] and in transcultural elements coming from near Middle Eastern countries, from Europe and from the Americas. Although Egyptian raqs sharqi is a phenomenon that developed out of a combination of sociocultural and economic elements and many people were involved in its development, its inception revolves around the figure of Badia Masabni, the main developer and promoter of this transcultural dance form, who is remembered through her connection to cinema.

5.2.1 Egyptian Roots

The Egyptian choreological roots of raqs sharqi can be found in local social and celebratory dances and in performing arts traditions. These dances and traditions come from different classes and social settings and it is possible to identify four strands: *baladi* dance; the dance of the *Ghawazee*; the tradition of the *awalim* (sing. *alma*); and folkloric dance traditions. In this section, I will cover the first three strands, while I will cover the folkloric influence later on (5.3.4), as this will become more evident only from the 1950s.

5.2.1.1 Baladi Dance

Baladi in Egypt can mean many things. Literally, it means of the country, hence local. However, baladi also refers to "authentic or working class". Early (1992, p. 54) defines the concept of baladi thus:

> Historically "baladi" indicated the locals, the Egyptians . . . Through time, baladi has come to connote the residents and life of urban quarters such as Bulaq Abu 'Ala. It is a . . . term that can roughly be translated "traditional" but which also retains a rich infusion of the local and authentic.

Because of its class connotations, the term baladi (working class) is often in an opposite relation with the term afrangi (westernised upper class). Early (ibid, p. 26) explains that in Egyptian society 'the baladi:afrangi relation is one of the insider and the outsider, of the

[1] With the expression 'Egyptian tradition' I refer to recent traditions that can be documented. As Berger (1966, p. 43) argues, 'no one can say exactly how and where the belly dance originated', thus I do not attempt to make connections with ancient Egypt. Rather, I agree with Shay and Sellers Young (2003, p. 21) who posit that 'no one can write with certainty about dance practices that occurred thousands of years ago'.

have-nots and the haves, of the pragmatic and the ideal'. Baladi, as Lorius (1996, p. 289) mentions, also has moral connotations, with baladi people being considered proud, hospitable, earthy and baladi women strong, confident and streetwise. These feelings are reflected in the baladi dance, which is improvised and linked to a type of music that Lorius (ibid, p. 288), drawing on Suraya Hilal's [1] teachings, describes as 'an improvisational urban genre using the accordion, violin and wind instruments, which developed while Egypt was industrialising and under colonial rule'.

Baladi dance is traditionally social and raqs sharqi is often considered the performance form of baladi, as the dancer Morocco states (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 97), 'the social, home version is Raqs Beledi. Raqs Sharqi usually (but not always) means the performance form'. The feeling of baladi dance reflects the connotations usually associated with baladi people, hence the dance is grounded (thus danced on flat feet rather than relevé), strong but flirtatious and cheeky. This is an example of how the perceptual phenomenological habit and the embodied feelings are connected with social fields (that include habitus, taste and capital), as well as with structure and agency, since dancers can choose to highlight this embodied socio-cultural aspect of the dance for stylistic reasons (thus using it as a resource). Even today, in the raqs sharqi discourse, baladi is connected with authenticity of feeling, even in relation to raqs sharqi. As Lorna, one of my interview participants, stated:

> Baladi is soulful, is introspective but it's also sensual and cheeky and flirty and fun and strong. Baladi is all of these things. And if you dance oriental with that essence, baladi essence, then that's very authentic.

This baladi feeling seems to be always present, even in the most innovative, upper-class and hybrid performances of raqs sharqi. This can be noticed not only in the discourse employed by practitioners, but also watching videos of Egyptian raqs sharqi from the oldest movies until the most recent performances. Francesca, for example, said in her interview that what distinguishes Egyptian raqs sharqi from other styles of bellydance, such as Turkish or Lebanese, is the feeling (induced by the music and the lyrics of the songs) 'of melancholy that underlies the dance. Even when it's very, very happy'. This can be explained by the fact that the origins of this dance are social, connected to

[1] Suraya Hilal is a choreographer, dance teacher and performer, who was born in Cairo and taught raqs sharqi in the UK in the early 1980s (Hilal, no date).

celebrations, hence the happy feeling, and at the same time working class. Hence, there is always a reminder, reflected in the songs, that life is hard.

5.2.1.2 Ghawazee Dance

Ghawazee (sing. Ghaziya), as Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 43) explains, are 'Sinti "Gypsy". The most famous Ghawazee were in Luxor and Sumbat. Their men were musicians, their women dancers and singers'. According to Fraser (2014, sec. Guilds and Guild Lists as Evidence for Dancers and Singers), based on her study of Egyptian documentation on guilds and travellers reports from the 1800s, the Ghawazee belonged to 'a guild of dancers with their own musicians'. Fraser (2014) moreover, argues that evidence points against the whole Ghawazee population being Roma and that they travelled around Egypt in groups to perform in coffee houses and public events, for the general public.

Van Nieuwkerk (1995, pp. 26–27) tells us that they danced unveiled in the streets, outside coffee houses, during saint's day celebrations (in Arabic *mawalid*, sing. *mulid*) and they travelled the country from one mulid to another. Van Nieuwkerk (ibid.) reports that the Ghawazee, in the late 1800s, dressed in similar ways to other local women and that they often used props in their performances, such as scarves, sticks and objects balanced on their head.

Ward (2013a) compiled a list of what the movements of the first dances performed in nightclubs (the proto-raqs sharqi), must have been like until at least the 1920s, based on travellers' accounts. She explains that the old dance did not seem very different from the dance performed by the Ghawazee, except for some innovations in the use of the arms and space, which we will return to later. Ward (ibid.) isolated four basic elements, which the nightclub dance shared with the Ghawazee dance: the dance was performed solo; it was localised in the torso with minimal footwork; it was accompanied by a traditional ensemble of singers and musicians; the dancer sometimes played finger cymbals. One example of Ghawazee dancing can be seen in a scene from the 1967 movie *Al Zawja al Thania* (The Second Wife) (TheCaroVan, 2014a). In this video, the dancers (the Banat Mazin) perform in a rural setting, during celebrations; they move their hips very quickly with side to side shimmies, with no figure of eight or circles, so common in raqs sharqi, and their arms are held in fixed positions while they play finger cymbals.

Unfortunately, the Ghawazee dance has almost disappeared today. I have not found any information about the Ghawazee from Sumbat, on the Nile Delta. The only family about which something has been written is the Mazin family located in Luxor. They used to be a family of dancers and musicians and the last most famous performers were five sisters, the Banat Mazin (daughters of Mazin). Of these five sisters only one, Khairiyya, was still performing and teaching at least until 2012, as reported by Nearing (2012b). Nearing in 1993 went to see Khairiyya Mazin, in Qena, near Luxor (whom she had first visited in 1976 to learn the dance), and she wrote an article for Habibi Magazine (ibid.), which was updated and published online in 2012. Understanding why the Ghawazee are disappearing, while raqs sharqi is not, is useful to understand better the challenges involved in safeguarding dance/heritage.

Nearing (2012b) identifies a series of factors that may have caused the Ghawazee dance tradition to almost disappear. The reasons for the Ghawazee's gradual disappearance are various and interconnected, according to Nearing (2012b). Firstly, it was the religious fundamentalism, which led to the repression of dance and music in Upper Egypt and the gradual disappearance of the *farahat*. These were public celebrations, once very common in Upper Egypt, in which the Ghawazee used to perform and which used to be their main source of income. The local authorities, siding with religious fundamentalists, were outlawing such celebrations and persecuting performers. Secondly, another cause for the crisis was the economic downturn. In the past, local families used to employ Ghawazee to dance at private parties, such as at weddings and circumcision celebrations. However, at the time when Nearing (2012b) wrote the article, fewer families could afford to pay for hiring performers. The decrease in tourism also affected Ghawazee's trade. In winter, when the weather was cooler, more tourists used to visit Luxor and the Ghawazee used to perform in folkloric dance shows on land and on boats on the Nile. However, Nearing (2012b, para. 22) reports that, in the 1990s, 'extremist members of the *munathamat*, the *irhabiyyin*, or "terrorists," had attacked "godless foreign tourists"', which might have started scaring tourists off, thus reducing the opportunities for Ghawazee to perform. Moreover, the local Ghawazee had seen increasing competition from dancers based in Cairo, who travelled south during the tourist season. Nearing (2004, para. 2) also blames the westernisation of Egyptian society, whereby local arts are no longer valued by Egyptians and Ghawazee dance is considered 'something too tawdry and out of style, as well as too intensely and exclusively Egyptian, to be seen in any cosmopolitan

surroundings'. Finally, Nearing (2012b) argues that technology has impacted negatively on the Ghawazee trade, as it is cheaper to buy a videotape and watch it, rather than paying to see a live performance. At the same time, she states that television has become a more attractive option for 'the impoverished children of teeming cities, raised on American television soap operas and cut off from their own cultural heritage' (2012b, para. 11).

All the reasons listed above are examples of how a field of cultural production, such as the dance of the Ghawazee, is heavily influenced by the power struggles for capital that happen in other fields of society and by changes in taste. Moreover, technology can be an allocative resource for those people who can now watch a show on television (who could not otherwise afford to see a live performance), but a threat against the survival of a living tradition.

Nearing (2012b), hoping to provide a financial lifeline for Khairiyya, suggests that Khairiyya could teach foreign dance students, who travel to Egypt to learn its dances from the source (thus, the taste and capital of tourists can become resources that empower Khairiyya to continue the transmission of her art). In this way, Khairiyya could gradually become well-known in the international dance community and make a living from her dance again, whilst saving her otherwise dying art. Thanks to Nearing and other practitioners' efforts, Khairiyya is now known by belly dance practitioners outside Egypt, but still only within a small circle of people who are interested in learning as much as possible about various dance forms from the Middle East. I do not know what has become of Khairiyya now, but I know of some people who have gone to Luxor to study with her. This attempt suggests that specialised tourism can be part of the solution for the safeguarding of embodied heritage, provided that it is integrated with other interventions and that it is supported by the right political and financial climate.

Raqs sharqi too has been under threat from religious intolerance. For example, Dina (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, pp. 100–101) mentions that, when Nasser was president of Egypt (1956-1970)[1], raqs sharqi was banned from television and the government started to regulate dancers' costumes (for example, by forcing dancers to cover their navel, or by

[1] Van Nieuwkerk (1995, p. 48) reports that, under President Nasser, folk art, music and dance 'which glorified traditional Arabic culture, were revived. Belly dancers were seen as bad advertisement for Arabic Muslim womanhood'.

imposing a minimum width for bra straps or minimum length for skirts) and extremists in 1977 burned dance cabaret venues. Egyptian society has what has been defined by many, including the Egyptian dancer Dina (Adum, 2011a, para. 11), as a 'love/hate relationship' with this dance (probably because of what Reed (1988) would call its 'subversive elements' [see 2.8]). Conversely, what may have safeguarded raqs sharqi up until now is its transcultural dimension, the fact that it is a hybrid dance form, which was performed at the beginning for cosmopolitan elites, and which now is known globally. Also, technology, rather than being a problem for raqs sharqi, has been the medium that has allowed it to spread across the world, an allocative resource, as it will be highlighted in the course of this thesis. In spite of attempts to repress it in the Middle East, raqs sharqi, as Nearing posits (2012b, para. 36), 'is an eclectic, ever evolving form, and as such can absorb interruptions, and its suppression in one country merely tends to cause it to flourish in another'. Its transcultural and eclectic dimension, however, could also be a threat for raqs sharqi, as the core elements of this dance could eventually become so diluted, that the identity of this dance could disintegrate.

5.2.1.3 The Awalim

Unlike the Ghawazee, who performed in the streets for public celebrations, the awalim, Van Nieuwkerk (1995, p. 26) explains, were very educated women who could sing, write music and poetry, play instruments and sometimes danced and they 'mainly performed for women in the harem'. So, they were originally performers for the upper class. Those who opened the venues in which raqs sharqi was first performed in Cairo in the 1920s were awalim. Two of these, whose names have been recorded, were Bamba Kashshar and Shafiqa el-Koptiyaa (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 106). Van Niewkerk (1995, p. 49) reports that Bamba and Shafiqa both started their careers as awalim and:

> The heyday of the ʿawâlim was at the beginning of this century. They performed on festive occasions, particularly for other women, as they had done in the nineteenth century. In contrast to that period, however, at the turn of the century they increasingly sang and danced for the lower and middle classes . . . Bamba Kashshar and Amîna il-Ṣirrafiyya were among the well-known performers.

Farouk Yousuf Eskandar (no date) states that 'Bamba Kashar sat on the throne of raqs sharqi for more than half a century, specifically during the last 20 years of the 19th century and the first 20 years of the 20th century'. Van Niewkerk (1995, p. 43) relates

that Shafiqa el-Koptiyaa (transliterated by Van Niewkerk as Shafīʾa il-Ibṭiyya) started to work with awalim at women's parties but later started performing in a nightclub called El Dorado before opening her own nightclub, Alf Lela. According to Ward (2013b), Alf Lela was owned by another famous alma, called Tawhida. In any case, it seems that these high class nightclubs, which Van Niewkerk (1995, p. 43) refers to as sala (in contrast to the term kabareh, which had negative connotations) were the places in which Egyptian dance went from being performed in social settings where it was connected to celebrations, parties and festivities, to being performed purely for watching, without audience participation, so it became a purely presentational dance form as opposed to a participatory one (see 2.8). Ward (2013c, para. 24) argues that 'the setup of the sala, with its clearly defined performance stage for the entertainers, established greater distance between performer and audience'. Thus, the performance environment is a spatial setting and a material condition that changes the practice of the dance both from a phenomenological point of view (experiences and feelings) and as a social structure. Also, a new performance environment creates new rules but also new resources for creative innovation.

However, I argue that, because of its baladi and Ghawazee roots, raqs sharqi has never completely lost its focus towards the dancer/audience interaction (the kinaesthetic empathy) which still constitutes part of its authenticity discourse. This observation is borne out in the video data, as well as interviews and textual data. For example, in an interview (Moawad, 1968, para. 31), Samia Gamal declared: 'The happiest moments of my life have been when I could see my audience face to face while dancing for them'. Lorna Gow, who danced professionally in Egypt for over 10 years, said in her interview:

> There's the interaction between the dancer and her band, but also between the dancer and the audience and these three need to be in sync. It's not just about getting the steps. . . . It's about who you do it for . . . trying to pull the audience in.

The dancer/audience interaction, in the Egyptian raqs sharqi discourse, is not only important from a phenomenological point of view, as it enhances the experience of those involved in the performance, but also as it gives agency to the performers. It is a resource that empowers and motivates them.

In addition to performing in salas, raqs sharqi dancers never ceased to perform at weddings and private celebrations, albeit for the upper classes. Thus, this celebratory dance tradition is one that has not yet been lost in Egypt. Van Niewkerk (1995, p. 1) states that 'in Egypt, singing and dancing are . . . regarded as expressions of rejoicing, and at many happy occasions people sing and dance'. And Buonaventura writes (2010, p. 23): 'In the Arab world . . . this art . . . remains an essential ingredient of any occasion when communities gather to enjoy themselves, especially for important celebrations such as weddings'. Accordingly, Van Nieuwkerk (1995, p. 49) remarks that, at the beginning of the 20th century, the awalim (except for the most successful and prestigious ones, such as Bamba Kashshar) performed for the lower and middle classes, while 'the Westernized elite invited nightclub entertainers to perform at their weddings'. Badia Masabni herself recalls that (Adum, no date, pt. Fourth Segment-Performing on the Road) she attended many wedding celebrations with her troupe 'at least four to five thousand between Alexandria and El Said and Mansoura. They paid us very well'.

5.2.2 Badia Masabni and Raqs Sharqi as a Hybrid and Transcultural Dance

The birth of raqs sharqi seems connected to socio-cultural changes that happened in Egypt in the late 19th early 20th century. The fact that the dance in Cairo was performed in salas influenced the form of the dance and the music it was danced to. Ward (2013c), who studied accounts from European travellers to Cairo at the time, tells us that shows in the salas were not limited to dance but they included a variety of performances, such as music, acting and singing, thus following the example of cafés chantants in Europe. Also, some customers were a mix of non-Egyptians and upper-class Egyptians, whose international taste these establishments catered for. This seems plausible, as Cairo was then a transcultural place. As Naguib (2008, p. 475) reports:

> At the turn of the 19th century and during the early twentieth century, academic, artistic, literary, political, industrial and commercial interests converged, and several arenas were elaborated where people from different cultural and religious backgrounds interacted . . . for Egyptians the surge towards Europeanisation became, for many, synonymous with the idea of modernisation. . . . A new high and middle bourgeoisie composed of businessmen, merchants, entrepreneurs, civil servants and members of the liberal professions was growing. Their modes of being and their education were a blend of oriental and Western influences. Travels to Europe became fashionable.

Naguib (2008, p. 473) refers to places such as the Gezira Palace Hotel in Cairo (a hybrid architecture designed by architects from different countries) as ‘contact zones . . . interactive transient spaces with flexible boundaries, which provide fertile grounds for various degrees of cultural translations and borrowings’. Similarly, sala, such as El Dorado and Alf Lela, where artists such as Shafiqa el-Koptiyaa performed, can be considered contact zones, in which performing arts became hybrid. This is another example, as mentioned earlier, of a physical performance environment acting as a resource that allows artists to develop changes creatively.

Just like Shafiqa el-Koptiyaa and Bamba Kashshar, Badia Masabni owned salas in Cairo in the first half of the 20th century, but she had a different background from the other salas owners, as she was not an alma (singular for awalim) and she was not Egyptian. Badia is remembered as the creator of modern raqs sharqi as we know it and she is the one prominent figure recorded, who greatly contributed towards innovating the dance and making it transcultural. Chamas (2009, para. 1) relates that:

> In 1926 a woman of Levantine origin named Badia Masabny opened a nightclub in Cairo in the fashion of European cabarets. This nightclub, known as "Casino Badia", and another club later established by Masabny, "Casino Opera", were to have a profound influence on Middle Eastern Dance as we know it today.

Figure 12 – Badia Masabni, (Unknown 2016)

Badia Masabni was born in Syria, but started her career as an actress, dancer and singer in Cairo in 1921 (Van Nieuwkerk, 1995, p. 46). We know from an interview that Badia gave to Layla Rostum in 1966 in Lebanon (Adum, no date), that she spent some time during her childhood in South America, where she learnt Spanish and studied classical dance. Badia came from a modest family, but she could speak six languages, because of the international environment that existed in the Middle East when she was living there. In the same interview, Badia says that she travelled a lot for work during her career, to places such as South America and Europe. She also says that she started her career as an actress and the style she was most famous for was the vaudeville music hall. Badia's background (her cultural capital) and her travels must have influenced the dance as it was performed in her salas in Cairo.

Badia Masabni's salas were cosmopolitan 'contact zones' not only because of the international contacts that the owner had and the international clientele. The performers themselves were from different countries. As Tahia Carioca affirmed in an interview with Beata and Horacio Cifuentes (1999, para. 5), talking about Badia Masabni's nightclub, 'I started with a group. I never danced solo. It was with four girls . . . two Italian girls, an English one and one Egyptian, myself'. Badia Masabni, as Shay and Sellers-Young argue (2005, pp. 19–20), 'created cabaret revues, a primary component of which was dance that would appeal to both tourists and members of the Egyptian upper class, whose tastes were increasingly dictated by America and Europe'. In the following sections, I will describe how international elements interacted with local ones, influencing the dance itself and the music, the costumes and the props used. Thus, these international contacts: acted as a fount of resources that allowed practitioners to innovate; affected their perceptual habit, their way of moving and experiencing the world on a phenomenological level; and provided them with a certain cultural capital (embodied and objectified) that affected their position in the field of cultural production.

5.2.2.1 Dance Movements

In salas, the local dances underwent a gradual transformation into what now is called raqs sharqi. I mentioned before, when discussing the Ghawazee (5.2.1.2), how, according to Ward (2013a), the dance seen in the salas in the 1920s was very similar to the dance of the Ghawazee. That is, it was performed solo, with minimal footwork and a lot of torso isolations and the dancers, who sometimes played finger cymbals, were accompanied by

traditional musicians and a singer. Instead, in the 1930s: the dancers used more floor space, varied footwork and different arm positions; the main dancer was backed by a line of chorus dancers and musical ensembles accompanying the dance were much bigger, with a mix of traditional and Western musical instruments.

Ward's (2013a) assertions are illustrated by the oldest video available of raqs sharqi in Badia Masani's nightclub in 1934 (lynetteserpent, 2009). In this promotional video, there is a group of chorus dancers, wearing the typical raqs sharqi costume with bra and skirt (*bedlah*), dancing on stage with the audience sat at tables. The dancers come down from a set of stairs to the stage which is on the same level as the audience (even today in Egypt dancers perform mostly on a dance floor that is at the same level as the audience). The chorus dancers move around the stage following a choreography and Badia Masabni is at their centre, singing and playing finger cymbals. The musicians are not visible, but the music is produced by an orchestra with a variety of instruments. Badia Masabni herself commented in an interview how she changed the dance and how new transcultural influences were brought into it (Adum, no date, pt. Second Segment-Family), by saying, 'in the past, the dance was all in the abdomen. I made variations in the dance — I added Latin, Turkish and Persian dance to it, so that it wouldn't be boring'. The idea that the dance should not be 'boring' is a result of its transformation from participatory to presentational, as it was noticed in 2.8, in relation to Çakir's (1991) and Ramsey's (2003) studies on the adaptation of folkloric dances for the stage.

One of the elements identified by Çakir (1991) and Ramsey (2003) was that participatory dances tend to be spontaneous and improvised, whilst presentational ones tend to be choreographed, especially group performances. Similarly, in Badia Masabni's club, solo dances were mostly improvised, while group dances were choreographed. To this day, improvisation is still practised and greatly valued and so is spontaneity, in raqs sharqi. The introduction of choreography is documented for the beginnings of this dance genre. Chamas (2009, para. 12) states that:

> Masabny employed western choreographers such as Isaac Dixon, Robbie Robinson and Christo, who added elements from other dance traditions, for example, the turns and traveling steps from western dance forms such as ballet and ballroom dance. The late master instructor and choreograph [*sic*] Ibrahim Akif, who also worked with Masabny, identified "shimmies", undulating movements (including what we sometimes refer to as "camals"), circles and "eights", as well as various hip thrusts and drops as

> being the original "Sharqi" or oriental movements. Ibrahim Akef also told me personally that, although the group dances were choreographed, most of the solo artists improvised.

Even Samia Gamal (when talking about the start of her career at Badia Masabni's) admitted (Moawad, 1968, para. 12) 'I asked dance instructor Isaac Dickson to train me to dance well'. A further reference to Western influences on raqs sharqi can be found from an interview with Samia Gamal (Cifuentes, 1994, para. 6), who remembers:

> I started with Badia Masabni. We all did . . . I had such difficulties with turns, so I just had to take ballet. It helped my turns a lot, and my arms were a lot better from the classes.

And also, Tahia Carioca (Cifuentes, 1994, para. 18) mentioned that she studied ballet, stating, 'I started taking ballet classes when I was a little girl. At the age of fourteen, I decided to switch to Oriental and went to work with Badia Masabni'.

5.2.2.2 Music

Just like the dance movements were transcultural, similarly Western elements were added in the music, to make performances more varied and entertaining. Badia Masabni said in an interview (Adum, no date, pt. Second Segment-Family):

> I'm the one who mixed Arabic music with foreign music. It used to be that [Arabic] bands worked alone. Orchestras didn't work with bands. [She means orchestras that played foreign music.] I'm the one who mixed them both together and made them work together . . . We added the piano and the contrabass, and the flute, the clarinet and the accordion, all together . . . the Arabic band alone didn't wow the audience.

As will be highlighted throughout the remaining chapters, music is important for Egyptian raqs sharqi. Many practitioners, even today, still think that the best musicians who can play this music can only be found in Egypt. In the literature review (2.3), I quoted Cohen Bull's (2003) study on how different dance genres, originating in different cultures, tend to privilege one sense over the others. It would seem that in Egyptian raqs sharqi the auditory element is the strongest. Of course, as Cohen Bull (2003) argues, this does not mean that other senses are not important, but, in some genres, certain sensory channels are privileged for cultural reasons. Dancers/choreographers and audiences who have knowledge of a certain cultural framework share the same understanding. Thus, a

culturally aware audience will 'respond on many levels simultaneously that correspond to the intentions of the creators' (Cohen Bull 2003, p. 270).

Cohen Bull (2003, p. 283) argues that ballet's main priority is the visual element, which leads to 'bodily design and architecture of moving people in space and time, often viewed from a distance'. Cohen Bull (2003) continues by arguing that this interest in the visual for ballet stems from Western culture's interest in the visual, which leads to the objectification of the human body. Conversely, during a Ghanaian dance performance, Cohen Bull (2003, p. 282) relates that 'dancers join with musicians to mutually generate dance and music, listening to the rhythms and responding'. As it will be highlighted later throughout this chapter, in particular with regards to Soheir Zaki's musicality (5.5.2) and the importance of dancing to live music in Egypt for non-Egyptian dancers (5.7.7), there is a very strong connection between raqs sharqi and music, particularly when danced to live music and improvised. This connection between people, dance and music is also evident in the phenomenon of *tarab* ('enchantment' or 'ecstasy'), transmitted from the music to the audience, through the dancer, as mentioned in the literature review (2.3) and in the conceptual framework (3.4). In this sense, the tangible elements of dancers' bodies and visual, spatial and aural settings, together with less tangible emotions, kinaesthetic empathy and cultural understandings are interconnected.

5.2.2.3 Costumes and Props

Costumes and props in raqs sharqi from the late 1920s were also influenced by a convergence of Egyptian and foreign elements. In the video mentioned earlier of Badia Masabni with a chorus of dancers (lynetteserpent, 2009), Badia was wearing a gown, while the dancers were wearing the *bedlah*, the bra and skirt costume commonly associated with bellydance. It is documented in Egypt only from Badia Masabni's time. Before then, the costumes we see from photos of Middle Eastern dancers taken at the turn of the century were very different. The old costumes were very similar to those that the Ghawazee wore until not long ago and similar to those that can be seen in videos such as Princess Ali (Edison and Hendricks, 1895). Ward (2013a, pt. Costuming) describes the traditional costumes in Egypt at that time:

> The basic costume . . . – skirt, skirt "topper" with long ribbons, sheer chemise, vest, heeled shoes – seems to have evolved from the earlier costuming of the *Ghawazee,* which was itself essentially an elaboration on

> the everyday garments worn by ordinary women in the privacy of the *hareem*, or women's quarters, of the home. (See Lane 1836.) Egyptian *Ghawazee* in Upper Egypt continued to wear a version of this costuming into the second half of the twentieth century.

Figure 13 - A scanned image of a postcard showing Egyptian Ghawazi dancers, circa 1880 (Unknown 2004).

The first examples of costumes with a bare midriff, start appearing in America at the start of the 20th century as seen in photographs depicting Ruth St Denis (Buonaventura, 2010, p. 126) or other Western Orientalist fantasies photographs (Buonaventura, 2010, p. 119). According to Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 114), the bedlah is a 'western fantasy invention that was picked up "Over There"'. Ward (2013a, pt. Costuming), however, after analysing texts and photographs from the turn of the century, argues that:

> First, the bare-navel look of the *bedleh* had precedents in earlier costuming. Second, it is not impossible to imagine that the *bedleh* bra could have evolved from the vests worn by earlier dancers . . . the *bedleh* may have emerged largely as an elaboration upon an existing costuming aesthetic, rather than as a wholesale adoption of Western fantasy costuming.

It seems plausible that Western and traditional Egyptian influences converged. The vest and skirt may have been the foundations on which the bedlah were designed. However, the first bedlah we see in Badia Masabni's videos, have skirts and sleeves made of chiffon, a material that Badia may have seen outside of Egypt and which is reminiscent of art deco and Isadora Duncan's costumes. Later on (5.7.2), I will highlight the relationship that costumes, and the materials they are made of, have with the dance, and how changes in costuming can influence the movement styles. Thus, artefacts are extensions of the body, a form of capital and tangible resources, as discussed in 3.7. Regarding the transcultural influences on the raqs sharqi costumes, Badia recalls (Adum, no date, pt. Second Segment-European Influence) that she travelled to Europe, visited music halls and:

> I bought set decorations and costumes from them. . . . They did shows and then discarded those costumes and made new ones. I bought them and gave them to my artists and my dancers, and the set decorations too.

With regards to props, the most commonly used prop, the use of which is documented in this early stage of raqs sharqi history in the salas, are finger cymbals, which were used by the Ghawazee and which, until the 1980s, almost every raqs sharqi dancer used (apart from Samia Gamal). Badia Masabni herself played *sagat*[1] while she sang (Adum, no date). It is only in the 1990s and 2000s that finger cymbals have almost been abandoned in Egypt[2]. The only Egyptian dancer I have seen using them on videos is Nasra Emam (TwilightShadowCool, 2010), whose style is folkloric rather than oriental (I will elaborate more in detail on the differences between folkloric dances and raqs sharqi in the next section). Likewise, outside of Egypt, finger cymbals are often used today by tribal styles and folkloric style dancers, but rarely in oriental style.

Other props, which were used by Ghawazee dancers and by awalim, and which appear in raqs sharqi at a later stage (they can be seen in movies from the 1950s), are the *assaya* and the *shamadan*. As mentioned in 5.2.1.2, the Ghawazee danced with props, including sticks and objects balanced on their head. The sticks are called assaya and can be seen in the 1967 movie *Al Zawja al Thania* (*The Second Wife*) (TheCaroVan, 2014a), where two dancers dance facing each other while balancing a stick held between their bodies. The

[1] Finger cymbals.

[2] After the 1980s through the 2000s, I have noticed that the instances in which this prop was used decreased, so much so that dancers such as Dina and Randa Kamel (the two most famous contemporary Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers worldwide) never use them.

shamadan is a candelabrum with lit candles, which the performer balances on her head whilst dancing. This type of performance is usually connected with the *zeffa* (procession) for the bride, during which relatives and friends of the bride hold candles and lanterns. Traditionally, dancers precede the bride and the groom during these processions and, according to Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 45), the first dancer who had the idea to balance a lantern (*klop* in Arabic) on her head was a dancer called Zouba. The first dancer credited to balance a whole candelabrum (shamadan) on her head, shortly after Zouba started dancing with a lantern, was Shafiqa el-Koptiyaa (Belly Dance Museum, no date; Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 45). There is no documentation on the use of assaya and shamadan in the salas, but their use can be observed in dance scenes from movies from the 1930s/40s onwards.

5.2.2.4 Cinema

Technology, as it will be highlighted throughout this thesis, has played a key role in the transmission of raqs sharqi and the first technology available was cinema. As mentioned at the start of this section, Badia Masabni's nightclubs were not the only ones nor the first ones in Cairo at the start of the 20th century. However, her salas are identified by raqs sharqi practitioners as the place of birth of modern raqs sharqi and Badia Masabni herself was a very influential figure in the development of this dance genre. This may be because we have more documentary evidence left about her career than we have about other salas owners, but also because many of the dancers who worked at Badia's clubs went on to perform in movies up until the 1960s and some of them became big stars.

As mentioned earlier, between the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, Cairo was a transcultural city. Cairo also became 'the film and entertainment center of the Middle East shortly after film was invented in the late 1890s' (Shay and Sellers-Young, 2005, p. 19). Many Egyptian movies included dance scenes, particularly raqs sharqi which, up until then, was only performed in expensive salas. People who could not afford to go and watch raqs sharqi in these venues would watch Ghawazee perform in the street, dance baladi socially or watch awalim perform.

The portrayal of raqs sharqi in movies meant that many people started seeing raqs sharqi in cinemas, and not only those who were wealthy enough to be able to afford to watch live performances in the nightclubs. Cinema also allowed the dance to be seen across the

Arab world and not only in Cairo. To this day, those early dancers from the first half of the 20th century are watched around the world and influence dancers of today, thanks to the availability of their videos now on the Internet. Technology is clearly an allocative resource that can empower practitioners. Each one of my interview participants mentioned at least a couple of influential dancers from that age, with the most popular being Samia Gamal. Moreover, many more modern and contemporary Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers mention having watched these old movies when they were children, which inspired them to become dancers. For example, Randa Kamel (Zahara and Shahin, 2012, para. 4) stated that 'when they show movies on TV with Samia Gamal and Naima Akef my family excitedly calls me to tell they are on TV. Until today I derive inspiration from both of them'.

Tito remembers (Beltran, 2014, sec. 0:21): 'Since I was little a enjoyed very much watching TV. Naima Akef, Soheir Zaki, all the dancers of that time'[1]. Dina (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 55) writes: 'The dancers have always been part of Egyptian cinema. As a child, I saw, amazed, the long scenes where Samia Gamal appeared. A queen, of an incredible elegance'[2]. Even Samia Gamal, who became a movie star from the 1940s onward, remembers how she was influenced by Tahia Carioca because she had seen her in movies (Moawad, 1968, para. 14):

> I wanted to be like Taheya Carioca. She was my role model from the days that I lived with my sister. She'd give me 2 piasters to buy *foul* [beans] but I'd go to the cinema to watch Taheya Carioca instead.

5.2.3 Analysis

In Table 10 and Table 11 I have summarised the themes that have emerged from this timeframe. Modern Egyptian Raqs sharqi was still a new dance form at the time, but it was based on older dance practices. Its roots in old local traditions, give Egyptian raqs sharqi a heritage dimension, expressed in the movements, the music, the social occasions (weddings and celebrations) in which the dance is performed and its props and artefacts. However, this is a genre with a strong transcultural connotation expressed through hybrid dance movements; a variety in the nationalities of people involved in the dance; the contact zones in which its presentational version is performed, as well as the

[1] All quotations from this interview are translated from Spanish by Valeria Lo Iacono.
[2] All quotations from Dina's book are translated from French by Valeria Lo Iacono.

international setting of Cairo; hybrid music and musical instruments; the taste of westernised Egyptian elites.

In/tangible Elements	Authenticity	Heritage	Transculturality
Dance traditions: Local (awalim, baladi, ghawazee) and international (Latin, ballet, café chantants, vaudeville).		Egyptian roots in old local dance traditions: ghawazee, awalim and baladi dances.	New dance traditions introduced (Latin, ballet, café chantants, vaudeville).
People: dancers, salas owners, audiences.	Performer/audience connection.		Badia Masabni's international experience; dancers from different countries.
Class: afrangi, baladi, ghawazee.	Baladi 'feeling'.		
Locations: Cairo; salas as contact zones.			Salas as contact zones.
Aural elements: music (traditional and new).	Music.	Traditional Music.	Westernised music and musical instruments.
Taste: transcultural afrangi; local baladi.			Taste of new westernised upper classes.
Social occasions: weddings and celebrations; salas environment.	• Social/celebratory nature • Spontaneity	Celebrations, such as saints days and weddings.	
Politics and economy: Cairo international society.			Cairo international setting.
Artefacts: musical instruments (traditional and western); props (finger cymbals, shamadan and assaya); costumes (bedlah).		Old traditional artefacts.	

Table 10 - The Birth of Modern Raqs Sharqi (Late 1800s to 1930s) – Part 1

In/tangible Elements	Change/Traditions	Transmission	Influences on Heritage
Dance traditions: Local (awalim, baladi, ghawazee) and international (Latin, ballet, café chantants, vaudeville).	New dance traditions introduced (Latin, ballet, café chantants, vaudeville) Introduction of foreign influences to local dances.		
Dance movements: traditional (torso isolations, improvisation), new (varied footwork and arms positions, more floor space, choreography).	New movement vocabularies added to old ones.		
People: dancers, salas owners, audiences.	Badia Masabni's agency.		**Competition:** dancers from Cairo competing with ghawazee in Luxor.
Class: afrangi, baladi, ghawazee.	Traditional baladi/modern afrangi.		
Locations: Cairo; salas as contact zones.		Dancers learn and develop in salas.	
Aural elements: music (traditional and new).	Hybrid music.		
Taste: transcultural afrangi; local baladi.			**Change in life styles.**
Social occasions: weddings and celebrations; salas environment.	Dance from participatory to presentational in salas, but also performed at weddings.		
Politics and economy: Cairo international society.			**Religion:** fundamentalism against dance. **Law:** in Upper Egypt on the side of religious fundamentalists. **Economy:** in Upper Egypt, bad economy contributed to disappearance of ghawazee. **Transculturality:** it can be opportunity but also threat. **Ability of heritage to adapt** to changes in society/economy.
Technology: cinema.		New generations of dancers are inspired by dance seen in movies.	**Technology:** bad for ghawazee; opportunity for raqs sharqi.

Table 11 - The Birth of Modern Raqs Sharqi (Late 1800s to 1930s) – Part 2

The salas were what Naguib (2008, p. 473) calls 'contact zones' (with reference to big hotels in Cairo in the same period), since they attracted both a local and international clientele, which meant that different cultures would come into contact and create the opportunity for cultural borrowings. Indeed, this was why Egyptian raqs sharqi was hybrid since its inception as, by catering for an international clientele's tastes, the producers of the shows tried to incorporate transcultural elements into the performances. This meant employing performers from a variety of countries and using movements borrowed from Western dance traditions, as well as the local ones.

The Egyptian audiences were from the upper classes of Egyptian society (afrangi), whose tastes were westernised. This factor could be interpreted as being down to what Said (1979, p. 7) would define as 'orientalism' because of Western 'cultural hegemony', which could have led Egyptians to appreciate everything that was western more than their own traditions. However, this interpretation would remove agency from these audiences, who instead, might have just enjoyed these transcultural borrowings. Their transcultural taste could be seen as a form of what Bourdieu (1984, pp. 172, 173) would refer to as 'distinction' or 'structured products . . . objectively orchestrated, without any conscious concertation, with those of all members of the same class'. Thus, the Egyptian clientele in the salas would distinguish themselves from the baladi class by means of their transcultural taste, which also reflected, drawing again from Bourdieu's (1992, p. 99) concept of capital, their social, cultural and economic capital which allowed them access to different cultures and places. At the same time, these audiences would have wanted to see their own cultural heritage reflected in the performances as this would have given them 'a sense of identity and continuity' (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2). These factors would have led the dancers and choreographers to produce a hybrid performance. Likewise, the music that went with the dance started becoming hybrid, as Western musical instruments were added to the traditional Egyptian bands, which became bigger orchestras.

As well as being transcultural, the emerging raqs sharqi tradition is situated across different classes, with the afrangi/baladi dichotomy reflected in the dance. Egyptian raqs sharqi drew from the local dances and the local heritage, which consisted in the social and celebratory dances of Egypt. These were baladi and Ghawazee and were connected to different social classes from the afrangi audiences of the salas. This phenomenon could be seen as a form of appropriation of popular traditions from the upper classes. However,

I argue that this is rather a form of 'class hybridism' in the dance, as I agree with Desmond that (1993, p. 41) 'concepts of hybridity or syncretism more adequately describe the complex interactions among ideology, cultural forms, and power differentials that are manifest in such transfers'. The reason being that the borrowing was reciprocal as it could be argued that the local Egyptian dances were the substrate, the main ingredient, of raqs sharqi, while the western elements and the changes made to adapt to the afrangi taste were the elements which were borrowed and added on top.

Indeed, the first elements in raqs sharqi authenticity discourse can be identified in the local dances, the original social occasions in which local dances were performed and in the underlying 'baladi feeling'. Throughout this research, the connection between audiences and dancers is recurrent. This connection is due to the celebratory nature of dance in Egypt, where traditionally dance was performed at weddings and celebrations. Also, the social nature of this dance means that spontaneity and improvisation are preferred over choreography, at least for solo performances. Finally, the element of class connected to baladi dance gives rise to a certain 'baladi feeling' expressed in the dance, a thread that will be encountered throughout the history and development of raqs sharqi. This feeling is what Bourdieu (1977, p. 15) would call 'disposition . . . embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental dispositions . . . also . . . in the form of bodily postures and stances, ways of standing, sitting, looking, speaking or walking'.

The interaction between tradition and change is also, at this stage, due to the hybridism of this dance and the class tension between baladi and afrangi values. These are the factors that lead to the transition between social Egyptian dances and the new style of raqs sharqi. Moreover, as it is performed in the salas, the dance transitions from a participatory to a presentational form. This leads to changes in the form and structure of dances, similar to those highlighted by Çakir (1991), Ramsey (2003) and Giurchescu (2001). Another decisive element in the birth of raqs sharqi and its future developments is the individual agency of practitioners, such as Badia Masabni. Individuals are very influential in the development of this art, as they reproduce or transform traditions, as Giddens stated (1984, p. 171) 'remaking what is already made in the continuity of praxis'.

In terms of transmission, we see how new dancers learn and develop in the salas and also how technology starts to influence the transmission of knowledge. At this stage, films with raqs sharqi scenes contribute to the spread of this dance form. New generations of

dancers are inspired by watching these movies and also learn by watching the dance performed in the movies. Movies thus become, for dancers, what Giddens would call allocative resources or 'forms of transformative capacity' (1984, p. 33), which allow them to learn even when a teacher is not present.

In the last column on the right, under 'Influences on heritage', I have summarised some observations regarding what factors can influence the survival or demise of living heritage, based on the Ghawazee example. The factors observed thus far are: religion; law; economy; competition; technology; change in lifestyle; transculturality and ability of heritage to adapt to changes. All these elements could be threats to heritage or aiding factors. For example, technology seems to have been a problem for Ghawazee dance, as local people started seeking entertainment in the form of TV and recorded videos and music rather than going to watch live dance performances. For raqs sharqi instead, we have seen how cinema helped this dance genre become more widely known and inspired some young people to learn this dance. In the course of this thesis, I will further highlight how technology and other factors, in particular political, economic and cultural have helped or hindered the development of raqs sharqi throughout its existence. These elements are particularly poignant, given that, as Ashworth posits (2011, p. 2), heritage is 'an outcome . . . deliberately created in response to current political, social or economic needs'.

From analysing this timeframe (late 1800s to 1930s), it emerges that the elements identified in the living heritage model are present. For instance, it is possible to identify: the emotional elements of the kinaesthetic empathy in the interaction between performers and audience; the importance of the performance environment; the influence of field, capital and taste in the dynamics of dance/heritage; movies as allocative resources and the dialectic between the structural elements of the tradition and the social actors' agency in transforming the tradition.

5.3 The Golden Era of Egyptian Cinema (1930s to 1950s)

The time span from the 1930s to the late 1950s is the golden era of Egyptian cinema and the time when we find the majority of dance scenes. In this section, I will analyse videos of some of the most famous dancers of the time, to pinpoint the differences but also the similarities between their dance styles, as well as trying to find out if the roots of this

dance are identifiable. At this time, there were many famous dancers performing in these movies, but I have analysed six of them, based on their fame, the availability of their videos online and whether they were mentioned in other sources. The three most famous and influential of these, whose names often appear on sites, books and on many online and offline source on bellydance are Samia Gamal, Tahia Carioca and Naima Akef. These three dancers have also been mentioned by most of my interview participants. For example, Francesca Calloni, a raqs sharqi practitioner based in Italy, stated:

> I have been watching and watching and watching all the old movies with Samia Gamal, Taheya Carioca, all the oldies and goldies[1] and Naema Akef, mostly because they were the first images we had of oriental dance.

The other three dancers, who are today less famous but still very representative of that age, are Nabadeya Mustafa, Hager Hamdi and Zeinat Olwi. In this analysis, I focus on the three most famous dancers (Samia Gamal, Tahia Carioca and Naima Akef), for reasons of space and because they have been the most influential from this era, for the future developments of raqs sharqi. In this section, I will also cover the rediscovery and reinterpretation of Egyptian folkloric dances, particularly by Mahmoud Reda, whose folkloric dance productions have influenced the development of raqs sharqi.

[1] Terms invented by the participant. 'Oldies' refers to all old videos, while 'goldies' to dancers from the so-called golden age of Egyptian cinema.

5.3.1 Tahia Carioca – The Traditionalist 'Bint al Balad'

Figure 14 - Tahia Carioca in the 1941 movie *Leila-bint-al-Rif* (Leila, daughter of the countryside). Image taken from video still **(TheCaroVan, 2014)**

Tahia Carioca's name (in Arabic: تحية كاريوكا) can be transliterated in many different ways, including Taheyya Kariokka or Tahiya Karioka. In my writing, I will use Tahia Carioca, while in the quotations from other sources I will use whatever transliteration the author uses.[1] There are various biographies of Tahia online, including some from authoritative sites on bellydance by authors such as Nermine Azzazy (1999), Sausan (Molthen, no date), Said (1999), Sloane Hirt (2012) and interviews with Tahia herself, talking about her life: (Belly Dance Classics, no date; Sami, no date; Cifuentes, 1994, 1999).

According to Sausan (Molthen, no date), Tahia was born Badawiya Mohamed Karim Ali Sayed in 1919 in Manzala, a small village by the Delta of the Nile and she then moved to Ismalia where she started dancing when she was a teenager. Tahia started her Arabic dance career with Badia Masabni, as Tahia herself recalls:

> I had ten years of ballet before I decided to become an Arabic dancer. I started with the group. . . . Everybody worked with Badia: Samia, Farid, all the great singers of that time. (Cifuentes, 1994, para. 24)

[1] The same will apply for the names of other dancers in this thesis, as Arabic words can have many different transliterations in Latin characters.

Tahia was given her stage name after a Latin American dance called Carioca, as the first solo choreography that was created for Tahia was loosely based on this type of dance. According to Sausan (Molthen, no date, para. 7):

> This introduction of the new Brazilian Karioka dance of Carmen Miranda was so liked that she grew more popular with a variety of solos in which she utilized this form of dance that she became affectionately known as Taheyia Karioka.

Tahia Carioca started acting and dancing in Egyptian movies from 1935 until the late 1980s. However, she danced only until the early 1960s, after which she only acted, with the exception of the 1972 film '*Khali balek min Zouzou*' (*Watch out for Zouzou*) (TheCaroVan, 2014n). The apex of her dancing career was in the 1940s and 50s so much so that, 'in the late 1940's [*sic*], Taheyia danced only at the more important functions held by or for the King and other royalty (Molthen, no date, para. 12)'.

Tahia was a political activist and an active member of the Actors' Syndicate.[1] As a result, she was arrested several times (Molthen, no date; Said, 1999). She died at the age of 79, in a Cairo hospital, from a heart attack (Said, 1999). She was strong and independent and she once said: 'A lot of people think I am impolite but I am not . . . I'm straightforward. I will tell the wicked to his own face' (Sami, no date, para. 23) and:

> I grew up with my grandmother. She was very strict. When I had any fights with girls or boys, and I went to her crying, she said to me: "Go clean your face. When you hit them, then come back. I'll give you money. If you respect yourself in Egypt, you can go anywhere." (Cifuentes, 1994, para. 32,33)

Her personality and background, so influenced by baladi values, are reflected in the way Tahia danced. She was very grounded and she could dance in very small spaces: 'Mohamad Abd El Wahab would say that 'Taheyia was able to show a great deal of movement in such a very little space' (Molthen, no date, para. 8). Her style is considered to be the most authentic, traditional style, as opposed to Samia Gamal, her contemporary, who was very light, fluid and moved more in space with turns and

[1] Molthen (no date, para. 15) reports that, in 1953, Tahia founded a party that supported 'post-revolution return to constitutional democracy and because of that she was jailed for 101 days'. While in prison, she went on a hunger strike to protest against the physical abuse of prisoners (Molthen, no date; Sellers-Young, 2016, p. 27). In 1987, she went on 'strike to protest against a new set of laws that would have impacted on actors' livelihood' (Sellers-Young, 2016 p. 27).

travelling steps. Although Tahia studied ballet when she was young, her raqs sharqi style was never over-influenced by it. She used steps inspired by ballet, such as the arabesque, but hers was small and grounded. She was considered by most a true '*bint al balad*' (daughter of the country) [1] (Adum, no date, pt. Second Segment-About Taheya Carioca & Samia Gamal) and 'Tahia is remembered as a dancer of the people for her film roles as a *bint al-balad* . . . a woman of a working class background' (Shay and Sellers-Young, 2005, p. 20). In 5.3.5, I will return to Tahia's personality and background, to analyse how these can have influenced her approach to raqs sharqi, using concepts from the Living Heritage Framework.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Very relaxed, grounded and she never hurries. She also performs sharp movements at times, in particular a lot of hip shimmies, which are, however, small and contained. Her hip movements are languid and contained, except for some very big hip circles (leaning forward a lot with the hips and starting from the front) or back bends.	1950 movie Shate al Gharam (TheCaroVan, 2015j)	Heavy (grounded)
	1945 film Lailat al Juma (TheCaroVan, 2014o)	Sustained with some sudden hip movements

Table 12 – Tahia Carioca's Movement Style

Table 12 summarises Tahia Carioca's dancing style, evinced through the video analysis. Her style was grounded and sustained, with the exception of some sudden hip movements, and, overall, very relaxed and with small and contained hip movements. Another dancer from the same era, who had a very relaxed and languid style was Hagar

[1] 'Bint al balad' is defined by Zuhur (1992, p. 8) as literally 'daughter of the town . . . an urban lower class woman' who embraces traditional values. Similarly, Early (1993, p. 203) defines her as 'woman from a traditional urban quarter'. El-Messiri (1978, pp. 90–94) describes a bint al balad as a conservative woman, but less so and more modern than women form rural communities; somebody who is confident, down to earth, quick witted, who works hard and who is not afraid of standing up to men trying to molest her.

Hamdi.[1] It seems that relaxation is a key characteristic of the most traditional, old school, raqs sharqi styles.

5.3.2 Samia Gamal – The Innovating 'Modern Woman'

Figure 15 – Samia Gamal in the 1952 movie *Ma-Takloushi la Hada* (Don't Tell Anyone). Image from video still (TheCaroVan 2014c)

Samia Gamal (سامية جمال) is the most famous of the dancers of the Golden Age of Egyptian cinema. The basic movements she used were part of the same movement vocabulary used by the other dancers of her time. However, the feeling and attitude were very different. She is the most 'westernised' with regards to her dancing style (Table 12), which is very light and lifted, with very quick and fluid movements, including very active and fluid arms and a lot of travelling steps and turns. According to the Egyptian dancer Dina, 'Tahia danced in an old-fashioned way, as if her movements were limited by an invisible circle. Samia, she made space explode' (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 55). Another modern Egyptian dancer, Lucy, 'elaborated that Samia Gamal was the first Raqs Sharqi dancer to incorporate beautiful arms and upper-body movements in her technique' (Rose, 2006, para. 10). Shay and Sellers-Young (2003, pp. 20–21) summarise the difference between the styles of Samia Gamal and Tahia Carioca, stating that:

[1] She danced in various movies in the 1940s and 50s (Ramzy, no date a) and she started her career in Badia Masabni's nightclub (Chamas, 2009).

> Their performances represent the tension between the older *baladi* (village) dance and its cabaret rendition. Tahia is remembered as a dancer of the people. . . . Although she incorporates the use of the arms expressively, her dances are concentrated studies in the mobility of the pelvic structure to articulate a variety of lifts, flips, and shimmies within various rhythmic and melodic structures. By contrast, Samia borrowed from ballet and American musicals to add expressive hand and body gestures that allowed her to portray a wide variety of moods and attitudes. Her make-up, hair style and costuming identified her as a sophisticated, modern woman.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Very light and lifted, with very quick and fluid movements, including very active and fluid arms and a lot of travelling steps and turns.	1952 movie Ma Takulshi la Hada (TheCaroVan, 2014k)	Light
	1955 film Segara wa Kas (The Fabulous Samia Gamal, 2003)	Sustained (except some sudden movements)
	1963 film Tarik al Shaytan (TheCaroVan, 2014l)	Indirect
		Free flow

Table 13 – Samia Gamal's Movement Style

Samia Gamal seems the quintessential raqs sharqi dancer. As we will see in the following analysis though, throughout the history of raqs sharqi, both the baladi and the modern feelings coexist, creating a balance between tradition and innovation. Even though each raqs sharqi dancer had her[1] own style and personality, Samia Gamal was one of the innovators rather than a traditionalist. In 5.3.5, I will return to these concepts to identify the possible reasons for the contrast between Tahia Carioca's and Samia Gamal's styles, using my conceptual framework.

Samia was born in 1924 in the village of Wana el Kess and died in Cairo in 1994 (Emma, no date; Jawad, no date). Her real name was Zeinab, but Badia gave her the stage name of

[1] The focus is on women dancers because, in Egyptian movies, the only dancers shown were women. Considerations on male belly dancers will be made in 5.7.8.

Samia Gamal [1] (Adum, no date), when she started working in Casino Badia. As Samia remembers:

> Badia asked me, "What's your name, Beautiful?" and I answered "Zeinab Khalil Ibrahim Mafouz". Badia said to me doubtfully, "Zeinab is a name for someone who sells grilled corn. From now on your name will be Samia".(Moawad, 1968, para. 10)[2]

From the beginning of her career, Samia's style received transcultural influences, particularly ballet, as noted in 5.2.2.1. In addition to ballet, Samia was also trained in other non-Egyptian dance forms. For example, in the 1952 movie *Ma takulshi la hada* (*Don't tell anyone*), there is a scene in a theatre in which she dances various genres, from Egyptian folkloric tableaux to ballroom and Hawaiian style dance (*The Fabulous Samia Gamal*, 2003, sec. 01:04:08). Similarly, in the 1949 movie *Bahebbak inta* (*I love you only*), there are dance tableaux, including a Spanish flamenco flavoured dance number (*The Fabulous Samia Gamal*, 2003, sec. 25:50) and a sequence including Egyptian folkloric, can-can/vaudeville, South American dances and ballroom dance (*The Fabulous Samia Gamal*, 2003, sec. 37:23).

Unlike Tahia Carioca, who was bint al-balad, Samia Gamal represents a modern woman, with short hair, who wears flowing chiffon skirts and dances in upper-class nightclubs or theatres and very rarely in popular settings. Samia Gamal danced and starred in many movies from the 1940s until the early 1960s, such as: *Ma Takulshi la Hada* (*Don't tell anyone*) from 1952 (TheCaroVan, 2014k); *Segara wa Kas* (*A glass and a cigarette*) from 1955 (*The Fabulous Samia Gamal*, 2003); *Tarik al Shaytan* (*The Devil's Road*) from 1963 (TheCaroVan, 2014l) and many more.

Dina Talaat (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 55), referring to Samia as one of her favourite dancers, calls her 'El farasha . . . the butterfly . . . ready to fly to the rhythm of music'. Randa Kamel said about her 'I love Samia Gamal. I love her face, I love her arms' (OrientExpressTV, 2010, sec. 05:54). Samia Gamal was famous and loved not only for her graceful dancing style, but also for her smile and sweet personality. For example, Sloane Hirt (2012, para. 14) remembers that, when Samia went to teach a workshop in the USA,

[1] Samia in Arabic means 'much praised' and Gamal means 'beauty'.

[2] The choice of Samia's stage name by Badia Masabni is an example of the baladi/afrangi dichotomy in the raqs sharqi world, in particular reflected in Badia's comments regarding the name Zeinab. I will return to the baladi/afrangi dichotomy and how Samia Gamal and Tahia Carioca reflect this, in the analysis section (5.3.5), at the end of this timeframe.

‘her exuberant laughter, friendliness, wit, and cheerful playfulness provided ample reasons for her legendary notoriety as an artistic ambassador of the Egyptian people’. Bellydance practitioner Emma (no date, para. 10) writes about Samia in her blog, ‘there is such joy in every movement she makes. . . . There is a sweet softness to her movements’. Similarly, one of my participants said, when I asked her what she liked in particular about Samia Gamal ‘She’s sweet and pretty [laughs]’ (Ann).

5.3.3 Naima Akef – Polished and Choreographed Performances

Figure 16 – Naima Akef in the 1957 movie *Tamra Henna* (Tamarind). Image from video still (TheCaroVan 2014a)

Naima Akef (نعيمة عاكف) was also an innovator in the field of raqs sharqi, because of her training and background and she was very influential for future generations of raqs sharqi practitioners. The famous Egyptian dancer Nagwa Fouad admired her very much, and she said in an interview ‘I used to escape from school to go to the movies and watch Naima Akef dance in films’ (Adum, 2010, para. 28). Randa Kamel was also heavily influenced by Naima Akef as she once said:

> As I grew I started to appreciate Naima Akef another beautiful dancer . . . I watched so many times their performances [Samia’s and Naima’s] that I know exactly all the steps they are doing during the scene. (Zahara and Shahin, 2012, para. 4)

Indeed, watching Naima Akef, I noticed some movements that seem familiar to other movements I saw Randa Kamel do, including some being taught by her in workshops I

attended. Other modern dancers seem to have been influenced by Naima Akef. For example, I have noticed a particular step performed by Naima, which Dina seemed to perform in a very similar way, although adapted to Dina's style. The movement I noticed can be seen first in a Naima Akef solo in the 1958 movie *Ahabek Ya Hassan* (*I love you Hassan*) (INTELLECT FOCUS, 2013, sec. 03:13) and in the movie *Tamra Henna*, from 1957 (TheCaroVan, 2014j, sec. 00:42). Dina performs it, during her solo, in the last episode of *Al Rakesa* (Al Rakesa, 2014, sec. 00:00:19), a 2014 Egyptian TV show and belly dance competition. The movement consists of stepping back with one foot behind the other, whilst swaying the hips side to side in a half horizontal figure of 8 layered on top of each step. Perhaps Dina saw and studied Naima Akef's videos, but it is also possible that she learnt these movements from Ibrahim Akef[1], Naima Akef's cousin, who was a famous choreographer from the 1950s, who started his career in Badia Masabni's club and who trained many raqs sharqi dancers (Egyptian and from all over the world) until his death in 2006 (Todaro, no date; Ziliotto Boudress, no date; duniaoriental, 2007; Chamas, 2009; Rodriguez, 2013). Being contemporaries, related and having worked for a while in the same settings, it is very likely that Ibrahim and Naima influenced each other.

<table>
<tr><th>Overall Style</th><th>Videos Examples</th><th>Laban analysis</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">A lot of innovative movements, new combinations, a lot of layering (for example, of hip drops and shimmies), many travelling steps and turns. With the arms she often did big sweeping movements and she held them straighter than other raqs sharqi dancers did at the time. She was very polished and often choreographed her solos. Many of her steps and combinations are still imitated today.</td><td>1958 movie Ahabek Ya Hassan (Unknown, no date)</td><td>Light</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">1958 movie Tamr Henna (TheCaroVan, 2014j)</td><td>At times sustained, at times sudden</td></tr>
<tr><td>Indirect</td></tr>
</table>

Table 14 – Naima Akef's Movement Style

[1] Dina writes, in her autobiography, that she studied raqs sharqi with Ibrahim Akef (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, pp. 57, 64)

I have summarised Naima Akef's style, gathered from analysing her videos, in Table 14. It was very refined and polished and, Ibrahim Akef told belly dancer Jalilah that 'it was his first cousin, the dancer and actress Naima Akef, who was the first to completely choreograph her solo performances (Chamas, 2009, para. 12)'.

Naima Akef's desire to experiment and innovate could have been influenced by her background and training. According to some sources she was born in 1929 (Artemis, no date; Green, 2015) and in 1932 according to others (Ramzy, no date b). All sources though agree that she was born 'in Tanta on the Nile Delta to parents who were acrobats in the Akef Circus' (Green, 2015, para. 1), where she worked from a young age as an acrobat (Artemis, no date, para. 1). In 5.3.5, I will analyse her stylistic choice using the theories from my conceptual framework and comparing Naima Akef with Tahia Carioca and Samia Gamal.

Naima Akef worked at Badia Masabni's club for a while and the first film in which she acted was in 1944, *Al-Eïch wal malh* (*Bread and salt*) (although, according to some other sources, the date of this film was 1949 (Fawzi, 1949)). Naima joined the first Egyptian folkloric group *Leil Ya Ain* and in 1954 she was nominated the best dancer in a folkloric dance competition in the Youth Festival in Moscow Group (Artemis, no date). According to Green (2015, para. 8), 'Naima quit acting in 1964 to take care of her son and only child. Sadly, Naima succumbed to cancer and died just two years later at the young age of 36'.

Naima's dance style was very eclectic and we can see her perform (in addition to raqs sharqi) many dance tableaux and other dance genres such as rumba, tap and acrobatic dances in her movies such as *Aziza* (Fawzi, 1955, sec. 00:52:19), *Aish Wal Malh* (*Bread and salt*) (Fawzi, 1949, secs 00:45:33; 01:41:00), *Ahebbek ya Hassan* (*I love you Hassan*) (Fawzi, 1958, sec. 01:03:27). Indeed, according to Ramzy (no date b, para. 10):

> Naima rarely ever danced in nightclubs but more through her films and theatre dance tableaux's [*sic*] which she regularly organised in Egypt as well as abroad. Those were not purely Egyptian dance performances, but more of a free expression and more of a music and dance extravaganza.

All these various influences in her dance can explain why Naima Akef introduced so many new movements and combinations in her raqs sharqi performances. Naima Akef was and still is very influential in the field of raqs sharqi. She is still very much-loved today by

practitioners such as Lidia Rosolia, who told me 'Naima Akef always was my favourite of the old dancers . . . maybe it's her smile, her energy'.

5.3.4 Egyptian Folklore and the Reda Troupe

In the 1950s in Egypt, after the 1952 revolution, the government encouraged a renewed interest in Egyptian culture, particularly in the late 1950s. It was in this political and cultural environment that the Ministry of Culture established The Folkloric Arts Center in 1957, with the aim to maintain and revive Egypt's folkloric dance and music traditions (Fahmy, 1987, p. 4; Zaki Osman, 2011). According to Van Nieuwkerk (1995, p. 48), 'Nasser's postrevolutionary Arab nationalism and Islamic socialism prompted a reappraisal of Arabic culture'. This is an example of the impact that society, as a bigger field (with taste and capital), has on individual fields of cultural production.

The renewed interest in folkloric music and dance had an impact on the development of raqs sharqi, a legacy that had long-lasting effects starting from the 1950s until today. Already, in some 1940s movies, there were some folkloric dance scenes. With the folkloric revival in the 1950s further research was done into traditional Egyptian dances, folkloric troupes were created such as Leil Ya Ain, which Naima Akef joined (Artemis, no date); Nelly Mazloum's[1] group, funded in 1956 (Nelly Mazloum, no date) and the Reda Troupe, funded by Mahmoud Reda, who 'first choreographed a work commissioned by the Egyptian government in 1954 and went to Moscow with the group who performed his work' (Shay, 2006, p. 154).

Mahmoud Reda[2] (a dancer, researcher and choreographer), the most influential figure in the field of Egyptian folkloric dance, 'emerged within the contexts of newly emerging nationalism, postcolonial euphoria, and modernity' (Shay, 2006, p. 153). He created a new theatrical and polished genre, as a result of his research on folkloric dances. Shay argues that (2006, p. 155) 'Reda created an "Egyptian heritage" through his new genre of dance', a heritage that may have started as an invented tradition, in the sense used by Hobsbawn and Ranger (1992), but which has now become established and influential in the history of raqs sharqi as well as of Egyptian folkloric dance. According to Farida Fahmy

[1] Dancer, actress, choreographer, teacher and company director who started her career with Badia Masabni.

[2] Mahmoud Reda's influence extends to much later than the 1950s; indeed, he is still active and influential today. However, I have decided to write about him in this section, because his activity first started in the 1950s, when he choreographed dance scenes for Egyptian movies and started his folkloric troupe.

(1987, p. 23), Reda never pretended that his choreographies were exact reproductions of folkloric dances:

> Mahmoud Reda's goal was creating a new theater dance form. . . . His works were never direct imitations or accurate reconstructions. They were his own vision of the movement qualities of the Egyptians . . . the posture, carriage, and gesture of his country's men and women, whether it be in dance or in everyday activities.

In an interview with Morocco, Mahmoud Reda explained the reasons why he could not just reproduce folkloric dance on stage (Varga Dinicu, 2013, pp. 35, 36):

> The folklore of Egypt . . . is like a treasure that nobody discovered. . . . However, there is lots of repetition, whether in the steps or in the melody. . . . When you watch the real thing, you will be happy because you can join. . . . But if you buy a ticket at the opera house and sit, you don't expect to see this. . . . So what I call my choreography is not folkloric. It's inspired by the folkloric.

Another aim of Mahmoud Reda, in addition to creating a new form of theatrical dance which was typically Egyptian, was to legitimise dance as a form of art, rather than an activity that was considered disreputable. Thus, he used Egyptian folkloric traditions as resources to help him create his own innovative artistic visions, rather than as rules that would have limited his creativity. At the same time though, society's structures constricted his art as he felt that he had to legitimise dance somehow, as it was an art form considered disreputable in the socio-cultural environment in which he lived.

Mahmoud Reda was born in Cairo in 1930 and came from a middle-class family, which was very interested in the arts and music (thus, he had a relatively high social and cultural capital). Besides being a professional dancer from the age of 18, Mahmoud Reda was a gymnast in the Egyptian Olympic team. His vision was heavily influenced by Western ideas of dance and choreography, not only because of his class background, but also because, in 1954, 'he joined an Argentinian dance company and traveled with them on their tour of Europe. While performing with them in Paris, he attended ballet and choreography classes' (Fahmy, 1987, p. 17). Moreover, he had a passion for American musicals starring Fred Astaire and he learnt how to dance by watching these movies. Mahmoud remembers in an interview with Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 33): 'The time of the

American musicals; that was the 50's: Fred Astaire and Gene Kelly starred in these movies. I used to see the same movie, maybe 30 times'.

Fahmy (1987, p. 17) recalls that Mahmoud Reda, 'became a choreographer for Egyptian films, then pursued a career in cinematography and became a film director'. Somebody, in a raqs sharqi web forum mentioned (Golden Age Choreographies, no date):

> I have close to a hundred of these old black and white films . . . and almost all of them name the choreographer in the credits at the beginning of the film. These group dances were definitely choreographed. Names that come up time and time again in the credits of these golden era films are Isaac Dickson and Khristo Kladaax. . . . Occasionally Mahmoud Reda's name shows up as the choreographer on some of these old films, as well as his brother Ali Reda.

Mahmoud and Ali Reda and Farida Fahmy founded the Reda Troupe in 1959, which went from a small group of 12 dancers and 12 musicians to counting 150 artists (between dancers and musicians) in the 1970s. By then, the troupe had performed all over the world and won awards. The troupe started as a self-funded project, but in 1961 it was nationalised and subsidized by the government.

Raqs sharqi was also one of Mahmoud Reda's inspirations for his choreographies. In adapting raqs sharqi for his stage productions, according to Fahmy (1987, p. 66):

> Mahmoud Reda did not change the quality of the movement . . . but . . . he altered the movements he found sexually suggestive, by changing the way that they had been executed originally. This was done by altering the angles of the body during execution, or through changing points of emphasis.

Figure 17 - Reda's staged version of raqs sharqi 'raqsah sharqiyah' (Fahmy 1987, 70)

Thus, the structural rules of the society in which Reda lived had an impact on the physical manifestation of his art and, therefore, on the physical dispositions and perceptual kapiert and lived experiences of the dancers. Farida Fahmy lists five things as an example of movements that Mahmoud Reda codified and refined (1987, pp. 66–68):

- Hip Oscillations (commonly called hip shimmies) - He broke down the mechanics of this movement, isolating where the movement was originated from (the pelvis, the knees or both), what direction it took and how the weight shifted. This allowed the movement to be taught and also, he introduced many variations of this movement and he layered it with other hip movements.
- Arm and Body Movements - He identified different reaches of the arms (medium and near) and how the arms moved in relation to other parts of the body, to develop a flowing style.
- Travelling Turns - He polished turns on the spot and introduced new travelling turns.
- Relevé - Previously, movements were performed with flat feet. Since Mahmoud Reda, performing movements on relevé (on the balls of the feet) has become a distinguishing feature of raqs sharqi as opposed to baladi style, giving raqs sharqi a

more vertical dimension. In particular, he introduced relevé to some turns, to the arabesque and to some hip movements.

- Spatial Design - He introduced transitional steps and group choreographies, to accompany the soloist in the background, that used set floor patterns and spatial formations. The soloist was emphasized through her relation to the other dancers in space.

In spite of the changes and innovations that Mahmoud Reda introduced to raqs sharqi to make it more refined, Fahmy (1987, p. 67) stresses that 'the relaxed attitude that is particular to this genre' was maintained. Reda has been one of the creators of raqs sharqi as we know it today: a specific genre, distinct from baladi or folkloric genres, which has become heritage in its own right.

Reda has been very influential for raqs sharqi practitioners all over the world. For example, Randa Kamel, who started her career as a folkloric dancer in the Reda Troupe, declared that 'Being in the Reda Troupe also taught me to always know how to use my arms and hands in relation to steps; basic rules about movement, and balance' (Sullivan, no date, para. 9). Mahmoud Reda was mentioned to me several times during the research interviews. For instance, Leena, from Finland, admits she was heavily influenced by Mahmoud Reda as she said: 'I've practically grown up as a dancer with Reda-style, as it was a central part of the Masrah doctrine'. More recently in their careers, Mahmoud Reda and Farida Fahmy, as well as travelling the world to teach, have also been involved in organising dance training and seminars for dancers visiting Egypt from abroad. Two of my interview participants said:

> Farida Fahmy and Mahmoud Reda were putting together . . . two weeks, week and a half long seminars in the mid-2000s . . . I attended the very first one those in 2006 (Angela Moe).
>
> I've been to Cairo and Alexandria in connection with a dance project (The World Dances with Mahmoud Reda) that Mahmoud Reda organised to celebrate Egyptian dance (Leena).

5.3.5 Analysis

Table 15 includes a comparison of the movements used by the three most famous dancers of the golden age. All three use isolations of the hips, torso and shoulders and a

clear movement vocabulary of raqs sharqi is already established at this stage. Following Kaeppler (2001), these isolations constitute raqs sharqi kinemes, which are the 'minimal units of movement recognised as contrastive' (ibid, p. 51) by raqs sharqi practitioners. Each kineme, for example, a hip drop, can be performed in various ways, giving rise to many allokines, another concept borrowed from Kaeppler's (2001) dance analysis (4.6.1). For example, a hip drop can be done standing straight or leaning back, as Tahia Carioca sometimes does. The use of allokines is very widespread in a dance genre such as raqs sharqi, in which the individual interpretation of the dancer is important and, already from this early stage, it is clear how every dancer has a clearly distinct style. Motifs are also created, which are 'sequences of movement made up of kinemes and morphokines that produce short entities in themselves' (Kaeppler, 2001, p. 51). For example, the travelling steps and combinations created by Naima Akef, which were copied by successive generations of dancers, can be considered motifs (even though these motifs are then changed based on every dancer's style rather than copied exactly as they were performed by Naima Akef). In the analysis of the timeframes that follow, we will see how these kinemes, allokines and motifs develop and if new ones are created or if some go out of fashion over time.

Tables 12a and 12b summarise the main themes that have emerged from this timeframe. There were many raqs sharqi dancers in the so-called golden age of Egyptian cinema, as well as choreographers and other people involved in the production and appreciation of this dance. However, I have identified a few figures who, through their agency, are very influential in the development and transmission of this dance. They are the dancers Samia Gamal, Tahia Carioca and Naima Akef and the choreographers Ibrahim Akef and Mahmoud Reda.

Movement	Samia Gamal	Taheya Karioka	Naima Akef
Backbend	yes	yes	yes
Camel	yes	yes	yes
Floor work	yes (in one video)		yes
Head slides	yes	yes	yes
Hip bumps			yes
Hip circles		yes (often very big)	yes (often medium size)
Hip drops	yes	yes (sometimes leaning back, others with foot release)	yes (a few different variations)
Hip horiz fig 8	yes	yes (at times big)	yes (often big and fast). On the spot and travelling.
Hip lifts			yes (plain and of one hip turning)
Hip shimmies	yes (but not too often)	yes (small 3/4)	yes (sometimes layered with hip slides. In one case choo choo shimmies)
Hip slides			yes (layered with shimmies)
Hip twists	yes, sigle hip		yes
Hip vert fig 8	yes (small)	yes (small)	yes (small), sometimes travelling side to side.
Shoulder rolls	yes		
Shoulder shimmies	yes (often slightly pushing one shoulder forward at the end of the movement, as an accent).	yes	yes
Spins and turns	yes	yes	yes (a lot, including new turns such as corkscrew and barrell). Turn balancing on one foot with very small jumps and other foot slightly lifted. Turn, hip lift, pause.
Arabesque	yes	yes	yes
Other Travelling steps			yes (a lot of different ways, incl grapevine, often she travels lifting her leg). Step and lift leg (signature). Cross step in front (signature). Step hip lift (signature). Scissor step with half hip horiz fig of 8 on one hip; hip drops turning around; hip drops stepping back.
Wrists circles and movements		yes	
Arms	Fluid	Often lifted above head and crossed at the wrists. sometimes straight in front with one hand over the other (Samia also assumed that position sometimes, especially in folkloric scenes).	Sweeping movements, generally straighter than other dancers.
Other	Lift leg and turn	Back and forward rocking of the hips with step (in folkloric dance scenes). Pose with with hand by the temple	Balletic moves and a wide range of other innovative moves.

Table 15 – Golden Age dancers' movements

In/tangible Elements	Authenticity	Heritage	Transculturality
Dance traditions: raqs sharqi and folklore.		Raqs sharqi as an invented tradition, distinct from baladi and folklore.	Training in ballet and other non-Egyptian dances. Influence of American musicals on Reda.
Dance movements: see movements table	Relaxed feeling, softness.	Folklore movements and Egyptian people's embodied habitus as studied and interpreted by Reda.	Arms patterns, postures, steps inspired by western dance genres (ballet and Hollywood).
People: Samia Gamal, Tahia Carioca and Naima Akef. Choreographers, such as Mahmoud Reda and Ibrahim Akef.	Traditionalist Tahia Carioca,	Famous raqs sharqi dancers and folkloric dance troupes represent Egyptian culture on the world stage.	Tahia Carioca's name. Reda's travels.
Locations: in movies we see dance in nightclubs, weddings and theatre.		Some locations we see in the movies look very traditional, in particular the wedding settings.	
Aural elements: music in movies.		Songs are played in movies that will become part of the traditional raqs sharqi repertoire.	

Table 16 - The Golden Era of Egyptian Cinema (1930s to 1950s) - Part 1

In/tangible Elements	Change/Traditions	Transmission	Influences on Heritage
Dance traditions: raqs sharqi and folklore.	Improvisation vs use of choreography.	Transmission happens both in person and by watching films (from body to body and from watching and appropriating others' movements - mimesis).	
Dance movements: see movements table	Traditional style is grounded and with little movement in space and sustained. New style more lifted, faster, more fluid and with more travelling steps.		**Technology:** cinema encourages transmission of dance.
People: Samia Gamal, Tahia Carioca and Naima Akef. Choreographers, such as Mahmoud Reda and Ibrahim Akef.	Tahia traditionalist; Samia and Naima innovators. Reda creates his versions of folkloric dances and raqs sharqi for the stage.	Famous dancers are very influential for future generations of dancers.	**Adaptation of dance for new settings:** by being adapted to new settings (stage and cinema) dance has a better chance of surviving, but at the same time it changes in nature.
Class: Tahia 'bint al balad'; Samia 'modern woman'; Reda middle-class.	Baladi vs modern feeling. Dancers' choices, background and training influences new developments or adherence to traditions.		**Morals:** sensual elements in dance are toned down to counteract the stigma still associated with raqs sharqi and dance in general.
Locations: in movies we see dance in nightclubs, weddings and theatre.		Learning in Badia Masabni's Casino.	
Taste: staged version of folkloric dance starts being seen as more acceptable than raqs sharqi.	Reda adapts dance traditions to his taste and alters sexually suggestive movements.		
Social occasions: Tahia danced for royalty			
Politics and economy: after the 1952 revolution, government encourages interest in Egyptian culture.			**Politics:** after 1952 revolution, renewed pride in Egyptian arts.
Technology: cinema.		Cinema is key in transmission of raqs sharqi.	
Artefacts:	Dancers use traditional finger cymbals and assaya, but also veils, which are new. More modern costumes use flowing chiffon skirts.		

Table 17 - The Golden Era of Egyptian Cinema (1930s to 1950s) - Part 2

Already it is possible to identify a tension between traditions and innovations, with some dancers, particularly Tahia Carioca, being more connected to traditions in the way they move and others (Samia Gamal and Naima Akef) more modern and open to innovations. Tahia Carioca and Samia Gamal also embody the baladi/afrangi dichotomy. Tahia is seen as the 'bint al balad' the working class, authentic and traditional baladi figure (although her stage name, Carioca, also reflects a transcultural dimension). Samia represents the afrangi values, by embracing an international culture in the way she moves and presents herself. Naima Akef is an innovator but also distinct from the other two, in that she is the one who experimented the most with a variety of new steps and combinations, which have been replicated by many dancers after her. She choreographed her solo dances and sought to achieve very polished performances. In spite of the differences between these dancers, one common element is the softness and relaxed feeling of raqs sharqi.

These three dancers, in particular, are the first embodiments of the raqs sharqi heritage, as their performances were immortalised in several movies. They embody heritage through the human's body ability to be what Burkitt (1999, pp. 2, 3) describes as 'productive bodies capable of activities that change the nature of their lives' by being 'communicative bodies . . . powerful bodies . . .. thinking bodies', by virtue of their dance, which is embedded in traditions. It seems, moreover, that dancers act as social agents in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993) of raqs sharqi, by creating niches for themselves and building their capital. As Bourdieu (1992, p. 99) stated, the agents can 'increase or . . . conserve their capital . . . in conformity with the tacit rules of the game . . . but they can also . . . transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game'. It seems that innovators play the game by seeking to change the rules, while the traditionalists prefer to keep the rules as they are and use them to their own advantage.

Mahmoud Reda connected local traditions with innovation, as he observed and studied local folkloric dances and the embodied habitus of Egyptians (their dispositions, or way of moving in everyday life) and represented his own version on stage. Mahmoud Reda's folklore represents Egyptian heritage but also his own interpretation, which was influenced by his middle-class background, and by having travelled and appreciated western dance in American movies. In this respect, Reda owned what Urry (2007, p. 197) refers to as 'network capital', which allowed him to travel and provided him with 'means

of networking'. The way in which he tried to tone down sexually charged movements in dance, particularly in his version of raqs sharqi, reflects the taste and morals of a particular class at a specific moment in time. The ruling class was trying to portray folkloric dances as part of Egyptian cultural heritage abroad, and, as Reed argues (1998, p. 512) 'regulating purity and authenticity in folkloric dance in a patriarchal and protective mode is a common feature of state and elite interventions'.

Mahmoud Reda started a process of codification and refinement of raqs sharqi, which has heavily influenced its development, especially considering the fact that Mahmoud Reda went on to teach all his life to dancers from different cultures, nations and backgrounds. Already at this stage, raqs sharqi takes shape as an 'invented tradition', which has its roots in local dances but is distinct from baladi social dance and from folkloric dances. Raqs sharqi is transmitted, at this stage, by imitation and mimesis body to body. However, this imitation happens not only in person (as it used to be the case traditionally), but also indirectly through the medium of cinema. The movies that people could see in the 50s are the same that we can see today, so the invention of cinema (and later other technologies for recording dance) has deterritorialised and detemporalised heritage, since dancers no longer have to be in the presence of a teacher to learn. This contradicts UNESCO's (2003, p. 2) statement that intangible heritage is 'transmitted generation to generation' as indeed transmission can skip generations, through the use of technology. Moreover, these old movies have become a tangible expression of raqs sharqi as 'the audiovisual material that captures its sound or image' (Skounti, 2008, p. 77), and they have also become heritage in their own rights as they are artefacts with their own artistic value.

In terms of locations and social occasions in which raqs sharqi takes place, in the movies we can see a variety of settings: from nightclubs and theatres to weddings and traditional celebrations. Also, the most famous dancers, such as Tahia Carioca, dance for Egyptian royalty[1] and heads of state and they are seen as representing a part of Egyptian culture on the world stage. As Zaki Osman (2011, para. 6) remarks, 'Gamal . . . Tahiya Karioka and Naima Akef, had contributed to turning belly dancing into a cultural phenomenon'.

Finally, artefacts also reflect the tension between tradition and innovation because, alongside the most traditional props such as finger cymbals and assaya, the veil appears

[1] This happened in the 1940s, when Egypt was still a monarchy, before the 1953 coup in which Egypt became a republic (*BBC News*, 2017).

as a prop used for the entrance on stage, and the most modern costumes of the time, in particular those worn by Samia Gamal, are made with gracefully flowing chiffon. As Samia Gamal once stated (Cifuentes, 1994, para. 7), 'I loved to work with soft fabric, which gave an ethereal illusion'. In this respect, the veil is an instrument for the dancer to dilate 'her being-in-the-world . . . by appropriating fresh instruments' (Merleau-Ponty [1945] 1992, p. 166). Most dancers wore the bedlah, except for those dancing in Mahmoud Reda's representations of raqs sharqi (see Figure 17) for which, Farida Fahmy (1987, p. 68) recalls:

> Costumes . . . were designed to emphasize the shapeliness of the women's figures . . . Bodices were usually long-waisted and close-fitting. . . . While the neck and arms remained bare, the midriff was always covered.

Props such as the assaya represent a connection between ancient traditions and the developments of what, at the time, was a new, invented tradition (i.e. raqs sharqi). The assaya, as we have seen in 5.2.2, was used by the Ghawazee dancers. It was inspired by the stick used in a combat activity called *tahtib* from Upper Egypt. Mahmoud Reda created a dance for male dancers, influenced by tahtib which, as Fahmy (1987, p. 48) states, was 'an individual, stylized, improvisational dance, that retains much of the defence and attack quality of movements found in tahtib'. The way in which raqs sharqi dancers used the assaya was in a playful and flirty way, as it can be seen in a scene from the 1955 film Aziza, with Naima Akef (TheCaroVan, 2014i).

Overall, cinema and the political environment (promoting Egyptian culture after the 1952 revolution), seem to have been positive for the continuation of dance as a form of heritage between the 1930s and 50s in Egypt. However, the adaptation of dance for the stage led to changes and the creation of a new invented tradition. Also, the morals of the time seemed to stigmatise dance to a certain extent, as Mahmoud Reda felt the need to tone down the most sensual elements of dance for its representation on stage. So, this meant that folkloric dances (or at least the staged representations of them) started to be seen as respectable, as opposed to raqs sharqi, towards which an ambivalent attitude developed. This attitude can be explained by the fact that, while folkloric dance was tamed for the stage, that did not happen with raqs sharqi, because its playful and sensual nature resisted being inscribed in nationalistic discourses. As Reed states (1998, p. 511) 'the very aspects that make dances appealing and colourful . . . may be precisely the things that do not easily fit into the self-representation of the nation'. This applies to raqs

sharqi and may be the reason for the ambivalent attitude of Egyptians towards it, which persists to the present time.

The tangible and intangible living heritage (3.7) elements that can be identified for this time frame include: the feeling of relaxation (at the level of perceptual mind-body unity) of Egyptian raqs sharqi as seen in the videos and identified in the discourse; the movement vocabulary being identified, which provides rules and resources for the practitioners; the agency of dancers and choreographers who use the allocative resources at their disposal (movements and artefacts such as props and also movies) to continue the tradition and possibly innovate on it; new props being appropriated as fresh instruments by dancers; the social background of practitioners that influences the dance/heritage; the field of cultural production of Egyptian raqs sharqi, influenced by the taste of social agents and in which practitioners have a capital at stake that they try to defend or increase. In addition to these elements, the continuous tension between traditions and innovation brings to the fore the relevance of the idea of fluid authenticity, whereby art continuously changes and adapts to new environments.

In this timeframe, some contrasts emerge from the results. In particular, the different ways in which the three most famous dancers deal with the balance between innovation and tradition and their different dance styles. There is no definite answer as to why this is the case, but this difference can be partially explained through three different and overlapping levels of analysis. The first level is phenomenological, connected with their personalities and their lived experiences. For instance, Tahia Carioca comes across as down to earth and passionate, while Samia Gamal comes across as more affable and this can reflect in the qualities (in the Laban analysis sense) of their dance. Of course, the discourse that was built later around these two women might have magnified certain aspects of their personalities, but this discourse must have been influenced by how Tahia and Samia came across in actual life.

The second level is connected to the dancers' habitus and dispositions, generated by their socio-cultural background. Tahia was of baladi background, raised with the idea that in life it is important to be strong and so she adopted the persona of the bint el balad in performance. Samia was also of modest background, so this socio-cultural level is difficult to assess in terms of how it shaped her attitude to dance; we should know more about their biography in order to attempt an analysis. Naima Akef was brought up in a circus

and she started as an acrobat, so this may have made her more prone to adopt a stricter approach to choreography and incorporate more athletic movements and experiment more.

The third level is about the agency/structure dialectic. The performers, even if influenced by the rules and structures of society, the cinema industry and their art, still had agency to make choices and use resources. So, they probably, to a certain extent, danced in a certain way because they liked it and made conscious choices as to what extent they wanted to innovate. Moreover, based on Giddens' (1991) idea of reflexive self-identity, their free choice to present their identity in a certain way was also linked to the structural expectations of society. Since these dancers acted in movies, it is possible they were typecast throughout their careers to fit a specific character or personality as performers, so the audience could create a narrative around them and identify them.

5.4 The Internationalisation of Raqs Sharqi (1960s and Early 1970s)

The 1960s early 1970s timespan has emerged from the data as a distinct timeframe, because, in Egypt, there are certain changes with regards to costumes design and to a certain extent to movement style. Also, the late 1960s and early 1970s, saw the emergence of belly dance in the USA, as a phenomenon connected with Middle Eastern diaspora and feminism. Although belly dance in the USA at that time was not only Egyptian style, I have decided to include this phenomenon in my research because it is crucial for the expansion of Egyptian raqs sharqi from localised to world transcultural heritage.

5.4.1 Egypt

In this timeframe, there are still many movies with raqs sharqi scenes made in Egypt and many famous dancers appear in those movies. However, none of them seems to be as well-known today as the big three of the golden era of Egyptian cinema, i.e. Tahia Carioca, Samia Gamal and Naima Akef (5.3). I have analysed many dance scenes from this period and, in particular, the dance of four dancers: Suzy Khairy, Soheir Madgdy, Nahed Sabri and Nadia Gamal. Although each has her unique style, I will summarise their styles and highlight what they have in common and what was new compared to the previous dance styles. I will focus more on Nadia Gamal, because she was the most influential for future generations of dancers, especially outside of Egypt, and for her long career, which

meant that I could analyse a lot more of her videos compared to the other ones. The Egyptian dancers I will talk about in this section start their career no earlier than the late 50s and dance until about the mid-1970s, although Nadia Gamal was still dancing in the 1980s but live rather than in movies (liviapj, 2009a, 2009b).

5.4.1.1 Nadia Gamal – Transcultural Dancer

Figure 18 – Nadia Gamal from the cover of a 1973 vinyl LP (Unknown 2016)

Nadia Gamal (نادية جمال) started her career in Egypt but she then moved to Lebanon, and, in the videos, it is visible how her style changes over time. Her career spans from the 1950s to the 1980s. A short biography of Nadia Gamal is available in a video made for her 'official tribute website' (liviapj, 2012). According to this source, Nadia Gamal was born in Alexandria in 1939 from a Greek father and an Italian mother (who was a dancer and actress). Since she was four, Nadia worked with her mother in the Casino Chatby, in Alexandria. At 13 she became a professional performer at Badia Masabni Casino. She left Egypt to move to Lebanon in the 1960s. Nadia Gamal studied various dance forms,

including ballet, modern North American and Latin dances. She was famous around the world and performed in many movies from different countries, including Egypt, Lebanon, India, UK. Nadia Gamal is another example (the first one was Badia Masabni) of how a dancer's socio-cultural international background provides her with transcultural resources that drive her style choices in dance and facilitate innovations.

Nadia Gamal's style was very energetic. At the beginning of her career, in the 1950s in Egypt, her style was more fluid and internal following the current trend in Egypt (see the 1955 movie *Ard al Hawa* (*Age of love*) (TheCaroVan, 2016)). In other videos from the 1960s and 1970s, Nadia Gamal's style seemed to become gradually more energetic at the same time as other dancers in Egypt, such as Nahed Sabri, were also embracing a more dramatic style. Along the traditional raqs sharqi movements, Nadia Gamal introduced some innovations. For example, she did some floor work, as other dancers did, but, while the other dancers' floor work was very brief, she lingered a lot longer on the floor. She also sometimes stood with her back to the audience moving her head and hair and, overall, her head movements were more dynamic compared to those of previous dancers. This also seemed to be a trend that started in the 1960s, as well as the dancers having long loose hair, whereas in the past many dancers wore their hair either short or tied. There is one video from a nightclub in Lebanon in the 1970s (Shems Dance, 2011), which is representative of Nadia Gamal's style in the 1960s and 70s. This video is one of the first examples I have found of dance videos in the Middle East taken from a live performance, rather than a movie.

In two videos of shows she made in Vienna in 1983 (liviapj, 2009a, 2009b), movements are bigger, faster, more vigorous and less internal to the body, in the sense that she reaches out into the kinesphere around her body more than traditional Egyptian dance style would allow. In both the 1983 videos the dance is still very Egyptian in terms of movements, gestures, attitude and costumes, what changes is only the 'flavour'. It is not easy to pinpoint if that was just Nadia's personal style or if it was influenced in part by Lebanese style, as she lived in Lebanon for a long time. Or it might be that Nadia, who was a star in Lebanon, influenced the local style more than the other way around. In any case, my observations resonate with what Ann Hall, one of my research participants, said about the differences between Egyptian, Turkish and Lebanese styles:

> [Egyptian style] It's more elegant, it's more linear, it's more upright. It can be more on the spot but not so much now, but it has that elegance. I always say to my students, you have to think of Egyptians as queens and Turkish as naughty princesses because, what the Turkish lacks in refinement, it gains in the fire, the enthusiasm and the speed of movement. Lebanese is really a mixture.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Very energetic. Her stlye changes from the 1950s in Egypt, which is energetic but more fluid, internal and elegant. Later it becomes even more energetic and the movements bigger.	1955 movie Ard al Hawa (TheCaroVan, 2016)	Light
	Live dance video from nightclub in Lebanon in the 1970s (Shems Dance, 2011)	Sudden
	Videos from show in Vienna in 1983 (liviapj, 2009a, 2009b)	Indirect
		Free flow

Table 18 – Nadia Gamal movement style

Table 18 summarises Nadia Gamal's style, while Table 19 is a comparison of movements that I have observed Suzy Khairy, Nahed Sabri, Soheir Magdy and Nadia Gamal do, in the videos that I analysed. The majority of movements listed are the same observed in the videos of the golden ages; same kinemes, with some more allokines. For example, Suzy Kahiry did a variety of intricate hip movements with a lot of layering, therefore creating many variations on the same basic movements. There are, however, also some new movements, such as fast movements of the head, especially performed by Nadia Gamal and Nahed Sabri whose styles could be (depending on the music) very dramatic including fast shimmies and travelling steps. This dramatic style seems to be a new development in the 1960s, which we will find in other dancers later on, such as Nagwa Fouad (5.5.1). This style can be observed, for example, in a scene from the 1963 movie *The Pickpocket* (ArabClassicFilms, 2012), with Nahed Sabri.

Another new kineme, not very common until the 1970s, but which will become very common from that point onward, are pelvic lifts and drops, which I have observed in Soheir Magdy's videos. Soheir Magdy also frequently performed a movement, similar to one observed in some of Naima Akef's videos. These are hip drops, in which the hip moves vertically straight down, dropping all the weight onto the foot, while standing on tiptoes. The movement is known today (among practitioners) as Soheir Zaki (5.5.2) hip drop, after the dancer who made it one of her signature moves in the 1980s. Two more movements, which I first observed being performed by Nadia Gamal and which will become very common in the raqs sharqi vocabulary from this time onward, are: snake arms (a wave-like movement of the arms, moving like a snake from the shoulder to the wrist) and hip jewels (half horizontal figures of eight of one hip, punctuated at the end by a small abdominal contraction, with a ripple effect).

Figure 19 - Nahed Sabri, Video still from the - 1962 movie *Judgment Day* (ArabClassicFilms, 2013)

Figure 20 - Soheir Magdi. Video still from the 1964 movie-*Lil Rigal Faqaat* (TheCaroVan, 2015g)

A new style of costume also emerges in this timeframe. It is a costume that resembles the original bedlah, but instead of having separate bra and skirt, these two pieces are connected by a piece of slightly transparent, but thick fabric, which shows the figure but covers the midriff, as it can be seen in Figure 19 and Figure 20. The skirt is made of chiffon. This style was in fashion during the 1960s and was Soheir Zaki's favourite style even during the 1970s and 80s.

Finally, there was a new development in the design of the assaya, the stick used as a prop in raqs sharqi. The traditional assaya, inspired by the tahtib, is made of wood and is quite thick. I have spotted, for the first time, in a 1974 video, another type of assaya that later became one the most commonly used type for raqs sharqi. That is, a thin stick, which I saw in a dance scene from the 1974 movie Nessa Lil Shetaa (LebDancer, 2015) with Suzy Khairy.

Movement	Suzy Khairy	Nahed Sabri	Soheir Magdi	Nadia Gamal
Backbend	yes	yes		yes
Camel	yes	yes	yes	yes
Floor work	yes			yes
Head slides	yes			yes
Head tossing back to audience				yes
Hip bumps	yes (Sharp Hip taks to the side/back)			yes
Hip circles	yes (Big hip circle layered with drops of the leading hip, followed by central shimmy)		yes	yes
Hip drops	yes (also layered with hip slides and back and forth)	yes	yes	yes
Soheir Zaki hip drops			yes	
Hip horiz fig 8	yes (big)	yes	yes	yes
Hip lifts	yes (also leaning back and with one hip)		yes	yes
Hip shimmies	yes	yes	yes	yes
Hip slides	yes (also layered with drops and shimmies)		yes	yes
Hip twists	yes (Hip twist and ab pull)		yes	yes
Hip vert fig 8	yes	yes	yes	yes
Shoulder rolls			yes	yes
Shoulder shimmies	yes (with movement similar to Samia Gamal's signature)	yes - shoulder taks	yes	
Spins and turns		yes	yes	yes
Travelling steps	Walking back slightly with camels. Step back hip drop	yes	yes	yes
Wrists circles and movements		yes - hand waves	yes	yes
Hip Jewel				yes
Arms		Lifted framing forehaed and then down the body	Soft and framing the body	Very fluid, with snake arms and other fluid movements and above the head, framing the face.
Snake arms				yes
Head and hair tossing		yes		yes
Pelvic lifts and drops			yes	
Arabesque	yes	yes	yes	

Table 19 – 1960s-70s Egyptian dancers' movements

5.4.2 USA

The time in which bellydance started to become popular and to be taught in the USA, in the 1960s, is crucial for the transmission of raqs sharqi on a global scale. Although raqs sharqi in the USA was and still is influenced by a variety of Middle Eastern dance styles, the Egyptian influence became strong, particularly when Americans started travelling to the Middle East, including Egypt, to seek the roots of this dance.

The first time that the European public had seen dances from Northern Africa and the Middle East, which the French called '*danse du ventre*' (dance of the stomach) was in 1889 at the Paris International Exposition, where dancers from countries including Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey performed (SerpentineVideo, 2007). A few years later, in 1893, the World's Fair and Exposition was held in Chicago. As Getz (Getz, no date) reports, Sol Bloom was named manager of the Midway Plaisance, an area that was going to be full of entertainments and ethnic culture. Having seen the northern African and Middle Eastern dancers in Paris in the 1889 exposition and how successful they were as an attraction, Sol Bloom made sure that these dancers were also present in Chicago. Their dance was then called bellydance, from the French 'danse du ventre'.

At the time, bellydance attracted much attention but was also condemned by some because of its movements of the hips that some considered obscene. Indeed, vaudeville dancers employed some of these movements in their dances and incorporated them in their burlesque routines, hence the association between bellydance and burlesque, which has remained ever since in the imagination of the general public in the West. Some American vaudeville dancers at the time danced Middle Eastern routines. There are still some videos available from the late 1800s of dancers who were probably American vaudeville dancers performing Middle Eastern inspired routines. For example, Princess Raja, in 1904, (Cerice Janan, 2006) danced with hip isolations and finger cymbals, and at the end held and balanced a chair in the air with her teeth (a stunt that was often performed by acrobats in various countries around Northern Africa and the Middle East). A telling example of the Western opinion of dances that employed torso isolations is a video from 1896 called Little Egypt (TigerRocket, 2012), where a dancer is performing a belly dance routine, with finger cymbals, and, at minute 0:32, the video is censored with horizontal white stripes to cover the hips and the chest of the dancer. This is an example

of how society's regulative rules try to limit the individual agency of artists. In this case, the artefact (the video) is a resource for the transmission of the performance but it also reflects the rules of the society in which the performance took place.

At the time, Middle Eastern dances influenced American and European performing arts in different areas. Performances and dancers influenced by Middle Eastern dance included: vaudeville; some of the first Hollywood movies and some dancers such as La Meri, Ruth St Denis (Figure 21) and Maud Allan (Figure 22), who were looking for inspiration from oriental dances from the Middle East and India (Reed, 1998; Koritz, 2003; O'Shea, 2003). These Western influences, as we have seen, contributed to shaping the modern raqs sharqi costume, the bedlah, influencing Badia Masabni and the Egyptian cinema industry. However, there was no influence on the general public in the West. This was going to change from the 1960s onwards.

Figure 21 - Ruth St. Denis (Muray, 1926)

Figure 22 - Maud Allan (Banfield, 1910)

In the 1960s there were two main factors that contributed to the diffusion of belly dance among the American middle classes: the Middle Eastern diaspora and feminism. As Shay and Sellers-Young explain (2003, p. 12), in the 1960s in America:

> The baby boom generation challenged the organizational structure of society from the laws regulating the definition of a civil society to social mores related to sex and gender. . . . Following World War II, large groups

> of Arab Christians, Jews, and Moslems from Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, Syria and elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East had come to the United States to escape political problems in their native countries. They created communities . . . Detroit, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and San Francisco . . . a series of restaurants opened in these ethnic enclaves that became natural gathering places for immigrants from Syria, Lebanon, Greece, Turkey and Egypt. Arab American musicians cleverly adapted the emblems and symbols of Orientalism made popular by such contemporary Hollywood films as *Salome* (1953), *Kismet* (1955), *Never on Sunday* (1960) and *Zorba the Greek* (1964) and joined it to a new musical style derived from their traditional music. Adventuresome city dwellers begin to flock to these restaurants in the 1960s.

The pioneers of belly dance in the USA learnt raqs sharqi, not in classes but, as they were hired to perform in ethnic restaurants, by watching professional Middle Eastern dancers, as well as ordinary people who danced socially in those restaurants. The most successful of these early American belly dancers were already trained in other dance forms. Some of these dancers were Dahlena, Helena Vlahos, Morocco (also called Auntie Rockie, aka Carolina Varga Dinicu) and Jamila Salimpour. These same dancers continued studying Middle Eastern and Northern African dances in depth, travelling to the countries of origin of these dances, and they then started teaching classes and workshops and organising trips to Egypt and other countries with their students. In the 1960s, New York especially, was a hotbed of culture and, according to Morocco:

> 8th Avenue, from 27th to 29th Streets, had 10 restaurant/ night clubs with continual live, nightly Mideastern music, 3 dancers 6 nights a week, & a 4th on the 3 days the others were off. (Varga Dinicu, 2001, para. 9)

Regarding how she learnt, Morocco writes:

> I watched it all & sponged it up. When a movement one of the customers did catch my eye, I'd wait till the (usually older) woman went to the ladies' room, follow, & convince her to teach it to me then & there. (Varga Dinicu, 2001, para. 18)

Morocco (ibid.) explains that musicians and singers were from different countries such as Greece, Turkey, Armenia, Egypt, Lebanon and they were all playing together. Other dancers have similar tales of learning by imitation, as they were hired to work in multicultural Middle Eastern restaurants, including Jamila Salimpour (El Safy, 1994), Dahlena (Gamal, 1999), Helena Vlahos (Westover, no date). It was not long before the

generation of dancers who learnt in the restaurants started teaching in structured classes. Abila, one of my interview participants, recalls that:

> When I was 16 . . . there was a belly dance class down the street and I thought that would be really cool. . . . At that time all that we danced was what is currently known as vintage oriental or American nightclub style. We had the live bands and they were mixes of musicians from all over the Middle East from immigrant families . . . I grew up in New York City. So the Greek nightclubs on 8th avenue were where a lot of that stuff was happening. My local teacher didn't do classes for long, she sent us to her teacher, when she was done and her teacher turned up to be Ibrahim Farrah.

Ibrahim Farrah, whom Abila mentions above, was a famous American oriental dance teacher and performer, who taught generations of dancers in the US. Forner (1998) reports that he was of Lebanese heritage and, after training in ballet, jazz and modern dance, he started practising oriental dance in the 1960s. Forner (ibid) adds that, between 1968 and 1971, Ibrahim travelled to the Middle East for dance training where (in 1968 in Lebanon) he met Nadia Gamal (5.4.1.1) who became his mentor and friend. He started teaching in New York in 1967 and founded the first Middle Eastern dance theatre troupe (in 1969) in the USA, called Near East Dance Group, and the first oriental dance magazine, called Arabesque. According to Forner (1998, para. 86), in the early 1970s, 'there were many American dancers who were also researchers traveling, working and studying in the Middle East'.

Ibrahim Farrah was one of the first oriental dance male practitioners outside of the Middle East, who taught and performed. Similarly, in Egyptian movies (even if Shay (2006) argues that male dancers who performed solo improvised dances with torso articulations have always existed), I did not see any male raqs sharqi performers. Male choreographers such as Ibrahim Akef, Isaac Dickson and Mahmoud Reda were very influential in shaping modern raqs sharqi, but they did not perform this genre on stage themselves. Another male oriental dance performer and teacher who was involved at the beginning of the bellydance classes craze in the US was Bert Balladine. According to El Safy and Murjan (1997), he was from Eastern Europe and was trained in circus acrobatic and ballet before discovering oriental dance in 1958 in Egypt. Regarding how he started teaching in America, Bert told Murjan 'when I returned to America in the early 60's, the Haight-

Ashbury "flower children"[1] scene was alive and people were ready to discover this dance, and so I helped them' (El Safy and Murjan, 1997, pt. Interview by Ma Shuqa Mira Murjan).

The "flower children" movement was the result of huge changes in American (and Western) culture, which led to people being more curious about different cultures. As El Safy (1994, paras 2, 3) recalls regarding the late 60s/early 70s in America, when she travelled to California to take classes from Jamila Salimpour, 'we were hungry for the authentic, substantive and soulful'. The flower children movement coincided with a new wave of feminism that encouraged sexual liberation. Bellydance was considered empowering and, during the 1960s and 70s, Deagon argues (no date, para. 9), 'belly dance . . . encouraged self-expression, it freed women from constraint in their physical movement, and it encouraged taking center stage'.

In the 1970s, following the success of their weekly classes, practitioners started organising big festivals around the USA and then around the world, where famous American dancers taught. Dr Monty has been credited as being the first organiser of such events (Forner, 1998; Gamal, 1999; Varga Dinicu, 2001). Moreover, books on belly dance started being published, such as Dahlena's book from 1976 *The Art of Belly Dancing* (Gamal, 1999, para. 1). By that time, Dahlena had opened her own dance studio in 1974 in Chicago, which, as Gamal (ibid, para. 19) recalls, were attended by wealthy women and 'Dahlena believes that it was the influence of these students, women of position and means, that allowed the dance to gain respectability'. Gamal explains (ibid.) that Dahlena performed raqs sharqi worldwide, including in France, Iraq and Syria and, after spending a month in Egypt for dance training, Dahlena returned to Egypt several times with her students. Dahlena was not the only American teacher to lead dance tours to Egypt. Auntie Rockie did the same for many years. This was a trend destined to continue, as more and more bellydance teachers started organising trips for their students, and the reputation of Egypt, among raqs sharqi practitioners, as the cradle of bellydance was cemented. I was not able to find many videos online of American belly dancers from the 60s and 70s. I managed to find some videos featuring Dahlena on YouTube, 12 in total, one from a

[1] The flower children (also called hippies) movement started in San Francisco, in the early 1960s, in the area of Haight-Ashbury, where it culminated in 1967 during the so-called Summer of Love. After 1967, this movement declined in Haight-Ashbury, but it spread elsewhere in America and Europe. The flower children movement was associated with: rebellion against conformist values of society held by older generations; opposition to war; sexual freedom; colourful clothes and experimentation with drugs (Anthony and McClure, 1995; Braunstein, 2001; Morris, 2009; Misiroglu, 2015; Curteman, 2016; Moretta, 2017)

movie from the early 1960s (Dahlena Myrick Pearce, 2013) and the others much more recent, from the early 1990s.

It was probably the popularity of raqs sharqi in the USA that helped it become a global phenomenon; however, the diffusion of raqs sharqi in each country may have followed different paths. In England, for instance, according to Cooper (2013), the arrival of raqs sharqi in the 1970s was due to a combination of two factors: the opening of exclusive Arab nightclubs in London (due to the closure of clubs in Lebanon because of the civil war) and the arrival of American belly dancers, who were searching for new opportunities to teach and perform. For example, the American dancer Asmahan (2012a, 2012b), reports that she started learning raqs sharqi in America with Jamila Salimpour in 1972, and she then went to London to perform in exclusive Arab nightclubs in 1977, where many famous Egyptian dancers also performed. There, she learnt modern Egyptian style raqs sharqi. Asmahan (ibid) recalls that it all ended in 1990 with the Gulf War, which started an economic recession that spelt the end for those clubs both in Cairo and London. Similarly, a British born dancer, Yasmina of Cairo (aka Francesca Sullivan) (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006), started dancing professionally in the clubs and restaurants in London in the 1980s, she then danced in various countries in the Middle East before finally settling in Cairo in 1995 where she is still living. She no longer performs in nightclubs, but she teaches raqs sharqi to foreign dancers, both in Cairo and around the world at workshops and festivals.

In London, as well in the US, oriental dance was initially performed to live music, as it still happens in Egypt. However, now the performance landscape of raqs sharqi in the UK and the US has changed and places where live music is performed are hard to find. For instance, Westover (no date, para. 26) observes that 'nightclub productions of the Dance as found in the native Middle Eastern countries are all but vanished in the United States'.

5.4.3 Analysis

In Table 20 and Table 21, I have highlighted the main themes for this timeframe. The most important aspect to notice is the increasingly transcultural dimension of raqs sharqi, because of its diffusion outside of Egypt. This is due to the ever-increasing corporeal travel of people, a type of what Urry (2007) calls 'mobilities'. Nadia Gamal, one of the most famous dancers from the Middle East who started her career in Egypt, travelled and

worked in many countries, including the UK and India and she moved to Lebanon, where she influenced the local oriental dance scene. At the same time, a diaspora from the Middle East, Greece and Northern Africa took the music and dance of that part of the world to the USA. There, these dance and music traditions found fertile ground in a society in which (especially in big cities such as New York) people were eager to discover different cultures and had the 'economic capital' to invest in leisure activities. This increased mobility led to more hybridity 'as a transformative, innovative process of continuous interaction between two or more cultures' (Naguib, 2008, p. 473).

In/tangible Elements	Authenticity	Heritage	Transculturality
Dance traditions:			Dancers such as Nadia Gamal and American dancers train in a variety of dance genres.
People: dancers in movies in Egypt; Nadial Gamal in the ME; 1960s pioneers in the USA.			Nadia Gamal takes raqs sharqi to Lebanon and works worldwide, including the UK and India; American and Egyptian belly dancers travel to London to perform
Locations: ME restaurants in the USA; expensive ME venues in London.	Search for authenticity in ME and Egypt in particular.	Thirst for discovery of cultural roots of this dance on the part of Americans, who seek for it in Egypt.	Exclusive Arab nightclubs open in London (due to closure of clubs in Lebanon because of Civil War). ME restaurants open in the USA.
Aural elements: Music performed live in ME venues in the USA and London.	Live music.	Musical tradition is part of the dance heritage.	Musicians from different countries play together in ME restaurants in the USA.
Taste:			Flower children' movement searches for new materials and inspiration from different cultures.
Artefacts:		Movies, videos of live performances, books and magazines start becoming a collection of artefacts that constitute heritage and complement the living dance heritage and tradition.	

Table 20 - 1960s and early 70s in Egypt and the USA – Part 1

In/tangible Elements	Change/Traditions	Transmission	Influences on Heritage
Dance movements:	Dance style becomes more energetic and some new movements develop.		
People: dancers in movies in Egypt; Nadial Gamal in the ME; 1960s pioneers in the USA.	Nadia Gamal influences development of Lebanese style. Male performers (not just choreographers) in the USA.	Dancers travel more, thus teaching in places different from their country of origin.	**Mobility of people:** diasporas; travel for leisure, research, work.
Class:		Wealthy women attend classes in the USA.	**Class:** affluent people in the USA paying for classes. Affluent people from the ME paying to see performances in clubs in London.
Locations: ME restaurants in the USA; expensive ME venues in London.	Dance goes from being performed at venues, to also being taught formally in dance studios.	Learning in the USA first happens by imitation in ME restaurants. In the 1970s formal classes start.	**Venues and aural elements:** Availability of venues to perform and influence of live music on the experience.
Taste:	Social changes in the USA bring changes in taste, whereby raqs sharqi went from being censored to being celebrated as liberatory and taken up by wealthy women.		
Social occasions:		American dancers travelling to the ME (particularly Egypt) and taking their students there. Big dance festivals being organised, around the USA at first and then worldwide.	
Politics, society and economy: wars in ME cause diasporas		Middle Eastern diaspora to USA; feminism and social changes in the USA.	**Social changes:** feminism and 'flower children' movement. **Politics:** war in Lebanon causes clubs to open in London; political and economic pressures in ME cause diaspora to the USA. **Economy:** owners of ME restaurant in the USA embrace 'orientalist' depiction of ME music and dance, in order to attract customers.
Technology: cinema and videos of live performances from 1970s (80s in the USA)		Cinema and first videos of live performances in the 1970s	
Artefacts:	Change in costume fashion and introduction of thin assaya.	Belly dance magazines and books in the USA.	

Table 21- 1960s and early 70s in Egypt and the USA – Part 2

The ‘contact zones’ in which the Middle Eastern dance takes place are ethnic restaurants, in which musicians and dancers from different Middle Eastern and northern African countries work together. American dancers learn by imitation in these venues and this is how the dance is transmitted at first. However, over time, those who first learnt in the ethnic restaurants start teaching classes, so the transmission becomes more formal and classes are attended by women who have the financial capital to do so. Moreover, festivals are organised and artefacts such as books and magazines are produced, which constitute part of the tangible aspects of this heritage and increase the ways in which this can be transmitted, conceptually as well as in an embodied way. These artefacts, are also a form of ‘objectified cultural capital’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 99), which people who own cultural and economic capital can acquire. Thus, the transmission of raqs sharqi heritage starts being commodified, just like eastern movements forms have been, as Brown and Leledaki (2010, p. 139) argue, ‘by the rationalization of leisure via the interpenetration of market commodification logics’.

Most importantly though, the ‘mobilites’ of people go now in the opposite direction, from the USA to the Middle East as American practitioners are interested in searching for the ‘authentic’ roots of this heritage. Hence, they travel, research and take their students with them. One of the countries to which practitioners travel the most is Egypt. This, together with the fact that raqs sharqi was already prominent in local culture and the cultural prominence of Egypt in the Arab world because of its movie industry, means that Egypt becomes more and more central to the American (and later global) bellydance discourse. American and Egyptian dancers also travel to perform in London. These dancers influence the dance scene in London and teach their style to the local dancers.

A very important element of the dance tradition and experience in the 1960s and 70s in the USA and in London is the fact that dancers could perform to live music. This still happens regularly in Egypt, but it is less common now outside of Egypt. In 5.7.7, I will return to the issue of live music and how foreign dancers move to Egypt, just to be able to dance to live music all the time. It seems though that, unlike dance, the performing of the music that goes with the dance, has not moved out of its area of origin. Also, live music seems central (not necessary but very important) to a completely authentic experience of raqs sharqi.

The big influences on how heritage develops in this timeframe are related to mobility of people; politics (war and political instability that causes diasporas); class (affluent students in the USA and rich customers for clubs in London); the availability of 'contact zones' in which the dance is transmitted (i.e. ethnic restaurants in the USA); economic factors (the ethnic restaurants owners in the USA who embrace the orientalist depiction of their cultures in the American movies to attract customers, in an act of (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006) 'self-Orientalism as the local deployment of globally available Orientalist tropes that reify Eastern sensual or religious exotica for material or symbolic gain') and finally social changes. These changes, which happened in the 60s and 70s in the USA, allowed oriental dance to spread. The idea of power being associated with raqs sharqi, in particular women who dance raqs sharqi, will return over and over again in this research as part of the discourse associated with this genre, with empowerment still being one of the reasons why middle-class women in the USA take up belly dance classes (Moe, 2012).

The most noticeable characteristic of this timeframe is the international and transcultural diffusion of bellydance and of Egyptian raqs sharqi as one of the styles practised. In terms of the Living Heritage Framework (3.7), there are some connections that can be made to highlight how the tangible and intangible elements connect. First of all, the transcultural element of heritage is embedded in practitioners' bodies through their phenomenological habit, as well as through their socio-cultural habitus, which practitioners carry with them as they travel. Furthermore, artefacts also travel and these constitute objectified cultural capital and objectified allocative resources, which give practitioners more agency and variety in the way they express themselves. Artefacts can also be commodified, thus giving a tangible dimension to intangible cultural values.

The performance environment is also one of the tangible/intangible elements of this transcultural living heritage, as contact zones (for example Middle-Eastern restaurants in America) facilitate the transmission and hybridization of cultures. Live music is one of the in/tangible elements highlighted in this section. Live music is the aural element of these dance performances, which affects practitioners in many ways. Firstly, on an emotional (phenomenologically subjective) level; secondly, dancing to live music can empower dancers, as they draw on it as an additional resource to express their creativity (agency); thirdly, the ability and opportunity of dancing to live music can act as a form of cultural capital that gives dancers further prestige.

Overall, the transcultural element of heritage gives practitioners and audiences new resources to extend their agency and creativity across the structural boundaries of different societies, allowing for fluid authenticity to develop. Transculturality can also be understood in terms of power relations in a social field and the amount of capital that is needed to be able to be mobile, as well as the new capital that being able to access different places and cultures can give individuals.

5.5 Raqs Sharqi in Egyptian Cinema and TV (1970s and Early 1980s)

During this timeframe in Egypt, there are more videos of raqs sharqi from TV shows, rather than just movies. Also, there seems to be a growing interest in trying to legitimise dance as an art form. The two most famous raqs sharqi dancers of the time, Soheir Zaki and Nagwa Fouad, both started their dancing career earlier in the 1950s and 60s. However, I have chosen to analyse their dance in this timeframe as this is when they reached their apex. Below I will analyse the main figures of this age.

5.5.1 Nagwa Fouad – Innovation in Dance Productions

Figure 23 – Nagwa Fouad, video still from the 1976 movie You who were my beloved (ArabClassicFilms 2011b)

Nagwa Fouad (فؤاد نجوى) appeared in Egyptian movies from at least as early as 1957, in the movie *Touha* (ArabClassicFilms, 2011a). However, she reached the peak of her very long dance career in the 1970s and 80s, when she did most of her TV shows dance productions. My research participants mentioned her often in the interviews, with Francesca saying about Nagwa that 'She was amazing because she was really an entertainer. . . . And she was innovative'. Helen is also a huge fan:

> Nagwa Fouad! [laughs] She is my ultimate favourite! I can't get enough of watching her . . . I think just her exuberance is fantastic. And she just has this utter joy when she dances that comes across and she can get away with quite saucy stuff. She does that big chest shimmy quite a lot . . . but she's got such an innocent joyous smile on her face, you can't possibly take it as salacious, it's just huge fun.

In these quotations, the importance of feelings, dancer/audience interaction and kinaesthetic empathy in the Egyptian raqs sharqi discourse is evident. Therefore, the phenomenological aspect of dance heritage comes forward. At the same time, the expressivity of the dancers is also relevant from the socio-cultural point of view. Her joyous expressions constitute a resource that allows her to overcome certain rules in society. That is, it is supposedly not good for a woman performer to be salacious but her likeability, the way in which she expresses her sensuality makes it acceptable (at least in the eyes of a British, middle class and middle-aged woman living in the 21st century but it may be different for someone from a different socio-cultural background).

El Safy (2001) reports that Nagwa Fouad was born in Alexandria, Egypt, from an Egyptian father and a Palestinian mother and the family moved to Jaffa, soon after Nagwa's birth. In 1948, the family had to flee their home because of Jaffa's occupation by Israel. Nagwa's father fled to Alexandria and Nagwa moved to Cairo, where her dancing career started, when she was working as a receptionist at the Orabi Agency (an agency for the stars of the Egyptian cinema). A crucial moment in her career was meeting the composer, conductor and producer, Ahmed Fouad Hassan, who suggested that Nagwa perform in his 1960s musical *Adwaa Al Madina* (*City Lights*). Ahmed encouraged Nagwa to learn theatrical techniques and showmanship. Nagwa said: 'He trained me at the Nelly Mazloum Dance School and I joined the National Dance Troupe to study folklore with Russian teachers' (El Safy, 2001, para. 8). Nagwa Fouad acted and danced in several movies, performed for famous people from all over the world when they went to Egypt,

produced and starred in about one hundred television musicals and was considered one of the most famous raqs sharqi dancers in the Arab world in the 1970s.

The TV musicals, which Nagwa directed and starred in, were her biggest innovation. Up until then, in the 1970s, raqs sharqi had been performed at events and celebrations, in nightclubs and on cinema sets. With Nagwa Fouad's musicals, raqs sharqi took a completely new dimension, which has not been replicated since. For the first time, raqs sharqi and the music that went with it, were the main event, rather than only part of another event such as a wedding or a movie. These musicals were part of a trend, which had started in the 1950s with Mahmoud Reda, for the legitimisation of dance in Egypt and the discovery and revival of folkloric dance.

According to El Safy (2001), Nagwa's dance creations were the result of her collaboration, from 1975 to 1992, with the choreographer Mohammed Khalil who had extensive experience of theatre dance and great knowledge of Egyptian local dances. El Safy (2001, para. 16), in her article, quotes parts of a conversation she had with Mohammed Khalil: 'Oriental dance, he felt, needed a framework; it needed the context of a storyline with "good music, good orchestra, choreography and costume changes"'. Nagwa Fouad's musicals were indeed big productions, involving several costume changes (with rich and colourful outfits), large groups of folklorically and classically trained back-up dancers, solo vocalists and several musicians (orchestras of around 50 musicians). El Safy (2001) states that Nagwa invested heavily in these productions and commissioned musical pieces from famous Egyptian composers who, for the first time, wrote music specifically for a dancer:

> 1976 marked the beginning of a new era for Oriental dance when Nagwa Fouad revolutionized the industry by commissioning Egypt's beloved composer, Mohammed Abdel Wahab, for his first and only piece for a dancer, "Qamar Arba'tashar" (Full Moon of the Fourteenth). Commercial successes followed with the creation of scores of now standard classics, frequently used in the dance world. (El Safy, 2001, para. 21)

Nagwa Fouad's shows included both raqs sharqi and Egyptian folkloric pieces adapted for the stage. She was an innovator but drew inspiration from raqs sharqi traditions, as she said 'I took the Oriental dancing of Tahiya Carioca and Samia Gamal . . . and Nayema [Akef's]'s acrobatic style, and created a stage show' (El Safy, 2001, para. 23). El Safy (2001, para. 33) also highlights that Nagwa was 'the first dancer to make a dance/music

video for Egyptian TV'. Goodyear (2011, para. 2) gives an insightful account of what it was like to see one of Nagwa's shows live:

> One evening in a Cairo hotel, I think I remember counting (or maybe I stopped counting when I reached 58) the number of musicians on stage for Nagwa's show. . . . She featured male and female group numbers, preceding and encircling Nagwa who constantly left to change: costumes, wigs (long hair, short hair, braided hair), stage personality, and dance style. . . . She ran off to change–only to reappear in something more grandiose or outrageous than the preceding costumes.

Marlyz (2010, paras 6, 8), who also saw Nagwa perform live, tells a similar story of going to an expensive night club in Cairo and seeing a show in which Nagwa changed costume several times (about 10 per performance) and was accompanied by a chorus of dancers and a personal orchestra of 35 musicians. In 5.5.4, I will analyse Nagwa Fouad's choices in terms of style and innovation, using the sociological theories from my conceptual framework and I will compare her to the other main dancers of the same timeframe.

Table 22 summarises Nagwua Fouad's movement style. The following videos show how her style changed over time. In the 1950s/60s it was a 'golden age' style, which can be seen in the movie *Tohua* from 1957 (ArabClassicFilms, 2011b). In the film *You who were my beloved* from 1976 (ArabClassicFilms, 2011b), a more energetic style appears, in line with the trend spotted in the previous timeframe. From the late 1970s and the 1980s, we can see examples of her famous musicals, influenced by her research in folkloric dances. These musicals were staged and theatrical, and the dancers wore flamboyant costumes. Two examples are: *The Magic Lamp*, also called *Al Maryaat* (*Mirrors*), from 1977, 'a series of tableaus joined together by a bit of dialogue' (TheCaroVan, 2014h) and Set al Hosn, one of her musicals from the 1980s, of which TheCarovan says that 'the music is 'Set al Hosn' which was composed especially for her by Mohamed Sultan' (TheCaroVan, 2014g).

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Her style changes from the beginning, , in the 1950s/60s, when it was very much like the golden age style, flirty, graceful, flowing to a more energetic style (including her signature big and strong chest shimmies and a lot of head movements).	1957 movie Tohua (ArabClassicFilms, 2011a)	At times sudden and at times sustained
	1976 movie You who were my beloved (ArabClassicFilms, 2011b)	
	1977 film The Magic Lamp (TheCaroVan, 2014h)	Indirect
	1980s musical Set al Hosn (TheCaroVan, 2014g)	Free flow

Table 22 – Nagwa Fouad's movement style

5.5.2 Soheir Zaki – The 'Truly Oriental' Performer

Figure 24 – Soheir Zaki, video still from the 1975 movie *Alo, ana al-ghetta*" (Hello, I'm the cat) (TheCaroVan 2014a)

Soheir Zaki (سهير زكي), Nearing (2012a) and Sullivan (2002) report, was born in Mansoura, in the Nile Delta and moved to Alexandria with her family when she was nine. During her career, Soheir Zaki performed for famous people and heads of state, including President

Nixon. Sullivan (2002, para. 1) reports that 'President Nixon named her "Zagreeta," when he learned that the word referred to an expression of joy. She received accolades and medals from the Shah of Iran, the Tunisian President and Gamal Abdel Nasser'.

Soheir Zaki, as opposed to what happened to most raqs sharqi dancers, even when raqs sharqi was at its peak in Egypt, was perceived as respectable by the public. According to Evanoff (2012, para. 6), 'Souheir Zaki is one of the few Egyptian dancers in history who is referred to as a lady or "*mokhtarrama*," meaning respectable'. This may be due to Soheir Zaki's dancing style and attitude on stage as 'she seems to float in and through the music, queenly, unperturbed. She soothes the eye rather than exciting the senses' (Nearing, 2012a, paras 8, 9). Or it could be due to her private life as she married only once (unlike most raqs sharqi dancers who married several times) and carried a quiet private life 'with a good reputation to preserve' (Marlyz, 2010, para. 4). This aura of respectability could be due to Soheir Zaki's personality but it may also be a conscious decision to create a presentation of self-identity, in order to position herself in the field and create her own image and niche. In 5.5.4, I will analyse Soheir Zaki's style in more detail using the sociological theories from my conceptual framework, while comparing her to the other dancers from the same timeframe.

Soheir Zaki was dancing from the early 1960s until the late 1980s at the same time as Nagwa Fouad and they were considered the two most prominent raqs sharqi dancers of that era. However, their style, personality and dance philosophy could not have been more different. While Nagwa Fouad wanted to legitimize raqs sharqi by making it more theatrical and 'went for flash, employing more and more razzmatazz within her performance until her show resembled a Las Vegas spectacular' (Sullivan, 2002, para. 19), Soheir Zaki was a minimalist and wanted to keep raqs sharqi pure and close to its core. Soheir Zaki herself was quoted as saying in an interview with Al-Shabaka in 1976 (Nearing, 2012a, para. 19):

> I don't like to 'improve' the oriental style for fear of becoming a sort of modern dancer and losing the oriental style which I perform and which distinguishes me from other dancers . . . I present the old oriental dance with little change, and I dance without tension or frenzy . . . I am like a pretty old antique – it is possible to polish it and add a little to it, but I am not going to ruin the old oriental heritage.

Indeed, in the raqs sharqi discourse, Soheir Zaki is often considered the epitome of traditional raqs sharqi. In the Golden Age, Tahia Carioca was the embodiment of tradition, as highlighted earlier. Therefore, it is not surprising that Soheir Zaki was Tahia's favourite modern dancer, so much so that she was quoted as saying that 'Sohair is the best. She is truly Oriental' (Cifuentes, 1994, para. 20). Nearing (2012a, para. 7), quoting a Middle Eastern source, reports that Soheir Zaki is considered the most classical by Middle Easterners:

> Anyone who is well acquainted with the oriental dance would say that Sohayr Zaki is the dancer who captures its real spirit. . . . She has put her own special imprint on the dance, a style which differs from all others, but at the same time has retained its basics, its characteristics and its rules. (Al Kamera, No. 25, 1976)

It is worth exploring in more depth what makes Soheir Zaki's style be considered so authentic in the discourse of the international raqs sharqi community. One of the first elements can be found in what Soheir Zaki herself states when she says that she dances 'without tension or frenzy' (Nearing, 2012a, para. 19). In the Egyptian raqs sharqi authenticity discourse, the idea that there is a certain authentic body attitude is recurrent, and in particular the idea of a relaxed body attitude. Esposito advises dancers to (2015, para. 18) 'relax. Don't dance to impress. Bigger and faster isn't necessarily better'. Connected with the feeling of relaxation is the idea that the authentic Egyptian oriental style is soft and the movements are small. Francesca, for example, told me about Soheir Zaki:

> I really, really liked the softness of her dance. And very, very, minimal dance that she does, which doesn't mean that she didn't do a lot, but everything was just in the right amount.

Indeed, for some, the essence of Egyptian raqs sharqi lies in its simplicity. As Leena stated in her interview, raqs sharqi has 'a sense of essence: you do not need tricks or flashy props to express the message or feeling. . . . And juiciness. The lush, strong, sinuous and relaxed, well-centred movement'. In a similar way, Esposito (2015, para. 7) states that in belly dance you can express yourself by being 'subtle. By keeping your movements small, internal, meaningful, soft, and in harmony with the music'. In spite of being grounded and gravity oriented, another one of the qualities of raqs sharqi is elegance. Indeed, for Nimeera (no date, paras 8, 9):

> Souhair Zaki was a very sweet and elegant dancer, known for her unique "soft" style . . . and . . . for her innocently coy facial expressions Souhair Zaki epitomizes the natural baladi dancer, and was often referred to as a “Bint el Balad”. . . . Her style was pure and precise . . . very feminine, graceful, and rather reserved.

The idea of baladi being associated with authenticity is a recurrent topic and the most traditional dancers, such as Tahia Carioca and Soheir Zaki, are considered ‘Bint al balad’. Egyptian raqs sharqi is considered sensual, playful, introspective and joyful all at the same time, probably due to its baladi roots. Angela, in her interview, for example, says that for her authentic raqs sharqi is ‘sensual, not necessarily sexual, but sensual. Feminine, sometimes playful, sometimes bold, confident, sometimes casual, individualistic’. Hossam Ramzy (no date a, para. 2), also uses the word playful when talking about the 1930s/40s dancer Hagar Hamdi whose dancing was ‘so authentically Egyptian, playful, fully integrating the music, rhythm and artistic Egyptian styles together’. Soheir Zaki herself mentioned the importance of humour and musicality when she stated that foreign belly dancers will never be the same as Egyptians, because foreigners ‘don't have the sense of humour and . . . the musical ear’ (Nimeera, no date, para. 7).

Soheir Zaki’s coy expression is connected with Egyptian mannerism and the way Egyptian women usually move. For example, Lorna, who lived in Egypt for ten years, said in her interview about the way Egyptian women move, that she noticed:

> The way the women would flirt. So cute and they would sit and, even if they were wearing a niqab, the headscarf, they would sit and they would fiddle with it and play with it, pull it over one shoulder, take it back in really quite a coquettish, flirty way.

Lorna’s observations may be influenced by her own understanding of Egyptian body language, coming from a western (British) perspective. However, Lorna’s observations match Adra’s (2005), regarding Egyptian social dance. Adra (2005) explains that, in traditional Arab cultures, people are not encouraged to express their individuality in public, where they are supposed to be reserved. However, at home and between close friends, social rules are relaxed. Traditional belly dancing is play, in which social restraints (if dance takes place in the appropriate context) are allowed to be lowered. Adra (2005, p. 42) observes that ‘when the dancer feigns modesty by covering her eyes with the back of

her hand while moving her pelvis, she is making a good humoured meta-statement about this dance that is anything but modest'.

Another element in Soheir Zaki's dancing, which is often associated with raqs sharqi, is an emotional impact. Nimeera (no date, paras 8, 9), states that Soheir Zaki had 'an emotional impact that was breathtaking'. In the conceptual framework section, regarding the role of emotions for a holistic framework of heritage (3.4), I mentioned the idea of tarab (enchantment, ecstasy) for Arabic music and dance. This involves the musicians expressing emotions through the music and the dancer translating these visually and kinaesthetically, in order to transmit them to the audience in an embodied fashion.

This feeling, however, according to the Egyptian raqs sharqi international discourse, is not achieved by acting but by being true to oneself on stage and connecting with the emotional feeling of the music and the lyrics of the songs, if there are any. Indeed, Raqia Hassan (Sullivan, 2002, para. 20) remarks that 'Sohair Zaki epitomizes the 'natural' dancer. Her appeal was in her simplicity. . . . She was always herself in front of an audience—acting was never part of her performance'. Moreover, as raqs sharqi is still (at least in Egypt), based on improvisation rather than choreography, spontaneity of expression is also extremely valued. Francesca commented in her interview that 'the real core of raqs sharqi is divided between improvisation . . . and the ability to be vulnerable and yourself on stage . . . to express your feelings through the movements of the dance'. Esposito observes that (2015, para. 8) 'this is a very personal dance [and you should] be yourself' (ibid, para 18). Joana, in her interview, stressed the importance of emotions for Egyptian audiences by observing that:

> For Egyptians . . . more than for any other audience, emotion is very important. . . . It's not about you showing off how you can move . . . share your emotion, honest, emotion, not acting. This is something Egyptian audiences appreciate, very much.

(I will return to this idea of 'being yourself' in 6.2 and analyse what it means for the Egyptian raqs sharqi authenticity discourse). Finally, musicality and the connection with the music is another recurrent theme in the raqs sharqi authenticity discourse. Indeed, Soheir Zaki was famous for being 'intuitively musically responsive' (El Safy, 1993b, para. 4) and for having a great ear for music, so much so that she has been quoted for saying (Sullivan, 2002, para. 14):

> If someone played a wrong note, I would hear who it was even though I had my back to him. Afterwards I'd take him on one side and remind him exactly where in the music he'd made a mistake.

Music in raqs sharqi is so important, that now a number of foreign dancers move to Cairo to dance professionally in order to have the opportunity to dance to live music. In 5.7.7 I will expand further on this topic. Moreover, music for dancers has a big impact from a phenomenological (and emotional) point of view. Music is also a resource that allows dancers to express themselves and to increase their cultural and symbolic capital, as the more a dancer can say that s/he danced with a live band the more prestige s/he acquires (at least in the international scene, since it is not easy to find bands to dance raqs sharqi to, outside of Egypt or the Middle East).

Soheir Zaki was credited as being the first raqs sharqi dancer to use Umm Kulthum's music for her performances. Umm Kulthum (1904-1975) was and still is one of the most loved female Egyptian singers of all times in the Arab world, for whom many great songs were written and composed by composers of great calibre, such as Abdel-Wahab (Danielson, 1994). Her songs were not originally written for dancing. Soheir Zaki was the first dancer who danced to them and, since then, raqs sharqi dancers worldwide have been dancing to Umm Kulthum's songs adaptations for dancers. Soheir said in an interview to Al-Kamera in 1976 'It didn't bother Um Kalthoum that I danced so much to her songs. She asked me to dance for her and I did, after which she didn't mind my using her music' (Nearing, 2012a, para. 21). From his quotation, it emerges how Soheir Zaki used music as a resource to innovate, by overcoming the rule, upheld until then, that it was not possible to dance to Um Kalthoum's songs. However, Soheir is also asserting her prestige in the field by stating that Um Kalthoum (who was and still is held in very high regard in the Arabic speaking world as a singer) did not mind Soheir using her music.

As well as differences between Soheir Zaki and Nagwa Fouad (traditional and minimalist the former, experimental and lavish the latter), there are also similarities in their ways of working and in their careers. Firstly, both performed with big orchestras of 30 to 50 musicians and secondly, they had music composed especially for them (both signs of high social and cultural capital for a dancer, as well as providing them with an important resource to express their creativity and present their self-identity). Nimeera (no date, para. 10), for example, (referring to Soheir Zaki) writes that 'music, such as "Shik Shak Shok", was specially created for her every six months. The musicians numbered between

15 and 30 and connected with her perfectly'. Moreover, both Soheir and Nagwa (in addition to performing in expensive clubs and hotels and appearing in several movies) used the medium of TV to their advantage (as an allocative resource). Soheir Zaki acknowledged the impact of this new medium in her career by saying 'television led me to success' (Nearing, 2012a, para. 14) and recalled that in the 1960s:

> There were weekly TV shows featuring dancers—programs like 'On The Banks Of The Nile,' 'Adwa el Medina,' and 'Zoom'. I was a regular solo performer and we also danced 'tableaux' by choreographer Ibrahim Akef. (Sullivan, 2002, para. 12)

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Her style is minimalist and grounded but elegant. She often does barrel turns, small internal movements and a lot of the so called Soheir Zaki hip drops. I first observed this movement (downward straight motion of the hips, alternating left and right) in videos of Naima Akef dancing, but Soheir Zaki's hip drops are deeper and sharper. She was not the only one to perform this movement during her time, but she is the one who mastered it and who performed it most often, hence this movement was named after her. Her hands and wrists are very relaxed an fluid and her arms are always active, often framing her body.	1975 movie Alo, ana al ghetta (TheCaroVan, 2014m)	Heavy (grounded)
		Sustained with some sudden movements
	1972 movie Wakral al-ashrar (ArabClassicFilms, 2011c)	Indirect
	1980s live performance with large audience (TheCaroVan, 2015h)	Free flow

Table 23 – Soheir Zaki's movement style

Table 23 summarises Soheir Zaki's style. After recording my observations, I found Nimeera's (no date, paras 15, 19) comments on the web, which are not too dissimilar, where she states that Soheir Zaki:

> Uses very simple arms with some wrist circles and hand gestures. Her arm positions are . . . always relaxed. . . . Her spins are usually relaxed and short, sometimes leaning into a barrel turn . . . Souhair Zaki became well known for her down hips. . . . The hip is sharply moved simultaneously down and out while stepping the weight on the same foot. At the same time, the other hip on the non-weighted foot is allowed to move up.

I have chosen, as examples of her style, three videos. The first two are from 1970s movies. One is a scene from the 1975 movie *Alo, ana al ghetta* (*Hello, I am the cat*) (TheCaroVan, 2014m), in which Soheir Zaki is on stage with a group of musicians. The other one is from the 1972 movie *Wakr al-ashrar* (ArabClassicFilms, 2011c), in which she is dancing in a nightclub and the musicians are also visible in this video. The third video I have chosen is a live performance, probably from the 1980s (TheCaroVan, 2015h). Here Soheir is dancing on stage with a large band of musicians, for a very big audience of people of all ages, including families with women and children, presumably Egyptians. One of the interesting things to notice is how Soheir Zaki interacts with the audience, coming off the stage at some point to interact with people in the first row. Audience/dancer interaction is part, as pinpointed in 5.2, of the Egyptian raqs sharqi tradition and it can be seen in the old movies, as well as in modern live performances in Egypt. From the data, it has emerged that connecting with the audiences is essential for Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers. For example, Samia Gamal once said that she preferred to dance in a night club rather than on stage (Sami, no date, sec. 6) 'because I am closer to the audience and I live with them' and Tito said: 'when people receive me with love I give the most of myself' (Beltran, 2014, sec. 4:00). Similar feelings have emerged from the interviews as Elindia, for example, said about the essence of raqs sharqi that 'raqs sharqi . . . lets your personality come forward. You engage with the audience' and Ann stated that 'there's nothing worse than watching a dancer, who is just dancing for herself'. From these quotations, it emerges that the dancer/audience connection is important both from a phenomenological point of view (value of the experience) and in terms of how a performer presents her/his self-identity.

5.5.3 Nelly Fouad – Innovation in Movements

Figure 25 – Nelly Fouad (Evanoff 2012)

Nelly Fouad (نيللى فؤاد), as Evanoff (2012) reports, was born in Alexandria and she first became famous in Lebanon, before returning to Cairo. Her career spanned from the late 1970s to the 1980s and one of her teachers was Raqia Hassan (whom I will talk about in 5.7.1, because of the great influence she has had over modern raqs sharqi dancers). Raqia encouraged Nelly to start teaching. She still teaches in Raqia's annual Ahlan wa Sahlan festival in Cairo and she has also appeared in volumes 10 and 11 of Raqia's instructional DVDs. Nelly Fouad did not appear in many movies, but she appeared on TV and the fact that she teaches at international festivals means that her style has influenced dancers worldwide.

Nelly Fouad's main characteristic is being an innovator. However, while Nagwa Fouad innovated through her dance productions, Nelly innovated by introducing new movements, as Naima Akef did during the Golden Ages. Thus, she draws her artistic resources from the movement vocabulary domain. These new movements, which I will

list more extensively in Table 25, are now part of the raqs sharqi movement vocabulary. Some of these movements were in Soheir Zaki's repertoire as well (the tossing of the head with back to the audience, the pelvic tilts with weight transfer and the Egyptian walk), but Nelly Fouad did a lot more inventive variations and layering. In a raqs sharqi TV performance from the 70s called Raks Nelly (PrinceKayammer, 2013), it is possible to appreciate many of her intricate hip layerings, fast spins and innovative movements and travelling steps, such as gliding across the stage with tiny steps and hip shimmies, 'her famous "shuffle" (choo choo) shimmy on demi pointe' (Evanoff, 2012, para. 9).

Nelly Fouad first used the maya (outward vertical hip figures of eight) in Egypt. Raqia Hassan once said that 'it was the first time she had seen the movement which she calls "maya". . . Raqia says that that move must have come from Alexandria as dancers in Cairo were not doing that move at that time' (Evanoff, 2012, paras 10, 11). The name maya, according to some American sources, was given to this movement by Jamila Salimpour after the dancer Maya Medwar, who danced in the USA in the 1960s (El Safy, 1994; Sciacca, 2015; Shelaby, 2015). We do not know where the maya originated from and who did it first, but I have not seen it in any Egyptian videos of raqs sharqi I have analysed, before Nelly Fouad. It is now a very common component of the raqs sharqi vocabulary. Another set of movements, which I had not noticed before Nelly Fouad, and which shows transculturality, are movements that are reminiscent of dances from the Gulf (Lo Iacono, 2016). For example, the hand shaking with an open palm and chest lifts (video n. 027, min 08:24) and kneeling with head tosses side to side (video n. 027, min 08:33). Table 24 summarises Nelly Fouad's style.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Very innovative, with a lot of new movements; incredibly fast turns and barrell turns; a lot of layering; folkloric influence in sharqi; sudden and fast movements and very energetic, but also grounded and calm depending on the music.	1970s/80s Raks Nelly show (PrinceKayammer, 2013)	Sudden
		Indirect
		Flow at times free, other times bound

Table 24 – Nelly Fouad's movement style

5.5.4 Analysis

Table 25 shows that the traditional kinemes are still performed, along with those that had been observed for the first time in the previous timeframe, such as the hip jewel. In addition, Soheir Zaki hip drops become this dancer's signature movement and new kinemes are introduced, in particular by Nelly Fouad who is the most innovative in terms of movement vocabulary. In addition to many allokines, such as layering of movements and motifs (combinations of steps that will be imitated in the future and will become part of the common raqs sharqi repertoire), Nelly uses kinemes that I had not seen before. These include: movements inspired by dances from the Gulf; maya (reverse vertical hip figure of 8); chest lifts and drops; chest circles; belly pops (quick release and contraction of lower abdominals). There are then two more new movements, which I observed in both Soheir Zaki's and Nelly Fouad's videos, which are: pelvic tilts with weight transfer between one leg positioned in front and the other leg that is slightly back; Egyptian walk, or *hagalla*, which involves stepping down on one foot at a time, whilst lowering the corresponding hip.

Movement	Nagwa Fouad	Soheir Zaki	Nelly Fouad
Backbend	yes	yes	yes
Camel	yes	yes	yes
Floor work	yes	yes	
Head slides	yes	yes	
Head tossing back to audience		yes	yes
Gulf inspired movements			yes
Hip circles	yes	yes	yes
Hip drops	yes	yes	yes
Soheir Zaki hip drops	yes	yes	
Hip horiz fig 8	yes	yes	yes
Hip lifts	yes		yes
Hip shimmies	yes	yes	yes
Hip slides			yes
Hip twists	yes		yes
Hip vert fig 8	yes	yes	yes
Maya			yes
Shoulder rolls	yes	yes	
Shoulder shimmies	yes - rather a chest shimmy, very energetic, with arms in different positions	yes	yes
Spins and turns	yes	yes, especially barrel turns	yes
Travelling steps	yes	yes	yes, many, also layered and intricate
Wrists circles and movements	yes - hand waves	yes	yes
Hip Jewel	yes		yes
Arms	Dynamic and flowing	Always active, wrists soft and she often does wrists and hand waves.	Up and down the body
Head and hair tossing	yes	yes, but not too often	yes
Belly pops			yes
Chest lifts/drops			yes
Chest circle			yes, vertical and horizontal
Pelvic tils with weight transfer		yes	yes
Egyptian walk hagalla		yes	yes
Pelvic lifts and drops	yes		yes
Arabesque	yes		yes

Table 25 – 70s / Early 80s movements

In/tangible Elements	Authenticity	Heritage	Transculturality
Dance traditions:	Baladi for feeling	Egyptian folklore influence	
Dance movements:	Movements quality: minimal and internal; relaxed; soft; elegant		Movements from dances of the Gulf introduced
People: Nagwua Fouad, Soheir Zaki, Nelly Fouad	Soheir Zaki 'truly oriental'. 'Authentic' attitude (baladi): joy; playfulness; sensuality; confidence; flirting; coyness; musicality; individualism; emotional expressivness; honesty; spontaneity	Dancers from the Golden Age provide inspiration for Nagwa Fouad's shows	Nelly Fouad becomes famous in Lebanon before moving back to Egypt. Later in life she started teaching at festivals around the world
Class: famous dancers dance in expensive venues and for heads of state	Bint el balad' figure keeps being associated with tradition, even though raqs sharqi itself is performed in expensive venues		
Locations: expensive nightclubs; TV sets.			Famous dancers perform abroad. For example, there are videos of Soheir Zaki doing a show in the Gulf.
Aural elements: big bands and music written for Nagwa and Soheir	Musicality	Some famous Egyptian songs become commonly used for raqs sharqi and new songs are composed, which will become part of the tradition	Music in films of the 1970s has a 1970s 'flavour', which is international.
Taste: Soheir Zaki perceived as respectable and referred to as *mokhtarrama*	Dance aesthetic associated with essence, simplicity etc.		
Social occasions:	Dancer-audience interaction		
Technology: cinema, TV		Old movies become part of heritage	

Table 26 - Raqs Sharqi in Egyptian Cinema and TV – 1970s and Early 1980s – Part 1

In/tangible Elements	Change/Traditions	Transmission	Influences on Heritage
Dance traditions:	Nagwa trained in foklore and theatrical techniques, which reflects in her raqs sharqi productions	Nagwa and Nelly Fouad's training included folklore; Soheir Zaki was self trained	
Dance movements:	New kinemes, allokines and motifs introduced		
People: Nagwua Fouad, Soheir Zaki, Nelly Fouad	Soheir Zaki traditionalist; Nagwa Fouad innovates productions; Nelly Fouad innovates movements	Nelly Fouad trained with Raqia Hassan, who was in the Reda Troupe. Nelly later started teaching	**Personalities (agency):** the existence of famous performers and their choices can influence heritage
Locations: expensive nightclubs; TV sets.	Adaptation for the stage in Nagwa Fouad's musicals		
Aural elements: big bands and music written for Nagwa and Soheir	New pieces of music composed for Nagwa Fouad and Soheir Zaki. The latter is the first who danced to Um Kalthoum's songs		
Social occasions:	Famous dancers perform in large venues with big audiences		
Technology: cinema, TV	Musicals on TV	Transmission still happens both in person and by watching movies and TV, by imitation	**Technology:** TV
Politics, society and economy:			**Politics and economy:** in this timeframe, there must have been an economic and political environment, which encouraged development of performing arts.
Artefacts:	Nagwa Fouad's costumes and scenes for musicals		

Table 27 - Raqs Sharqi in Egyptian Cinema and TV – 1970s and Early 1980s – Part 2

Table 26 and Table 27 highlight the themes that have emerged from this timeframe. The main theme is the dialectic between tradition and innovation and the individual agency associated with the choice to either innovate or not. Soheir Zaki can be identified as the traditionalist in this timeframe and a discourse around authenticity in raqs sharqi can be constructed starting from the figure of this dancer, who was called 'truly oriental'. I agree with Zhu (2015, p. 595) who, instead of seeing authenticity as an objective phenomenon, decides to 'approach authentication as a social process in heritage discourse'. As such, Soheir Zaki embodied all the elements on which an authenticity discourse (evinced from written sources and interviews) has been built over time by the raqs sharqi community. Rather than being centred around movements or costumes, authenticity for raqs sharqi is based on certain feelings and body attitudes (for instance, relaxation, playfulness), which Daniel (1996) and Hashimoto (2003) have identified as being important for authenticity in the performing arts. As Burkitt (2014, p. 7) posits, 'feelings and emotions only arise in patterns of relationships, which include the way we look at and perceive the world, and these also result in patterns of activity that can become dispositions'. From the point of view of living heritage (following the conceptual framework in Chapter 3), this is connected with the idea of an emotional habitus as heritage. These embodied dispositions are part of what is considered by practitioners the essence of authentic raqs sharqi. In addition, another element that has emerged in the raqs sharqi authenticity discourse is being yourself on stage and expressing your individual feelings. There is agreement over a shared movement vocabulary and certain costumes, but these are not as important. As Ann commented about authenticity:

> I think the basic thing with Egyptian is they do hip drops . . . they do shimmies and they do shoulder shimmies. And they do figures of eight . . . and I found, with the women that I've met that, apart from them listening to the music and feeling it . . . that's the moves that they do, so I think that's the authentic Egyptian that's developed down from mother to daughter and everything else is being the flourishes and the embellishments that have gone on top and changed over the years.

Joana commented, regarding the different elements that contribute to authenticity:

> On a more superficial level, you know immediately if the dancer knows what she is doing. And authenticity starts there. . . . You know from the body attitude. Because there is a specific attitude for every style. Then we're talking about clothing. We're talking about props. You can tell how

> much she researched by details. What she is wearing, shoes, something on her hair, makeup. Second, authenticity is connected with the understanding of the music, your inner attitude. . . . Authenticity, I think, is a combination of knowledge and personality. Because, you cannot be authentic in Egyptian dance, if you just know the context and act accordingly. You have to be you. That's authenticity.

Connecting authenticity to being true to oneself ('you have to be you' as in the quote above), is a modern Western construct, based on an idea first promoted by Rousseau, from whom 'we learned that what destroys our authenticity is society' (Trilling, 1972, p. 92). This stance was adopted also by twentieth-century philosophers, such as Heidegger, who contrasts authenticity with inauthenticity, which was caused by people being caught in an 'everydayness' that prevents them from truly 'owning' themselves (Bendix, 2009, p. 18). As such, it is questionable whether being true to oneself would be part of an authenticity discourse for somebody who comes from a different cultural background. Still, this element has seeped into the international Egyptian raqs sharqi authenticity discourse. Thus, the interaction between individual agency, a sense of personal identity/authenticity and cultural authenticity can help explain changes in the authenticity discourse, if the concept of fluid authenticity is adopted.

The most traditionalist dancers so far, Tahia Carioca and Soheir Zaki, have been labelled 'bint al balad' and the feelings considered authentic in raqs sharqi (confidence, honesty, spontaneity, grounded body feeling) are also associated with the baladi spirit, therefore with Cairo's working classes. However, raqs sharqi is also associated with the middle and upper classes, in particular in connection with the venues where it takes place as a form of presentational dance, which only people with enough financial capital can attend. This association with upper classes translates into movements in the quality of elegance (slightly more lifted, whilst still relaxed attitude), which emerges as one of the distinctive characteristic of raqs sharqi as opposed to social Egyptian dance. This constitutes a form of appropriation of the habitus from a certain social group to another or, as Desmond (1993) would argue, a form of hybridity, as the habitus of different classes merges in a dance genre.

The two innovative dancers of this timeframe, Nagwa Fouad and Nelly Foaud, each innovate in different ways. Nagwa's innovations are expressed in her productions, which take raqs sharqi closer to theatrical dance (theatrical in the sense employed by Desmond (1993) of staged and codified dance), rather than to its social origins (such as Soheir Zaki's

interpretation, which relies more on simplicity and purity of form). However, Nagwua Fouad seeks a connection with traditions by drawing from Egyptian folkloric dance traditions. Nelly Fouad innovates with movements, as she creates new allokines and motifs from the old traditional kinemes, by layering and combining movements in a variety of new ways. However, both Nelly and Nagwa are 'authentic' according to the raqs sharqi authenticity discourse, as they also embody the truly oriental feelings of joy, playfulness, sensuality, musicality, emotional expressiveness and other feelings listed in Table 26. At the same time, even a traditional dancer such as Soheir Zaki, not only develops her own style, even within the tradition, but she also innovates albeit in more subtle ways. In particular, Soheir innovated by being the first dancer to ever perform to Umm Kahltoum's songs.

It seems that each dancer creates a niche for herself, as she competes in the field of cultural production with other dancers, to improve and then maintain her position. Based on Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993, p. 30) conception of art as a field, raqs sharqi is 'a *field of forces*, but it is also a *field of struggles* tending to transform or conserve this field of forces'. New artists in the field push for a change but older artists want to keep things unchanged (even if they innovated in their heyday) and (ibid, p. 60) 'the history of the field arises from the struggle between the established figures and the young challengers'. In the field of raqs sharqi, older generations of dancers rarely appreciate newer generations. For example, Tahia Carioca and Samia Gamal were both quoted as saying that new dancers were vulgar (with the exception of Soheir Zaki for Tahia) (Cifuentes, 1994); Nagwa Fouad did not like modern costumes, in particular, Dina's, and did not think much of Dina as a dancer either (Adum, 2010); Soheir Zaki was not impressed by young Egyptian dancers she saw perform in 2001 at Raqia Hassan's *Ahlan Wa Sahlan Oriental Dance Festival*, commenting that 'none of them had yet reached an advanced level in the dance' (Sullivan, 2002, para. 36).

In this timeframe, the heritage dimension of raqs sharqi is growing, as dancers look back to acknowledge their heritage, which they see expressed not only in the folkloric dances of Egypt but also in the old films of the Golden Era. For example, Nagwa Fouad acknowledged that Golden Era movies and dancers provided inspiration for her own shows. At the same time, innovations introduced by each generation of dancers become part of the tradition. Music is also part of the raqs sharqi heritage, as old songs, as well as

new ones (created in the 70s and 80s specifically for the most famous dancers), accompany the dance. These songs, both from the Golden Ages and the 1970s and 80s, are now part of the classic raqs sharqi repertoire.

Most transcultural elements from this timeframe are identifiable in the dance movements: especially those performed by Nelly Fouad, which were inspired by dances of the Gulf region. This could be due to Egyptian dancers occasionally working in other Middle Eastern countries, such as Lebanon (where Nelly Fouad first became famous) and the Gulf region, such as Soheir Zaki and Nagwa Fouad who performed in Abu Dhabi (TheCaroVan, 2015f, 2015i).

At this time, television becomes increasingly important for the recording and transmission of raqs sharqi and recordings from TV shows, as well as scenes from movies, contribute to the establishment of a recorded dance/heritage. Technology, therefore, asserts itself even more clearly as an important factor for safeguarding heritage. Likewise, politics and economy are deciding factors, as in this timeframe expensive dance shows are produced for the benefit of a wealthy segment of society who appreciates watching raqs sharqi live in exclusive venues. Finally, the agency and choices of individual famous dancers shape the direction towards which this type of heritage evolves.

In what follows I highlight the most prominent tangible/intangible elements from the Living Heritage Framework to be found in this timeline. Firstly, there is the phenomenological level of the feelings that, according to the international Egyptian raqs sharqi discourse, tend to be a sign of 'authenticity' (authenticity will be discussed further in 6.2) as discussed in this section. Feelings can then become dispositions (drawing on Burkitt [2014] cited earlier in this section), and dispositions are seen by Bourdieu (1977) as components of habitus.

Secondly, Egyptian raqs sharqi is a field of cultural production in which dancers tend to accumulate capital and create their own niche, by developing a unique style within the constrictions of the field. Also, the wider social field of Egyptian society influences the way in which the heritage of Egyptian raqs sharqi develops via politics and economics. Moreover, the tastes and dispositions of different social classes within society influence the field of cultural production of Egyptian raqs sharqi.

Thirdly, the dialectic between tradition and innovation, in this timeframe, is heavily influenced by the choices and the agency of the dancers who were analysed. The movement vocabulary is a set of rules, which also becomes a set of resources in innovating, as is the case for Nelly Fouad. Traditions themselves are both rules and resources, which, in Giddensian terms, are components of social structure. Dancers can choose to either embrace them completely and use them to positions themselves as traditional, 'truly oriental' dancers (Soheir Zaki) or to show continuity with tradition while at the same time innovating (Nagwa Fouad who draws on folkloric traditions but creates entirely innovative productions).

The contrasts between the dancers in this time frame can be explained using the Living Heritage Framework. Indeed, dancers willingly seem to position themselves in opposition to other dancers to distinguish themselves as different, by using the rules and resources at their disposal and that they are most comfortable with, in an attempt to defend their position in the field of cultural production.

5.6 The Last Big Raqs Sharqi Stars in Egypt (1980s and 1990s)

The timeframe between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s sees a flourishing of raqs sharqi in Egypt and abroad (in countries such as Lebanon and the UAE but also in London, as we will see). I have found fewer clips with dance scenes from movies for this decade in comparison to previous timeframes, but I found a lot more videos of live dance from TV shows or nightclub performances. Live shows are still performed in expensive venues (hotels and nightclubs) with big orchestras. In the mid-1990s, however, there was a sharp drop in the number of performances and it seems that Fifi Abdou, Lucy and Mona al Said were the last big stars of Egyptian raqs sharqi. This sudden decline seems to be due mainly to economic and political reasons. Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 171), who took groups of dancers to Cairo from 1987 to 1993 writes that 'in mid-1993, the fabulous dance scene, growing since the late '60s, virtually disappeared almost overnight'.

Morocco (ibid) explains that the nightclub dance scene declined in the early 1990s because, before then, the clubs were attended by wealthy, older, male tourists from the Arabic Gulf countries and by Lebanese people who could not go back to Lebanon because of the civil war. When the Lebanese civil war ended, the Lebanese businessmen went back to Lebanon. As for the tourists from the Gulf, when the first Gulf War started, older

men from the Gulf did not travel, as they were too busy restarting the economy in their own countries, while younger tourists and women were not interested in old style nightclubs. Egyptian locals could not afford the high prices charged in these clubs, so many of them closed down. Social tensions within Egypt and increasing religious conservativism must have also played a part, as clubs in Pyramid Street were burned. According to Van Nieuwkerk (1995, p. 64):

> As in 1977, when twelve of the fourteen nightclubs on Pyramid Street were burned down, corruption and wealth have again provoked anger. On 25 and 26 February 1986, poorly paid soldiers who were quartered nearby sent several nightclubs up in flames.

This discontent alone would not have brought down the industry, as in the 1970s the nightclubs were still thriving. However, in the late 1980s/early 1990s, the lack of customers due to the change in the type and number of tourists visiting Cairo, considerably affected the number of raqs sharqi live performances. Yasmina of Cairo paints a clear image of the change in the Pyramids Road area (Sullivan, 2002, para. 4):

> Cabarets . . . once made up the bright lights of Pyramids Road in its heyday. A time when the street was lined with expensive villas—most now demolished to make way for blocks of flats—and nightclub audiences were still comprised of the *Basheraat*; the cream of Egyptian society. Later into its history, when Sohair was in her prime, the cabarets of Haram Street grew in number to cater to rich customers flying in from the Arab states. Now the lights are dimmer, many of those venues have gone.

In the late 1980s, Raqs sharqi was not only disappearing from nightclubs, but also from TV, due to increasing religious conservativism. As Soheir Zaki declared in an interview with Yasmina of Cairo (Sullivan, 2002, para. 28):

> One of the saddest days of my life was when oriental dance was taken off the television . . . I remember hearing on the radio the announcement of the television anniversary celebrations, and there was to be no dancer. I had appeared at that event every year since it began.

Shareen El Safy (2001, para. 30), an American dancer who performed in Cairo between 1988 and 1992, gives further insight into what it must have been like:

> In the early 1990's fallout from the Gulf War had created a dearth of nightclub patrons. I was working as a dancer in Cairo at the time . . .

> economic woes plagued Egypt as unemployment rose and the cost of living tripled. A climate of fiscal and religious conservatism crept in. . . . Wealthy patrons now chose to entertain lavishly and privately, and nightclub hopping did not hold an attraction for the younger generation . . . most hotel nightclubs were closed and dancers retired in droves, including Sohair Zeki and Nagwa Fouad. (El Safy, 2001)

The greatest dancers of this age were Fifi Abdou, Lucy and Mona al Said, whose careers peaked in the 1980s, before the economic crisis of the early 1990s changed the dance landscape in Cairo.

5.6.1 Fifi Abdou – Strong and Charismatic Baladi Woman

Figure 26 - Fifi Abdou (Sullivan 2009)

Fifi Abdou (فيفى عبده) was born in 1953 (Shams, 2016) and started dancing at the age of 12 (Shams, 2016), becoming a soloist in a folklore troupe at the age of 13 (Selene, no date). In 1968, at the age of 15, she was already performing a dance scene in the movie *Lestu Mostahtira* (*I'm not responsible*) (TheCaroVan, 2014e). However, the peak of her career was in the 1980s and 1990s. She stopped performing in 2004 (Selene, no date), but today

she is still very active in the international festivals circuit where she teaches and performs for raqs sharqi practitioners all over the world, for example, at *The Global Bellydance Conference* in 2013 in China (Dance for Unity, 2013).

Fifi Abdou is, just ahead of Samia Gamal, is the most googled belly dancer from worldwide searches, according to the Google keyword planner results. This amount of popularity is not just due to her dance ability, but mostly to her acting career. She decided to become an actress so that people would recognise her (Adum, 2011b) and 'in Egypt . . . she has made dozens of movies and TV series, often in the lead role' (Sullivan, 2009, paras 10, 11). Fifi Abdou is also famous for her feisty and strong personality and for her colourful private life. The dancer Selene (no date, para. 6) writes about her:

> Glamorous as Fifi is, she remains at heart the typical "Bint Al Balad," . . . Fifi certainly has broken ground in both the media and with the authorities, having gotten away with stage routines for which a less famous dancer would surely face problems with the morality police . . . many Middle Eastern women look up to her because of her boldness . . . on the stage in Dallas . . . her smile radiated to the back corners of the room, along with her legendary sense of humor.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Her style is very grounded and relaxed; laid back, yet strong and energetic. Even when she dances raqs sharqi, she maintains a very grounded and relaxed baladi feeling. In some performances, it is a very minimalist style, with few moves and almost no moving in space. Other times, it is more dynamic. It can be slow or fast depending on the style, music and mood. She often does hip shimmies that go on for an extremely long time.	1986, live show at Mena House in Cairo (Marita Fahlén, 2009)	Heavy
	2000 movie, Zane't el Setat (TheCaroVan, 2015a)	At times sudden and at times sustained
	Shisha dance at the Sheraton Hotel, in Cairo (TheCaroVan, 2014f)	Free flow

Table 28 – Fifi Abdou's dance style

Table 28 summarises my analysis of Fifi Abdou's style. The most salient characteristic of her style is being relaxed, grounded and yet strong, with a distinct baladi feeling, as other practitioners also point out (Marita Fahlén, no date; profilerk, no date; Maya, 2011). As Joana Saahirah stated in her interview: 'Some dancers embody a specific style. Fifi Abdou's baladi'. Her style is also minimalistic. She does very few movements but extremely well and without moving much in space (although on occasions she can be more dynamic). As Selene argues 'Fifi Abdo is often criticized for her limited repertoire of movements, but she makes the most of them' (Selene, no date, para. 7). In 5.6.4, I will analyse Fifi Abdou's choices using theories from my conceptual framework and I will compare her to the other most relevant dancers from this timeframe.

I have selected three samples of her dance. The first one is a live performance from a show in 1986 at Mena House, a hotel in Cairo (Marita Fahlén, 2009). In this video, she is wearing a bedlah and it is a raqs sharqi performance, but with a strong baladi feeling. In addition to her style as described earlier, it is possible to notice that she mimics the words of the songs while she dances and uses hand gestures that hint at meaning in the songs. She is the first dancer I have noticed doing that. This is a trend that she seems to have started and which was continued by Dina, Randa and other modern dancers. Also, Fifi dances with big orchestras and sometimes there are male dancers in the background to accompany the start of her performance, a trend which started in Nagwa Fouad's productions. As noted before for Nagwa Fouad and Soheir Zaki, having a big orchestra to back a dancer up increases his/her symbolic capital or prestige, the resources at his/her disposal and influences their presentation of self-identity.

Fifi's strong personality is reflected in the way she dances and in her very powerful stage presence, she is 'passionately earthy, energetic' (El Safy, 1993b, para. 4). Several practitioners I have interviewed for this research express quite similar opinions about Fifi:

> From Fifi Abdou [I got] the power, the strength, the 'I don't care what anyone else thinks, this is me, take it or leave it', that kind of 'don't mess with me', 'this is who I am, this is what I am'. (Lorna)
>
> She's very earthy and does very little, but everybody gets drawn, you just have to look at her face and you are there with her. (Ann)
>
> You can't help watching her, she is pretty mesmeric, isn't she? (Helen)

> I like Fifi because . . . she is quite confident and relaxed at the same time. (Elindia)

For Selene (no date, para. 11) Fifi Abdou is not just a dancer but 'she's a total entertainer. . . . She is about stage presence and showmanship and smiling. . . . She has great feeling and audience interaction'. Lorius (1996, pp. 286, 287) comments that Fifi Abdou is:

> Skilled at expressing moods, musical motifs and words with consummate bodily movements and playful gestures, Abdou incorporates the latest manifestations of popular musical culture, components of baladi and jeel (youth) style, such as rap, wit and street humour to entertain her audience.

Smiling, having fun, joy, audience interaction, confidence are keywords that appear continuously in the Egyptian raqs sharqi discourse. In addition, with Fifi Abdou, the ideas of charisma and stage presence emerge in the discourse, since she mastered those skills. The importance of the dancer/audience interaction and of kinaesthetic empathy comes to the fore once again. As highlighted through the quotation below by Joana, charisma is also a matter of self-identity presentation and of increasing a dancer's symbolic capital and prestige in the field:

> Egyptian audiences appreciate, very much . . . charisma . . . you can be the greatest dancer in the world. If that charisma, if that presence, if that energy, is not there, you're going to have a hard time . . . using your charisma has to do with self-confidence. And warmth.

The second video I have chosen is from the 2000 movie *Zane't el Setat* (*Women's Market*) (TheCaroVan, 2015a). In this film, Fifi plays the part of a woman who wants revenge on the men who were involved in the death of her sister. I have chosen this scene, as the character epitomises Fifi's dance persona, sexy, self-confident and baladi. The last video (TheCaroVan, 2014f), is from a live show in the Sheraton Hotel in Cairo, in which she is performing her iconic shisha dance. Fifi Abdo is the first dancer who used the shisha pipe as part of her dance/comedy routines.

5.6.2 Lucy – The Last Classical Raqs Sharqi Artist

Figure 27 – Lucy (El Safy 1993)

Lucy (لوسى) was one of the star dancers of Cairo in the 1980s and 90s. She is an actress, singer and dancer (El Safy, 1993a) and danced at the Parisiana, a club in Cairo owned by her husband (Taylor, no date; Rose, 2006; TheCaroVan, 2015c). Dancer Yosifah (Rose, 2006, para. 3) loves Lucy because to her, 'she represents the last actively performing *fannana* (artist) of Classical Raqs Sharqi of our time'.

I have not been able to find any movie scenes in which she danced, but she acted in movies and won 'an award at the Alexandria Film Festival in 1996' (TheCaroVan, 2015c). I have found some scenes of her dancing at the Parisiana available online, taken from old videotapes (hence the images are not very clear). After she retired from her club work, she performed at festivals, such as The Nile Festival in Cairo (Enan Egyptian Troupe, 2007), and taught workshops internationally (Rose, 2006).

Lucy was interviewed as part of a National Geographic documentary, Cairo Unveiled, in 1993 directed by Kirk Simon and Karen Goodman (Simon and Goodman, no date). From this documentary, we know something about Lucy's origins and her view of the dance. Lucy grew up near Mohammed Ali Street, in Cairo, famous for being the place where many entertainers used to live (Van Nieuwkerk, 1995, p. 50). Lucy says about Mohammed Ali Street (Simon and Goodman, 1992): 'Even though I moved away years ago,

Mohammed Ali street will always be home for me . . . I am from here . . . I grew up in a very poor section of Cairo'.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Very light and elegant, she often dances in releve. Sometimes she dances a lot on the spot, sometimes she travels around. She spins sometimes, but not very fast, always softly and elegantly. Her arms are also elegant with soft, undulating wrists and shoulders. Sometimes her style can be very minimalistic. After Nelly Fouad, she is the only one of her time whom I noticed doing mayas (or outward vertical hip figures of 8). Occasionally, but not often, she does movements inspired by dances of the Gulf, in particular with the head and hair.	Live performance dancing to the song 'Lessr Fakir' (TheCaroVan, 2015b)	Light
		Sustained
	Live performance (TheCaroVan, 2015d)	Indirect
		Free Flow

Table 29 – Lucy's style

Table 29 summarises Lucy's dancing style. She is very soft and elegant. Her image is not bint al balad, but she reminds me more of Samia Gamal. Indeed, El Safy (1993b, para. 4) defines her style' delicate, refined and intricate'. Yosifah comments (Rose, 2006, para. 10):

> Lucy always holds herself in a very balanced, elevated, and graceful and centered posture. This gives elegance to her movements . . . Lucy seems to float . . . Lucy uses her shoulders, arms, and hands in fluid and graceful movements. . . . Lucy believes that, after Samia Gamal, she is the second Egyptian Raqs Sharqi dancer to excel in the most graceful arm and upper body movements.

Another characteristic of Lucy is her deep feeling for the music and the fact that she always improvises during her performances. She 'does not believe that one can properly perform Oriental dance with a set choreography' (Rose, 2006, para. 10). Improvising (except for group dances) was and is something that most Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers do and so is paying attention to the emotional connection with the music. On YouTube,

under a video in which Lucy performs to Lessa Fakir, one of Oum Kalthoum songs (NormaDancer2, 2009), I have found some comments which are very telling about Middle Eastern attitude towards music, dance, lyrics and emotions. In particular, Omid Aghajari writes:

> I can honestly say no one dance has ever touched me so much. . . . Look at the extremely delicate and subtle movements she does to embody the music and the spirit of the song . . . I am honestly crying seeing this.

Yosifah comments, about a workshop in Dallas with Lucy that (Rose, 2006, para. 10):

> The single most striking element of Lucy's virtuosity is that it embodies the music to which she performs: she becomes the music and conveys it with her emotions, her movements, and creates her dance with genuine warmth, love, and joy for her audience. . . . Thus, Lucy instructed workshop attendants repeatedly, "Listen to the music! Feel the music; dance to the music!"

The videos I have chosen as reference are both from live performances, with big bands. The quality of the videos is not great, but it is enough to be able to see the main characteristics of Lucy's style. In the first video, she is dancing to the Umm Kalsoum's song *Lessr Fakir* (*Do you still remember*?) (TheCaroVan, 2015b). Noteworthy, in this video, is the way in which she interprets the music and her connection and communication with the musicians. The second video (TheCaroVan, 2015d) is another live performance, in which she moves around the stage more than in the first video and in which her elegant style can be appreciated.

5.6.3 Mona al Said – International Influence

Figure 28 - – Mona al Said at Le Meridian Cairo, 1994 (El Safy 1996)

Biographical information about Mona al Said (منى السعيد) is available from an article written by El Safy (1996) and from Mona's own website (El Said, no date). She was born in Suez Canal and loved dancing folkloric dances at school. It was not until she moved to Cairo, having had to leave Suez Canal because of the Egypt/Israel war in 1967, that her professional dance career started when she was only 13. However, she had to leave Egypt soon (only two months after she had started dancing professionally) because her father did not approve of her dancing. Mona recalls:

> I was very young and my father didn't like me to dance. . . . He wanted to kill me because he's Bedouin and doesn't like this — very shame(ful) for the family . . . my father was in Suez Canal. He came after me to Cairo . . . I went to Lebanon. (El Safy, 1996, para. 25)

During her career, from 1970 until the mid-1990s, Mona moved a few times between Lebanon, Cairo and London. As pointed out for Badia Masabni and Nadia Gamal, a dancer's ability to have international connections can provide her/him with transcultural resources to draw from for artistic innovation. In London, she worked at (and later bought) the Omar Khayyam's, which was a club for very wealthy Arabs. El Safy (1996, para. 38) remembers that 'this was during the peak glut of Gulf oil money, when . . . London 's economy revolved around the consumer trends of wealthy Arab potentates'. Up until the early 1990s, Mona kept performing in Cairo, but she slowed down in the mid-90s. That was also the time when many nightclubs started closing down and El Safy wondered if it was because of the growing political conservativism, which was a threat to dancers. According to Mona though, that was not the case, but it was more a case of people having to work harder than before and their tastes changing (I will further analyse the importance of taste in 5.6.4):

> "I don't think they want Oriental dance to stop. But the people change. The class of people change." "What happened to the elite and refined patrons?," I asked. "I don't see them in the nightclubs anymore." . . . "Because they like to go now and have a good dinner, quiet life, go back home, sleep . . . people now like to work to make money; not like before (when) they already had money, rich . . .. people like to work and like to sleep early. Nightclubs now close at four, five, six o'clock (am). This is *harram*. This is shame(ful). For me, if I am coming to my health club at eleven, I can't be (going to) sleep at six in the morning. . . . Now (there are) a lot of restaurants that are not as expensive as nightclubs. They have nice music, delicious food, lovely service, with very chic people sitting around you." (El Safy, 1996, paras 59, 61)

Mona al Said has been very influential in the development of raqs sharqi outside of Egypt, because her performances were, as El Safy states (1996, para. 3), 'one of the first Egyptian performances available on video in the early 1980s'. This meant that people outside of Egypt could own those videos and learn from them. Indeed, two comments from one of the videos of Mona posted on YouTube (baadrobot, 2008a) state:

> I started to study Raqs Sharqi and Egyptian folklore with these videos. . . . Thank you. These videos are so precious for me. I cry. (Out of Babylon)
>
> This dance was on the first video cassette that I owned in the early 80s . . . Mona was such an inspiration to a generation of dancers! (amoura latif)

Moreover, since she stopped performing in nightclubs, Mona has been teaching workshops in Egypt and abroad. In her interview, talking about her experience attending an intensive course with Mona in Egypt, Francesca said:

> She has an amazing technique . . . she is I think around 60 and you see her teaching and dancing and you are like: I want to be like that! [laughs] When I grow older! [laughs] because . . . she has incredible energy but I really loved the way she can be female but also strong but not rigid . . . and she's also very sincere . . . when she dances, you can really see herself.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Mona is controlled, relaxed and powerful at the same time. She does many isolations with the hips, but does not overdo and does not fill all the music with a movement for every accent. Her arms do not move much, but tend to frame the body and she does soft undulations with her wrists. She does a lot of contained but complex and layered hips isolations. Overall her style is quite minimalistic.	Live performance drum solo (baadrobot, 2008b)	Heavy and light at the same time
	1986 movie Koum El Shoqafa (TheCaroVan, 2015e)	Mostly sustained but sudden at times
	2014 live performance at Mediterranean Delight festival in Greece (Avihass, 2014)	Free Flow

Table 30 – Mona al Said's style

Table 30 summarises Mona's style and reflects Francesca's statement as Mona's style, from the analysis, has emerged as being controlled (very technical), relaxed (not rigid), powerful (strong). A good example of her style can be seen from a video where she is performing a drum solo with live music, possibly for the 1980s (baadrobot, 2008b). In this video, it is possible to appreciate how precise and yet relaxed she is, even during a drum solo where sometimes she dances slowly even when the rhythm is fast. El Safy (1996, para. 45), who saw her perform live, comments that 'Mona's style was precise, passionate

and packed a powerful punch'. The person who uploaded one of Mona's videos on Youtube (baadrobot, 2008a), in her comments to the video writes: 'In this video, Mona explains to us all how less is more. The grace and simplicity of this piece is in its powerful yet minimalistic movements'.

Another video I have chosen as a sample is from the 1986 movie *Koum El Shoqafa* (*Hill of Shards*, the name of ancient catacombs near Alexandria) (TheCaroVan, 2015e). In this scene, Mona plays the part of an audience member who is persuaded to get up and dance. The third video (Avihass, 2014) is from 2014 and was taken at the *Mediterranean Delight* festival, in Greece. It is a good example of how one of these retired great Egyptian dancers still continues to teach and perform for people from around the world, therefore embodying the heritage and spreading it across cultures.

5.6.4 Analysis

Looking at Table 31, there do not seem to be many new movements being developed in this timeframe. There are the oldest kinemes, plus the more recent ones that have, by now, become part of the movement vocabulary and various allokines. A new kineme, which I have seen Mona el Said do during her drum solo, today is referred to a 'belly flutters', tiny and fast vibrations of the upper abdominals in isolation.

Movement	Fifi Abdou	Lucy	Mona al Said
Backbend			yes
Camel	yes	yes	yes
Floor work			On knees and flicking hair like in dances from the Gulf
Head slides			yes
Head tossing back to audience	yes		
Gulf inspired movements		yes	yes
Hip circles	yes	yes	yes. One type is the very small, internal one, now called African hip circle. The big hip circle she does is with the head almost to the floor in front.
Hip drops	yes	yes	yes
Soheir Zaki hip drops	Yes, while travelling and soft		
Hip horiz fig 8	yes		yes
Hip lifts	yes	yes	
Hip shimmies	yes	yes	yes
Hip twists	yes	yes	yes
Hip vert fig 8	yes	yes	yes
Maya		yes	
Shoulder rolls	yes	yes	yes
Shoulder shimmies	yes	yes	yes
Spins and turns	yes	yes	yes
Travelling steps	yes	yes	yes
Wrists circles and movements	yes, but not often	yes	yes
Hip Jewel	yes		yes
Arms	Framing the body, not moving a lot.	Fluid with soft wrists and fluid movements	Framing the body, not moving a lot.
Snake arms		Yes, with shoulder rolls with arms to the side	Yes, with shoulder rolls with arms to the side
Head and hair tossing		yes, Gulf stlye, but not often	yes, back and forth
Belly pops			yes
Belly flutters			yes
Chest lifts/drops	yes		yes
Pelvic tils with weight transfer	yes		yes
Pelvic lifts and drops	yes	yes, more like pelvic tilts and soft	yes - but not too sharp
Arabesque	yes	yes	yes

Table 31 – 1980s and 90s movements

In/tangible Elements	Authenticity	Heritage	Transculturality
Dance movements:		Dialectic between afrangi and baladi feeling. Old movements part of raqs sharqi vocabulary and new kinemes and allokines become part of the heritage as they are added and transmitted	Movements from Gulf dances remain in the raqs sharqi movement vocabulary
People: Fifi Abdou, Lucy and Mona al Said	Sense of humour; softness; strength; charisma; joy; smiling; relaxation; minimalism; interaction with audience; sincerity	Reference to dancers of the Golden Ages. For example, Lucy comparing her arms movements to those of Samia Gamal. Dancers from this generation, when older, become embodiment of heritage, as they teach international students	Dancers travel. In particular, Mona al Said works between Cairo, Lebanon and London, where she owns a nightclub
Class: wealthy men from the Gulf and Lebanon			Wealthy audiences travel to Cairo and London from the Gulf and Lebanon
Locations: nightclubs, hotels, Pyramids Road			Nightclubs in London give opportunity to some British people and dancers to become interested in raqs sharqi
Aural elements: songs lyrics	Musicality	Music	
Technology: cinema (less); TV; VHS		Dance videos on video cassettes	Video cassettes with dance shows are also sold abroad

Table 32 – 1980s-1990s - The last big raqs sharqi stars – Part 1

In/tangible Elements	Change/Traditions	Transmission	Influences on Heritage
People: Fifi Abdou, Lucy and Mona al Said	The dancers in this timeframe, seem to be traditionalists, although each prefers a different style. If they innovate, this consists in bringing their personal touch to the dance, but they do nothing to break with traditions	Dancers from this generation, when older, will teach at international festivals in and outside Egypt	
Locations: nightclubs, hotels, Pyramids Road		Performances in London nightclubs transmit raqs sharqi across cultures	
Aural elements: songs lyrics	Songs lyrics start being mimicked by Fifi Abdou		
Taste:	From mid-1990s, younger tourists, women and rich Egyptians no longer interested in nightclubs		**Changes in taste:** after the mid-90s wealthy Egyptians work harder, go to bed earlier and do not go to nightclubs, preferring cheaper restaurants. **Morals:** religious conservativism.
Politics, society and economy:			**Economy:** 'Oil money'. **Politics:** Lebanese civil war; First Gulf war. **Social restrictions:** Mona al Said's father wanting to kill her because she was a professional dancer.
Technology: cinema (less); TV; VHS		Mona el Said's videos are recorded on video cassettes, which people around the world can buy, to learn dance	
Artefacts:	Fifi's shisha dance comedy routine		

Table 33 – 1980s-1990s - The last big raqs sharqi stars – Part 2

Table 32and Table 33 summarise the main themes emerging from this timeframe. One of the strongest themes is how powerful the influence of economics, politics and taste can be for the survival of dance/heritage. In the mid-1990s, almost suddenly, raqs sharqi shows disappear because of a lack of customers interested in going to the nightclubs where the dances were being performed. This was due to political events and change in the taste of Egyptian audiences, as explained earlier.

A growing religious conservativism in Egypt did not help, but conservativism alone would have not been able to bring the industry down so suddenly. Not even the social restrictions of a conservative father such as Mona al Said's, who wanted to kill her for being a dancer, stopped her from pursuing her career. It might have been different if the economic climate had not supported a career in dance. In this situation, economic capital seemed to be much more powerful than any other form of capital to support the arts and, therefore, the survival of this heritage. This same financial capital aided the transcultural transmission of raqs sharqi, as clubs with Arabic music and dance opened in London. This is significant for raqs sharqi, a genre aimed, from its inception, at catering for a section of society with higher than average economic capital.

Regarding authenticity, in this timeframe, the idea of specific feelings and attitudes associated with raqs sharqi is still present in the discourse. The feelings are the same, that is: sense of humour; joy; smiling; relaxation; interaction with the audience; minimalism and sincerity. Additionally, the idea of charisma emerges, as Fifi Abdou is the quintessentially charismatic performer. Through her embodiment of dance traditions, she drew the audiences in, fusing (Preston-Dunlop, 2010, p. 7) 'all the participants in the event in a multilayered tangible process'. Music and musicality are also central. It is possible to see this visually in the videos of dance we have, whether from movies, TV shows or live performances, as the musicians are very often present, playing a variety of instruments, accompanying the dancer and interacting with her in a very subtle way. The importance of music for dancers and their embodied relationship to it, is stressed by Sedlmeier, Weigelt and Walther (2011, p. 303), who, during their research, pointed out how 'dancing might increase the liking for the music one is dancing to'.

In this timeframe, the body of heritage associated with raqs sharqi keeps consolidating. One characteristic that seems now part of the raqs sharqi heritage is the dialectic between afrangi and baladi elements in the dance, with some dancers being more closely

associated with one rather than the other influence. For instance, Fifi Abdou is very baladi, while Lucy, even though she was born in a poor part of Cairo (the dancer's own class background does not seem to determine her choice of dance style) is more classical and 'elegant', thus embodying the upper-class influences on this dance. Mona al Said seems to be somewhere in between. In terms of movement vocabulary, in addition to the traditional kinemes, we see how new kinemes and allokines created by dancers over the years, are repeated by successive generations of dancers, becoming part of a body of traditions that grow as a living form of heritage. Also, the reference to dancers of the past remains strong with, for example, Lucy comparing her arms movements to Samia Gamal's.

It becomes clear, in this timeframe, how heritage assumes a tangible form in artefacts, such as the new video cassettes with dance shows that are sold in and out of Egypt, or embodied in people, as famous performers from this era teach internationally when they get older. The dialectic between traditions and change is not so strong in this era, as none of the most prominent dancers seems to want to innovate anything dramatically. Each has her own style, but there is no strong desire to innovate. A trend started by Fifi Abdou in this era is mimicking the words of the songs and using gestures to express them. She was the only one, up until her time, to do it, but it became commonplace later on, with dancers such as Dina and Randa Kamel following this trend. Also, Fifi was the first to use the shisha pipe (smoking it in the midst of performance) during her show, which was a combination of comedy, music and dance. The shisha did not become a very common prop in the raqs sharqi repertoire. Nevertheless recently, other dancers, such as Galit Mersand in the UK (Duran, 2010), have been inspired by Fifi and used the shisha in their own performances, causing the shisha to become part of the raqs sharqi body of heritage.

In this timeframe, there are some new elements that surface in connection with the Living Heritage Framework (3.7). Firstly, feelings are still important and in particular, the term 'charisma' emerges in reference to Fifi Abdou, whereby she manages to transmit strong emotions and create a strong kinaesthetic empathy with the audience.

Secondly, economic capital comes forth as the most important capital for the survival of the Egyptian raqs sharqi tradition, which shows the influence of social fields on the fields of cultural production. Also, taste is still very relevant as something that can impact on the survival of heritage or transform it radically. This is not just the case for Egyptian raqs

sharqi as, for example, Baghirova (2007) explains that Azerbaijani Mugham (a musical style) is changing from an improvisational style with meditative feeling to a style that focuses more on technical virtuosity, due to changes in the taste of its audiences. Thirdly, the tangible aspects of heritage emerge strongly, such as for example the artefacts (video cassettes) in which the tradition is imprinted, or iconic dancers who start teaching and become personifications or embodiments of heritage.

Finally, a contrast has risen in this timeframe with regards to performers who embody feelings connected with different social classes: Fifi Abdou (baladi) and Lucy (afrangi). This theme had already come up in 5.3.5 with a similar contrast between Tahia Carioca (baladi) and Samia Gamal (afrangi, elegant style, that Lucy admitted being inspired by). Just as previously noticed, the dancers' individual personalities may explain their inclinations. It is less clear how their socio-cultural background might influence their disposition, as Lucy came from a working-class background (although she might have wanted to show her ambitions to social mobility through her dance). However, in this timeframe, it seems more than ever that identifying oneself with one class or another is a structural resource used by dancers in their presentation of self-identity, to position themselves in the field. The necessity to adopt a presentation of self-identity for marketing purposes seems even more relevant in this timeframe, as dancers have even more media at their disposal through which to present themselves: cinema, television and video cassettes (all of which can be accessed internationally).

5.7 The Era of Raqs Sharqi as Global Trans/cultural Heritage (2000s)

From the early 1990s, there has been a decline in the number of big raqs sharqi stars in Egypt and the Middle East, for a variety of reasons, as discussed. Since then, raqs sharqi has almost disappeared from Egyptian movies; many of the nightclubs where it was performed for wealthy Arabs have closed down, and there are fewer Egyptian professional dancers than there used to be (at least in the more upmarket circuit). However, raqs sharqi has not disappeared and new opportunities have emerged for its transmission.

Raqs sharqi is still part of Egyptian heritage, as well as its social form baladi, which has now developed into a new popular form, called *shaabi*. Shaabi, as Lo Iacono (2014) explains, means "of the people" and it is a type of music emerged from the 1970s in

Egypt. Its songs can be about politics, personal life or have no meaning at all. Shaabi is associated with the working classes of urban Cairo and a type of social dance has developed with the same name, based on the same traditional movement vocabulary of baladi. There are films with dance scenes that use shaabi music, in which dancers such as Dina (TheCaroVan, 2014c) and, more recently, Sahar Samar (Cairo Mirage Official, 2014) have appeared. At the same time, raqs sharqi has become an international form of heritage, which has spread way beyond Egypt thanks to diasporas, mass travel, mass media of communication and the Internet. In the following section, I will explore the contemporary developments of raqs sharqi in Egypt and its international impact.

In this timeframe, Raqia Hassan, Dina, Dandash (whose dance I analysed but I did not include it in this thesis, as there are not enough videos available of her to watch and compare) and Randa are the most established artists in the raqs sharqi scene. As for the younger dancers, it is difficult to know who the new emerging talents in Cairo are, without spending time in Egypt. I will base my analysis on those dancers whose names and videos have appeared online on English language sites. There seem to be certain trends. Some dancers perform and teach folkloric style dance and raqs sharqi to international audiences at festivals and workshops in Egypt and abroad. Many of these teachers are men and they mainly perform folklore (but teach also raqs sharqi); I will cover more about them in 5.7.8. Others appeal to a section of mainstream Egyptian society and they appear in shaabi music videos. A third group appeal to the Egyptian upper classes, wanting to represent a 'refined' version of the dance. In addition to Egyptian dancers, in Cairo, there are several non-Egyptian dancers, from many different countries, who moved to Egypt to work as dancers, not out of necessity, but out of passion for this dance and the music. These are key to the spreading of Egyptian dance worldwide, as they stay in touch with people from their own countries, they write about the dance in their own languages and, when they go back home, they take back with them a deep knowledge of Egyptian dance, which they then teach abroad. I will discuss more about them in 5.7.7.

My main sources for gathering data on the youngest generations of performers and teachers in Cairo today, are the websites of three big yearly oriental dance festivals in Cairo: *Ahlan Wa Sahlan* (Ahlan wa Salan Festival, no date), run by Raqia Hassan, where one of the main teachers is Dina; the *Nile Group Festival* (Nile Group Festival, no date),

where two of the master teachers are Mahmoud Reda and Farida Fahmy; *Raqs, of Course* (*Raqs of Course - Egyptian Dance Festival*, no date), organised by Randa Kamel. From the teachers' lists on these sites, it emerges that there is a big variety of teachers from different countries. There are folkloric dancers, as well as raqs sharqi dancers and some are from Egypt, some are non-Egyptians working in Egypt and many are non-Egyptians who live and work outside of Egypt, but train in Egypt. The countries of origin of non-Egyptian dancers are very varied including, for example, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, Dominican Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, UK, Ukraine and USA. Of the Egyptians, the majority are men, who, for the most part, teach folkloric dance. The lists of dancers in these festivals websites are certainly not exhaustive of all the dancers who perform in Cairo. However, these are teachers who are more likely to be known on the international circuit and, therefore, more likely to influence the transmission of Egyptian dance on a global scale, both by teaching in person and by making dance videos aimed at practitioners. Out of the very few Egyptian women who dance and teach at these festivals, I have selected two for the analysis, based on the number of videos of their dance available online (as they are enough to allow me to gather some meaningful insights) and the fact that they can be considered primarily raqs sharqi performers, rather than predominantly folkloric. They are Camelia and Sahar Samara.

5.7.1 Raqia Hassan – The Business Woman

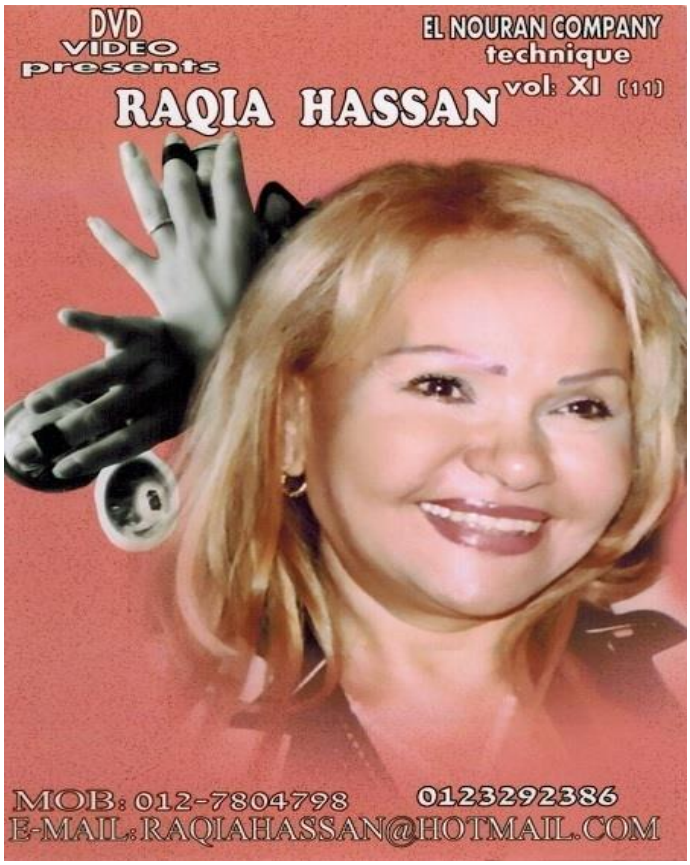


Figure 29 – Raqia Hassan on one of her DVDs

According to online sources (Sharif, no date; El Safy, 1995), Raqia was born in Cairo and started dancing in the Reda troupe as a folkloric dancer at the age of 14. However, Raqia felt that folklore was not really for her and her real love was instead raqs sharqi. She said 'I learned folklore — but I didn't like it, this is not my feeling. When I started teaching [Oriental dance] I felt, 'this is my way' (Luciano-Adams, no date, para. 16). Raqia never had the opportunity to pursue oriental dance as a performer, though. According to the American dancer Morocco, based on a comment she wrote under a Youtube video of Raqia (Marhaba Belly Dance Festival Rome, 2011) it was because of her family: 'What a fabulous Oriental dancer Raqia would have been, if her family had allowed it' (comment written as MoroccoCasbah). Raqia became a trainer in the Reda Troupe and, after 20 years teaching, 'in 1984 she coached her first Oriental dancer' (El Safy, 1995, para. 4) who was Azza Sherif. Since then, Raqia Hassan has been coaching several famous raqs sharqi

dancers, including Aida Nour, Fifi Abdou, Dina, Mona el Said, Nelly Fouad, Dandesha and many more.

Raqia's career development is an example of the interaction between agency and structures. Raqia states that her folklore was not her 'feeling'. Her perception (from a phenomenological point of view) was that she felt more at ease dancing raqs sharqi instead. However, presumably because of societal pressure (the structural rules of society), she was not allowed to follow her passion, at first. Nevertheless, she asserted her agency by becoming a choreographer and trainer of raqs sharqi, turning the limitations imposed on her by society into resources to tap into as she tied her self-identity to raqs sharqi. Moreover, as I will explain in the following paragraph, she used these resources not only to innovate artistically, but also to increase her economic and social capital (and prestige) in the field of Egyptian raqs sharqi internationally.

Raqia Hassan has been and still is hugely influential in the development and transmission of raqs sharqi worldwide, not only because she has trained many famous dancers, but also because she has built an international brand. She has travelled and still does so extensively across the world to teach at festivals, and she is greatly respected. I attended one of her workshops at the International Bellydance Festival in Bognor Regis, UK, in 2007 (Lo Iacono, 2013b) and two of my participants still remember going to Raqia Hassan's workshops in their countries:

> I went to a class with Raqia Hassan and I bought a tape, it was a cassette tape back then and I really liked that music because the music had a lot more changes and it had a lot of stuff going on. (Abila)

> Before Raqia-style came to Finland we used to dance really low, with our knees bent. She made me see that it would be possible to be grounded and elegantly elevated at the same time . . . Raqia's innovative technique is priceless. (Leena)

Raqia, however, does not just travel abroad to teach, but she also teaches in Egypt to people who travel there to learn raqs sharqi in its place of origin. Joana recalls how she approached teachers and arranged her first private lessons in Egypt 'through the first festivals Raqia Hassan organised in Cairo'. Francesca told me: 'I've been to Egypt twice to study. I have followed the Raqia Hassan intensive winter course for teachers'. Raqia Hassan's main event is the *Ahlan wa Sahlan* ('*Hello and Welcome*') Festival (Hassan, no

date), which started in 2000 and is held in Cairo every year. Ahlan Wa Sahlan, from its first edition, had a great line-up of teachers from Egypt and outside, including Soheir Zaki, and it had about 170 dancers attending from all over the world (Wilkinson, no date). In the years that followed, the number of people attending has increased to the point of becoming (Luciano-Adams, no date, para. 21) 'a perfectly globalized village, which has grown to 1,200 participants from 55 countries'.

Raqia Hassan is a businesswoman who has also her own costume designing brand and has produced a series of instructional DVDs (at least 12), plus CDs and DVDs from the festival. Her instructional DVDs are the first systematic explanation, codification and listing of Egyptian raqs sharqi movements recorded on video. For example, in volume VIII (El Nouran Company, 2005), she goes through a series of movements explaining how each movement can become sharqi or folkloric, depending on certain ways of performing it (for example on flat feet or relevé; with bent or straight knees). So, the DVDs are artefacts that Raqia has used as authoritative resources to influence the way in which practitioners dance, thus shaping the direction of Egyptian raqs sharqi in the 21st century. Raqia is also famous as a raqs sharqi choreographer. She is a supporter of choreography, but she stated that 'when a dancer has a good ear for the music, the choreography will come automatically. . . . Choreography should flow from the dancer and look natural' (Taj, 2008, paras 22, 25). So, even for a supporter of choreography, in raqs sharqi, musicality and spontaneity are necessary qualities of a good performance. It seems that the phenomenological, lived experience of the performer and the audience is still very relevant in the Egyptian raqs sharqi aesthetic discourse; something that is supported by the framework of living cultural heritage.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Raqia's style is grounded and lifted at the same time (which she may achieve by keeping the legs straight rather than bent); she uses sharp accents, but always moves softly and gracefully. She uses a very big variety of movements. Her hip and belly movements are quite internal.	2011 live performance at an international raqs sharqi festival (Marhaba Belly Dance Festival Rome, 2011)	Light and heavy at the same time
		Sustained
		Indirect
		Free flow

Table 34 – Raqia Hassan's style

Table 34 illustrates Raqia Hassan's style. As highlighted earlier, in the excerpt of the interview with Leena, she achieves a grounded and lifted feeling at the same time, by keeping her legs straight. Her style is, overall, soft and relaxed, apart from occasional sharp hip accents. An innovation consists in her hips and lower torso movements being quite internal, which gives an intense inner feeling. She explains this by stating that now 'for every step, we put it inside the belly. We go back to the belly' (El Safy, 1995, paras 7, 9). Badia Masabni, regarding the changes she made to local Egyptian dance back in the 1920s, said that 'in the past, the dance was all in the abdomen' (Adum, no date, pt. Second Segment-Family), and she added new elements. Now, Raqia is building on the heritage of movements of this genre, keeping all the innovations achieved thus far, but focusing more on the belly, once again.

The dancers who have been influenced by Raqia Hassan, retain many of Raqia's style characteristics. These characteristics include: internal small hip circles (already noted for the first time in Mona al Said); sharp hip isolations (which can be seen in Dina and Randa) and attention to the lyrics (which are mimicked using gestures; a habit, I noticed, that was first started by Fifi Abdou). Indeed, El Safy (1995, para. 7) comments:

> Mona Said's powerful pelvic drops, Dina's large, halting hip circles and shimmy overlays with sharp knee accents, and other popular favorites like

> the large stance shimmy, strong frontal and diagonal pelvic projections, and internal abdominal work are all key elements of Raqia's stylistic influence.

Raqia stresses these stylistic elements during her workshops, as Habiba (no date, paras 8, 9) comments:

> She taught us to intensify hip movements with the leg and knee. She insisted the lyrics be interpreted in dance. She used the compressed internal emotion of the core . . . be yourself. The dancer must adapt what she learns to her own style and personality.

This last quotation highlights that, whilst Raqia codified raqs sharqi, she also values dancers' individual and emotional contributions to the dance. Hence, the terms spontaneity, emotion, self-expression return once again in the raqs sharqi discourse.

5.7.2 Dina – Daring and Modern

Figure 30 – Dina at Semiramis Intercontinental Hotel, Cairo 2008 (Barros 2008)

Dina (دينا) has been considered the last big Egyptian star of raqs sharqi and indeed she is the last one who has starred in a considerable number of movies and TV programmes from the early 1990s. I have found most of the details about her life in Dina's autobiography (Talaat and Guibal, 2011). She started dancing from the age of nine in a folkloric troupe. However, her father did not agree to her dancing raqs sharqi. Dina said in an interview to El Safy (1993b, para. 9): 'When I started belly dancing it was a big problem. Now my mother and father speak to me after three years'.

Dina comes from a wealthy Egyptian family and she has a degree in philosophy, so her background is different from that of most dancers of the past, who came from a poorer background. As Dina explains in her autobiography (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 134):

> My Facebook account is full of fans' messages. . . . Once again, I see the same words that appear: "Dina, I heard you yesterday on television. Obviously, you are smart, you have credentials, you come from a decent family. How did you become a dancer, such a waste. . . . You did not have to do that. "No, I was not obliged " . . . I come from a wealthy family, I studied up to the university . . . I danced because I wanted to. I am an artist. . . . This is our heritage and I am, unfortunately, probably the last guardian.

Dina's personal life has been tumultuous and she has often been at the centre of celebrity gossip in Egypt and vilified because of her profession. However, she has always defended her right to dance, in spite of everything, and the title of her autobiography, *My Freedom to Dance* reflects her feelings. Dina is very famous in Egypt because of her acting work, but, unlike with dancers such as Tahia Carioca, Nagwa Fouad or Soheir Zaki, who performed in front of international heads of state and who were presented proudly as an example of Egyptian heritage, many Egyptians do not seem to be as supportive of Dina or they seem divided in the appreciation of her dance. For example, in 2015, she was hired to dance at a party for the Confederation of African Football (CAF) and, as reported by Gulf News (Al Sherbini, 2015), the members of the Egyptian Football Association walked out in dismay when her performance started and went back in only when it finished.

The reaction towards Dina's dance reflects Egyptian people's ambivalent attitude towards this dance, and this attitude may have worsened recently because of a more conservative attitude in Egyptian's society. However, in addition to this, many Egyptian people may not like Dina's subversive persona and style. Dina has been an innovator in terms of her dance

style, the costumes she wears and the intensity of her expression. Among raqs sharqi dancers worldwide, her innovations have been imitated and she is admired for her personality and her dance ability. Five out of ten of my interview participants have mentioned Dina as being one of the dancers who influenced them the most. Elindia said: 'I like Dina . . . it's like . . . she has no bones, she is like jelly but she moves so beautifully and relaxed. But you can see there's a lot of work going on'.

Dina's career exemplifies the dialectic between agency and structure and also how social agents try to assert their power across different fields in society. Dina's social background (middle class and educated to university level) could be considered privileged. Yet, it was the strongest obstacles against her starting a career as a raqs sharqi dancer because, according to the rules of Egyptian society, it seems that only financial needs justify a career as a professional dancer. Dina though went against those rules and found the resources to pursue her chosen career. She found her place in the field of cultural production of Egyptian raqs sharqi, accumulating economic, social and symbolic capital and prestige (at least in the eyes of the international raqs sharqi community). In Egypt though, the values and interests of other social actors, who move within other fields of Egyptian society, clash with Dina's values causing conflict.

Like Raqia Hassan, Dina too uses artefacts as resources to assert her agency and influence the field of Egyptian raqs sharqi. Raqia used DVDs to influence the movements of the dance, while Dina uses costumes (with new materials and designs, often aimed at challenging the moral rules of society) to innovate and show her agency within, and also outside, the field of Egyptian raqs sharqi.

Dina designs her own costumes and she chooses new and innovative styles and cuts. Dina expresses how important costumes are and how much she wants to distinguish herself by writing (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 74):

> The costume is important, it is part of the show. . . . It is there to enhance the body's movements . . . . I do not want an ordinary costume. I do not want to be like all the other dancers.

The fact that lycra started being used for making costumes, as opposed to chiffon, opens the way for innovations. According to the costumier Hallah Moustafa, who is based in Cairo, 'the advent of lycra could stretch fabrics that really work for movement' (Sullivan

and Farouk, 2006, sec. 40:23). After Dina, fringes and chiffon were used less and less for costumes. Luna of Cairo (Esposito, 2012a, para. 9) comments in her blog that 'with lycra, the possibilities are endless. From newspaper print lycra to heavily sequined spandex, stretch fabric has stretched our imaginations to the extremes'. However, not every dancer agrees that lycra is better. Soheir Zaki, for example, stated: 'In my day, we wore romantic, voluminous chiffon skirts and looked like princesses. Suddenly, everything was tight stretch lycra. When you spin, lycra doesn't move with you, it clings' (Sullivan, 2002, para. 30).

As well as using costumes made of Lycra, Dina started using push up bras with very rigid cups, which enhance curves to the extreme and which are now widely used by dancers in Egypt. In addition, Dina was famous for wearing, sometimes, the tiniest costumes, with very short skirts. El Safy reports (1993b, paras 13, 14):

> Why does she wear such short (above the knee) skirts? . . . "I want to create something new, something different (as indeed every artist must). . . . Now I am changing the costuming of oriental dance."

As mentioned previously, Nagwa Fouad did not like Dina's costumes and she said: 'The costumes today are just horrible. Today there are costumes that leave 3/4 of the body naked!' (Adum, 2010, paras 1–6). During a performance that Dina gave after a series of workshops, in Dallas, USA, in 2003, Amaya comments (2003, para. 10), 'by far the most controversial costume was the last one. It was barely there. A bit of fabric here and there'. According to Goodyear (2011, para. 5), raqs sharqi practitioners were mainly interested in Dina' costumes at first, but were later captivated by her dancing style:

> At first, it was . . . "What was Dina wearing?" "How short was it? How outrageous was it? How ridiculous? Where can I get one?" . . . later, it became, "How many people do I know who are copying Dina's signature movements?

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Dina uses some movements that remind the viewer of Samia Gamal (in particular the softness of her style) and Naima Akef. However, there are a lot of innovations. First of all, her weight shifting, looking as though she is losing her balance, to then immedialtey regain it. There are a lot of contraction and release motions in her muscles, such as when she starts a movement, and then she stops and restarts, or when doing very small internal torso isolations with sudden sharp contractions and releases. Also, sometimes she plays with levels, she does not do floorwork, but she does, for example, hip vertical figure of 8 going down slowly and then goes up again quickly. She also does a variation of backbend, where she creates a straight line from the tip of her toe to the tip of her hand with the arm stretched above her head. She does feet stomps; big hip circles, which she interrupts, sometimes stopping midway through with feet stomp and then continuing. Also, she does big hip circles with her back to the audience. Dina's arms are very soft and relaxed, while carrying energy at the same time.	1991 movie The Tea Seller (TheCaroVan, 2014b)	Light and heavy (grounded) at the same time
	Live performance at the Ramses Hilton in Cairo (TheCaroVan, 2014d)	Sustained with some sudden movements
	Live performance on stage, maybe at a festival (Belly Dance & Nice Dancers, 2013)	
	2014, Al Rakesa show (Al Rakesa, 2014)	Flow sometimes free, sometimes bound

Table 35 – Dina's style

As highlighted in Table 35, her style seems connected to the tradition, yet is innovative at the same time. There are elements of her dance that are reminiscent of the dancers of the golden age, such as the step I pinpointed in connection with Naima Akef (5.3.3). Dina studied raqs sharqi, after many years dancing folklore, with Ibrahim Akef and Raqia Hassan. Ibrahim Akef, who was a choreographer for golden age dancers and Naima Akef's cousin, must have provided Dina with her most classical and soft moves, while Raqia Hassan's influence may be in the very internal belly isolations and intricate hip movements. Amaya (2003, para. 7) describes these as 'internal snap accents . . . some big, some small. She tightens her pelvic or hip muscles to cause tiny, tiny little contractions in her dance'.

So far, other raqs sharqi dancers' movement quality had free flow for the most part, but Dina is the first one who presents a variation of free flow and bound flow movements, for example by contracting and stopping the movements and then letting go (as it can be seen in her big hip circles, in her change of levels or in her walk). Another dancer who used bound flow to increase variety in her dance was Nelly Fouad and, during the Golden Ages, I have observed that Zeinat Olwi also emphasized the contrast of bound and free flow in her hips and abdominal isolations. Emma has written about Zeinat that 'there is more contrast in her dancing than in Samia's, more use of sharp movements and some very tight, controlled shimmies (Dina wasn't the first to do them like that!)' (Emma, no date, para. 14).

One of Dina's earliest recorded raqs sharqi performances can be seen in the Egyptian movie *Ba'ia al shay* (*The Tea Seller*) from 1991 (TheCaroVan, 2014b). In this video, the dance style still seems quite traditional, but, towards the end, we can see one of her signature moves, which is a big hip circle but such that her bottom is facing the audience (min 05:37). This is a new, quite daring, variation, which I had not seen other raqs sharqi dancers before her. It seems that, for Dina, movements (as well as costumes as mentioned earlier) are resources to assert her agency against the restrictive rules of society. Also, she does a little stomp on the heels at min 04:19. This movement has become very common now and El Safy (1993b, para. 15), pointed out about Dina that 'Virtually all of the movements are on the balls of her feet, although she will deliberately tap her heels flat on the downbeat of the driving *saii'di* rhythm'. I would add though, that Dina uses this movement not only for the downbeat of the saidi rhythm, but also to show an accent in the music, regardless of the type of rhythm used. Another one of Dina's signature movements I have noticed in this video is a big hip circle with stops along the way and heel stomps (min. 05:17). Wilkinson describes it as (no date, para. 7) 'an almost robotic-looking hip circle, moving around in jerky little segments and often stopping in the back to add a saucy variation'. The saucy variation mentioned by Wilkinson is usually a small movement of the hip sideways.

In another video, with Dina dancing live at the Ramses Hilton in Cairo (TheCaroVan, 2014d), maybe from the late 1990s or early 2000s, her style has developed further and it is possible to see more of her signature movements. For example, small hip drops with shimmies (min. 00:43) or going down halfway with hip vertical figure of 8 and then lifting

again with a big hip circle, as though something is pulling her from above with a string (min 00:27). Another peculiar characteristic of Dina's style is the way she shifts her weight between one leg and the other and this feeling of contraction and release, whereby she seems to be losing her balance for a moment but she catches it back at the last minute. She does the same with isolations of her upper body. She sometimes moves on stage like this, in what can be considered a Dina walk, which Wilkinson (no date, para. 7) described as 'she almost looks as if she's stumbling around the stage--as if she's hurrying and loses her balance a bit'. Other times her walk consists in the 'classic Dina steps – the walk with weight falling on a straight leg to jerk the body back' (Sullivan, no date, para. 18).

In a more recent video of Dina (Belly Dance & Nice Dancers, 2013), where she is on stage dancing on her own with recorded music (maybe at a festival somewhere), it is possible to see some more of Dina's signature movements. In particular, there is a move in which she leans back with her profile to the audience and the weight on one leg, creating a straight oblique line from the toe of one foot and then move her hands and arms all the way from the knee up the body, as though shooting the energy upwards and creating a line from the knee to the fingertips (min 0:19).

Like Fifi Abdou, Dina mimics the song with her facial expressions and with gestures. This habit of using gestures may be due to Fifi's and Dina's previous training in folklore. Indeed, Fahmy (1987) relates that Mahmoud Reda observed the everyday gestures of Egyptian people and used them in his choreographies. These 'unlike the Hindu dance gestures of mudras, in which each gesture denotes a specific literal meaning . . . evoke general connotations, the gist of which is readily understood by the Egyptian public' (Fahmy, 1987, p. 37).

Dina is one of the most expressive raqs sharqi dancers and she is the first I have seen who, instead of smiling all the time, sometimes expresses sad feelings with her face according to the song. Previous dancers had a more serene and joyful expression all the time. According to Dina herself (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 95) 'Oriental dance . . . embodies all the faces of a woman: seduction, abandonment, love ecstasy, playing, sharing, generosity, birth, freedom. It symbolizes happiness, sadness'. Many practitioners who have written about Dina, seem to agree on her ability to convey emotions:

> Her dance was joyful, easy, did not seem choreographed or thought out at all. She seems very comfortable with her sexuality and femaleness. Her face is even more captivating than her costumes or her style. She seemed to almost be laughing out loud in happiness and delight. (Amaya, 2003, para. 11)

> Her dances range from highly energetic, to flirtatious and *dellae (coy*, coquettish, spoiled) from fun and lively to emotional and above all, heartfelt. (Goodyear, 2011, para. 7)

> My favorite part of her dancing was her expression. Sometimes she would smile at the audience like a naughty, impish little girl; at other times she seemed to be caught up in some strong private emotions that we could only wonder about. (Wilkinson, no date, para. 7)

In this respect, Dina's attitude seems to be consistent with the importance given to feelings, emotional impact and kinaesthetic empathy in the Egyptian raqs sharqi discourse. However, Dina takes this tendency further by emphasizing a whole range of emotions. The expressivity allowed by raqs sharqi seems to be another resource for Dina to show her agency, in spite of the rules imposed by society.

An example of Dina's emotional impact is her performance at the end of the show *Al Rakesa*, in 2014 (Al Rakesa, 2014). This is an instance of tarab, whereby the emotions conveyed by the music are expressed visually by the dancer and transmitted to the audience. In this video, it is important to notice the relevance given to the music itself, with close camera work on the instruments as the camera zooms onto the *kanoun*[1], the drum and the violin. Many Egyptian movies of the past, with dance scenes, also highlighted musical instruments in the same way. The audience's emotional reactions are also very telling. Dancer and audience all share the same cultural understanding. They all know the song (an Um Khaltoum song) and the lyrics. So, even though this version is instrumental, they all know what every section means and can share their feelings.

Dina is an innovator who, however, draws on traditions and heritage. She innovates with new and daring costume designs. Also, she brings innovation through the quality of the movements (i.e. rather than just devising new motifs, kinemes and allokines, she infuses them with different energy which, in her case, is the contrast between bound and free flow). She also innovates by widening the range of emotions that she expresses in her dance; not just joy, but also sometimes sadness and other feelings.

[1] String instrument.

5.7.3 Randa Kamel – The Powerful Dancer

Figure 31 – Randa Kamel at the International Belly Dance Congress in the UK, 2009

Randa Kamel is extremely famous among practitioners worldwide, because she travels a lot for teaching and also because her very energetic style is very appealing to foreigners. She is one of the first Egyptian dancers who is more famous abroad than she is in Egypt. I found all the information I have about Randa's life and dance views online, in interviews that she has given either for blogs (El Safy, no date b; Sullivan, no date; Zahara and Shahin, 2012) or on videos that are available on YouTube or Vimeo (Beltran, 2010; OrientExpressTV, 2010; Dubinina, 2011; Samir, 2013) or on DVD (Senkovich, 2008).

The reason why she is not so famous in Egypt could be because she has not appeared in any movies or on TV, so the general public does not know her, as much as they know, for example, Dina or Fifi Abdou. According to Sullivan (no date, para. 29), 'whereas once dancers could become household names by appearing in movies and on TV, over the past couple of decades those opportunities have dwindled, with oriental dance all but disappeared from cinema and TV screens'.

Randa Kamel was born in Mansoura, Egypt, and she started dancing ballet at the age of 12, but two years later she joined the Reda Troupe. She spent seven years dancing folklore, before becoming a soloist raqs sharqi dancer. She usually mentions in interviews (Zahara and Shahin, 2012; Samir, 2013) how her family (from El Mansoura, a very conservative city) was against her dancing, but she did not give up because she loved dancing. She studied psychology at university, has a low key private life and is very passionate and serious about her profession (Samir, 2013). She has a strong personality and she once said: 'I never like to accept failure and I don't know how to give up . . . to be a dancer I struggled a lot, but I persisted and I loved it' (Senkovich, 2008, sec. Interview). In 5.7.9, I will analyse how her background and personality might have influenced her dance, and the way in which her style contrasts so neatly (as it will be explained further on in this section) with the styles of other dancers.

<table>
<tr><th>Overall Style</th><th>Videos Examples</th><th>Laban analysis</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Her style is very strong, powerful, energetic, sharp, direct, sudden, with straight legs and arms, very lifted but grounded at the same time. She uses the curvy movements of the hips typical of raqs sharqi, but these are counterbalanced by straight lines with the limbs. She does a lot of sudden movements and a high degree of bound flow (whereas other dancers' movements would only have bound and sudden qualities for specific accents).</td><td rowspan="2">Live performance from TV show (WardaElHosny, no date)</td><td>Heavy but lifted</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sudden</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">2011 live performance at a festival in Switzerland (EsquisseOrient, 2012)</td><td>Direct</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bound flow</td></tr>
</table>

Table 36 – Randa Kamel's style

In Table 36 Randa's style emerges as very different from every other Egyptian dancer analysed so far. She innovates expressing a type of energy and movement qualities, which are the complete opposite of the traditional raqs sharqi feeling. Randa was inspired by

the dancers of the golden age, in particular, Samia Gamal and Naima Akef, as she admitted herself many times. She always states in interviews that nobody taught her raqs sharqi and she learnt all by herself, but that she has learnt a lot by watching Samia Gamal and Naima Akef on videos (Zahara and Shahin, 2012, para. 6).

Of other dancers, Randa said 'I loved *Suhair Zaki* for her amazing hips; *Mona Said* for her beautiful arms, *Fifi Abdou* for her commanding presence, and *Nagua Fouad* for her way of putting a show together' (Sullivan, no date, para. 11). Randa stated about her style:

> I mix it up. You'll see some ballet, some folklore, you'll see some of my own moves, you'll find a move from Soheir Zaki, a move from Samia Gamal. You'll find moves from all the people I love. (Senkovich, 2008, sec. Interview)

Those who have seen Randa perform agree that her style is very strong and powerful, for some even aggressive. This is what some of my participants said about Randa's style:

> Randa . . . has a really strong persona. She demands attention on the stage . . . I think that's inspiring and also the strength in her, actual, physical strength. (Lorna)

> I was never sure about Randa, but Randa grew on me, because Randa is very, very powerful. (Ann)

> Dina: she has a distinct style of her own. . . . Many try to be like her and none has succeeded. Randa Kamel used to resemble her a lot, but she has diverged to a more energetic (almost aggressively so) style. (Leena)

Randa herself states that hers is a conscious decision to make the dance more powerful

> I always like the dancer to have power. To me, the dancer should always be strong . . . she must have energy . . . power, continuous movements. I don't like soft moves . . . I don't want anyone in the audience not feeling my moves. Everyone watching must be pulled into my dance. (Senkovich, 2008, sec. Interview)

This very powerful style is very appealing to Western audiences. As Randa once commented (Sullivan, no date, para. 6) 'I've had many foreigners come to see me . . . and I notice that they sit transfixed, watching every movement'. Egyptians do not like Randa's style as much as foreigners do, as it looks too harsh to them. According to Kay Taylor (no date, para. 2), 'Randa is . . . - a powerhouse - her performance is electric. Much admired

by foreign dancers, she is not as popular amongst Egyptians'. This could be due to the fact that, in Randa's style, 'what you won't see, perhaps, is much softness' (Sullivan, no date, para. 15). Yasmina of Cairo quotes the chief of Randa's orchestra in Cairo as saying (Sullivan, no date, paras 16, 17): 'We're always hoping she'll be a bit more '*delaa'*. . . . (In other words, soft, teasing and coquettish)'. One of the reasons for Randa's focus on strength and power, rather than softness, may be a reaction to society's common views on women and dance. She once said (Senkovich, 2008, sec. Interview):

> In Egypt, here, most people define dancing as the representation of a woman's beauty, that she seduces men, because dancing attracts men. I totally oppose this, because dancing is an art . . . that's why I don't like to dance seductively . . . I like to show people that I am a true dancer, not just a body in a costume.

My analysis of Randa's style from the videos reflects these observations. In terms of Laban analysis, I have observed that the majority of raqs sharqi dancers' style is usually, for the most part, indirect. Whatever their individual styles, the trajectory of their moves is mostly soft, sinuous, indirect. Randa is the complete opposite. Her style is mainly direct, with straight legs and arms and direct, assertive trajectories while moving in space. Moreover, most of her movements have a sudden quality and a bound flow, which increase the sense of power and strength. Even her shimmies are extremely powerful, so much so that 'her whole body, from the tips of her feet to the top of her forehead, vibrates with high energy' (Sullivan, no date, para. 14).

Expressing feelings in dance is very important for Randa and she also mimics the songs and uses gestures, like Fifi, Dina and Dandesh. She often points out the importance of feeling and dancing from the heart. For example, in an interview, she said (Beltran, 2010): 'When I am dancing I never do choreography . . . choreography for me, just for teaching . . . but when I dance in Egypt, or anywhere, I dance from my heart'.

There are many videos of Randa online that can be seen, all live performances where she is dancing in Egypt, on the Nile Maxim boat, or abroad at festivals all over the world. As a reference, I have selected just two examples, as they show the evolution of her style. The first one is a performance on Egyptian TV, from the start of Randa's career, maybe in the 1990s or very early 2000s (WardaElHosny, no date). In this video, her signature style is already very defined, but there is still a small degree of similarity with Dina. The second

one is from a festival in Switzerland in 2011, where her style is fully developed (EsquisseOrient, 2012).

5.7.4 Camelia – The Extremely Assertive Dancer

Figure 32 – Camelia at the Nairuz Weekend in Malaga, 2015. Photo by Rubén Lozano (Beigbeder 2015)

Camelia teaches at the *Nile Group Festival* and, according to its website (no date), she started her career as a folkloric dancer in the late 90s and later she started dancing raqs sharqi. She is now performing in 5-star hotels in Cairo and she teaches in and outside of Egypt.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Very grounded and energetic, assertive (but a bit softer than Randa). Very fast, busy and with fast spins. She uses a big variety of movements.	2013 live performance on the Nile Maxim boat, in Cairo (Aleya Cairo Bellydance, 2013)	Heavy
		Sudden
	2014 live performance in shaabi style at Nile Group Festival (Daniella Cairo, 2014a)	Direct (indirect at times)
		Flow sometimes free, sometimes bound

Table 37 – Camelia's style

Her style, summarised in Table 37, is different from that of any other Egyptian dancer analysed so far. Lorna of Cairo, in her interview, stated that her style is 'more modern, Camelia, is just absolutely crazy and does things often to shock people, but always leaves an audience smiling'. By watching some videos of Camelia, I noticed that Lorna's observation is very accurate and, going from the comments under those videos, people's opinions are split about her dance. For example, there is a video (Aleya Cairo Bellydance, 2013) where Camelia is dancing on the Nile Maxim Boat in Cairo with a live band and her style is very energetic, close to Randa's, but a bit softer. The comments under the videos show different opinions:

> Dynamic and energetic, but so far from being elegant and refined. Perfect for restaurant. (Amira Abdi oriental belly dance)
>
> The problem is that people are so used to see belly dancers with perfect hair, make up, doing everything in the perfect second . . . but the real feeling of bellydance you can see here . . . For me this is the true essence of this Dance!!! (Emanuel Keller)

It seems that this reflects a general split between two different images of raqs sharqi dancers. On one end of the spectrum there are the soft elegant ones, more 'afrangi', such as Samia Gamal and Lucy, and on the other the more grounded energetic, 'baladi' ones, like Fifi Abdou. Of course, the division is not always neat and clear. Sometimes dancers

take on different personas depending on the music and the audience and there are extremes, but there are also many nuances in between. However, there seem to be two general tendencies, almost a difference in personalities as well as dancing style, from the more relaxed and sweeter to the more assertive and fierier. Indeed, I found a video from the 2014 *Nile Group Festival* (Daniella Cairo, 2014a), in which Camelia's dancing could be qualified as extremely assertive and suggestive. The music is saidi, and the dance style is shaabi, which requires a certain amount of assertiveness and, from the performance it seems that, as Lorna pointed out, Camelia enjoys shocking the audience (who, however, seem to be having fun).

5.7.5 Sahar Samara – Modern but Mellow

Figure 33 – Sahar Samara (Orient el Hob 2016)

Another Egyptian dancer who teaches at the *Nile Group Festival* is Sahar Samara. She also participated in the raqs sharqi competition *Al Rakesa*, organised by Dina, and she came second. I found a little bit more information about her from the website of a raqs sharqi festival held in France, where she taught (Oriental Marathon Festival, no date). According

to that website, Sahar was born in Egypt and studied raqs sharqi and folklore with Tito Seif, whose dance troupe she was part of.

Overall Style	Videos Examples	Laban analysis
Very relaxed, with clear body isolations and fluid upper body. She uses a very varied movement vocabulary. Her movements are influenced both by Dina (weight transfers and fluidity) and Randa (some movements and arm carriage, but not as straight)	2014 live performance at the Nile Group Festival (Daniella Cairo, 2014b)	Light
		At time sudden, at times sustained
		Indirect
		Free flow

Table 38 – Sahar Samara's style

Table 38 shows a summary of Sahar's style. There are several videos of her dancing online, mostly from live performance at festivals in and outside of Egypt. One example shows her dancing in 2014 at the *Nile Group Festival* (Daniella Cairo, 2014b). She is clearly influenced by Dina and Randa, but overall her style is more relaxed than Randa's and less intense than Dina's in terms of facial expressions. She is more mellow, which shows that not all contemporary Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers have an over-assertive attitude. Hence, maybe the quality of the dance is not just dependant on trends and social environments, but also on other factors such as individual history and personality, the type of audience they want to appeal to and taste.

5.7.6 Belly Dancers in Contemporary Egyptian Media

Apart from the dancers who perform and teach internationally, there are other examples of Egyptian dancers I found online. These are the ones who appear on shaabi music videos and I have found references to some of them on an article from a website about culture and events in Cairo (Cairoscene Team, 2015). This article, in addition to listing some famous dancers from the recent past (Dina, Fifi Abdou, Lucy and Nagwa Fouad) mentions Bardees, Shakira al Masria and Sama el Masry. They adhere to a certain 'baladi'

look, which, according to Esposito (2016, para. 3) nowadays is 'the preferred aesthetic for belly dancers . . . very much about silicone, tattooed eyebrows, perfectly ironed black wigs, and really bad makeup'. This is also the look that Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers, such as Camelia and Sahar Samara, have adopted. Also, Bardees, Shakira al Masria and Sama el Masry have all been jailed for being in controversial music videos (Egyptian Streets, 2015), which Diana (Esposito, 2016, para. 3) defines as 'titty-twerking and broom-stick humping video clips'. It seems that a certain aesthetic, which is driven by society, influences the way in which professional raqs sharqi dancers in Egypt today dance and present themselves, and the way in which they are judged.

There is, however, in Egyptian society, a sense of nostalgia for the old days of belly dance, the Golden Age, and in particular dancers such as Samia Gamal. Yasmina of Cairo comments that (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, sec. 1:22:15), 'unlike the dancers of today, those female icons of the silver screen are remembered and revered in a way that only the distance of history allows'. The Lebanese film director Jocelyne Saab, states that (ibid, 1:23:12):

> Golden age of cinema it was a golden age . . . not only for cinema. Citizens were much more open minded than today, we are in a terrible regression. . . . So, that's why dancing was prosperous and elegant and accepted in a way and they become gods and goddesses.

And the costumier Amera el Kattan stated (ibid, 1:22:23):

> The beauty of Samia Gamal . . . everybody loves . . . her elegance, her subtleties, her excellence, excellently trained . . . but she is also excellently presented, so she has always been the perfect lady on stage, the perfect dancer and perfect model, fashion wise.

Another dancer mentioned in the Cairo Scene article (Cairoscene Team, 2015) in the list on the Cairo Scene website is Amie Sultan (Mowafi, 2015). She is Egyptian but was born in Singapore. She used to be a ballet dancer before discovering raqs sharqi. She trained with Dina and Raqia Hassan and her aim is to refine belly dancing again, to promote a classier look and 'revive the golden age of dance' (CNN, 2016). Amie Sultan seems to cater to the upper class of Egyptian society as Esposito comments (2016, paras 2, 5):

> It's not that Amie is changing the way dancers are approaching the dance or Egyptians' tastes-- in fact her influence is mostly limited to a rather

> closed circle . . . she's found her audience in a certain sector of Egyptian society that's [*sic*] already had those tastes. The Cairo 'posh'. . . . Naima Akef, Samia Gamal, and Souheir Zaki radiated elegance in their day. They simply reflected the classy sophistication of mainstream Egyptian culture at that time.

The class division in Egyptian society is reflected in the dance and this is not a new phenomenon. From the time of Badia Masabni, there were different classes of dancers who danced for different people and in different settings, with their dancing and costume style adapted to their audiences. This is the same today. Dancers position themselves in the field of cultural production and use certain transcultural resources (including media, costumes and make-up) to create their niche. Each presents a specific self-identity, to cater to different audiences.

Luna of Cairo (Esposito, 2011a) (aka Diana Esposito) also laments a drop in skills level of Egyptian dancers today (also of those who perform in 5-star hotels), as well as the quality of their costumes comparing to 30 years ago and she pinpoints social and financial reasons. According to Diana (ibid), dance is considered *haram* (sinful) today more than ever, but dancing for a living is still considered lucrative even if dancers only perform in cabaret (the cheaper type of venues), in spite of the general decline of the raqs sharqi scene in Cairo today. Diana (Esposito, 2011a, paras 6, 7) explains how many Egyptian dancers today do not train properly, nor do they invest money in costumes and props for a variety of reasons:

> The very same women who dance professionally believe that what they're doing is . . . *haram,* sinful. . . . Thus, what is *haram* doesn't deserve any serious effort. . . . Average Egyptians are too worried about where their next meal will come from to be thinking about art. . . . In a place with no guarantees and no social safety nets, it's not logical for dancers to spend any of their income on something so frivolous as a dance class.

In connection to this presumed drop in skills level (although it is based on observations from an experienced dancer), one might wonder if dancers are actually judged on their skills or on who they dance for. As discussed by Fraser (2014, sec. A Name for Female Entertainers), European travellers to Egypt in the 19th century identified two classes of dancers: one class performed for the upper classes and another for the masses. Fraser (ibid.) states that these travellers attributed differences between the two groups on the grounds that the dancers performing for the upper classes were more skilled or those

performing for the masses were more vulgar. However, Fraser (ibid.) argues that these travellers were applying European ideas to explain the differences between the two groups. She suggests, drawing on the position of dancers in the medieval period in Egypt, that instead 'performers did not dance for the wealthy because they were high class. They were considered high class because they danced for the wealthy' (2014, sec. A Name for Female Entertainers). Therefore, it is possible to wonder if the judgements applied to dancers today suffer from the same bias (which derives from the taste/habitus, or schemes of perception (Bourdieu, 2002), of the viewer) and shaabi dancers are judged to be less skilled just because of the type of audience they dance for. This is a possibility worth considering.

Esposito gives another reason for the 'decline' of raqs sharqi in Egypt, which is the change in taste of younger Egyptians:

> Whereas belly dancing used to be a popular form of entertainment up until recently, western style discos, alcohol and drugs have become the preferred choice of amusement these days. But the biggest competitor to the dance thus far is the DJ. Compared to belly dancing, hiring a DJ is cheap and easy. (Esposito, 2011a, para. 10)

Indeed, whereas belly dancers always were and still are a big part of wedding celebrations, it seems that today some people no longer hire belly dancers. The Egyptian entertainment agent Moatsim Orabi, whose father was also an agent and whose clients included Nagwa Fouad, Soheir Zaki, Fifi Abdou and Sahar Hamdi, once said in an interview to Yasmina (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, sec. 1:04:55): 'Most of the people at the weddings they can dance. . . . The brides and the grooms, they are dancing with the deejay, they do not need to see a belly dancer'. This is another example of how taste in the whole of society can have an impact on Egyptian raqs sharqi as a field of cultural production.

Throughout history, Egyptian society has always had an ambivalent attitude towards belly dancers. Depending on social and economic trends, Egyptian governments have sometimes tried to curb belly dancing (Van Nieuwkerk, 1995, pp. 32, 36, 49): from the 1834 Muhammed Ali's ban of dancers from Cairo (lifted around 1849 by Abbas Basha, in order to recover the profitable taxes imposed on dancers); to the 1952 regulation forbidding dancers from showing a naked midriff (hence the adoption by dancers of transparent chiffon to cover the midriff). More recently, under Nasser (president of Egypt

from 1956 to 1970), belly dance was forbidden on television (although old black and white movies with dance scenes were allowed) and more and more rules were issued regarding belly dance costumes, e.g. skirts length or bras straps width (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 100). However, raqs sharqi has always been part of Egyptian culture.

More recently, in 2013, the Egyptian TV channel El Tet, which showed only belly dancing performances all day, was closed down on morality grounds. In 2014, the TV show Al Rakesa, hosted by Dina for the Egyptian TV channel Al Qahera Wal Nas was also halted because it corrupted morals (Al Sherbini, 2015) (all the episodes are still available on YouTube though). Raqs sharqi, however, still survives in Egypt and this country is still considered the land of this dance, even though it has now spread worldwide. Practitioners travel to Egypt to find the 'true' essence of raqs sharqi (as investigated by Cooper [2015], training in Egypt is seen to confer authenticity to a dancer's practice) and Egyptian dancers Randa and Dina are cautiously optimistic with regards to the future of raqs sharqi in Egypt. According to Randa 'this will not be the end of Egyptian stars. The dance is in the blood of Egyptians' (Zahara and Shahin, 2012, para. 15) and Dina said in an interview (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, sec. 1:37:29):

> The base, the master is here. They can't work without us. Till now, I know, till now. . . . The music is here, the musician is here, the dancer is here, the heart, the feeling, everything is here.

5.7.7 Foreigners Living and Working in Cairo

As mentioned by Dina at the end of the previous section, the musicians, the feeling and the heart of raqs sharqi are still in Egypt. This is why many raqs sharqi practitioners (those who want to discover the roots of this dance) from around the world travel, at least once in their lives, to Egypt. Some of them, all women, decide to stay and dance professionally in Egypt for a few years. The sources that have allowed me to know more about what it is like to live in Egypt as a foreign professional dancer come from interviews (with dancers who lived and worked in Cairo for at least 10 years before going back to their countries of origin), as well as from textual sources such as blogs (Esposito, no date; Gow, no date), books (Saahirah, 2014) and DVDs (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006) produced by foreign dancers who work or have worked in Cairo for a long time.

From these sources, it has emerged that living and working in Egypt as a dancer is not easy. There is the culture shock to deal with, from living in a place that is culturally so different from the countries where most foreign dancers originate from. For those wanting to work as dancers, there is an additional stigma associated with this profession in Egypt. Furthermore, it is not easy to get hired to perform in good venues, women who do not stand their ground risk being exploited and sorting out the paperwork is a long and tedious process.

Despite the obstacles, some foreign dancers are successful in dancing in Egypt professionally. These women are usually from middle-class backgrounds, well-educated and they do not dance in Egypt out of necessity, but because of passion. The reasons that have emerged for them wanting to perform in Egypt, are mainly two: the musicians and the audience. Additionally, the full immersion in the culture helps to further understand the local dance. For example, Yasmina (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, sec. 03:17) recalls how, in 1994, she fell in love with Cairo:

> The Hollywood of belly dance . . . on that cold November evening, with the smell of spices, tangerines and roasting sweet potatoes by the roadside, the curious and exuberant smiles of people in the street and the sound of shaabi music blaring from the passing taxis.

Cairo was already well-known as the cradle of belly dance in the 1980s among dancers worldwide who, like Yasmina, had watched videos of famous dancers such as:

> Nagwa Fouad, Mona Said, Fifi Abdou. They shimmered in magnificent costumes, backed by enormous orchestras, commanding audiences, who were at home in the knowledge that this was their dance too. Most of all, these dancers appeared powerful women, exuding a strong sense of self, belonging in their bodies and, at the same time, clearly enjoying themselves. (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, sec. 03:17)

Living in the land of raqs sharqi helps dancers to learn by observing the people and how they move. Joana recalls (Saahirah, 2014, chap. Lesson # 3, paras 12-14):

> I observed people everywhere I went - Egyptian and Arab women, in particular. The way they breathed, stood, walked, talked, loved, fought and celebrated with each other; the way they cried and launched their expressive (heavily jewelled) hands towards the sky; how the weight of their hips swayed from one side to the other (like floating boats) when they walk and how earthy (sensual and maternal) they can be. . . . Women

> were relevant for obvious reasons but *men too*: how they stared at women *(and why)*, how they . . . rearranged their *"gallaleeb"* (long, loose typical cloths) every time they sat or needed to perform any particular movement out of the slow motion cadence that belongs - *so dearly* - to them; how they enjoyed to flirt with their eyes in a country where sexual segregation is the rule.

Even before moving to Cairo, Lorna found that observing people was a vital lesson:

> Every time I went, even if I didn't watch a dancer, even if I didn't have a lesson, at all, in the week I was there, I still felt I came back a much better dancer. And that's because even just watching the way the women specifically speak to each other, the way they sit, the way they walk, the way they hold themselves, the way they talk with their hands. . . . And when you start putting that into your dance, then you understand where a lot of the dance movements have come from.

When American dancer Morocco first visited Egypt in 1964 she found 'a peace and a reality that I find nowhere else in the world' (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, secs 02:37, 12:41). Indeed, as I travelled through Cairo when I went in 2013, I found a strange combination of chaos and peace, along with a feeling of musicality that permeates both the environment and the people. Beata and Horacio Cifuentes (a couple of professional dancers based in Berlin), also picked up the same vibe:

> [Beata] I'm sometimes exhausted by the noise and by the dirt, but there's something here that is more flowing. . . . [Horacio] sometimes, I'm sitting in a taxi and I'm stuck in a traffic jam and I see a woman walk by, with a big thing of bread on her head and she walks and she sways her hips so beautifully. This natural pride that these women have. . . . People here are very dancy . . . when they speak they move their hands and all these things that are part of the dance. (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, secs 03:00, 37:33)

These observations are the perceptual interpretation of Egyptian movement habits by non-Egyptian travellers, so they may be biased (as based on the observers' own schemes of perception), even if some of these observers lived in Egypt for several years. However, insofar as the international community of Egyptian raqs sharqi practitioners is concerned, these comments are recurrent and accepted within their discourse.

Dancers who move to Egypt to pursue a dance career, have the opportunity to dance to live music with professional Egyptian musicians and perform for Egyptian audiences. The bands of musicians that dancers perform with, these days, are nowhere near as big as the

orchestras of 30 or 50 musicians who played for Nagwa Fouad, Soheir Zaki, Lucy and Fifi Abdou. However, even performing with a small band of good musicians is a great feeling. I had the opportunity to perform a dance solo with a live Egyptian band, during a belly dance holiday in Luxor (Lo Iacono, 2013a) and I can understand why some people are motivated to work in Egypt, so that they can perform to live music every night.

Although Egyptian raqs sharqi has spread across the continents, the musicians who can play the music that goes with it are still mainly located in Egypt. At some point, between the 1960s and 80s, there were clubs and restaurants with live Arabic music and dancing in America and in London, as mentioned previously (5.4.2 and 5.4.3). However, these opportunities in America and in London have dwindled, if not disappeared completely, and I do not think they are easy to find in other countries outside of the Middle East either. Francesca, a practitioner based in Italy, for example, said 'there is no live band around here. It's almost impossible. If you dance with people that are not really good musicians, then it's better to dance to a CD'.

Professional solo dancers in Egypt also manage their own band. The dancers choose and hire the musicians and arrange contracts and 'in a society in which women are seen to be repressed, it's interesting that the dancer works closely with and, ultimately has authority over, a group of men' (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, sec. 19:52). Luna of Cairo summarises her motivations, as a foreigner, for wanting to dance in Cairo (Esposito, 2011b, paras 8, 9):

> Little by little, so many of the things I value have been taken away from me. Certain freedoms, financial security, independence, at times even happiness, self-respect and sanity. Not to mention I miss my family and friends back home. So why do I do it? I do it because nothing compares to the joy I get from performing to a large band in front of an appreciative audience. I do it because I love creating my entire show from choosing musicians to choreographing dances and everything in between.

And Lorna (Gow, 2006b, para. 12) states that 'it's lovely working with musicians - for my saaidi number at a wedding on Saturday night I had a drummer and Mizmar player follow me out into the hall and follow me round the tables- fantastic feeling'. Dunya, from Finland, said:

> I wanted to come to dance here because it's great . . . possibility to work, to learn about dancing, about the culture, about the people, dancing with

> a band, because in Finland, we have some musicians but it's not the same. . . . The challenge that I have had is when I see the Egyptian audience, especially the women, how they react to dance and the music, you have to see it and feel it and be there. (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, secs 11:03, 35:55)

Joana, in her interview, said that in Egypt 'you still have the best musicians. And the essence comes from the music, you cannot have that language without the music, that corresponds to it'. Joana gave some insight into her relationships with Egyptian audiences and musicians, and how much she learnt from them:

> Working daily, listening to my musicians, seeing how the Egyptian audiences react to my dance . . . I didn't like to dance for foreigners. . . . I always preferred to dance for Egyptians, because I feel they understand me and they inspire me and they are a barometer. The barometer at the back is your orchestra. And these are guys I chose by myself. They know more than me about music and dancers. So, they are my teachers. And they are my first audience.

As mentioned in 5.4.3, dancing to live music is so valuable for dancers because it fulfils them emotionally, it constitutes another resource for them to express their creative agency and it is a form of cultural capital that confers prestige or symbolic capital in the transcultural field of raqs sharqi.

Over the decades, there have been alternate fortunes for foreign dancers working in Cairo. Shareen el Safy, from the USA, for example, from 1988 to 1992 performed in 5-star venues in Cairo, opening the show for stars such as Soheir Zaki and Lucy (El Safy, no date a). From the late 1990s, however, dance jobs dwindled due to nightclubs closing down, because of a lack of customers from Lebanon and the Gulf, as discussed in 5.6. With fewer jobs available, it was felt that foreign dancers were making life even harder for local dancers. So, in 2004, a law was passed forbidding foreigners to perform raqs sharqi in Egypt. However, in 2006, the law was repelled (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 281).

Living in Egypt has deepened the understanding of raqs sharqi for foreign dancers and changed the way they dance. However, their presence in Egypt has also affected the dance scene there. Lorna told me that competition from foreigners has affected the dance in Egypt because:

> When the foreign dancers came back it wasn't enough to be pretty and shapely, you had to actually have the steps and be prepared to sweat and work, as well. So I think that the foreign dancers pushed that, which is good in some ways but it has changed the dance. Professional dancers don't dance the same as the average Egyptian woman . . . you have to fill the stage, you are entertaining. . . . So it's a different scenario than dancing baladi at a wedding.

Egyptians (at least people who work in the raqs sharqi sector) have mixed opinions about foreign dancers in Egypt. They agree that competition has pushed local dancers to raise their standards, but they also think that it does not matter how good a foreign dancer is, s/he will always miss something because s/he is not Egyptian. For example, Raqia Hassan once said:

> I like it when the foreigners come here to dance. First, she comes here because she loves this dance, and not for the money . . . The famous Egyptian dancer knows what she is doing, but the small Egyptian dancers don't know how to dance. They come to the dance only for the money. And they don't get better. But, when the foreigners come and take good jobs at the five star clubs, they push the Egyptian dancer — competition. (El Safy, 1995, paras 14, 15)

Monir Naseef, Yasmina's agent in Cairo, stated in an interview that for some jobs:

> It was far better for me to hire a foreign dancer, very well dressed, pretty, nice body . . . very interested in her job, punctual, she is ready to spend more money to get a better orchestra . . . The foreign dancers there's only one handicap. No matter how good she is . . . there's something missing . . . you still can feel a sense of imitation, not the real thing. (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, secs 17:04, 18:47)

In an interview in 2010 for an Arabic programme, Nagwa Fouad said about foreign dancers that:

> They take the dance very seriously. But unfortunately . . . they just imitate Dina, they imitate everything else they see. They don't know anything. They are foreigners. (Adum, 2010, para. 19)

Regardless of how close or not foreign dancers are, or strive to be, to the 'authentic' Egyptian spirit, they have absorbed some of the elements of Egyptian culture but also developed their own style, sometimes drawing from their own cultural background. For example, Soraya is from Brazil and her style is quite influenced by her Brazilian origins and

samba moves. In a drum solo where she dances in Cairo (Kyria Dance, 2014), the rhythms that the drummers play, in particular from 3:48, remind of samba and the shimmies that Soraya performs are different from any shimmies seen before in Egyptian dance. For instance, she does shimmies moving around and going backwards and sideways (4:46). The Brazilian influence can also be seen in the artefacts, as she wears shoes with very high heels to dance, like samba dancers in Brazil. For other dancers, the influence from their own cultural background may be subtler, but they still develop their own styles, just like Egyptian dancers do (as a result of expressing their own habitus in the dance). Other dancers who perform (or used to perform) in Egypt are: Almaz from Japan; Asmahan and Magda Monti from Argentina; Caroline Evanoff from Australia; Dalila from Italy; Diana Tarkhan from France; Dunya from Finland; Katia Eshta and Nour from Russia; Leila and Luna (aka Diana Esposito) from the USA; Lorna and Yasmina (aka Francesca Sullivan) from the UK. These dancers, and probably many more, have become ambassadors for Egyptian dance worldwide. As Raqia Hassan once said, 'I love the foreigners who come to dance in Egypt because after a while they can go back to their countries and teach the dance there . . . as a true art' (Sullivan and Farouk, 2006, sec. 1:36:46).

5.7.8 Male Dancers

I have not found any videos of men performing Egyptian raqs sharqi to analyse, dating back to before the late 1990s/early 2000s. Back in the early days of raqs sharqi, even though Badia Masabni stated that, in her troupe, 'we also had men and boys' (Adum, no date, pt. Second Segment-Family), men usually worked behind the scenes, as choreographers, such as Ibrahim Akef, Isaac Dixon and Mahmoud Reda (he was also a performer but he only danced folkloric on stage, never raqs sharqi).

Egyptian men still dance socially baladi (and today shaabi), using the same movement vocabulary that women use. Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, pp. 115–122) comments that men indeed dance raqs sharqi professionally in many places, either dressed in normal every day male clothes or dressed as women. Morocco (ibid) argues that it was the arrival of Europeans, at the end of the 19th century, which pushed professional male dancers to the margins. Europeans did not like to see men dancing solo and so places that catered for foreigners, such as Badia Masabni's Casino, only featured women dancing solo. Shay (2006) points out that the preference for women performing became a class issue, as the

westernised upper classes started assimilating European tastes. Shay, explains that (2006, p. 155):

> Traditional professional male dancers carried out their trade in the most peripheral regions of the Middle East until the present, but in cities that had a major European colonial presence, like Cairo, Beirut, and Damascus, they largely disappeared from the urban scene.

In the contemporary international raqs sharqi scene, there are many well-known male teachers from Egypt. However, apart from Khaled Mahmoud (some of whose workshops I have attended), based in the UK and who teaches and performs raqs sharqi, the majority of men only perform folkloric dance. Some live in Egypt, such as: Abo Elazm; Ahmed Abdel Razik; Ahmed Refaat; Badr Mohamed; Hossam Abdel Ghany; Mohamed Kazafy and Ousama Emam. Others live abroad and teach oriental, but perform either folklore or their own fusion and innovative version of oriental, such as: Ahmed Fekry, Ehab Atia and Magdy el Leisy who live in Germany; Khaled Seif, who lives in Switzerland; Mohamed el Hosseny, based in Finland; Samehh el Dessouki, in Russia and Yousry Sharif, in the USA. The style of the majority of these dancers, either when dancing oriental or folkloric, is quite balletic: lifted, light and with straight arms and legs and pointed toes. Some of these performers were trained in the Reda Troupe and some in ballet. Indeed, Shay comments (2006, p. 154):

> Taking ballet classes in the Middle East was not regarded as . . . effeminate . . . but rather bore the cachet of a high art from the West, superior to native dance traditions. . . . After World War II, many male dancers in the Middle East report having taken such training.

Reda eliminated hip movements from his version of male dance so that, 'at the same time that he de-emphasized female sexuality, he totally erased male sexuality' (Shay, 2006, p. 155). Morocco (Varga Dinicu, 2013, p. 121), who has travelled extensively to the Middle East from the 1960s, reports that:

> When they do stick dances on stage in Egypt now they use balleticized semi-*Tahtiyb* movements and leave out all the hipwork. . . . Ordinary men dance both with and *without* canes, sticks, etc. and they move their hips.

The one internationally known male raqs sharqi dancer who still lives in Egypt and whose style is oriental and not balletic, is Tito Seif. I found some biographic information about

him in an interview on YouTube (Beltran, 2014) and on a webpage of a festival where he taught (Rakstar, no date). Tito started dancing at the age of 14 in a folkloric troupe. Later, he started his own folklore troupe, with both male and female dancers, in Sharm el-Sheik. At some point, because of demand from the audience, he started incorporating raqs sharqi performances in his programmes and, in the interview (Beltran, 2014), he recalls how one day he danced an oriental piece with one of the female dancers. As the performance was a success, since then he continued performing oriental. Tito admitted that he learnt a lot from watching dance scenes from old movies with dancers such as Naima Akef and Samia Gamal. Karayanni (no date, para. 11) describes Tito's style by stating that:

> He combines the acrobatic skill of Nayma Akeef . . . as he glides eloquently yet elegantly across any dance floor or stage he brings to mind the wondrous grace of Samia Gamal . . . as he smiles playfully and negotiates even more space . . . in the viewers' emotional world, he reminds me of early Nagwa Fouad . . . above all, in my eyes he evokes the charisma of Tahia Karioka.

Indeed, it is possible to see all these influences, as well as some influences from Dina and Randa in Tito's dances, embodying the cultural heritage of raqs sharqi (Nil Menajerlik, 2009)

5.7.9 Analysis

Table 39 summarises the movements noticed in this timeframe. The only new kineme I have noticed is the heel stomps, lifting and lowering both heels at the same time once, to stress an accent in the music. Most of the innovations instead come from a change in the quality of the movements and in the emphasis given to body parts. For instance, Raqia Hassan focuses on the deep abdominal muscles, while Dina accentuates the contrast between contraption and release and weight shifting and introduces a wider variety of facial expressions (including sadness as well as joy). Randa Kamel is the first one whose movements quality is for the most part sudden, direct and with a bound flow, as opposed to all the other dancers who (each in different degrees) prefer sustained, indirect and free flowing movements (using the opposite qualities only for specific accents). Camelia also, like Randa, prefers direct and sudden movements, but for the most part, free flowing rather than bound. Hence, these two dancers both distinguish themselves for their energetic style, but Randa is more powerful, while Camelia is softer.

Table 40 and Table 41 highlight the main themes of this timeframe. The most evident characteristic from the late 90s onwards is the global diffusion of Egyptian raqs sharqi. Back in the 1970s, raqs sharqi (along with other bellydance genres/styles) was imported into the USA, due to the diaspora from the Middle East and later it spread to London, through the nightclubs that catered for wealthy Arabs. Now though, thanks to mass travel, the use of DVDs and the Internet, this genre has spread globally, to places such as North and South America, Japan, Korea, China, the whole of Europe, Australia and New Zealand. In particular, festivals (in which every style of bellydance is taught, including Egyptian raqs sharqi) have become ubiquitous. There are at least four different yearly dance festivals in Egypt, which focus on Egyptian styles, and several others worldwide, attended by practitioners from many different countries who go there to learn and teach and, among these, there are Egyptian teachers who live in or outside of Egypt and travel for teaching.

Movement	Raqia Hassan	Dina	Dandasha	Randa Kamel	Camelia	Sahar Samara
Backbend		yes	yes but not deep, with big hip circle			yes
Camel	yes, also in reverse	yes	yes	yes, but her own version		yes
Floor work			yes, in a workshop. Not sure if she does it in performances.		yes	
Head slides		yes	yes		yes	
Head tossing back to audience					yes	
Gulf inspired movements					yes	
Hip bumps	yes	yes		yes	yes	yes
Hip circles	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Hip drops	yes	yes	yes		yes	yes
Soheir Zaki hip drops	yes		yes	yes	yes	yes
Hip horiz fig 8	yes	yes	yes		yes	yes
Hip lifts		yes		yes	yes	yes
Hip shimmies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Hip slides	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Hip twists	yes			yes	yes	yes
Hip vert fig 8	yes	yes	yes		yes	yes
Maya	yes		yes	yes	yes	
Shoulder rolls	yes	yes			yes	
Shoulder shimmies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Spins and turns	yes	yes	yes but not often	yes	yes	yes
Travelling steps	yes	yes	yes but not often	yes	yes	yes
Wrists circles and movements	yes	yes	yes hand waves		yes	yes
Hip Jewel	yes		yes	yes	yes	yes
Arms	Soft and framing movements	Soft and framing movements	Framing the body, not moving much	Straight, outstreched, framing the movement.	Soft wrists, frame the body, plays with hair	Soft and dynamic, framing the body
Snake arms	yes		yes	yes		yes
Head and hair tossing					yes	yes
Belly pops	yes			yes		
Belly flutters						yes
Chest lifts/drops	yes	yes	yes, tiny	yes	yes	yes
Chest circle	yes				yes, vertical	yes
Pelvic tils with weight transfer	yes	yes, but with hip shimmy	yes	yes	yes	yes
Egyptian walk hagalla	yes			yes	yes	yes
Heels stomp	yes	yes		yes	yes	yes
Pelvic lifts and drops	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Arabesque	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table 39 – 2000s movements

In/tangible Elements	Authenticity	Heritage	Transculturality
Dance traditions:	Spontaneity (even when choreographed)	Folklore: most raqs sharqi dancers train in folklore at the start of their careers	Ballet influences evident in Randa's style, in particular the straight arms and legs and the turns. Soraya from Brazil displays samba influences. Also, most male raqs sharqi dancers are heavily influenced by ballet
People: Raqia, Dina, Randa and other famous Egyptians; foreigners living in Cairo; male dancers	Individuality; emotion; connecting with the audience; dancing 'from the heart'; fun; humour. Dancing for Egyptian audiences	Embodiment of heritage through imitation of previous generations of dancers. Dina 'the last guardian'?	Egyptian male dancers living abroad; foreign dancers working in Egypt (and then going back to their countries to teach); teachers from everywhere travelling the world to teach at festivals
Class: shaabi		Baladi/afrangi opposition	Foreign dancers in Cairo from middle classes; they do not dance out of necessity but out of passion.
Locations: festivals; hotels and boats on Nile	Cairo as a place full of sensory experiences, which connect to the dance		Festivals as 'globalised villages'
Aural elements:	Music and musicality	Music. Dance has become transcultural and transnational, but the source of the music has not	
Taste:	Egyptians do not warm to Randa (unlike foreigners who love her), as they prefer a softer (*delaa*) stlye	Nostalgia for 'golden age' dance (especially from upper classes)	European influence had pushed male raqs sharqi dancers out of Cairo
Social occasions:			International dance festivals
Politics and economy:			Dancers who have financial capital can dance because they want to and invest money in training. The majority of these are foreigners
Technology: Internet			Because of internet, practitioners can communicate instantly with each other and get information, wherever they are in the world

Table 40 – 2000s. Raqs sharqi as a worldwide transcultural heritage – Part 1

In/tangible Elements	Change/Traditions	Transmission	Influences on Heritage
Dance traditions:	Lyrics of songs are hinted at with gestures (maybe influenced by folklore) and facial expressions	Raqia Hassan and codification of raqs sharqi movement vocabulary	
Dance movements:	Innovation in focus, body energy, variety of feelings and quality of the movements		
People: Raqia, Dina, Randa and other famous Egyptians; foreigners living in Cairo; male dancers	Dance becomes more expressive with Dina, who uses a variety of emotions and not just joy. The most traditionalist dancer in this timeframe is Dandesh	Raqia Hassan trains dancers and starts codifying raqs sharqi. Egyptians teaching abroad and foreigners travelling and/or moving to Egypt	**Gender:** it can influence how the dance is expressed. Raqs sharqi dancers seen as 'powerful women', at ease in their bodies.
Class: shaabi	Shaabi music videos and films. Dina (followed by Randa) maybe one of the first middle class Egyptian raqs sharqi dancers		**Class:** background of dancers and family influences.
Locations: festivals; hotels and boats on Nile	High number of festivals	Festivals in and outside of Egypt	
Taste:	Baladi look' for hair and make-up		**Competition:** dancers try hard to impress. **Social acceptance:** ambivalent attitude of Egyptians towards raqs sharqi. Dancers no longer always welcome at official events. **Mainstream culture:** changes in Egyptian culture and taste
Social occasions:		Observation of people and how they move in every day life	
Politics and economy:			**Economy:** Egyptians struggling to make a living, so local dancers cannot invest in their art. **Economy and business:** festivals and sale of DVDs, music CDs, costumes and props. Raqia Hassan's 'brand'.
Technology: Internet		Internet (transmission is de-territorialised and de-temporalised because the internet has made old videos easy to access by everyone). Raqia's DVDs	**Technology:** raqs sharqi has almost disappeared from movies and TV, but with internet it can reach more people worldwide.
Artefacts:	Costume industry starts in Egypt to cater for international taste. Dina innovates the costumes designs and the introduction of lycra opens new possibilities, but is not welcomed by all	DVDs	

Table 41 – 2000s. Raqs sharqi as a worldwide transcultural heritage – Part 2

This timeframe coincides with the emergence, of what Urry (2007, p. 5) calls a 'mobile world', where 'there are extensive and intricate connections between physical travel and modes of communication and these form new fluid sites'. These connections are created by the co-existence of forms of 'physical mobilities', with ever more powerful and faster 'virtual mobilities' thanks to the Internet. This has generated a worldwide transcultural community of raqs sharqi enthusiasts, who connect via the Internet (using social media, emails, blogs) and sometimes meet in person at festivals or during trips, as Urry (2007, p. 164) notes, 'people meet up from time to time, dwelling together in a shared place'. In this way, international dance communities become what Giddens (1984, p. XXVII) refers to as 'inter societal systems'. Practitioners become members of what Welsch (1999, p. 204) terms 'transcultural networks, which have some things in common while differing in others, showing overlaps and distinctions at the same time'.

Following from the above considerations, raqs sharqi heritage can now be transmitted via: in-person interaction, with dancers who embody the heritage by drawing from traditions; or from DVDs and online videos. Subsequently, heritage transmission has become de-territorialised, because anyone in the world can watch and post videos, but also de-temporalized, because it is possible to watch dance from the past and learn by watching dancers who are not even alive today. Hence, transmission opportunities have increased but these do not follow a linear path. The use and sharing of online videos of dance is also significant, because it allows the practitioners who upload these videos to be actively participant in heritage safeguarding. Practitioners actively influence heritage by posting dance videos online because, as Pietrobruno (2014, p. 758) observes:

> Once a video is uploaded onto YouTube, a combination of cultural forms comes into play – narratives and lists – whose potential to document and shape intangible heritage is forged through human subjectivity and interpretation.

In terms of fluid authenticity, the same topics emerge once again in the discourse, such as spontaneity, emotions, fun, connecting with the audience, musicality. However, a new element has emerged, from the discourse of non-Egyptian dancers who go to Cairo to learn more about raqs sharqi, that is, the feeling of the place as a sensorial experience. For example, the way in which Egyptians move, the sounds, sights and smells of Cairo, which captivate its visitors. This is important for the practitioners' discourse on heritage, because, as Burkitt observes (1999, p. 2), 'the way in which we sense our body in the

world seems to be . . . important in creating meaning'. Also, visitors perceive phenomenologically a sense of peace in the midst of chaos, which is reflected in the feeling of relaxation that traditional Egyptian raqs sharqi is supposed to have, whilst also being proud and strong.

In the heritage discourse, an emerging element is raqs sharqi being in danger of disappearing in Egypt with Dina, for instance, declaring to be the 'last guardian' of this heritage. This could just be a reaction against change from older generations of dancers. For example, Tahia Carioca was quoted as saying 'after a Nagwa Fouad show . . . that in her opinion modern dancers looked as if they were trying to pass a kidney stone' (Azzazy, 1999). This is connected with the dynamics of conflict in the field of cultural production, as mentioned in 5.5.4. However, there is also a class issue, the afrangi/baladi dialectic that has emerged since the birth of raqs sharqi. Raqs sharqi has shown, from the start, a certain amount of 'class hybridism' with elements from baladi and afrangi classes reflected in the dance. In contemporary raqs sharqi, baladi (or, more recently, shaabi) and upper-class elements still coexist. Dancers now appear in shaabi music videos and movies and a 'baladi' aesthetic has developed in dancers' looks, hair and make-up. At the same time, the upper classes (and dancers catering for them) feel nostalgia for the 'golden age' classier look. The epitome of this style is Samia Gamal who, herself, was quoted as saying that 'these days the dancers are vulgar. They wear mini-skirts . . . that does not look Oriental! (Cifuentes, 1994, para. 8), and 'You want to know what I think about dancing these days? Farida Fahmy is the only one whose elegant dancing appeals to me' (Moawad, 1968, para. 32). This baladi/afrangi dichotomy also possibly reflects the distinction that Bourdieu (1984) drew between legitimate taste, associated with the dominant classes, rich in educational capital, and 'popular' taste, mostly associated with working classes.

Another element that has emerged, regarding how different elements of heritage interact, is the connection between dance and music. From the authenticity discourse, it has become clear how important music is for raqs sharqi, in particular, live music because of that element of spontaneity that is enhanced if dance and music are co-produced at the same time. However, it seems that dance and music are now disconnected as the performance of the dance is taking place worldwide, but the source of the music is still in Egypt, so part of the heritage is lost when the dance is performed without live music.

Multiple elements have emerged, in this timeframe, that can hinder or promote heritage, or generally influence its development. Firstly, technology, as mentioned previously, can facilitate the international reach and transmission of heritage. Economic factors are also crucial, not only as dancers with high economic capital (often non-Egyptians) can invest more in the development of their art, but also as businesses develop around heritage, whose interest it is to promote it. For instance, Raqia Hassan has created a brand around Egyptian dance, organising festivals, producing CDs and DVDs and designing costumes. Regarding costumes, a small industry has grown in Egypt for designing and making them, catering for an international market. This is a niche market, but it is a good example of how living heritage can support a sustainable form of tourism if the culture is (Hendry, 2008, p. 275) 'shared rather than consumed'.

Secondly, there has been a change in taste and a shift in social acceptance of the dance, which might affect the way this dance is perceived and its hopes of surviving in Egypt. Egyptian people's attitude towards raqs sharqi has always been ambivalent, but, if this is coupled with difficult economic conditions, it could indeed be a threat to the survival of this form of heritage in its country of origin. Moreover, the increasing internationalisation of the dance has opened up new opportunities for raqs sharqi dancers, but it has also increased pressure from competition from foreign dancers, introducing new players in the field of cultural production. This can be an opportunity to foster creativity and raise standards. However, it can also lead to changes in the feeling of the dance, as it loses its original soft and spontaneous feeling when dancers try hard to impress international audiences, who do not necessarily appreciate the same qualities in the dance.

Thirdly, gender can also influence the development of dance/heritage. More male Egyptian dancers are involved in the transmission of this dance today. However, the majority of them were trained in ballet and in the Reda tradition, styles that were considered in Egypt better suited to men. This influence makes their dance style quite balletic (more elevated and stiffer than traditional raqs sharqi). As these dancers teach and perform abroad, they pass on their interpretation of raqs sharqi.

In terms of the interaction of the tangible/intangible elements in this timeframe, the Living Heritage Framework (3.7) can help situate the new themes that have come to light. First of all, the body is still a central resource for social agents to innovate on a tradition (or perpetuate it as it is). However, the fact that in this timeframe innovations happen

with regards to the quality of movements (in the Laban analysis sense) and highlighting different body parts, foregrounds the role of the body even more. The feeling of being in the body (the lived experience) and kinaesthetic empathy have become expressive resources to challenge structural rules. A dancer like Dina now distinguishes herself within the field of cultural production through the use of artefacts (costumes in particular) as well as the emotional expressivity of her body (through the quality of movements). At the same time, the actual movement vocabulary has not changed much as she still draws inspiration from dancers of the past.

The way in which dancers draw on the quality of movements can also explain some of the contrasts in the data. For example, Randa, whose movements qualities are completely opposite to those of other dancers, makes a bold statement which goes beyond simply marketing and positioning herself in the international field of Egyptian raqs sharqi. By comparing her dance style with some of the statements she makes in interviews, it seems that she is proposing an alternative way of being a dancer and a woman in Egyptian (and possibly world) society. Randa seems to be showing, through the assertiveness of her movements' qualities, that dance is a hard craft that needs to be taken seriously and that a woman can be strong and assertive, rather than delaa (soft and teasing). She looks back at and gets inspiration from dancers of the past but also breaks with tradition. Randa is using movement qualities as resources to create her own narrative and support change.

In this timeframe, artefacts are central as forms of objectified cultural capital (which can be converted into economic capital) but also as resources. For example, technology facilitates the global diffusion of Egyptian raqs sharqi and costumes made in Egypt are sold to international customers.

This (2000s) is the last timeframe in the development of Egyptian raqs sharqi, based on my video analysis. I will briefly summarise this chapter, before moving on to the synchronic discussion of data in Chapter 6.

5.7.10 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to provide a holistic view of raqs sharqi within a Living Heritage Framework guided by a dialogical paradigm. This point of view has informed the raqs sharqi history outlined in this chapter, through the figures of its most influential dancers. I have focused on the sensitising concepts (used as headings for the tables I

designed) that have emerged from the literature review, which have, in turn, shaped the research questions, in order to be able to then address them.

I have analysed six timeframes diachronically, categorising the findings in the sensitising concepts of: authenticity; heritage; transculturality; change vs tradition and transmission. Additionally, a new category of influences on heritage has emerged. Within these six categories, I have inserted the tangible and intangible elements of heritage to find out how they interact. Having analysed the six timeframes separately, the next step will be to gather this information together and consolidate it into a synchronic analysis. This will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter 6
Discussion

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I focused on the history of raqs sharqi and analysed six timeframes separately. In this chapter, I will bring these timeframes together focusing instead on the six analytical areas of: authenticity; heritage; transculturality; change/traditions; transmission and influences on heritage. While the dance analysis was diachronic, in the sense that it built a story through time, this chapter is synchronic, as it draws from ideas spanning across different timeframes (albeit based on the historical insights provided by the dance analysis). The six themes in this chapter reflect more closely the literature review and the conceptual framework.

The aim, for this chapter, is to delve deeper into these six areas and connect my findings more tightly with the sociological analysis. Moreover, I have used more data from the interviews than I did in the dance analysis, as I wanted to provide further insight into practitioners' individual experiences of their raqs sharqi practice. I found that a synchronic and social analysis was better suited for this purpose.

6.2 Authenticity

Article 13 of the UNESCO's Nara Document on Authenticity (UNESCO, 1994) states that criteria for the judgement on authenticity 'may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors'. Even though the Nara Document pre-dates the 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage, it paves the way for it, by recognising that authenticity, even for monumental heritage, goes beyond its material aspects. The 2005 UNESCO Operational Guidelines, include the same elements in their list of attributes that express authenticity, adding only two elements: 'management systems' (as part of traditions and techniques) and 'language, and other forms of intangible heritage' (UNESCO, 2005, p. 21).

One of my research aims was to assess the specific values for authenticity according to practitioners within the international Egyptian style raqs sharqi community. My

perspective was partially influenced by the elements listed in the Nara Document and, indeed, I found that some of those are more relevant to raqs sharqi and more important for its practitioners than others. For them, feelings, emotions, attitudes and feeling for the music seem more important than artefacts (such as costumes and props), locations or social occasions. These intangible elements of feeling and attitudes (which are culturally shaped) are indissolubly linked to the human body. In this respect, the 'lived' aspect of dance becomes prominent for the practitioners of this international community, in connection with the first circle of the model of (in/tangible) living cultural heritage described in 3.7 and inspired by Merlau-Ponty's phenomenology. Also, traditions such as the movement vocabulary, in the raqs sharqi heritage discourse, are implicit in the sense that the use of some basic movements is taken for granted.

In the literature review (2.5), I came to the conclusion that each performance is unique as it happens once, but also never completely new because, as Schechner (2013, p. 29) argues, performances are made by bits of 'restored behaviour'. I also mentioned that there are two types of authenticity: an 'objective' level (relating to traditions) and a 'subjective' level (connected with participants' feelings and attitudes, as highlighted by Daniel (1996) and Hashimoto (2003)). I then stated that I would adopt a middle ground position, following a dialogical approach to heritage, which takes into consideration traditions, feelings and attitudes and the unique circumstances under which each performance takes place. Before starting the data collection, I associated traditions with the restored behaviour and feelings and attitudes with the individuality of the dancer and uniqueness of each performance. However, it has emerged that some feelings and attitudes are traditionally associated with a dance genre as a whole, and not only with individual dancers and/or performances.

Given the interpretive research paradigm I have adopted, I am not attempting to define an absolute authenticity standard for raqs sharqi. Rather, the parameters of authenticity have emerged as part of the practitioners' discourse. People involved in heritage are key and, as Zhu (2015, p. 596) posits, 'authenticity is no longer a property inherit in an object, but a projection from beliefs, context, ideology or even imagination'. Moreover, the authenticity discourse can change over time and I agree with Weiss' position on authenticity in music, when she states that 'authenticity is a relative, flexible, and malleable concept' (Weiss, 2014, p. 519).

The first element I will unravel in this section is that of movements. As mentioned above and in 5.5.2, the adoption of a certain movement vocabulary is taken for granted, but it is possible to make variations in the dance. Indeed, movements can be acquired perceptually, as highlighted following Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology (3.4). At the same time, following Giddens' Structuration Theory (3.6), they can also be employed willingly as rules to abide by and/or as authoritative resources through which performers express agency.

As observed from the video analysis, there is a limited number of kinemes, which consist of hips, torso and shoulder isolations, such as figures of eight, circles, hip drops and shimmies. There are, however, infinite numbers of allokines, given by variations in size of movements, layering, movement quality, contractions and release, direction and many more subtle details. Ibrahim Akef, for instance, only 'identified "shimmies", undulating movements . . . circles and "eights", as well as . . . hip thrusts and drops as being the original "Sharqi" or oriental movements' (Chamas, 2009, para. 12). Everything else, as my research participant Ann pointed out, are 'flourishes and embellishments'.

In the dance analysis, I maintained that Soheir Zaki (5.5.2), in the specialist discourse, is seen as the quintessentially authentic raqs sharqi dancer, 'truly oriental'. The first authenticity elements, of a phenomenological nature, can be identified in feelings and emotions. The idea that dance expresses emotions is not new, Hanna (1999), for example, already asserted this. In raqs sharqi, however, expressing emotions is essential. For example, Randa (Dubinina, 2011) said once about Russian dancers that a lot are 'very good, but no feeling. You have to care about feeling' and Nelly Fouad, about foreign dancers in general (Evanoff, 2012, para. 13) stated: 'Technically fantastic . . . but they lack the feeling'. My research participants also agreed that feeling is essential. Lidia, for example, said that 'technique is important but the emotion has to come first'.

What type of feelings should a raqs sharqi dancer project? First of all, it is about the connection with the music and expressing the music and the lyrics of the song (if there are any). Abila, in her interview, stated:

> When you see, even somebody like Randa Kamel, who dances very fast, very big, in a way that appeals to westerners and she still has a feeling for the music. If you watch somebody like Dina . . . when she's really dancing she is so *in* the music.

Helen explained that for her authenticity is 'a feeling for the music and if your audience feels that you really are expressing the music through your body, if they get that connection . . . then that to me is authentic'. Francesca describes the feeling of Egyptian music and songs, by saying that:

> Even when it's very, very happy . . . there is always this little . . . melancholy that goes under . . . Turkish is less concentrated on feeling, not that they do not have feelings, but . . . the focus is more on the movement. In Egypt, the focus is on what the dancer has to say.

The idea of feeling the music and expressing it to the audience is connected to the concept of tarab, which I mentioned previously (2.3, 3.4, 5.2.2.2, 5.5.2, 5.7.2). This is a feeling of ecstasy and, for Joana Saahirah (2014), to achieve tarab 'you have to become the music and the music has to be a part of who you are'. Tarab involves the connection with the audience and, as Bordelon commented (2013: 45), 'the audience members can identify with the dancer and thereby access the music in an entirely unique, physical fashion'. The embodiment with the music eliminates the distinction between the tangible realm of the body and the intangible realm of the mind. As Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 1992, p. 102) argued 'the union of soul and body . . . is enacted at every instant' and, as Preston-Dunlop contends (2010, p. 7), 'embodying a dance work fuses all the participants in the event in a multilayered tangible process'.

The ability to connect with the audience also emerges as one of the authentic characteristics of raqs sharqi. This idea is summarised by Raqia Hassan who stated that 'never should a dancer dance only for herself' (Taj, 2008, para. 23). The connection with the audience is aimed at sharing a sense of tarab and it probably derives from the original social and celebratory function of Egyptian dances (indeed, raqs sharqi dancers are still hired to perform at weddings). As Dina (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 24) stressed, 'what would a wedding be without dancing, a party without its dancer?' In this respect, dance is a 'field specific practice' that shapes the dancers' habitus, which is 'produced by practice of successive generations, in conditions of existence of a determinate type' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 97).

Because raqs sharqi is a field-specific habitus, the type of feelings that dancers need to express are not only those that are in the music and the lyrics of the songs, but also culturally encoded body attitudes and feelings. As Blacking (1983, p. 95) argued, 'dance is

a social institution and no matter how individual the inner world of a dancer may be, feelings are culturally encoded as soon as they are brought into action as dance'. As highlighted in 5.7.7, foreigners who go to Egypt to learn the dance, notice the way in which Egyptians move and how this is reflected in the dance, their habitus. From observations expressed by practitioners and the dance videos analysis, the embodied feelings that have emerged (as core dispositions in that habitus) are: relaxation; softness; minimalism (i.e. small, internal movements, 'hidden from the casual viewer' (Ibsen al Faruqi, 1978, p. 10)); joy; playfulness; flirting; coyness; power; strength; sexiness/sensuality.

My research participants highlighted the same feelings. Elindia, for example, explains that 'Turkish dance is more flamboyant. But, an Egyptian dancer's movements, are more internalised'. Helen states that 'Turkish to me looks a lot flashier, and a lot busier, whereas Egyptian, seems a lot calmer, even when it's lively . . . a bit more introspective'. They also noticed the power and strength in raqs sharqi. Lorna, talking about the essence of Egyptian raqs sharqi, explains that 'there is a strength, a feminine strength, a pulling back of power' and Angela states that what makes this dance Egyptian is 'an attitude . . . *really* expressive confidence. . . . almost a sassy informality'.

Dina (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 95), as mentioned earlier (5.7.2), thinks that 'Oriental dance . . . embodies all the faces of a woman'. As for sexuality, as it is expressed in raqs sharqi, she stresses that (ibid, p. 167-168) 'in the West, few know that Islam gives an important role to the intimate life, to conjugal relations. Sexuality is . . . an aspect of life that is treated naturally'. Sexuality though is often associated with coyness, as Nimeera (no date, para. 9) said about Soheir Zaki 'she was known for her sweet facial expression, at times just a little saucy. Mostly she used a sweet smile, coyly looking away'. This attitude is explained by Adra (2005, p. 42) who states that traditional belly dancing is play, in which social restraints are allowed to be lowered, if dance is performed 'at home and between close friends'. The relaxation of raqs sharqi can be explained by a different perception of time that Egyptian people traditionally have. Joana explained that:

> The way people live, is so much slower than the way people live in the West . . . in terms of dance, there is a tranquillity, a *slowness* and a kind of stillness. And time to enjoy each moment that foreign dancers don't have. They have to train themselves to do that. Because . . . we are raised to run and achieve as much as possible in the shortest possible time.

This relation of time with movement is a good example of phenomenological habit, in the sense that the body, as Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 1992, p. 158) would say, 'projects itself into a cultural world and has its habits'. Moreover, the body 'inhabits space' and time and 'actively assumes them' (ibid, p. 117). The slowness of the dance, indeed, is the languor which, Farida Fahmy (1987, p. 13) explains, 'is in fact, the culturally specific body language of the Egyptian people'.

Another culturally coded feeling in raqs sharqi is elegance and this reflects the baladi/afrangi dichotomy present in this dance. Ann, for example, stated that Egyptian raqs sharqi, comparing to Turkish oriental, is 'more elegant, more linear, more upright'. As observed during the dance analysis, the roots of raqs sharqi are in baladi dance, but it was performed for an afrangi audience, which was influenced by transcultural elements and which sought an 'elegant' uplifted feeling in the dance. So, raqs sharqi reflects the dispositions of two different segments of Egyptian society, 'embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental disposition' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 15), resulting in a 'class hybridism'.

In addition to these culturally encoded feelings, in the raqs sharqi discourse, there is an appreciation for the agency of the performer, being authentic to yourself, rather than just to the dance. This is expressed through the dancer's individualism and qualities such as: spontaneity; honesty; humour; charisma; dancing 'from the heart'. Dancers are encouraged to develop their own style rather than blindly copying other dancers. In this respect, if dance traditions are compared to social structures, 'structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling' (Giddens, 1984, p. 25). Thus, for raqs sharqi dancers, traditions are both constraining and enabling in the sense that raqs sharqi traditions (movement vocabulary, music, artefacts) enable dancers to express themselves.

Because of this focus on spontaneity, improvisation is preferred to choreography. Choreography is used in raqs sharqi, but improvisation is the ultimate goal. Randa Kamel, for instance, said 'when I am dancing I never do choreography' (Beltran, 2010). In connection to how being performed to live music influences the preference for improvisation over choreography, Lorna said in her interview:

> I only ever improvise, I never choreograph and I think that's the case with quite a lot of Egyptian dancers as well . . . you can't really 100% choreograph everything because you are working with a live band. So, you get there and you've choreographed something to go with the violin and the violinist is sick, so they've sent a nay[1] player instead. So, you have to adapt.

In the raqs sharqi discourse, moreover, copying other dancers is discouraged; you can learn and be inspired but not copy blindly. Francesca, for example, said that 'imitating is not really the best way to grow up when it comes to dancing for me what is beautiful in dance is that everyone can put inside something of themselves'. Similarly, Diana (Esposito, 2014, para. 7) states:

> Just because we dance exactly like someone we all know and love says nothing about our own abilities. If anything, it stunts our growth as artists, as we never give ourselves a chance to explore our own ways of moving.

Joana, also gives a similar view as a teacher, 'oriental dance is about bringing up the best in you. . . . It's the most beautiful thing when I see a student, becoming her own person'.

As being able to express the feeling of the music is central, musicality is considered essential. From the video analysis, I noticed that musicians are often present in dance scenes from the movies, with the instruments highlighted, by zooming in on them. Also, musicians sometimes composed music especially for dancers (5.5.1, 5.5.2), so music and dance were and still are strictly connected. Indeed, for Helen, 'Arabic music and Arabic dances . . . are tied together' and Abila was drawn to Egyptian music because 'the music had a lot more changes and . . . it had a lot of stuff going on'.

In 5.7.7 I highlighted the importance, for foreign dancers who work in Cairo, of dancing to live music and also of dancing for Egyptian, rather than non-Egyptian, audiences, because they understand the dance much more deeply. This is because the dance and the audiences share the same social 'field', of which they know the rules, and possess the correct 'cultural capital' that allows them to understand raqs sharqi to the full.

As previously observed (5.7.9), musicians who can play Egyptian raqs sharqi music are rare outside of Egypt. Similarly, dancers outside of Egypt can rarely perform for Egyptian audiences. This means that, although it is possible to dance as authentically as possible

[1] The nay is a type of flute, used in Middle Eastern music (Farraj *et al.*, 2007).

outside of Egypt, part of its essence is lost and cannot be reproduced, as performers have to dance to recorded music and adapt their performance to satisfy audiences that have different expectations and taste. The implications of this, are that, as living heritage becomes transcultural, inevitably it loses some of its authenticity and it risks becoming 'grobalized', to borrow a term from Ritzer (2008), according to whom grobalization leads to centralization in control and simplification and standardization of things.

Finally, although raqs sharqi is now performed worldwide, many practitioners travel to Egypt to perceive the culture of origin of this dance in its entirety, as a full sensory experience, phenomenologically. As Leena explained to me, if you travel to Egypt, you can learn better because:

> That way you can meet the people in their own environment and see how they live in their country. Listen to how they speak, taste what they eat, smell what they smell and hear what they hear.

Not every practitioner agrees on the importance of going to Egypt to fully understand the dance. For those who have never been there, it is enough to learn from Egyptians who travel abroad to teach, or from DVDs or by watching videos online. Also, most practitioners agree that, if you only want to learn raqs sharqi for fun, you do not need to go to Egypt as there are already many good teachers abroad. However, those who have been there to study, agree that you have to go if you want a deeper understanding of the dance. Ann enthusiastically makes this point by saying, 'it still comes back to that feeling. Of you are there, wow! You know, I'm here in Egypt, and it's kind of invading me! And it's taking me over'.

Not all the elements listed here need to be present for a performance to be considered raqs sharqi, as authenticity is a complex and multi-layered phenomenon. For example, a dancer like Randa does not move softly, nor slowly or with languor. However, she is considered authentic because she has a feeling for the music, is very expressive, uses Egyptian music and, being Egyptian, she has a great understanding of the lyrics of the songs. Also, her training is rooted in traditional Egyptian dances and she has observed and studied thoroughly raqs sharqi dancers from the past.

6.3 Heritage Qualities and Value

Adopting a dialogical paradigm of heritage, according to which heritage is (Bodo, 2012, p. 182) 'constantly questioned and rediscovered by individuals who breathe new life into it', this section explicates the heritage value in raqs sharqi. I focus, firstly, on how a body of traditions (including tangible and intangible elements) is built over time and how past, present and future are connected through heritage. I draw from the idea, expressed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, p. 369) that 'heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past' and that, as Howard posits (2010, p. 1), heritage is something that 'people wish to save for the future'. Moreover, I highlight what Smith (2012, p. 69) calls 'uses of heritage' as she argues that, 'it is not the things or places that are themselves 'heritage', it is the uses that these things are put to that make them 'heritage''. Heritage itself becomes a type of resource (as per Giddens' Structuration Theory described in 3.6), which could be either allocative (giving power over objects) or authoritative (giving power over people). This is particularly evident when heritage is commodified as explained, for instance, by Stepputat (2015) for tango, by Nikočević *et al.* (2012) for Croatian dances and by Munsi (2012) for chhau dance in India.

As raqs sharqi is embodied heritage, the first element, emerging from the video analysis, is the growth of movement traditions as new allokines and motifs are created, which are then imitated by following generations of dancers. So, movements can be seen as a body of 'habits' (drawing on Merleau-Ponty), which each dancer incorporates as they acquire dance perceptually. Moreover, these movements are influenced by Egyptian people's habitus and dispositions (including the baladi/afrangi dialectic) which have a historical dimension as habitus is 'embodied history' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56). How this embodied heritage is transmitted will be highlighted in more detail in 6.6, but two main channels are: artefacts and in person transmission via older generations of dancers. In the first instance, dance/heritage becomes objectified in cultural artefacts such as movies, cassettes, CDs, DVDs, videos, books, magazines, photographs which become part of the heritage. These mostly tangible objects carry the intangible values of heritage and the embodiment of dancers, even those who are no longer alive but are now part of the tradition. They become part of the 'objectified' cultural capital that new dancers strive to obtain. They also become authoritative resources, as they contain knowledge that allows practitioners who have these resources to be influential in the field. As for the in-person

transmission, older dancers who were raqs sharqi icons in the past, such as Mona Said, Nagwa Fouad or Fifi Abdou, now teach worldwide and become carriers and embodiments of heritage. Thus, practitioners the world over admire and respect them because of their age and experience. These practitioners embody the tradition: as perceptual unities of body and mind; as embodied agents who hold cultural capital; and as embodied authoritative resources who influence others and also have the agency to both perpetuate a tradition and innovate.

Another element which gives raqs sharqi heritage value is its rooting in Egyptian traditions. Although raqs sharqi, as a specific genre emerged in the 1920s, its roots go back further in time, drawing from old Egyptian dance traditions (baladi, Ghawazee, folklore), associated with celebrations. The tangible aspects of these traditions, the 'allocative resources' or 'forms of transformative capacity' (Giddens, 1984, p. 33), are traditional props (such as finger cymbals and the assaya). Another part of the raqs sharqi tradition, which cannot be separated from the dance, is music. This is Egyptian music that has been associated with the dance through their concomitant use in Egyptian movies and TV shows. Moreover, some of these songs were specially written for raqs sharqi dancers, in particular for Nagwa Fouad and Soheir Zaki, thus further consolidating this connection.

Regarding the uses of raqs sharqi as a form of heritage, one of these uses was political. Raqs sharqi (during its heyday, between the 1950s and mid-1990s) and folklore dance were used to represent Egyptian culture on the world stage. As Giurchescu (2001, p. 111) pointed out, dance is often used to '"package" political-ideological, educational, religious or economic messages'. Unlike folklore though, raqs sharqi was never completely tamed to fit the 'patriarchal and protective mode . . . common feature of state and elite interventions' (Reed, 1998, p. 512). So, Egyptians always had, and still have, an ambivalent attitude towards raqs sharqi of love and shame.

Raqs sharqi is also used to provide a source of income, which has fuelled a niche industry in Egypt in producing costumes and props, organising festivals and teaching dance to foreigners. In particular, the development of raqs sharqi as a niche cultural industry was fostered by the recognition of Egypt as the place where the roots of this dance are.

The key to understanding the reasons why raqs sharqi heritage is appreciated outside of Egypt lies in the discourse around this dance form. This overlaps with the authenticity discourse, as many of the elements that make raqs sharqi authentic and differentiate it from other traditions, also generate its appeal. In the authenticity discourse, it emerged how this dance encourages self-expression and agency and how some of the culturally influenced feelings associated with it are power, strength, relaxation, humour. It is likely that these same elements also allow raqs sharqi to be perceived as a type of dance that promotes self-esteem. Indeed, all my research participants mentioned improved confidence for all aspects of life as one of the reasons why they like raqs sharqi (but also bellydance in general). Joana, from the point of view of someone who teaches this dance, told me:

> It gives me incredible pleasure. . . . To teach a dance that I know can change a person's life for the better. To teach a dance that teaches you how to listen. How to know yourself, how to co-create with life, how to co-create with the music. How to discover your own creativity, how to discover your own fingerprint.

Raqs sharqi is associated with relaxation and pleasure, which derives from its cultural roots and movement qualities. These create a feeling and a culturally influenced 'corporeal schema', which is gradually acquired by dancers as they learn and 'kapiert' the movements (3.4). Joana, comparing classical ballet, which she studied for several years, to raqs sharqi, recalls how in ballet:

> You struggle with your body. You contradict it. . . . And I found in Egyptian dance the freedom and the pleasure, a dance that . . . makes you love your body, for its unique characteristics'.

This is also what makes raqs sharqi suitable for older dancers, which is important in societies in which people live longer than ever. Regarding age, Ann, for instance, said that raqs sharqi is 'really good, if you do it properly, for . . . improving the posture . . . nobody realises that I'm 72'. Francesca, also stated that 'this dance . . . teaches you to age, not only with grace, but with pride'.

Practitioners also enjoy Egyptian raqs sharqi because of its social roots, which makes it a socially inclusive dance, in which having fun is important. For example, Lorna compared the fun and social atmosphere of Egyptian weddings where she performed, with the

ceilidh dancing from Scotland, where she is from (Gow, 2006a, para. 2): 'The enthusiasm is exactly the same. It's all about the socialising aspect of the dance and the fun of it'. The social aspect of the dance is also connected with it being a liminal and liminoid[1] activity, which allows practitioners temporary evasion and freedom from the constraints of social structures. As Turner (1969, p. vii) points out, 'these liminal areas of time and space . . . are open to the play of thought, feeling, and will'. Moreover, Turner argues, liminal areas promote socialization and comradeship between neophytes, because 'secular distinctions of rank and status disappear or are homogenized'. Dance is liminoid because it leads to what Schechner (2013, p. 72) calls a 'temporary change', which people experience for a short period of time to then be 'dropped off where she or he entered'. However, it can be argued that the change induced by raqs sharqi is not limited to the moment of performance, but it extends to the whole practitioner's life. Indeed, all my participants mentioned that they built friendships over sharing the activity of raqs sharqi, which provided them with spaces for evasion from everyday life and for fostering creativity. Helen stresses that: 'It's a very giving dance. You can share it really nicely . . . with people . . . and there is . . . the dressing up, the getting together with other women'. Lorna emphasizes the ludic aspect:

> I like that I can be everything that I am . . . in the dance, you get to be all of these things. And you also get to push them to extremes that maybe society doesn't like either. So, you get to play more.

Although not much has explicitly emerged regarding how raqs sharqi affects its practitioners' identity, it can be argued that the idea of sharing the dance together, as Helen mentioned, builds a group identity. As Giurchescu (2001, p. 114) argues, 'dance may function as identity symbol' in a way that is 'polysemic' on the two levels of 'personal identity' and 'group identity'. Moreover, Lorna's quotation highlights how practitioners can employ raqs sharqi's liminality to explore their personal identity. For Egyptian practitioners, it seems that raqs sharqi indeed provides them with 'a sense of identity and continuity' (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2). For example, Randa (Samir, 2013) stated that: 'When I'm travelling all over the world, I feel honoured. I feel I am messenger for my country'. Some, however, are less optimistic, like Dina (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 134), who claims to be the last Egyptian guardian of the raqs sharqi heritage. This idea is probably also

[1] The concept of liminoid was introduced by Turner (1982) later in his career and associated with the idea of leisure in modern societies.

connected with a sense of nostalgia in today's Egypt for the dancers of the Golden Ages, as noted in 5.7.6.

6.4 Transculturality

From the dance analysis, it has emerged that raqs sharqi has been a hybrid genre since its inception. Raqs sharqi is a living example of a type of heritage generated by a 'transcultural network' (Welsch, 1999) and the dancers are 'transcultural bodies' (Fensham and Kelada, 2012a, p. 370) who express the cultural complexity of this dance. Dancers acquire transculturality on every level of the living cultural heritage model (3.7). They acquire a transcultural 'body schema' by learning in a perceptual way. This new body schema, together with new transcultural experiences, turns into dispositions, which generate new forms of cultural capital. In turn, this new cultural capital gives the dancers different sets of rules/resources to draw on in interpreting their dance. This process is one of the dynamic aspects that lead to social change and supports the idea of fluid authenticity.

From the beginning, although the roots of this dance are Egyptian, there has been a transcultural contamination from dance genres such as ballet and Latin. The choreographers and performers also had a transcultural profile, as they came from different countries (for instance those who worked in Badia Masabni's clubs) and travelled extensively (Badia Masabni and Mahmoud Reda). Successive generations of dancers travelled, and still travel, worldwide. These travels allowed dancers not only to import influences from abroad, but also to export the dance, especially today as dancers travel from Egypt predominantly to teach, rather than to learn.

Indeed, the transcultural dimension of raqs sharqi has always been based on what Urry (2008) calls 'mobilities'. The first type of mobility identified by Urry is the corporeal travel of people. In the history of raqs sharqi, this has been of various kinds. Apart from the movement of practitioners from Egypt to teach, perform or find inspiration elsewhere, there has been a movement of foreign dancers travelling to Egypt. From the 1970s, and increasingly since, people interested in Egyptian dance went to Egypt to learn the dance from its source.

The diaspora of Middle Eastern people to the USA in the 1960s was also connected to corporeal travel of people. Those who moved to the USA opened restaurants where

musicians and dancers from different countries worked together. There, American dancers learnt how to dance by directly observing the first generation of dancers who came from the Middle East. The middle eastern restaurants in the USA, acted as 'contact zones', defined by Naguib (2008, p. 473) as 'interactive transient spaces with flexible boundaries, which provide fertile grounds for various degrees of cultural translations and borrowings'. Throughout the history of raqs sharqi, there have been various examples of contact zones in which raqs sharqi has developed as a form of hybrid dance: the salas in the 1920s in Cairo; ethnic restaurants in the USA in the 1960s/70s; Arab nightclubs in London in the 1970s; dance festivals in and outside of Egypt from the 1970s onwards.

Another element that has contributed to raqs sharqi transculturality are the audiences, as performers tend to adapt their show to different audiences. In the 1920s in Cairo, in the salas, the audiences were composed of foreigners and Egyptian upper classes whose taste was transcultural. In the USA in the 1970s, the flower children movement sought inspiration in different cultures. Today, Egyptian dancers travel and perform at festivals for international audiences. The taste of each audience reflects their expectations, based on socio-culturally influenced 'system of classificatory schemes' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 147). As the dance has become hybrid, so has the music that goes with it, from the times of Badia Masabni, when Egyptian and foreign elements were mixed together. Not only did the music became hybrid, but also western instruments such as the violin, were introduced alongside traditional Egyptian instruments. Based on Giddens' Structuration Theory (3.6), these transcultural influences create new 'constitutive rules', which affect the nature of heritage, but also new 'allocative resources' such as the new musical instruments that agents in the field employ to express themselves and innovate.

Three more types of mobilities, identified by Urry (2008), which have been influential for raqs sharqi are: the physical movement of objects (for example, costumes and props, books, CDs, cassettes and DVDs sold worldwide); the imaginative travel through images in the media (such as dance videos) and the communicative travel through person to person messages via a range of media. The Internet, particularly, encompasses the imaginative and the communicative travel. Because of its ubiquitousness, the Internet has rendered raqs sharqi a global transcultural phenomenon, that cuts across societies becoming one of what Giddens (1984, p. XXVII) would call 'inter societal systems'.

The mobilities that lead to heritage transculturality, imply the ownership of a certain amount of capital on the part of those who want to access and transmit that heritage. Following Bourdieu (1992, p. 99), the types of capital are economic, cultural and social. These allow practitioners to develop Urry's (2007, p. 197) 'network capital', which is 'the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit'. At the moment, the majority of dancers who have these types of capital are non-Egyptian, which could threaten the authenticity of this heritage, in the absence of adequate cultural awareness. Some practitioners in this field are, indeed, aware of this. Angela, for example, said that 'if I'm going to claim that I am . . . practising raqs sharqi I should be very intentional in that and I should study from, primary sources so to speak as much as possible' and Lidia stated that: 'I always search for information, especially on the history of the dance'.

6.5 Change and Traditions

As living heritage is based on a dialogical paradigm, the dialectic between change and traditions is important and so is practitioners' agency. As Adshead (1988, p. 78) posits, 'genres and styles place constraints upon . . . the nature and range of the material of the dance' at the same time, however, Adshead (ibid) explains that genres allow considerable freedom and fluidity, so that dancers and choreographers can express their own style in each performance. Traditions are analogous to structures (made of rules and resources), which are 'always both constraining and enabling' (Giddens, 1984, p. 25). Individuals, according to Giddens (1984), interact with structures through praxis and they can decide to reproduce structures or change them using resources, which are 'forms of transformative capacity' (1984, p. 33). These resources can be tangible, such as artefacts, or intangible, such as the shapes and qualities of movements.

In raqs sharqi, I have noticed that dancers' agency is key in the decision to either innovate or stay close to traditions. Whether dancers decide to innovate or remain closer to traditions, however, they always strive to develop their own style. Randa (Zahara and Shahin, 2012, para. 13) stated: 'You must add to the dance. You must leave your own fingerprint in the dance'. Throughout the dance analysis, it emerged that innovation can take place in different ways, through:

- Adaptation of participatory dance to the stage – Badia Masabni was one of the first artists who created an adaptation for the stage of social dances, thus, for example, the dancers started using more travelling steps. Another example is Mahmoud Reda, who adapted folkloric dances and raqs sharqi for his theatre productions.
- Introduction of foreign influences in the dance – from the beginning of raqs sharqi in the 1920s in Cairo, influences from dances such as ballet and Latin dances were introduced. Later, in the 1970s/80s, movements from Gulf dances were introduced and, in the 1990s, Soraya from Brazil introduced elements reminiscent of samba, such as running hip shimmies.
- New kinemes (or most often allokines and motifs): some dancers, such as Naima Akef and Nelly Fouad, innovated by introducing new combinations (motifs) or variations of the basic movements (allokines).
- Using new props or old props differently – the veil was introduced in the 1920s/30s; the thin saidi stick probably in the 1970s and Fifi Abdou used the shisha pipe for her comedy/dance routines. As described in Chapter 3, artefacts are extensions of the body, 'fresh instruments' (Merleau-Ponty [1945] 1992, p. 166) that embodied agents appropriate; these instruments are also tangible resources and objectified cultural capital.
- Performing old movements but with different qualities – Dina used more contraction and release in the muscles, with bound accents, and played with balance and variations of levels; Randa's style includes movements that are for the most part direct, sudden and with a bound flow, as opposed to the opposite qualities, which are most commonly used by other raqs sharqi dancers.
- Different show productions – Nagwa Fouad created big productions with several costume changes, backup dancers and different stage designs.
- Costumes with new cuts or materials – the fashion for costumes has been changing constantly since the 1920s. Dina innovated the most, creating new, unique designs (sometimes more revealing than usual) and making the most of the possibilities allowed by lycra, which was, until Dina started dancing, a new material for raqs sharqi costumes.
- New gestures or mimicking lyrics – Fifi Abdou was probably the first dancer who used gestures and facial expressions, to relate to the lyrics of the songs. Since Fifi's

times, most Egyptian dancers do this now and Dina was the first one who started showing a whole range of emotions in her dance, in addition to joy and smiling.

- Use of different music – Soheir Zaki was the first dancer who started dancing to Oum Kalsoum songs (which were not originally written to be danced to) and several new songs were written especially for Soheir Zaki and Nagwa Fouad.

As dancers decide whether to follow traditions or innovate, they carve a niche for themselves, in the raqs sharqi 'field of cultural production' (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993). They act as players in the field, striving for dominance. This is a 'struggle between those who have made their mark . . . and those who cannot make their own mark without pushing into the past those who have an interest in stopping the clock' (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993, p. 60). Hence, new generations of dancers want to differentiate themselves, while older generations are usually critical of younger dancers.

Another issue associated with change vs tradition is class. Usually, the most traditional dancers, such as Tahia Carioca or Soheir Zaki, are called bint al balad, being associated with the working-class habitus of this dance. As mentioned in 5.2.1.1, baladi is associated with local, traditional and authentic.

Other changes have to do with the music, which changes over time. A type of hybrid music is created at the same time as the hybrid raqs sharqi genre is born in the 1920s. Since then, music has been changing according to trends, while new songs were composed for dancers. From what it has emerged from the raqs sharqi discourse, music and dance are strictly connected, so a change in music can affect the dance and vice versa.

Three more elements that can influence dance are taste, locations and social occasions in which the performance takes place. It was the taste of the audiences in the 1920s that led to the creation of modern raqs sharqi as a hybrid presentational dance. From the mid-1990s, younger tourists and rich Egyptians prefer going to restaurants and small clubs, rather than nightclubs with professional dancers. Hence, this could affect the way raqs sharqi develops in the future, as locals become more interested in social (participatory), rather than presentational dance. Lorna, for instance, observed that lately, in Cairo, upper-class young Egyptians have become more interested in dancing to Arabic music in clubs than they ever were before. She said:

> When I first started going to Egypt, 13, 14 years ago, nowhere wanted to play Arabic music . . . in a club or a pub. Now, you don't go into one without hearing it. And, therefore, often they have dancers coming in and dance on the bar, on the dance floor, around the tables, a lot of these are Egyptians.

So, the dance that once used to be performed mostly in expensive hotels and nightclubs, now takes place in smaller venues, among the audience. This could influence the form of the dance, as for example, the opportunities for travelling steps become limited.

6.6 Transmission

Transmission is part of heritage, as Naguib (2013, p. 5) posits, 'safeguarding . . . conveys the idea of protecting and preserving, while at the same time transmitting far and wide'. Transmission is also connected with the temporal dimension of heritage, as we decide what to transmit from the past to the future, using criteria that apply to the present. As Howard (2003, p. 21) argues, 'heritage is interested in how the past might be conserved and interpreted for the benefit of the present and the future'.

In the dance analysis, various media for the transmission of dance/heritage have been highlighted, each with its own characteristics. Transmission takes place both in person and by watching media (body to body and mimesis). For this reason, heritage has become de-territorialised and de-temporalized. Thus heritage, rather than being 'transmitted generation to generation' (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2) can skip generations. This point is well made by Helen, who remarks that:

> Since I started, we've had the Internet, so I've been very lucky. I've been able to just look up on YouTube and they were all there for me to watch. All 20th century styles of Egyptian belly dance.

Whether raqs sharqi is learnt in person or through videos, it is acquired perceptually as the body, drawing on Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 1992, pp. 164–165) '"catches" (kapiert) and "comprehends" the movement'. Traditionally, raqs sharqi was taught without choreography, nor explanations. Even today, some Egyptian dancers such as Lucy (Rose, 2006) and Mona al Said (El Safy, 1996, para. 7), teach 'in a kind of "follow me" demonstration of their intuitive response to the music'. Esposito (2014, para. 6) remarks that 'choreography is an alien concept for most Egyptian belly dancers'. Indeed, non-Egyptian practitioners can learn by imitation by watching videos of dance available online,

like Helen who told me that ‘YouTube is really good for picking up new moves . . . I can see a dancer doing something and I can copy it’. Moreover, videos can convey the feeling of the dance, as Angela explains, ‘there’s something about watching admired dancers or vintage clips that gives you the feel of it, that you can’t learn in a technique class’. Videos are tangible allocative resources, as per the living cultural heritage model (3.7), which give practitioners the means to learn and gain authority as well as cultural capital in the field.

Most of my participant stated that they find YouTube useful for learning new movements and drawing inspiration. However, the physical presence of a teacher is always appreciated. Abila, for example, thinks that ‘watching stuff on YouTube is not the same as being in the room with someone . . . because the energy is different on this tiny little screen’.

Practitioners employ various methods for learning and teaching, as more and more teachers now teach remotely using the Internet, for example: with Skype; via online courses that employ videos and forums and creating subscription-based websites. It seems though that there is a progression from methods requiring lower capital at the beginning, to investing more capital as the students’ involvement grows. Methods range from watching free videos online (low amount of economic capital needed, apart from having access to a computer and the Internet), to attending classes with local teachers (medium level of capital), to receiving one-to-one training with more or less famous teachers and attending workshops and festivals internationally (high amount of capital). Lorna’s story is a good example of this progression when she says that:

> When I started, it was a once a week class, obsessive practising. . . . But then, since I went to Egypt, I was doing workshops with all the top dancers and going to the festivals, the Ahlan wa Sahlan and then the Nile Group and watching dancers and having lessons with the dancers.

Similarly, Leena explains that:

> I took classes with my "own teachers", then with Finnish top teachers. I have also regularly attended workshops with both Finnish top teachers and the big stars brought to teach raqs sharqi in Finland. Currently, I mainly study with international teachers.

Hence, drawing from Bourdieu's (1992) theory of practice, it seems that transmission of heritage is about capital: economic, social, cultural (in all three forms of embodied, objectified and institutionalized). Also, it is about mobilities (following Urry, 2008) of people, objects and communication. The type of mobility that involves corporeal travel, requires a high amount of capital, mostly economic. Diasporas are also a type of corporeal travel, which is not necessarily linked to the ownership of capital (maybe the lack of it). However, the transmission of heritage is, as Middle Eastern people who moved to the USA in the 1960s, had to invest economic capital to run the ethnic restaurants (whose aim was also to generate economic capital) in which the dance was transmitted.

The embodied capital resides in the persons of dancers/teachers (who embody heritage). The more famous the dancer/teacher is, the greater her/his embodied and heritage capital, so their presence is requested further and further afield, from a local to an international scale. The institutionalised capital is expressed in attendance to festivals, workshops, classes and other events. Although raqs sharqi is not an institutionalised type of dance and there are no officially recognised qualifications, if a dancer is known to have attended a certain number of events, travelled and undergone training, her/his recognition in the eyes of other practitioners grows accordingly.

The idea of embodied capital in the transmission of heritage fits one part of the living heritage model (the part that links to Bourdieu's theory as outlined in 3.7), but the other two levels of the model are also accounted for. The people who embody heritage have the agency to innovate or not and they can themselves create 'constitutive rules', or modify their own constitutive rules, through the discourse they generate on what is considered 'good' Egyptian raqs sharqi. Also, the people who embody this heritage and transmit it, are 'living resources' that future Egyptian raqs sharqi learners can draw on. In this sense (following both Giddens and Bourdieu) dancers literally embody these traditional structures as well as other resources that might be more transformative. The phenomenological aspect is also accounted for, when the dance is transmitted perceptually and as a unity of movements and feelings that generate kinaesthetic empathy.

The objectified capital is also connected to the physical movement of objects, such as: books, DVDs, video cassettes, magazines. These items also have heritage value in themselves and they are valued as learning tools, in which practitioners are willing to

invest economic capital. Ann, for instance, says that she has read several books and owns many DVDs, which she admits 'it cost me a fortune, but there you go'.

Another type of mobility that contributes to transmission of raqs sharqi heritage is communicative travel, which today happens mainly through the Internet. The ability to access the Internet, and particularly to transmit information through it, is also linked to cultural capital. The more skills a practitioner masters such as (just to mention a few): writing, video production, web design, foreign languages, the more they can transmit their ideas and knowledge about the dance. Alternatively, they need economic or social capital to employ other people with the skills to help them.

Moreover, as practitioners invest economic capital to build cultural capital, they also increase their social capital because meet other raqs sharqi enthusiasts, by communicating online and/or travelling. This increases what Urry (2008) calls 'network capital' which allows them to keep in contact with people who are not necessarily physically close to them.

Two more mobilities that Urry (2008, p. 47) mentions are imaginative travel (through images in media) and virtual travel, often in real time, transcending geographical and social distance. These mobilities can be achieved through media, especially through the Internet. Imaginative and virtual travel can also overcome time to a certain extent. Media can create what I would call 'virtual heritage' (represented in videos of dance from movies, live performances or TV shows), which is then disseminated transculturally via the web. In particular, I am thinking of famous dancers from the past, some of whom are no longer alive, who become virtual heritage. These have been 'pushed into the status . . . of classic works' (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993, p. 32) by new generations of dancers who no longer see them as threats in the raqs sharqi field of cultural production.

The last two factors I have identified, which have influenced the transmission of raqs sharqi are: physical locations and society. The former, especially 'contact zones', are the places in which the dance was and is performed and without which the transmission of raqs sharqi would have not have been possible. These include: salas; ethnic restaurants in the USA; Arab nightclubs in London; festivals; formal classes. The latter (society) can create favourable conditions for the transmission of heritage. For raqs sharqi in the USA, these were feminism and social changes in the late 1960s. Social trends and changes can

either facilitate or threaten the survival of heritage. In the following section, I will summarise my findings regarding what can help or hinder heritage.

6.7 Influences on Heritage

In the dance analysis, a series of elements have emerged that can influence heritage and encourage its safeguarding or threaten it. For living heritage, these elements are socio-cultural since, as Ashworth (2011, p. 2) argues, heritage is 'a condition deliberately created in response to current political, social or economic needs'. Therefore, heritage can be understood through the lens of Bourdieu's theory of practice, which is summarised by Bourdieu with the equation (1984, p. 101) '[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice'.

Practice, in this case, can be identified as the transmission/safeguarding of raqs sharqi. The field is raqs sharqi as a field of cultural production, which is also enclosed within the bigger field of society as a whole, since the work of art is, as Bourdieu and Johnson (1993, p. 37) state, 'a manifestation of the field as a whole'. Thus, the field of raqs sharqi is influenced by the bigger field of society (or transcultural societies) through its agents, practice, capital and habitus.

Habitus is produced by the structures of a particular environment and is a system of (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72) 'structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices'. I have identified the following forms of habitus affecting raqs sharqi:

- Religion, morals, social values;
- Lifestyles and taste;
- Transculturality.

Religion, for instance, is reflected in increasing conservativism in Egypt (which also threatened Ghawazee dance in Upper Egypt). Luna (Esposito, 2012b, para. 10) reports that 'since the fall of Mubarak, religious forces have attacked culture in ways that Egypt has never seen before'. Dina (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, p. 178) and Raqia Hassan (El Safy, 1995) both stated that it is not possible to open a raqs sharqi school in Egypt and that dancers, if they want to teach raqs sharqi in a school, have to pretend that their dance school is a health club. However, at the same time, rituals support raqs sharqi as this

genre has been associated with weddings throughout its history. As Dina (Talaat and Guibal, 2011, pp. 58–59) comments, 'our dances are the echo of our civilization, where their sensuality accompanies the important moments of our lives'.

More generally, morals have always influenced the attitude towards raqs sharqi: from Mahmoud Reda trying to (Shay, 1999, p. 39) 'mask the very overt sensuality for which Egyptian dance is famous', to families trying to stop their daughters from becoming professional dancers (for example Mona el Said's father who wanted to kill her). Joana expressed this duplicity of Egyptian people's attitude towards raqs sharqi by stating that 'this is Egyptian language . . . instinctively they know. They don't know mentally about dance . . . It's forbidden by God it's haram . . . But instinctively . . . it's part of the way they live life'.

In the West, for example in the USA, there is the same ambivalence towards raqs sharqi. For some people, it is still controversial (or at least it was until recently). Gamal (1999, para. 12) recalls how 'the first time Dahlena tried to put an ad in an American newspaper for dance classes, the *Chicago Tribune* refused because they felt that it was indecent'. However, it was in the USA that the social change brought by feminism and sexual liberation encouraged the diffusion of belly dance from the 1960s.

Taste can influence the support or lack of it for a certain type of heritage, as it happened in Egypt from the mid-1990s, when the taste of the Egyptians upper classes changed and they became more interested in going to restaurants or clubbing than going to watch raqs sharqi shows. Finally, transculturality can also be considered a type of habitus, since, as Welsch (1999, p. 198) posits, 'lifestyles no longer end at the borders of national cultures, but go beyond these', thus today 'we are cultural hybrids' (ibid). The transcultural habitus can have a positive influence on raqs sharqi, as it encourages its transmission across the world. At the same time though, there is the risk of diluting the heritage by cutting ties with its place of origin, thus losing sight of raqs sharqi identity and what it makes it different from other dance genres.

With regards to capital, the most influential form impacting on heritage has emerged as being economic, of which there are numerous examples in the dance analysis. For instance, the objectification and commercialisation of heritage through selling artefacts and promoting festivals and trips limits the availability of heritage only to those who have

economic capital to invest. However, economic capital also helps heritage to survive as it gives artists the means to make a living, and thus dedicate themselves completely to the promotion and continuation of raqs sharqi heritage. Another example is the economic recession in Egypt and the lack of tourists from the Gulf in the mid-90s, which led to a decline of investments in raqs sharqi. Within the wider field of society, there are rules and players who can impact on the field of raqs sharqi heritage. Politics, with its rules and players, can have a huge impact on heritage. For instance, in 1952, the Egyptian Revolution led to renewed pride in Egyptian arts, including dance, which the government supported. Society impacts on heritage through processes of structuration (based on Giddens' Structuration Theory [3.6]), which generate authoritative rules that agents tend to follow. It seems though that, in a wealthy economic environment, there is more space for the use and development of resources and for social agents to have the opportunities to create and innovate. A number of dancers would have drawn on experiences of dance from other traditions, cultures and locations and/or from the influences of affluent middle-class Cairo. These elements provide some dancers with different sets of dispositions and resources with which to innovate.

Competition is the struggle between players in the field of cultural production, in order to acquire capital. As Bourdieu (1993, p. 30) posits, 'the literary or artistic field is a *field of forces*, but it is also a *field of struggles* tending to transform or conserve this field of forces'. These struggles can impact on heritage. The case of the Ghawazee dancers in Upper Egypt is a clear illustration of struggles in the field, impacting on heritage, when the Ghawazee had to increasingly compete with dancers from Cairo, to perform for tourists in locations such as Luxor. This competition reduced work opportunities for the Ghawazee and it endangered the survival of their dance. Similarly, foreign dancers compete with Egyptian dancers in Cairo. This, especially at a time when there is less paid work available, can be a threat for local performers. However, competition can also increase the quality of the dance, by encouraging dancers to train harder. Lorna commented, for example, that foreign dancers in Cairo:

> Have pushed the bar . . . when the foreign dancers came back [after a time when they were banned from performing in Egypt] it wasn't enough to be pretty and shapely, you had to have the steps and be prepared to sweat and work, as well . . . I think that the foreign dancers pushed that, which is good in some ways but it has changed the dance.

Finally, social actors' agency can shape the way in which heritage develops. Bourdieu (1993, p. 32) argued that 'change in the space of literary or artistic possibles is the result of change in the power relation which constitutes the space of positions'. I agree that this partly explains change, as new generations of dancer want to distinguish themselves from previous generations. However, I propose that change is also driven by creativity and the will to innovate for merely aesthetic reasons, as Sheets-Johnstone suggests (2015, p. XXIX), creativity 'lies at the heart of dance'. This creative impulse generates what Giddens (1984) would call a 'duality' between the structures (made up of rules and resources, such as the dance traditions) and the agents (i.e. the artists), so that the two can never be completely separated as they are bridged by practice (i.e. the act of performing).

The survival of living heritage is also dependant on its flexibility and ability to adapt to changes in society and the environment. According to Giurchescu (2001, p. 112), dance has a series of semiotic levels, which include: a transcultural level (feelings, moods, intentions); a conceptual level (acquired knowledge about dance); a ritual level (with symbolic significance); a social interaction level and an artistic level. From the example that Giurchescu (ibid) gives of căluş, an old ritual from Romania (inscribed in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008 (UNESCO, no date a)), it emerges that the more levels living heritage has, the more likely it is to survive. Giurchescu (ibid) states that, in the areas in which căluş had only a ritual level, connected to its healing function, the practice disintegrated once there was no longer an interest in its ritual meaning. However, in other areas, căluş presented a more complex structure involving music and dance, thus it had an artistic level, which attracted people even after the healing ritual had become obsolete. Hence, Giurchescu (ibid) observes, 'the capacity of căluş for symbolic transformation lies in its polysemic character which ensures the căluş existence in a constantly changing society'.

Similarly, the Ghawazee dance is under threat in upper Egypt as it has not adapted to changes in society whereas raqs sharqi, as Nearing posits (2012b, para. 36), 'is an eclectic, ever evolving form, and as such can absorb interruptions'. One of the reasons for the success of raqs sharqi is its polysemic value, as a dance that is associated with celebrations but also pure entertainment, and which is culturally and socially hybrid. Based on the observations made in the course of this thesis, it can be argued that raqs

sharqi includes all the semiotic levels identified by Giurchescu (2001): transcultural (feelings and emotions); conceptual; ritual; social and artistic.

6.8 Summary

Table 42 and Table 43 summarise the discussions in this chapter, which were centred around the elements that compose dance, as identified in the conceptual framework, and the sensitising concepts that emerged from the literature and the data (authenticity, heritage, transculturality, change/traditions, transmission and influences on heritage).

The picture that emerges is holistic and complex, with tangible and intangible elements interacting through the embodied practice of performance. Thus, raqs sharqi is a form of living heritage that, as Lo Iacono and Brown (2016, p. 100) argue is:

> Embodied by individuals, in connection with the artefacts they produce and use and the environment they interact with and as expressed through practices, activities and performances. Living cultural heritage is also constituted by socially and culturally influenced traditions and conventions, as well as by the feelings and emotions of people and the way they relate to this heritage, including taste and perceptions. Heritage and human beings are indissolubly connected and continuously shape each other in an open-ended fluid dialogue.

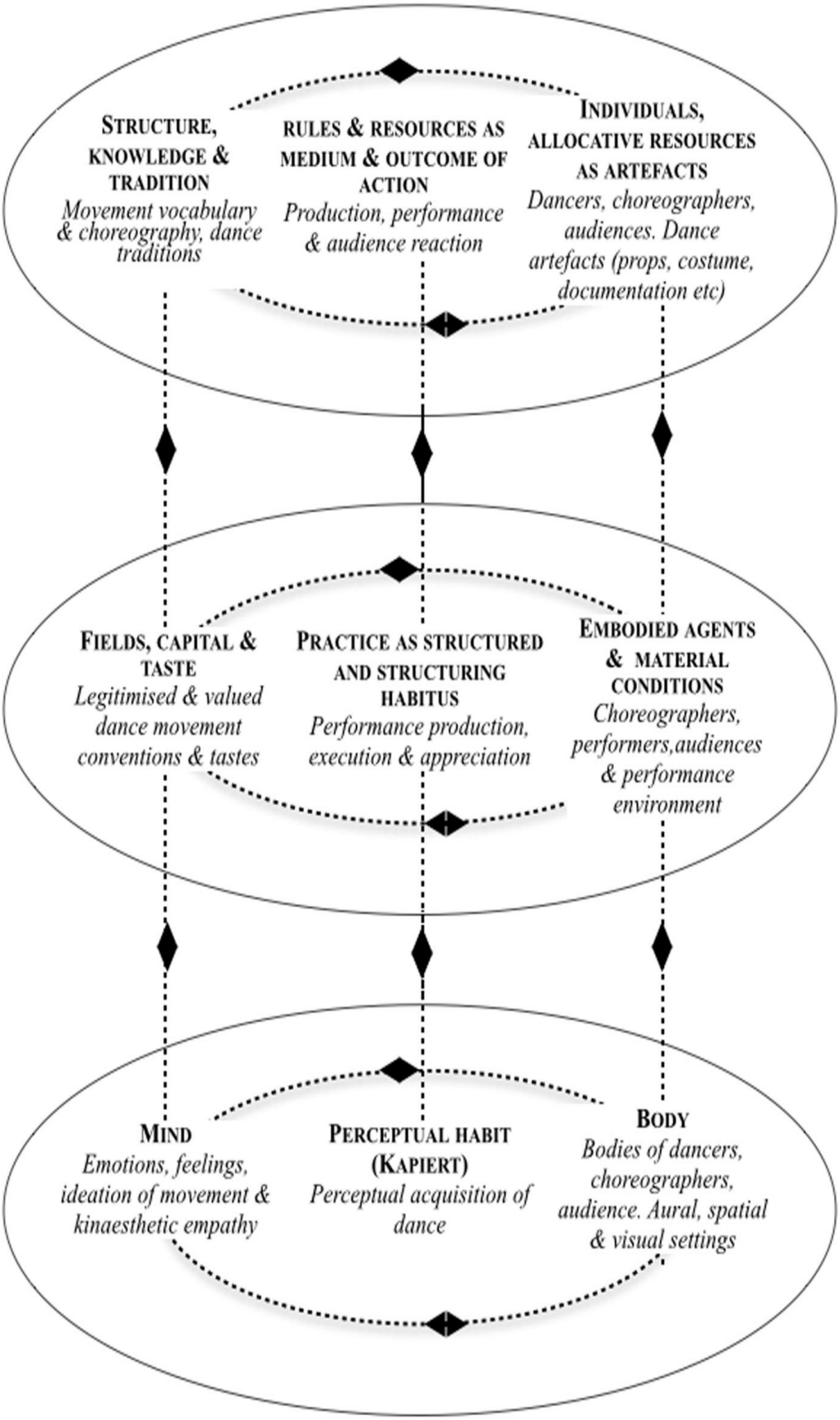
I have reproduced Figure 5 below, from 3.7, as it illustrates the above definition of living heritage, showing how tangible and intangible elements of heritage interconnect.

Authenticity	Heritage	Transculturality
Small number of basic movements, or kinemes (hip circles, hip figures of 8, shoulders and torso isolations, torso undulations, shimmies), but high number of allokines or variations.	Movement traditions build up, as new motifs and allokines are invented by dancers and copied by successive generations.	Dance movements of raqs sharqi influenced by foreign traditions, such as Latin, ballet, vaudeville, from the beginning.
Expressing the feelings of the music.	Egyptian people's habitus and dispositions (including baladi/afrangi dialectic).	People involved in raqs sharqi were international from the start (i.e. Badia Masabni and people who worked in her clubs, Mahmoud Reda who travelled and was influenced by American musicals). Successive generations of dancers travel worldwide.
Connection with the audience.	Cultural artefacts such as movies, cassettes, CDs, DVDs, books, magazines, photographs, become part of the heritage.	From the 1970s foreign dancers travel to Egypt to learn from the source. Some of them stay there to work and then go back to their countries where they teach.
Culturally encoded, embodied attitudes: relaxation; softness; minimalism (i.e. small, internal movements); joy; playfulness; sensuality; flirting; coyness; power; strength; sexiness or sensuality; elegance; simplicity.	Dancers from the past, seen in videos, inspire future generations of dancers.	Middle Eastern diasporas in the USA, where musicians and dancers from different countries worked together.
Baladi/afrangi habitus	Accomplished dancers become embodied heritage as they teach students internationally. These dancers are older, but their experience is appreciated.	Contact zones: Salat in the 1920s in Cairo; ethnic restaurants in the USA in the 1960s/70s; Arab nightclubs in London in the 1970s; dance festivals in and outside of Egypt from the 1970s onwards.
Individualism, agency of the performer, expressed through: spontaneity; honesty; humour; charisma; dancing 'from the heart'; improvisation.	Raqs sharqi as invented tradition, which has roots in old Egyptian dance traditions (baladi, ghawazee, folklore).	Audiences: the audiences in the salat were made up of foreigners and Egyptian upper classes whose taste was transcultural; in the USA in the 1970s, flower children movement seeks inspiration in different cultures; Egyptian dancers teach international audiences at festivals in and outside of Egypt.
Musicality.	Celebratory use of dance in festivals and weddings.	Music in the salat was hybrid between Egyptian and foreign elements, with western instruments such as the violin, being used alongside traditional Egyptian ones. These new instrument remained as part of the musical heritage.
Live music.	Traditional artefacts (finger cymbals, assaya).	Artefacts such as dance videocassettes and DVDs, music CDs, costumes and props, books and magazines are sold worldwide.
Egyptian audiences	Music, consolidated as part of the raqs sharqi tradition, through its use in movies and TV shows.	Internet makes raqs sharqi become a global transcultural phenomenon.
Egypt and Cairo, places where roots of raqs sharqi are and where the culture can be experienced with all the senses.	Raqs sharqi and folklore dance used to represent Egyptian culture on the world stage.	The majority of dancers who have the capital (economic, social, cultural and network) to learn the dance are foreigners.
	Roots of dance traditions sought in Egypt.	
	Uses of heritage in the 21st Century: economic; improving self-esteem; aging well;	
	Last guardian discourse.	
	Golden age nostalgia.	

Table 42 – Summary of analysis part 1

Change/Traditions	Transmission	Influences on Heritage
Agency: some dancers decide to innovate, others are traditionalists.	Transmission takes place both in person and by watching media (body to body and mimesis).	Forms of habitus: religion, morals, social values; lifestyles and taste; transculturality.
Innovation can take place in various ways, through: adaptation of participatory dance to the stage; introduction of foreign influences in the dance; new kinemes (or most often allokines and motifs); using new props or old props differently; performing old movements but with different qualities; different show productions; costumes with new cuts or materials; new gestures or mimicking lyrics; use of different music.	Heritage de-territorialised and de-temporalized.	Forms of capital, which could be expressed through: law, economy, technology; mobility; availability of venues.
Each dancer carves a niche in the field of cultural production, in which they compete to differentiate themselves from previous generations.	Increasing amount of capital is invested by students for learning, as their interest increases (from local classes, to workshops and one to one sessions with internationally famous dancers and travelling to attend festivals).	Set of rules and players in the field: politics, competition, agency.
Class: traditional is associated with baladi, modern with afrangi. In the 2000s shaabi is introduced.	Transmission of heritage is about capital and mobilities.	Ability of heritage to adapt to changes in society.
Music: music changes, it becomes hybrid in the 1920s; it changes slightly according to fashion overtime, new songs are composed for dancers.	Corporeal travel: diasporas; dancers and learners travelling to and from Egypt (it involves high economic capital).	
Taste: in the USA in the 1970s, sociocultural changes led to changes in taste, so belly dance went from being censored to being celebrated as liberating for women. From the 1970s to the mid-90s dance is performed in Cairo for very big audiences. In the mid-1990s, the taste of Egyptian rich people (and of younger tourist) changes, so they prefer going to smaller restaurants rather than nightclubs and dance is seen in clubs and pubs.	Embodied capital (and embodied heritage) of dancers/teachers. The most famous teach internationally.	
Locations: in the USA, in the 1970s, raqs sharqi is taught formally in studios. Through its history raqs sharqi is performed in different types of venues.	Institutionalised capital: attendance to festivals, workshops, classes and other events.	
Technology: cinema from the 1930s; in the 1970s/80s in Egypt raqs sharqi appears on TV in musical productions.	Physical movement of objects: books, DVDs, video cassettes, magazines (objectified capital).	
	Communicative travel: internet.	
	Virtual heritage: dance seen in movies and other types of videos. In particular, famous dancers who are no longer alive become virtual heritage and 'classics'.	
	Locations and contact zones: salat; ethnic restaurants in USA; Arab nightclubs in London; festivals; formal classes.	
	Society: feminism and social changes in the USA.	

Table 43 - Summary of analysis part 2


STRUCTURE, KNOWLEDGE & TRADITION
Movement vocabulary & choreography, dance traditions
RULES & RESOURCES AS MEDIUM & OUTCOME OF ACTION
Production, performance & audience reaction
INDIVIDUALS, ALLOCATIVE RESOURCES AS ARTEFACTS
Dancers, choreographers, audiences. Dance artefacts (props, costume, documentation etc)
FIELDS, CAPITAL & TASTE
Legitimised & valued dance movement conventions & tastes
PRACTICE AS STRUCTURED AND STRUCTURING HABITUS
Performance production, execution & appreciation
EMBODIED AGENTS & MATERIAL CONDITIONS
Choreographers, performers,audiences & performance environment
MIND
Emotions, feelings, ideation of movement & kinaesthetic empathy
PERCEPTUAL HABIT (KAPIERT)
Perceptual acquisition of dance
BODY
Bodies of dancers, choreographers, audience. Aural, spatial & visual settings

Chapter 7
Conclusions

7.1 Research Questions and Main Findings

The main purpose of my study was to identify the cultural heritage characteristics of Egyptian raqs sharqi and evaluate if it can be considered heritage and how it locates itself within the field of ICH. The objectives, in order to achieve the above aim, were:

1. To identify what ICH is, how it is managed, how the ICH recognition is achieved and who benefits from it. I will do this through a review of literature in the field of ICH.
2. To position Egyptian raqs sharqi (as a form of transcultural dance) within culture and society. I will achieve this objective by reviewing literature from the areas of dance studies and sociology.

Objectives 1 and 2 were achieved through readings (around the topics of dance, cultural heritage and Egyptian raqs sharqi), which formed the base of the literature review (Chapter 2) and generated sensitising concepts and an initial set of questions. In the process, I adopted a dialogical paradigm of heritage and an ethnochoreological approach. This initial set of questions led me to engage with philosophically informed sociological theories, in order to help me make sense of such a complex field (and because of the interdisciplinary nature of dance research), thus leading me to the conceptual framework of Living Heritage (Chapter 3).

3. To gain a deeper understanding of Egyptian raqs sharqi by analysing videos of this dance form. This will enable me to trace a history of Egyptian raqs sharqi, identify its movements and evaluate what consolidated tradition exists, which can be considered a cultural asset.
4. To acquire an insight into how Egyptian raqs sharqi, as an expression of culture, is understood today by an international community of practitioners other than myself. In order to do this, I will interview experienced practitioners from across

the world and I will analyse texts (including books, documentaries on DVD, blogs, websites and online discussions from forums and social media).

As a result of the process undertaken to achieve aims 1 and 2, a series of research questions emerged, to which I have provided (highly plausible) responses in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. These chapters were written as a result of my data collection and analysis, which fulfilled objectives 3 and 4 by allowing me to: reconstruct a version of the history of Egyptian raqs sharqi (with its movements and traditions), from the beginning of the 20th century; and to analyse the current discourse on the culture surrounding this dance from the point of view of an international community of practitioners. I will summarise my findings (in the form of answers to my research questions) here, starting with the sub-questions and ending with the main question.

1) **Given its transcultural status, what is 'authentic' Egyptian raqs sharqi?**

This question is addressed throughout Chapter 5 and in section 6.2. Three points are worth highlighting though, in addition to what has already been discussed. The first point is that the understanding of authenticity adopted in this thesis, following from the literature review, is the dialogical idea of fluid authenticity. That is, what is considered authentic tends to adapt to the needs and taste of different audiences at different historical moments, thus authenticity tends to change and this allows traditions to stay alive and relevant. Moreover, the authenticity uncovered in this thesis relates to the discourse that exists within an international community of practitioners, during a specific timeframe (i.e. approximately the first decade of the 21st century).

The second point is the transcultural nature of raqs sharqi and how this might modify the concept of authenticity, in that it is possible to identify certain elements of authenticity, even in relation to a transcultural type of heritage. Throughout the history of raqs sharqi, certain ideas seem to reappear and be reinforced in the discourse of raqs sharqi, even as it is transmitted across different cultures and locations.

The third point is the relationship between tangible and intangible elements of heritage in the raqs sharqi authenticity discourse. From the data, it has emerged that the different elements that compose dance (most of which comprise transcultural components) all contribute to authenticity. The intangible elements (particularly the emotions) seem more central, for raqs sharqi practitioners and informed spectators, than the tangible

ones (such as costumes and artefacts). The movement vocabulary (another intangible element) is also relevant as, from the videos, a specific set of movements can be recognised. Moreover, the human body is central as a place in which many of the tangible (artefacts such as props and costumes, the physicality of the human body) and intangible (emotions, sense of traditions, movement vocabulary, taste, class and agency) elements converge.

In terms of what raqs sharqi is, based on my findings, it can be described as a socially hybrid and transcultural dance genre (although rooted in Egyptian social dance traditions, of which raqs sharqi is the performance version), which: values improvisation more than choreography; is traditionally danced solo and to live music; has a set of core movements with many variations; values the dancer's individuality and capacity of self-expression and values the connection with the audience. This is summarised in Table 44, which represents raqs sharqi as a form of living heritage and is based on Figure 5.

2) **What makes Egyptian raqs sharqi worth safeguarding as a form of cultural heritage, in and outside of Egypt?**

This question is addressed in 6.3. In particular though (and this connects with Smith's [2006] 'uses of heritage', discussed in 2.8), raqs sharqi is important for people who are engaged in this practice because of the influence of this dance genre on the well-being of its practitioners (both professional and amateur). From the textual sources and the interviews, it has become clear that practitioners feel empowered by this dance, because of its intangible qualities (which are also important for the authenticity discourse), such as creativity, agency (in the sense of inspiring expressivity and being true to oneself), relaxed feeling, fun and sense of power, but also sensuality (which helps dancers feel at ease with their bodies). All these characteristics of raqs sharqi derive from the specific socio-cultural environment in which it originated.

3) **How do tangible and intangible elements of dance/heritage interact?**

This question is not addressed in a specific section, but it is evident throughout the findings chapters and it is also part of the responses to the other questions. For instance, the dance analysis shows the role that both tangible and intangible elements played in raqs sharqi history. In this respect, it is worth noting how both tangible and intangible elements are involved in the historical process of raqs sharqi heritage development.

Egyptian raqs sharqi has its roots in Egyptian local traditions, which include a variety of feelings, traditions, artefacts and music. As it developed (from the 1920s onwards), it incorporated new transcultural elements both tangible and intangible in the movement vocabulary, music, costumes and in its values and representation.

Certain dancers (as highlighted in the dance analysis) contributed to the creation of raqs sharqi heritage by upholding traditions, while at the same time introducing innovations in movements, feelings and artefacts. Technology also played a big role through the creation and distribution of new artefacts, such as videos (through cinema, TV, DVDs, the Internet), books and magazines. These new artefacts, which can also be considered as heritage in their own rights, also contributed towards the consolidation of a wider body of heritage.

Also, authenticity, transmission, heritage qualities and value and the change/tradition dialectic are all the result of the tangible/intangible interaction, encompassing all the elements of dance. Table 44 also shows the tangible and the intangible elements of raqs sharqi as per the model of living heritage.

4) **How is the dialectic between change and traditions negotiated by exponents of raqs sharqi (=narrower) / those involved in the field of raqs sharqi (=broader)?**

Throughout the dance analysis, and then in 6.5, it has become clear that there is a continuous dialectic between tradition and innovation. In 2.4, I mentioned a 'transmission continuum' from an 'essentialist' way of transmitting a dance tradition to a 'dialogical' one. Some genres, such the English folkloric dances studied by Buckland (2001), occupy a more essentialist position in that practitioners prefer to adhere as strictly as possible to traditions. Other dance forms, such as postmodern dance (Daly *et al.*, 1992), tend toward the dialogical extreme, as they seek innovation. Egyptian raqs sharqi seems to occupy an intermediate position, as there are traditions that dancers draw upon, but innovation and individual agency is one of the pillars of this dance (also highlighted in the authenticity discourse).

Practitioners connect themselves to the old heritage of the dance but also admire dancers who can innovate. Also, there seem to be two main groups: dancers who keep closer to traditions (for instance, Tahia Carioca and Soheir Zaki) and those who like to push boundaries (such as Nagwa Fouad and Dina). However, innovation can happen in many

ways (movement vocabulary, use of music, feelings, expressions, props and costumes, a combination of tangible and intangible elements) and also in subtle ways, so that even the most traditionalist of dancers can innovate (for example, the traditionalist Soheir Zaki was the first dancer to perform to Oum Kalthoum songs).

5) **How is Egyptian raqs sharqi transmitted across time, space and cultures?**

It has become evident through the dance analysis, and further highlighted in 6.6, how transmission happens through a variety of channels and the role that mobilities (Urry, 2007) and different forms of capital play in the transmission process. Transmission of knowledge happens through in-person teaching (sharing the same physical space) and via a variety of artefacts (books and videos supported by technologies such as videotapes, DVDs and computers).

Capital, in different forms (embodied, economic, cultural, social), is essential in accessing the knowledge that allows people to learn the dance. This capital is connected to what Urry (2007) calls 'mobilities' of people, artefacts, ideas through a variety of channels, which is connected to agents' networking capital. Some examples of networking capital are: the travels of Badia Masabni around the world to gather inspiration; the Middle Eastern diaspora to the USA; the travel of non-Egyptian practitioners from around the world to Egypt to learn from the country of origin of the dance; the travel of Egyptian practitioners outside of Egypt to teach and the widespread communication of ideas through the Internet.

Main question - From a dialogical perspective, what challenges are involved in the safeguarding of raqs sharqi as a form of transcultural, living and embodied heritage?

This question has been addressed through the dance analysis (Chapter 5) and in section 6.7. What I found was that there is a multitude of factors that impact on the safeguarding of raqs sharqi (and transcultural/living/embodied heritage more in general). These include: the understanding of authenticity; transculturality (which can be an opportunity as well as a threat for heritage); transmission (of dance/heritage across time and space) and the dialectic between change and traditions (which is continuously renegotiated and can change over time). Hence, it is important (for whomever is involved in the safeguarding of this heritage) to engage continuously with the field and the agents who play a role in it and to monitor any developments.

Moreover, the field of raqs sharqi has emerged as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon, which is connected with the bigger social field (of Egyptian and also world society). Hence, changing political, social and economic situations in the environment in which raqs sharqi takes place, can threaten or facilitate its performance/transmission. This means that the safeguarding of raqs sharqi cannot take place in isolation, but always needs to take into consideration a whole set of conditions.

Another aspect of this type of heritage that poses a challenge for its safeguarding is its multidimensional and composite nature, in which tangible and intangible elements continuously interact. The risk, if a holistic approach is not adopted, is of leaving out important elements of heritage. For example, music, particularly live music and its relationship with dance (at least in a traditional setting), has emerged as a vital component of raqs sharqi heritage. However, while the dancers of various nationalities travel to and from Egypt to teach, learn and perform, musicians who play the music for raqs sharqi do not seem to be widely available outside of Egypt. This can lead to a disjunction between two essential elements of the heritage ensemble[1]. This phenomenon has been highlighted in reverse for samba de roda in Bahia (Brazil) by Robinson and Packman (2014), who point out that new audio recordings of its music leave out the dance. Hence, they observe, the dance risks being marginalised because audio recordings cannot portray the centrality of dance in this art form. The risk and challenge for Egyptian raqs sharqi is the opposite as, by focusing on the dance only, its connection with live music may be eventually marginalised.

Another important issue concerns the centrality of people in raqs sharqi heritage and, indeed, in any other form of ICH. Because individual agency is so important, it is vital for curators to engage with people who are part of the heritage (i.e. practitioners, students and audiences). This can be a challenge because it is not always easy to involve people as they may not always be motivated. Also, for curating and cataloguing records of dance, heritage professionals would need an archive that is protected but also to which the public can contribute (unlike sites such as YouTube to which the public can contribute,

[1] Practitioners outside of Egypt, in places where it is hard to find live bands who play raqs sharqi music, dance to recorded tracks and still the connection with the music exists. However, the music/dancer connection is still appreciated outside of Egypt, so much so that some non-Egyptian dancers move to Egypt just to dance to live music (as discussed in 5.7).

but where videos can be removed anytime, either by the people who post them or by the YouTube administration team if videos seem to infringe copyright).

Transculturality is another issue that needs to be considered when safeguarding ICH, because cultures are not isolated bubbles. Therefore, the resulting cultural heritage is often transcultural and the debate needs to acknowledge this, to avoid stifling ICH and trying to force it within unnatural cultural boundaries, instead of realising that ICH is often at the intersection of transcultural flows (drawing from Appadurai's [1990] 'global cultural flows').

Last but not least, there is the issue of the different types of capital needed for the transmission and learning of raqs sharqi, which can lead to its objectification as a product of consumption. Moreover, the unequal distribution of power among people involved in the field of raqs sharqi as a form of heritage could be a cause for concern. In particular, many Egyptian practitioners (except for the most famous ones) tend to have less economic capital than non-Egyptians.

I will propose some possible ways to tackle the above challenges in the recommendations section (7.4). First, though, I will address the limitations of this study and the problems arising during this research, to pre-empt possible questions on issues that might affect my recommendations.

Structure, knowledge & tradition	Rules & resources as medium and outcome of action	Individuals, allocative resources as artefacts
The movement vocabulary includes a limited number of kinemes (mainly hips and torso articulations), but an infinite amount of layering and variations (allokines).	Dancers can use a variety of rules and resources to imprint their signature on the dance and elicit reactions in the audience. These include: movement vocabulary; movement quality; costumes; props; production and music they choose to dance to. Dancing to live music increases the impact on performers and audience.	The dancer's individual agency and creativity is highly valued, as well as the inspiration gathered through interaction with audiences and musicians. The material resources include not only costumes and props, but also the technology that has allowed raqs sharqi to be transmitted worldwide. .
Fields, capital & taste	**Practice as structured and structuring habitus**	**Embodied agents & material conditions**
Embodied dispositions in the dance: playfulness; sensuality; flirting; coyness; power; strength; sexiness or sensuality; elegance; simplicity; relaxation; softness and minimalism. Improvisation preferred over choreography. The way in which capital is distributed in the field has an effect on the way in which the dance is transmitted and on its safeguarding.	Movements influenced by the habitus (and dispositions) of Egyptian people (particularly baladi people), i.e. the way they move in everyday life. Also, it is influenced transculturally by non-Egyptian habitus, through the influences of other dance forms, such as ballet and ballroom dancing. The way in which raqs sharqi is performed depends also on its originally social (participatory) and celebratory function, but also on the way it was later adapted to be performed for a transcultural audience.	Agents are transcultural. Some come from Egypt, some from other countries and they travel and communicate through a variety of media. Festivals (in or outside of Egypt); boats on the Nile; hotels and nightclubs constitute the performance environments.
Mind	**Perceptual habit (kapiert)**	**Body**
Tarab and self-expression of a variety of feelings, largely (but not limited to) joy.	Learnt through observation and imitation of other dancers' movements, through in person interaction and/or via videos.	Connection between dancer, audience, musicians. Live music (Egyptian but with transcultural influences). Traditionally performed on same level as the audience (rather than on elevated stage), to facilitate emotional connection.

Table 44 – Raqs Sharqi as living heritage

7.2 Limitations of the Study

My thesis has provided a preliminary exploration into what might be involved in the understanding of dance as a form of cultural heritage, to inform its safeguarding. A complex picture has emerged in which a variety of tangible and intangible factors interact, thus I have tried to represent a holistic picture. Adopting a multidisciplinary approach has helped me in this endeavour. Having said that, I am aware that there are limitations in scope in this study due, for example, to the lack of an in-depth enquiry into Egyptian social, political, religious and cultural factors.

The main focus of my research was the dance, and its connections with Egyptian politics and society have emerged as part of my research. I am aware of the importance of a deeper socio-cultural analysis, but such analysis was beyond the scope of this research and I lacked the resources (of time and finance) to pursue such an in-depth analysis. Hence, this study can provide a foundation for further research involving a multidisciplinary team composed, for example, of dance anthropologists, historians, musicologists, sociologists and a variety of other experts as needed.

Moreover, I have mainly investigated the performed version of this popular Egyptian dance, in order to restrict and sharpen my focus. However, the social version (raqs baladi) is just as important and it warrants further investigation in the future. Also, it could be argued that I have focused too much on analysing videos of dancers who were either Egyptian or non-Egyptians performing in Egypt and mainly professionals. This was done to maintain focus, since I was exploring the presentational (as opposed to social) version of Egyptian style bellydance. In the future, separate studies could be carried out to assess how Egyptian raqs sharqi is interpreted in a variety of different settings (for example, in different countries, at social events or during dance classes). Also, different inputs could be gathered by analysing live performances, rather than just videos; or by comparing Egyptian raqs sharqi more directly with other forms of so-called bellydance.

A more in-depth analysis of the videos could also be done, focusing more on how the dance is represented in the movies and its context. All these explorations go beyond the scope of this thesis and would provide the content for new PhD or postdoctoral studies in their own rights.

One last point I need to make might seem, at first, an advantage rather than a limitation or at least this is what I thought at the start of my PhD journey. The fact that I write my own blog (www.worldbellydance.com) on bellydance (not limited to but including Egyptian raqs sharqi) was an advantage in two respects, as mentioned in 4.4.2.2 and 4.4.3.2. It allowed me to look back at my old posts and reflect on my journey as a practitioner, and was also one of the channels through which I recruited participants (one participant volunteered after reading a post I wrote about my research). Because the site has been live since 2004 and because of the SEO and e-marketing strategies I adopted, it has become well known by bellydance practitioners worldwide as it comes high up in search engines for a variety of keywords. Thus, this can make it a useful tool in research, but it also has its drawbacks. In particular, having a popular blog can place the researcher in a position of authority and, therefore, power in the field. So, some participants (especially those who have less research experience in the field) may be inclined to go along with what they think the researcher may want to hear from them. This is something I became aware of during my research. I think that some practitioners have not been influenced, but some might have been swayed a little. A researcher, as suggested by Bakka (2015), Pelegrini (2008) and Zebec (2007), should provide support and guidance to a community, whilst avoiding imposing their authority in the process of safeguarding heritage. This balance is not always easy to achieve.

In spite of the limitations in the scope of this research, however, I have hopefully contributed to a wider debate, having identified some key issues, such as the limitation of separating tangible from intangible elements of heritage and the transcultural dimension of ICH. Moreover, it is possible to generalise case studies to theoretical propositions, as mentioned in 4.8 drawing on Sparkes and Smith (2014). Hence, there is the potential to learn something inductively from the processes at play here and apply these conceptual understandings to other settings and the problem of cultural heritage more generally.

7.3 Problems Arising During the Research

As mentioned in the methodology (Chapter 4), I encountered some difficulties during the data gathering phase of my research, which limited the variety of my interview participants (hence, this part is connected to the section above on limitations of the study). For example, I was limited to participants who spoke either English or Italian and I

was not able to find Egyptian participants, males and people under 30. Also, I was not able to do fieldwork in Egypt as I would have liked to.

Another problem, which I mentioned in Chapter 4 but that I would like to return to, is the availability of online videos of dance, on sites such as YouTube and Vimeo. As already mentioned, these sites provide a wealth of precious data and give practitioners certain freedom to share. However, videos can be removed either by the site or by the person sharing them. This is a caveat, of which anyone who wants to use online resources for their research needs to be mindful.

I would also like to mention the archive value of videos shared online, as well as their limitations, for the safeguarding of ICH (or living heritage). Pietrobruno (2014, p. 756) notes that YouTube is used to share videos of ICH practices not only by UNESCO, but also by independent practitioners who 'can counter official heritage narratives put forward by nation-states through UNESCO'. This makes the safeguarding process more democratic. At the same time, however, Pietrobruno (2013, p. 1261) acknowledges that, since videos can be removed anytime by the users or by Google, 'YouTube does not guarantee that videos uploaded can be conserved or protected'.

Official recognition by UNESCO could provide awareness and easier access to funding, for an official online video archive to be set up, which would help to safeguard important videos. This video archive could involve the wider community and/or practitioners, to avoid 'freezing' of heritage or hegemony from the state.

7.4 Implications and Recommendations

The studies carried out in the field of ICH (see 2.2.1) support the idea that the inclusion in UNESCO's lists brought recognition to two practices that were not very well known and that were considered marginal. Hence, UNESCO's recognition could potentially raise awareness of raqs sharqi and help fight the prejudices that still exist against it (particularly around the idea of bellydance and its sexualisation, both in Egypt and in other places).

In particular, since, as highlighted in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, the state of the economy has been very important throughout the history of Egyptian raqs sharqi for this dance form to thrive, bringing more awareness to it could benefit it by attracting more tourism

and thus more funding. Indeed, the economy and tourism have been mentioned several times in the ICH literature as reasons why a nation seeks ICH recognition for a practice (see 2.2.1)

At the same time though, because the ICH recognition has to be started by a nation-state, it is unlikely that it will be proposed by Egypt any time soon, given the ambivalent attitude of Egyptians towards this dance form, as highlighted in the course of this research. Indeed, only recently, the Egyptian Tourism Authority, as reported by Al-Youm (2017), attracted controversy by using the image of a bellydance hip scarf to promote Egypt as a place where it is possible to buy such items. Those who reacted to this idea argued that tourism in Egypt should be promoted by associating this country to its ancient monuments rather than to raqs sharqi.

As discussed in 2.2.1, the risks of ICH nominations include: commodification, distortion, oversimplification, exploitation, nationalism, a top to down approach by the authorities, power struggles, freezing of heritage and cultural cleansing. Considering the position of raqs sharqi at the moment in Egyptian society, these risks are still too high for an ICH status recognition to be advisable for Egyptian raqs sharqi. Moreover, individual agency has emerged as an element that is too important for the practitioners of this dance and official protection of the tradition could feel too restrictive.

Another important reason why it is impractical to propose ICH status for Egyptian raqs sharqi is its transculturality. However, this does not make it impossible as long as, drawing on Stepputat's (2015) study on tango, the nomination dossier makes it clear that Egyptian raqs sharqi is now practised worldwide and that the nomination covers Egyptian style specifically, rather than raqs sharqi in general. However, this raises the critical question of who should safeguard a transcultural practice such as Egyptian raqs sharqi. Would it be possible for a practice to be safeguarded through UNESCO without the support of a nation-state? For the moment, it does not seem possible. Thus, even if an official protected status turned out to be beneficial for the transcultural practice of Egyptian raqs sharqi, who would safeguard it? It seems that the role of communities is even more critical in such a scenario.

To finish, drawing on Bakka's (2015), Pelegrini's (2008) and Zebec's (2007), suggestions on the role of the experts (i.e. they should support communities but not impose their

opinions), I suggest a staged approach that could be adopted for the safeguarding of ICH (including Egyptian raqs sharqi, if it ever was given ICH status). This approach involves all stakeholders to participate on equal footing, in order to minimise risks to heritage.

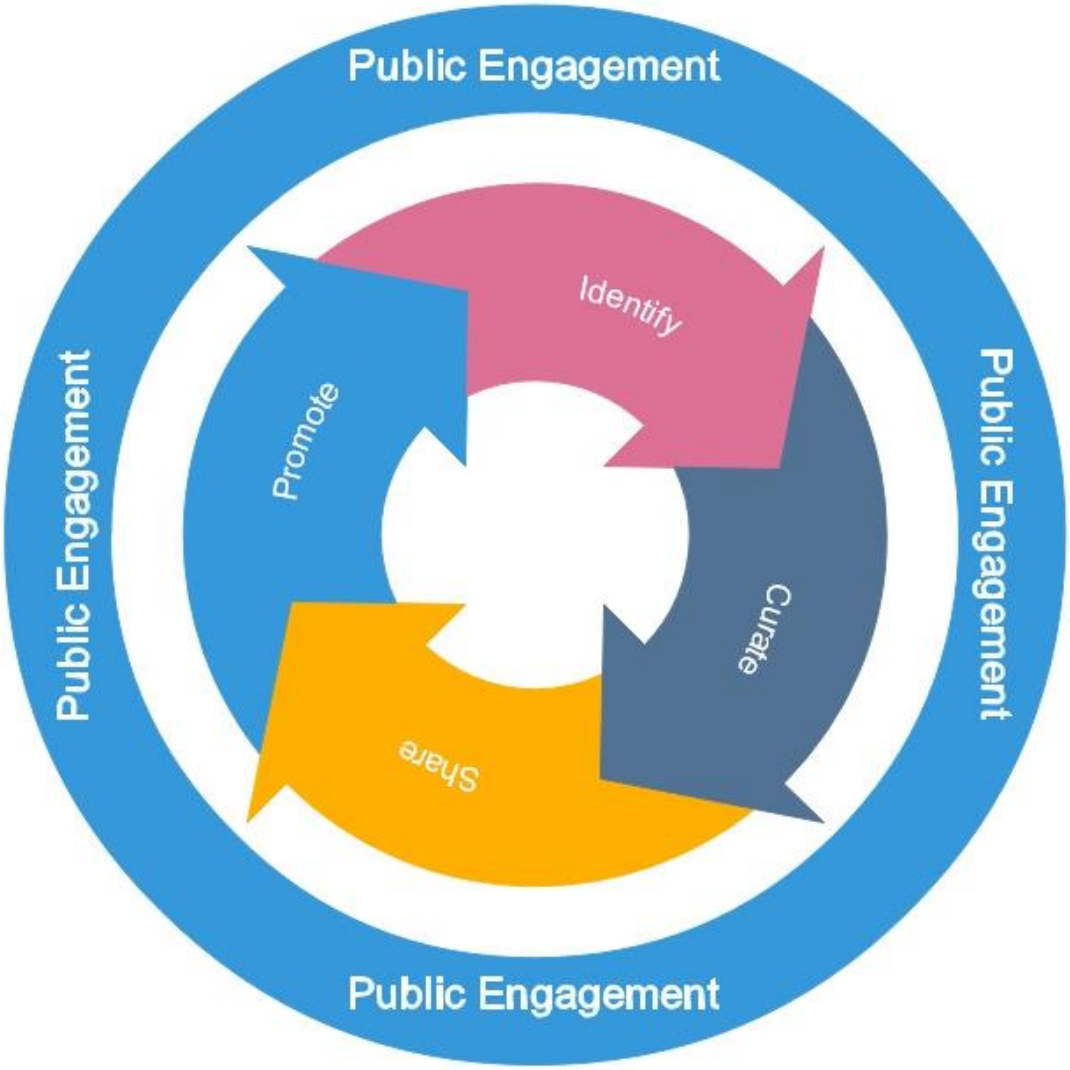


Figure 34 – Living heritage safeguarding guidelines

Figure 34 represents the process that, I propose, could be used as a guideline for safeguarding living cultural heritage. In the inner circle, I have drawn four stages (implemented by a multidisciplinary team of researchers, curators, practitioners and stakeholders[1]) that feed off each other and they are:

1. Identify – This stage includes the identification and analysis of a variety of elements, such as:

[1] I have used the word 'stakeholders' here in the most general sense (not just connected to business) of 'a person, or group having a stake, or interest, in the success of an enterprise, business, movement, etc' (Collins English Dictionary, no date).

a. Core elements that constitute that particular heritage; for example, for a dance genre, these will include dance movements, feelings, props, music and a variety of other elements that constitute that dance, including what could be considered 'authentic'.
b. Stakeholders: the people involved and interested in this heritage and why they are interested in it, what they stand to gain from its safeguarding and/or practice.
c. How stakeholders' benefits from this heritage can be maximised to increase their capital (cultural, social and/or financial).
d. Threats and opportunities: such as, what can threaten the continuation of that heritage and under which conditions it thrives.
e. Channels of transmission.
f. Diffusion: social settings and locations in which the heritage is practised.

2. Curate – This stage includes activities such as historical reconstruction, searching for sources and materials, documenting and archiving.
3. Share – For example, through performances, events, exhibitions, videos, teaching and publications.
4. Promote – This includes marketing activities to make more people aware of that heritage so that, for example, some people would visit a destination if they knew that they could practise, learn or watch a certain heritage activity.

Public engagement occupies the external circle because the public (i.e. a variety of stakeholders) would be involved in every stage of the process. The National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE) (no date, para. 3) defines public engagement as:

> The myriad of ways in which the activity and benefits of higher education and research can be shared with the public. Engagement is by definition a two-way process, involving interaction and listening, with the goal of generating mutual benefit.

Public engagement can include five different levels of interaction, as listed by the State of Victoria (2013):

- Information - for example: media releases, community education, brochures, websites.
- Consultation – this can include: surveys, interviews, focus groups, public meetings.

- Involvement – it includes activities that involve stakeholders in the decision-making process.
- Collaboration – in which ownership is shared between stakeholders and researchers and/or policymakers, such as through committees.
- Empowerment – in which communities share responsibility for making decisions.

The safeguarding process could engage the public in any of the ways listed above, throughout the four stages of the model shown in Figure 34. This research has covered aspects of all four stages from the model. Stages 1 (identification) and 2 (curation) have been covered by reconstructing the history of Egyptian raqs sharqi, using a variety of sources through an ethnochoreological approach. Stages 3 (sharing) and 4 (promotion) have been dealt with through this written thesis, the journal articles published as a result of this research and the conference presentations given, all of which can help disseminate knowledge and raise awareness about Egyptian raqs sharqi.

Finally, drawing on the above considerations (of people being central and of public engagement) and on Smith's (2006) concept of 'uses of heritage', I have started exploring the possibility of how dance/heritage (and ICH more generally) could be used to bridge gaps between cultures through knowledge exchange, as also suggested by Wong (2013) with his study on *Intangible Cultural Heritage of Dance as Medium for Intercultural Dialogue*. ICH, for example, could be used to bring people from different communities together (such as locals and refugees) who have interests in common and are keen to learn from each other in relation to their cultural interests. As a result, I have started laying down the foundations for a project called 'Dance beyond borders', which would involve social forms of traditional dances to bring communities together. This is still at the exploratory stage and many issues will undoubtedly arise along the way (such as cultural appropriation), but it is a possibility worth exploring. In the next section, I will conclude this thesis by identifying what I hope the contribution of this study to knowledge has been.

7.5 Contribution to Research

In addition to providing some directions for future research and giving recommendations, there are some contributions that I hope my study has made to the advancement in the

fields of heritage and dance studies. Indeed, the area of dance (and physical cultures in general) as a form of cultural heritage is still relatively new and underdeveloped.

Firstly, my study has endeavoured to bridge the gap between the fields of dance and cultural heritage studies in a systematic way, which will be needed if dance genres (and other physical cultures) are to be safeguarded in the future as part of the cultural heritage of humanity (either by UNESCO or by other organisations). Starting to bridge this gap has allowed me to identify issues that are specific to dance in relation to its safeguarding. Also, as dance is an embodied activity, I have highlighted the role of the human body in cultural heritage, something that has been so far too often overlooked in cultural heritage studies.

Secondly, by adopting an interdisciplinary approach (inspired by Prokosch Kurath's [1960] positioning on dance studies), I have drawn from philosophical and sociological theories (Merleau-Ponty; Bourdieu; Giddens and to a lesser extent Urry and others) as well as from the fields of dance, anthropology, performance studies, cultural heritage and neurosciences to build a holistic model of dance/heritage, which points towards overcoming tangible/intangible dichotomies. I hope that this model will be a useful tool for other scholars to help them develop their own context-specific approaches to ICH.

Thirdly, for the field of raqs sharqi, I have provided a methodical historic reconstruction (or at least the first step towards its further development) using a variety of sources and analysing both the form of the dance and the opinions around it. This had not been done before for raqs sharqi in a comprehensive way and to such level of detail.

Fourthly, I have used online research methods (such as Skype, online videos analysis and netnography), in addition to face-to-face interviews, and combined them with an ethnochoreological approach and with sociocultural analysis.

Fifthly, as evidenced in Lo Iacono and Brown (2016), I have systematically introduced the debate about the relationship between intangible and tangible elements in cultural heritage. Lastly, I have raised the issue of transculturality and cultural heritage, posing the question of how to safeguard heritage forms that were always transcultural. Hitherto, much of the debate is centred around activities that are assumed to be monocultural, but my work on raqs sharqi shows that, even when this was not the case, authentic elements might still be identified.

This research project has been a long but very enjoyable journey for me, in which I have grown as a human being and also, I think, improved as a raqs sharqi dancer by understanding more deeply this dance and its roots. Drawing on Trisha Brown's (2017) statement (from the website of the 2017 International Dance Day, shortly before she sadly passed away) that dance 'expands the universal language of communication, giving birth to joy, beauty and the advancement of human knowledge', I hope that my passion for dance, expressed through this research, has achieved its aim by providing a contribution (even if tiny) to the knowledge of humanity.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview Guide

1) Can you give me a short history of your involvement in raqs sharqi? (how and when did you start, how long have you done it, how it impacted different stages of your life, etc)
2) How have you learnt raqs sharqi and how do you keep learning (i.e., classes, online videos, DVDs, etc)?
3) Why do you like raqs sharqi? What do you enjoy the most about raqs sharqi (i.e. the feeling of the movements and style dance itself, the community side of it, dressing up, etc)?
4) What were your expectations of raqs sharqi before you ever tried it?
5) Who are your favourite raqs sharqi dancers, or those who have influenced you the most and why?
6) What influence has practising raqs sharqi had on you (as a person and/or as a dancer)?
7) If you practice other dance forms, for you, how do they differ from raqs sharqi?
8) How important is it for you to know the cultural context that raqs sharqi comes from?
9) As a raqs sharqi dancer, how important is it for you travelling to Egypt?
10) How was your experience of dance training in Egypt, did it change the way you dance or experience raqs sharqi?
11) What for you is authentic about raqs sharqi and does it matter?
12) How important is it for you to keep dance close to its origins? Or how important is it to innovate?
13) What for you is the essence of raqs sharqi? I.e. what are the elements that distinguish it from other types of dance and make it recognisable as raqs sharqi?
14) What for you is the essence of Egyptian raqs sharqi? (as opposed to, for example, Turkish or Lebanese).
15) What main differences do you think there are, if any, in the way Egyptian dancers dance raqs sharqi compared to non-Egyptians?
16) How do you think Egyptians see raqs sharqi?

17) In raqs sharqi, what elements reflect, for you, its Egyptian origins?
18) What does practising Egyptian raqs sharqi add to your own cultural identity or how does it relate to it?
19) How does your own cultural background, and/or training in other dance forms, influence the way you dance raqs sharqi, in your opinion?

Appendix 2. Participants Information Sheet and Consent Form

Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Reference number: 15/1/01R

Title of Project: Raqs Sharqi as Cultural Heritage

Background

This project is inspired by the 2003 UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage, which allows activities, such as performing arts and cultural traditions, to be added to the UNESCO world heritage lists of humanity. The idea behind the decision to study Egyptian raqs sharqi as a form of cultural heritage is to highlight the fact that cultural heritage cannot be considered simply external to us, but it is part of every person's experience, it gives us a sense of belonging and defines who we are. Intangible heritage is alive and something we experience through our bodies and dance can be an excellent case to show this point.

In addition, cultural heritage does not necessarily have to come from the culture in which we were born, but we can decide to embrace, at any point in our lives and for different reasons, a tradition that comes from a different culture. Hence, raqs sharqi ('oriental dance' in Arabic), which originated from Egypt but is now practised and appreciated all over the world, is a good example of this.

The aim of this study is to examine raqs sharqi but do so by exploring how people who practise raqs sharqi experience it. How raqs sharqi has affected their lives; how, why and where they have learnt it; if they teach, how they do it and why; how important the cultural aspect and the roots of this dance are for them; how important it is for them to innovate or keep to traditions and why; how their tastes, cultural background, personal experience and dance training affect the way they dance raqs sharqi. Ultimately, I wish to explore the importance in people's lives of activities and traditions that have been so far excluded from what was traditionally considered cultural heritage. This study will also explore the suitability of raqs sharqi to contribute to UNESCO's cultural heritage list, while questioning if it is realistic to separate cultural heritage into tangible and intangible forms.

What would happen if you volunteer to take part in this study

- You will be part of a Facebook discussion group[1] and/or be involved in two interviews to be conducted in person or via Skype. You can choose to be involved only in the Facebook group, only in the interviews, or in both.
- Each interview will last no longer than 90 minutes, with an interval of between one or two months between each of the two interviews.
- In the case of face-to-face interviews, the session will be audio recorded, or in the case of Skype®interviews, it will be voice and video recorded by EVAER® software.
- A third, follow-up up interview may be agreed at a later date, but only if deemed necessary and if it is convenient for you.
- You will have the opportunity to listen to the recording of the interview. In addition, I will ask you for feedback about the interview, after transcription and interpretation, to make sure you agree with the accuracy of the transcription/interpretation of your words and that you are happy to continue being involved in the study.
- If you provide a video of you dancing or a video you took of a dance performance, this video will be used as part of the research.

Who can participate in this research?

Requirements needed to take part in this research are:

- You must be aged 18 or over.
- You must currently practise or have practised in the past Egyptian style raqs sharqi. It is fine if you also practise other dance genres or other styles of belly dance, as long as you also have been at some point or are currently practising the Egyptian style of raqs sharqi. Also, it does not matter where in the world you are from, your age (as long as you are 18 or over), your gender, how long you have practised Egyptian raqs sharqi for, if you have been to Egypt or not. I will need to hear from a variety of different people, to find out about different perspectives.

Are there any risks?

[1] For this study, I originally planned to create a Facebook discussion group, constituting an online focus group. However, in the end I did not carry out with this plan, as the data had reached saturation point and the Facebook group was no longer deemed necessary.

The potential for risks in this study is minimal, but there are small issues that need to be considered.

Interviews:

Although this study does not require asking sensitive questions, it may be possible that the recollection of experiences has the potential to make you feel uncomfortable. Please remember that there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and you can control what is said and how it is said and you can request the recording of the interview to be paused, stopped or indeed terminate the interview altogether and this request will be granted. Because I am not a medical doctor, counsellor, or a therapist, I will not be able to advise you on personal issues, but I will be empathetic and respect your wish to terminate the interview if this is the case.

Facebook group discussion:

The group will be secret, which will mean that it will have the highest level of privacy. However, while the aim of this study is NOT to profit financially from the information about

participants, Facebook may still use the material generated on their site for their own financial gain.

What happens to the outcome of the research?

I hope to write research papers for publication on academic journals and may present reports at academic conferences. I have constructed a research web-page to inform you about the research, which is available on https://www.worldbellydance.com/heritageresearch/

Are there any benefits from taking part?

You are not likely to benefit directly from participating in the study. However, your participation will contribute to our understanding of raqs sharqi as a transcultural practice that is relevant to those who embrace it for personal and cultural reasons. This should help to raise awareness of and appreciation for this ancient art form.

Compensation

Unfortunately, I cannot offer any compensation for your participation in this research.

Costs to you

You will not incur any costs as a result of participating in this study.

What happens next?

This consent form needs to be completed by ticking the appropriate boxes at the bottom and returning it to me by email as an attachment on vloiacono@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Participant's rights

- This is a project in which participation is entirely voluntary and you are under no obligation to participate in this study.
- You will be free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason and without penalty.
- You will be made aware of any new information that may want to make you change your mind about being involved in the research.

Confidentiality

To protect your confidentiality your name will not appear in any publications and a pseudonym (alternative name) will be used instead unless you specifically ask to be given credit.

In order to protect confidentiality, the Facebook discussion group will be secret. The privacy settings for secret groups (as per https://www.facebook.com/help/220336891328465) are as follows:

- in order to join people must be added or invited by a member;
- only current and former members can see the group's name;
- only current members can see who is in the group;
- only current and former members can see the group's description;
- only current and former members can see the group tags;
- only current members can see what members post in the group;
- only current and former members can find the group in searches;

- only current members can see stories about the group on Facebook (like in News Feed and search).

Please remember not to post sensitive or highly personal information in the group forum. As the group administrator, I will monitor the group to remove any offensive or overly personal posts (as explained on https://www.facebook.com/help/146441348760878).

If participating in interviews, you will be given the opportunity to choose the location, the day and time of the interview and whether or not the interview will be recorded. If the interview is done by Skype using the EVAER software, you are advised to choose a private location where you feel comfortable to talk. EVAER offers the facility to store data on their online storage facility. However, to protect confidentiality, I will use instead a password protected computer backed up to encrypted external hard drives. I will create a specific Skype account for this research study. Once the study is over, the Skype account will be closed and all your online details and data will be removed.

Once collected, data will be transcribed into a pass-worded protected computer. Only the people involved in the project will have access to this information. The data will be kept indefinitely to facilitate future analysis, unless you do not wish this to be the case, at which point the data will be kept for the five-year duration of this study only.

Further information

If you have any questions about the research or how I intend to conduct the study, please contact me.

Mrs Valeria Lo Iacono, PhD candidate in Dance and Cultural Heritage

Email address: vloiacono@cardiffmet.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM

Have you read the information on this page and do you agree to participate?

Select all that applies:

☐ I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐ I agree to a Skype interview.

☐ I agree to a face to face interview (it only applies if you live in or near Cardiff, UK).

☐ I agree to the interview being audio recorded if face to face and audio/video recorded if via Skype.

☐ I agree to the use for research purposes of videos I have provided, if any.

☐ I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications produced from this study.

☐ I do not want to participate.

Email address: _____ (required to confirm identity)

Appendix 3. Glossary of Arabic Terms

Afrangi - westernised Egyptian upper class.

Alma (plur. awalim) - an educated woman who could sing, write music and poetry, play instruments and sometimes danced and who performed mainly for women in the harem.

Assaya – stick used sometimes as a prop for Egyptian dance performances.

Awalim – plural for alma.

Baladi (also spelt Beledi) –literally 'of the country', local. Baladi also refers to authentic working class (mainly from urban areas) and their social dance.

Bedlah - bra and skirt costume commonly associated with belly dance.

Bint al balad – (also sometimes spelt bint el balad) daughter of the country, or daughter of the town; an urban working-class woman.

Ghawazee (sing. Ghaziya) – Sinti gypsies from Egypt.

Haram – forbidden, sinful.

Kabareh – nightclub, but with negative connotations.

Kanoun – string instrument.

Nay – musical instrument, a type of flute.

Raqs – dance.

Raqs sharqi - oriental dance

Sagat – finger cymbals.

Saidi – from Upper Egypt. Also, a type of musical rhythm originated from Upper Egypt.

Sala – one of the nightclubs in which raqs sharqi was first developed in Cairo in the 1920s.

Shaabi – 'of the people', popular. Associated with urban working classes from Cairo and a type of music, which has often playful or political connotations.

Shamadan – candelabrum with lit candles, which the performer balances on her head whilst dancing.

Sharqi - oriental (literally, of the east).

Shika (plural shikhat) - in Morocco, a female dancer who performs at rites of passage such as marriages or circumcision rituals.

Tahtib – combat activity from Upper Egypt using sticks.

Tarab – enchantment or ecstasy. In the field of performing arts, it refers to the feeling produced by music and often conveyed visually by the dancer to the audience.

Zeffa - procession. Zeffa al Aroussa, bridal procession.

Appendix 4. Glossary of Raqs Sharqi Movements

The following list of terms for raqs sharqi movements is not the official codified terminology, as this does not exist for raqs sharqi or belly dance. It is instead the terminology I have learnt from my teachers over the years and from books and DVDs which I have used for learning. Therefore, other raqs sharqi practitioners may use slightly different terms for some movements, but the most common movements are usually recognised by the community, using these terms.

Arabesque – travelling step with a pivot on one foot and an extended leg.

Backbend – leaning backwards with the upper body.

Barrel turn – similar to the corkscrew turn, but with the arms extended (one upwards and the other one downwards).

Belly flutters - quick contractions and releases of the upper abdominal muscles.

Belly pop – quick contraction and release of the lower abdominal muscles.

Camel – isolated torso undulation like a wave, forward and back. In Egyptian style, it is confined mostly to the lower abdomen and lower back.

Chest circle - a circular movement of the ribcage, on the horizontal plane (but it can sometimes be on the vertical plane)

Chest drop - an isolated movement of the ribcage downwards.

Chest lift – an isolated movement of the ribcage upwards.

Choo choo shimmies – hip shimmies performed on relevé, while shuffling along the dance floor.

Corkscrew turn – turn performed on the spot, by crossing one foot in front of the other and pivoting on the heel of the foot that is in front.

Egyptian walk, or hagalla – stepping down on one foot at a time, whilst lowering the corresponding hip.

Floorwork – dancing movements done while sitting or lying on the floor.

Grapevine – sideways travelling movement with sidesteps and steps across the support foot.

Head slide – the horizontal sliding movement of the head side to side.

Heels stomp – tapping both heels flat to stress a downward accent in the music.

Hip bump – thrusting movement of the hip to the side with emphasis.

Hip circle – the circular movement of the hips, on a horizontal plane.

Hip drop – the movement of one hip up to down, with emphasis on the downward motion. Only one hip moves and no weight is placed on the corresponding hip. The weight of the body rests solely on the leg corresponding to the static hip.

Hip horizontal figure of eight – tracing a figure of eight, or infinity symbol pattern, with the hips on a horizontal plane.

Hip jewel - half horizontal figures of eight of one hip, punctuated at the end by a small abdominal contraction, with a ripple effect.

Hip lift - the movement of one hip at a time down to up, with emphasis on the upward motion.

Hip shimmies – Hip vibrations.

Hip slide - the horizontal sliding movement of the hips side to side.

Hip tak – small and sharp hip movement creating an accent, similar to a hip bump.

Hip twist – moving one hip forward and the other back, on a horizontal plane.

Hip vertical figure of 8 – tracing a figure of eight, or infinity symbol pattern, with the hips on a vertical plane, going inwards, towards the centre of the body.

Layering – performing two movements of the same part of the body at the same time. For example, a hip figure of eight while shimming the hips; little hip drops while doing a horizontal hip figure of eight.

Maya – like a hip vertical figure of eight, but with the hips moving outwards, away from the centre of the body.

Pelvic lift and drop – an isolated movement of the pelvis upwards and the downward, with the accent on the down movement.

Pelvic tilt with weight transfer – tilting the pelvis, with weight transfer between one leg positioned in front and the other leg that is slightly back.

Relevé (or demi-pointe) - a movement in which the dancer rises on the tips of the toes.

Scissor step – stepping with the same foot forward and back, while the other foot steps on the spot.

Shoulder rolls – alternating rolling movements of the shoulders.

Shoulder shimmies – the vibration of the shoulders, achieved by moving them in quick alternation back and forward.

Snake arms – moving the arm joints in smooths succession from the shoulder to elbow and wrist, with a wave or snake-like effect.

Soheir Zaki hip drop - the movement of one hip at a time up to down, with emphasis on the downward motion. The hips move in succession, one at a time and the dancer stands on tiptoes.

Travelling steps – steps that allow the dancer to move around the dance floor.

Appendix 5. List of Videos Referenced in Dancers' Styles Tables

This is a list of the videos I have referenced in the tables for the individual dancers' styles, in the dance analysis chapter. The videos below are also present in the general list of references, but I have created the list below for quicker access.

- Camelia at *Nile Group Festival* (Daniella Cairo, 2014a). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4THMZ9b_qbM.
- Camelia on Nile Maxim Boat in Cairo (Aleya Cairo Bellydance, 2013). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j5_nMn8Z3tI.
- Dina dancing live at the Ramses Hilton in Cairo (TheCaroVan, 2014d). Available online on https://vimeo.com/109905818.
- Dina from the movie *Ba'ia al shay* (*The Tea Seller*) from 1991 (TheCaroVan, 2014b). Available online on https://vimeo.com/107778489.
- Dina on stage (Belly Dance & Nice Dancers, 2013). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EEFu2U9rNJo.
- Dina performing on Al Rakesa (Al Rakesa, 2014). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ck9t9nJJkUo.
- Fifi Abdou from the 2000 movie *Zane't el Setat* (*Women's Market*) (TheCaroVan, 2015a). Available online on https://vimeo.com/120732913.
- Fifi Abdou live show at Mena House (Marita Fahlén, 2009). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LweZOAUPUSU.
- Fifi Abdou, live show in the Sheraton Hotel in Cairo, performing shisha routine (TheCaroVan, 2014f). Available online on https://vimeo.com/107701208.
- Lucy dancing to the Umm Kalsoum's song *Lessr Fakir* (*Do you still remember*?) (TheCaroVan, 2015b). Available online on https://vimeo.com/132174141.
- Lucy live performance (TheCaroVan, 2015d). Available online on https://vimeo.com/138816717.
- Mona al Said dancing at the *Mediterranean Delight* festival (Avihass, 2014). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pLBhV1M5KCQ.
- Mona al Said drum solo (baadrobot, 2008b). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AX7-9iu12hg.
- Mona al Said from the 1986 movie *Koum El Shoqafa* (*Hill of Shards*) (TheCaroVan, 2015e). Available online on https://vimeo.com/122221002.

- Nadia Gamal dancing in a nightclub in Lebanon in the 1970s (Shems Dance, 2011). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ix1czDIm5GY.
- Nadia Gamal from the 1955 movie *Ard al Hawa* (*Age of love*) (TheCaroVan, 2016). Available online on https://vimeo.com/157266405.
- Nadia Gamal live show (liviapj, 2009a). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqlnZtChZCw.
- Nadia Gamal live show (liviapj, 2009b). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sLZNRMHzTEo.
- Nagwa Fouad in the 1957 movie *Touha* (ArabClassicFilms, 2011a). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kp1tm-Yr2cY.
- Nagwa Fouad in the 1976 movie *No, You who Were my Beloved* (ArabClassicFilms, 2011b). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-SqncM88RuA&app=desktop.
- Nagwa Fouad in the 1977 film *The Magic Lamp* (TheCaroVan, 2014h). Available online on https://vimeo.com/107674253.
- Nagwa Fouad in the 1980s musical *Set al Hosn* (TheCaroVan, 2014g). Available online on https://vimeo.com/103694703.
- Naima Akef from the 1958 movie *Ahabek Ya Hassan* (*I Love You Hassan*) (Unknown, no date). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_O0qRpl4AA.
- Naima Akef from the 1958 movie *Tamr Henna* (*Tamarind*) (TheCaroVan, 2014j). Available online on https://vimeo.com/109781661.
- Nelly Fouad TV show Raqs Nelly (PrinceKayammer, 2013). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MTkwrx5uVRQ.
- Randa Kamel at a festival in Switzerland (EsquisseOrient, 2012). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wEIoPnwulfw.
- Randa Kamel on an Egyptian TV show (WardaElHosny, no date). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1yWMC7OmAk.
- Raqia Hassan (Marhaba Belly Dance Festival Rome, 2011). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBcq__QwfRM.
- Sahar Samara dancing in 2014 at the *Nile Group Festival* (Daniella Cairo, 2014b). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JWlbG3n7kfQ.

- Samia Gamal from the 1952 film *Ma Takulshi La Hada* (*Don't Tell Anyone*) (TheCaroVan, 2014k). Available online on https://vimeo.com/109118375.
- Samia Gamal from the 1955 film *Segara wa Kas* (*Coffee and a Cigarette*) (*The Fabulous Samia Gamal*, 2003). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SuXY0EHUSNw.
- Samia Gamal from the 1963 film *Tarik al Shaytan* (*The Devil's Road*) (TheCaroVan, 2014l). Available online on https://vimeo.com/104845689.
- Soheir Zaki from the 1972 film *Wakr al-ashrar* (ArabClassicFilms, 2011c). Available online on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQ5JIPraTK8.
- Soheir Zaki from the 1975 film *Alo, ana al-ghetta* (*Hello, I'm the Cat*) (TheCaroVan, 2014m). Available online on https://vimeo.com/104325726.
- Soheir Zaki live show (TheCaroVan, 2015h). Available online on https://vimeo.com/137191379.
- Tahia Carioca from the 1945 film *Lailat al Juma* (*Friday Night*) (TheCaroVan, 2014o). Available online on https://vimeo.com/112451097.
- Tahia Carioca from the 1950 movie *Shate al Gharam* (*Shore of Love*) (TheCaroVan, 2015j). Available online on https://vimeo.com/116512854.

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