– 41 –

On Dance and Difference

Bodies, Movement and Experience in KhoeSan Trance-Dancing—Perceptions of "a Raver"

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> *If there is one feature of indigenous life which has been the subject of the cinematographer, be they commercial, professional, academic or tourist, it has been dancing. (Gordon 2000, p. 1)*

As the quotation above says, the dances of "the primitive Other" have fascinated observers from the time of European contact to today. In particular, the perceived abandonment exhibited by "the dancing native"—epitomised by ecstatic states of trance through dancing—has been a key marker of cultural and ethnic difference itself. As Widlok (1999:234) describes for Khoe-speaking Nambian Hai||om, for example, "[a] close examination of the Hai||om medicine [trance] dance is promising with regard to questions of cultural variability and diversity because it is . . . an important ethnic marker. . . ." Contemporary tourism, and its tendency to show a sacralized and noble Other, have further reinforced dance as an indication of authentic and traditional ethnic identity, offsetting both what Durkheim identified as the anomie of modern life *and* reiterating the civilised and advanced state of the observer (Garland and Gordon 1999; Gordon 2000). As Rony (1996:65 in Gordon 2000:1) argues, indigenous peoples are identified with the body in a way that affirms the conventional dualisms of the modern world: between mind, culture and civilisation on the one hand, and the body, nature and wildness on the other. It is not difficult to locate where the various observers of ritualised dances fall in relation to this conceptual divide, and where, by default, the indigenous participants of communal dances are situated.

In this essay, I suggest that these distinctions and separations tell us more about what distinguishes an Occidental culture of observers than about the particular defining traits of those being observed. My arguments are based on observations of KhoeSan [1] dances—in filmed material, through ethnographic fieldwork with Khoe-speaking Damara people in northwest Namibia, and via secondary sources—and on my participation and ethnographic work in largely urban-based dance events or "raves," i.e. those that focus on the *experience* of trance-like states through dance movement. I emphasise the term experience because it seems to me that a commitment to the *experiential* aspects of participant observation in an anthropology of the body and of dance often is missing from analyses of ritual and performative events based on body movement and varied subjective states. In this regard the language through which I understand and interpret the significance of dance movement is that of movement itself—drawing on my own experience and training in a range of dance movement practices (see Thomas 1995). These include long-term training in classical ballet; preliminary training and practice in dance movement therapy, "authentic movement" and the "5 Rhythms" movement system formulated by Gabriellle

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Roth; performance work in contemporary dance with London-based Gravitas Dance Company; and, in particular, my participation as "a raver" in the dance-based events characterising a more-or-less "underground" dance "sub-culture" in London.[2]

I explore here some commonalities that I believe exist between the trance-dance practices of KhoeSan peoples located in southern Africa and those of dancers in the rave events that have emerged in industrialized and technocratic society. These suggest to me a universal ability to attain trance-like states through dance movement.[3] Given the global dominance of what Laughlin (1992) describes as the "monophasic" culture of "the west" (i.e. a culture that values the perceptual mode associated with waking, rational consciousness above all else), an ability to experience a range of perceptual processes, coupled with the cultural valuing of these experiences, has significant psychological, socio-cultural and political implications (Lumpkin 2000).[4] By extension, I argue that resistance to such experiences (because of their supposed "deviant" nature), reveals more about the characteristics and psychological "ill-health" of a conventional Occidental patriarchal and capitalist culture than about anything else (Deleuze and Guattari 1988 (1980)).

I focus on three aspects of trance-dance experiences and events. First, I describe some components of the individual experience of a trance-like state, especially the attainment of such a body-mind state through unchoreographed repetitive dance movement. Second, I explore some social and cultural phenomena associated with spontaneous and improvised dance movements, including the interplay between ritual and theatre, and of spectator and performer. I draw particularly on the explanatory relevance of the Polish theatre director Jerzi Grotowski's concept of "paratheatre" (Kumeiga 1985). In brief, this refers to a striving towards open-ended performative spaces where conventional divisions between artist and audience are broken down, and the spontaneous rather than rehearsed unfolding of dramatic creativity is encouraged. Finally, I draw some parallels between the cultures of KhoeSan "groups" and "ravers," reading dance events and other practices both as multifaceted assertions of autonomy, autarky and affective affluence. Social theorists such as Lefebvre (1971) and de Certeau (1984) are especially useful for helping us understand individual and group participation in dance events as powerful political acts that involve the appropriation of bodyspaces, mindspaces and physical spaces from an otherwise all-encompassing situation in which the body and its spaces are built on conceptual dualities (e.g. mind-body, nature-culture, male-female, etc.), economic affluence and control (Foucoult 1961, 1973, 1975; Deleuze and Guattari 1988). Throughout, I am interested in issues related to the authenticity and legitimacy of the experience of trance-dance: asserting, for example, that the transrational (Lumpkin 2000), transpersonal and transformative *experiences* articulated as part of the practice of dancing for many ravers, as well as the subculture of rave itself, are no less authentic or culturally situated than contemporary trance-dancing rituals performed by indigenous peoples such as KhoeSan.

DANCE LIKE NOBODY'S WATCHING

> "When I'm dancing . . . it feels like my stomach is in my heart, like a burst of energy, like a glow. You feel like expressing yourself. You can dance however you want. . . . people can express themselves and let themselves out and have no fear." (rave dancer quoted in Malyon 1998, p. 188)

> The songs of the trance dance, . . . are said to possess *n|om,* a special kind of energy or spirtual power. *N|om* is invisible, dwelling in the *n|om* songs and in the bodies of the trancers, . . . There it lies latent *until it is activated by the singing and the dancing.* (Biesele 1993, p. 74)

Although using different words, oral testimony accounts of the mind-body experiences described by individual dancers are remarkably similar: whether these are by KhoeSan participants of an age-old tradition of social trance-dances, or ravers participating in the various underground dance events held every weekend in the industrialised world in formal venues, warehouses, squatted buildings and country fields. Particular similarities are the experience of a powerful energy rising through the body upwards from the base of the spine as movement and rhythmic music begins to "take over" the dancer (e.g. Katz 1982); the experience of a "loss-of-ego-self" and a sense of what the psychologist Abraham Maslow (1973) framed as "transpersonal" (or beyond-the-self) experiences, connecting the self with both other people and with the dance-space or environment (Fox 1990); and the accessing of "other worlds" or alternative "mindspaces" through movement and setting. These are *empirical* phenomena in that they generate knowledge based on *experience* and the validity of sense-data (The Concise Oxford English Dictionary 1982:315). They also are verifiable, in the sense that similar individual experiences can be, and are, reproduced at different dance events.[5]

In terms of the form and content of dance movement involved in such events, again, there are numerous parallels. In both contexts, and as Malbon (1999:86) describes, ". . . dancing is a conceptual language with intrinsic and extrinsic meanings, premised upon physical movement, and with interrelated rules and notions of technique and

competency guiding performances." This implies an importance of *form* in guiding the types of dance movements that are acceptable. Dancing thus is a nonverbal expressive and communicative *language* that can both cement and extend bonds between individuals. Given an oft-quoted statistic that verbal communication comprises only around 7% of all communication, dancing in and of itself thus can be said to have a cohesive and socially "healing" effect (e.g. as described by dramatherapist and anthropologist Sue Jennings as a primary outcome of social trance dances among Senoi Temiar of Malaysia (1995:2).[6] At the same time, there is the possibility for individual dancers to experience, express and extend their individuality through movements that are unique and idiosyncratic. The setting of communal dances encourages individual spontaneity of movement: i.e. comprising an up-welling of the body-based intelligence of the dancer that allows ". . . internal, inner dimensions, rhythms, [and] patterns" to ". . . open through the body into space" (Dymoke 1999:19). Such a retreat into inward repetitive energies of the mind-body can propel the dancer into a meditative state: a "quieting of . . . inner dialogue" and an integrative experience of "reality" that is ". . . unsullied by the categorizing imperatives of language" (Moxley n.d.). As Roth (1989) describes, stillness and associative clarity can be found in the extremes of spontaneous and both rhythmic and chaotic movement.

Among KhoeSan peoples, an ability and inclination to trance-dance is highly valued. As Biesele (1993:75) describes for Ju|'hoan, ". . . trancers go through a fearful discipline . . . in learning to trance," and trances are considered to require ". . . the courage a man needs to 'die and then come alive again'." The act of trance-dancing thus is one of bravery in which dancers experience a "mini-death" through temporarily relinquishing the power of the rational mind over the body, as well as undertaking possibly fearful metaphysical journeys to a powerful "other world." That this is a common and cross-cultural trajectory of traditional trance-dance rituals is illustrated by Jennings" (1995:xxviii) descriptions of the risky business of forgetting the self, articulated as crucial to the communal trance-dances of the Senoi Temiar of Malaysia.

In the West, spontaneity and creativity of dance movement, entwined with the opening up of patterns of movement and internal experiences of the body, has become the basis for a range of dance movement and body-based psychotherapies. In these, and based on the premises ". . . that mind and body are inseparable," and "that what is experienced in the mind is also experienced in the body" (Levy 1995:1), knowledge of "the self" is accessed bodily, with verbal articulation signifying integration into an always shifting conscious or ego self (e.g. Rowan 1988; Whitfield 1988; Boadella 1988). Significantly again, such integration may involve the loss or death of previously held constructions of the self, in order that a more healthy psycho-somatic self may emerge. The movement therapist Mary Starks Whitehouse in Frantz (1999:23), for example, asserts that "[a]n authentic movement is in and of the Self at the moment it is done. . . . When I see someone moving authentically, it is so real that it is undiluted by any pretense or any appearance or images. . . . *to get to this authenticity a sacrifice* [i.e. of the ego-self] *is involved"* (emphasis added). As such, and as articulated by ravers, trance-dance experiences in the context of raves can be personally transformative and, I would suggest, may qualify fully for a description as courageous, in the same way as applied to KhoeSan and other "traditional" trance-dancers.

As observed elsewhere (e.g. Malbon 1999), these experiences conform well to Victor Turner's notions of *liminality* and *antistructure.* These describe significant aspects of culturally important rites of passage, in which a subject ". . . becomes ambiguous, neither here nor there, betwixt and between all fixed points of classification; he [*sic*] passes through a symbolic domain that has few or none of the attributes of his past or coming state" (Turner 1974:232). Gordon and Sholto Douglas (2000:239) utilise these concepts to explain the positions of Bushmen in relation to a broader and dominant political economy to suggest that, like the liminal subject, Bushmen ". . . are *in* but not *of* the world. They are different but alike, *despised yet held in awe.* They have both animal and human qualities and possess both secular and mystical power." Similarly, ravers pursuing trance-dance and alternative mind-body experiences can be seen to travel a rite of passage sanctioned and legitimised by a rave subculture (cf. Malbon 1999), *and* to place themselves in an ambiguous state *vis à vis* the mind-body and other activities legitimised by modern society. In both contexts the liminal subject, as individual and group, is vilified as peripheral to the norms of conventional society, and also perhaps viewed with an element of awe in their ability to maintain a certain degree of autonomy and autarky.

Tellingly for all marginal groups, and as Gordon and Sholto Douglas (2000:239) remind us, ". . . those seen as outside or anti the structure of the state are always persecuted; and such persecution requires discourses which dehumanize them." Thus while the heroism and ego-strength that accompanies an ability to trance is appreciated and valorised by participants, it comes as no surprise that an Occidental culture of dance-*observers* views such practices with a range of responses from bemusement to disgust. As Bourguignon (1973:342) states, "The nineteenth-century view of progress, not only from simple to complex but from a primitive mentality to a civi-

lized one, is associated with an evaluation of the ecstatic as savage and childlike." Just as the colonial and typically male cinematographer would not permit himself to abandon his rational control by allowing his body to become "entrained" with the dance movements of the "the observed native" (Gordon 2000), so a "phallogocentric" (Irigaray 1977) establishment of the modern world distances itself from a rave subculture built on alternative experiences of the "mind-body-spirit" nexus, and seems set to put in place increasingly punitive measures to disallow the possibilities for different ways of being-in-the-world (Heidegger 1962). Organisers and participants of rave dance events (frequently free or low-fee parties) thus have been vilified by the media and the state, and subjected to systematic harassment by the authorities with the support in the UK of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994 (Bender 1998; Malyon 1998). Further, a whole gamut of legislation imposes controls over a citizen's freedom of choice and responsibility regarding mind-body experiences. As discussed below, it is perhaps tribute to the growing *power* of an emerging culture that has alternative mind-body experiences and ways-of-*being*-in-the-world at its core that formal society is and has been so virulent in its suppression of such experiences and their political correlates.

RESURRECTING THE FESTIVAL: FROM RITUAL TO PARATHEATRE

As Jennings (1994:8) points out, conventional analyses of ritual, drama and theatrical performance have posited a number of polarised relationships: primarily between ritual and drama on the one hand, and theatre on the other (e.g. Schechner 1988). In these terms, the enacting of "traditional ritual," and the immediacy associated with drama (i.e., "as a creative action based on improvisation" Jennings 1995:8)), are considered distinct from the "high art" of theatrical performances. Moreover, an evolutionary relationship frequently is considered to exist such that theatre emerged from ritual. Within these schemata, the trance-dances of KhoeSan peoples would be considered as rituals, with the cultural functions of facilitating healing events and promoting social cohesion. Raves on the other hand, might also qualify in some respects as comprising both elements of ritual and drama: it is perhaps unlikely that they would be considered as theatre or art.

These categories, however, are of limited heuristic value in exploring the properly theatrical and creative dimensions of trance-dance events in both contexts. As Lefebvre (1971:36) points out, they also leave as unproblematic the alienation from everyday life that art in the West, including theatre, perhaps embodies, having become "an increasingly specialized activity . . . , an ornament adorning everyday life but failing to transform it."

I would suggest that communal events with music-driven spontaneous movement and the possibilities of transformative trance-dance experiences at their core shatter the boundaries between these categories. Thus, "traditional" rituals involving dancing usually also involve a range of other creative and skilled activities (singing, musicianship, costuming, etc.) and involve complex interrelationships between elements of performance, improvisation and spectatorship. Similarly, raves comprise spaces where creative behaviour is not limited to an élite of artists. Instead, and as clearly articulated in the interview transcript below, all participants potentially are themselves artists as in "art-producers": in costuming; in dance; in contributions to the visual art shaping dance spaces; in playful and imaginative conversation and interactions with others, including dance improvisation. Given this appropriation of creativity by everyday culture, such events are suggestive of the potentially revolutionary "resurrection of the Festival" called for by Lefebvre (1971:36).

This spontaneity of creativity, coupled with a breakdown of the distinctions between audience and spectator, and between art specialist and the 'ordinary person,' has been a dream of Western theatre directors in the latter part of the 20th century. Perhaps the most famous proponent of these potentialities is Jerzi Grotowski, whose Theatre of Sources was an attempt to plumb the direct primeval experience and the creativity of ordinary people (Grotowski 1969 *in* Jennings 1994:10). In the latter part of his career, Grotowski endeavoured to create situations where "paratheatre" might occur: "a genuine encounter between individuals who . . . as they lose their fear and distrust of each other move towards a more fundamental encounter in which they themselves are the active and creative participants in their own drama of rituals and ceremonials" (Roose-Evans 1984:154 *in* Jennings 1994:10). Might not rave constitute an embodiment of the paratheatrical process that Grotowski was seeking? The following interview transcript, from Dot, a rave participant who herself has a background in the performing arts, would suggest this to be the case:

> "Sometimes, at the end of a rave, when the lights come up, the music fades out, and everyone begins to clap and cheer, I have the sensation that it's not just the DJ and the organisers that we're applauding—it's also ourselves. It's as though there's an unspoken acknowledgement that we are *all* responsible for the success of a night. *Our* performances, the characters we've played, the selves we've created and the spectacles we've participated in as observers, work together with the music played, the lighting and the décor. At the end of it we

> deserve applause too, because we've been part and parcel of the creation of an experience—both as creative performers and as spectators." (Interview with Dot, 23 November 2000)

IF I CAN'T DANCE, IT AIN'T MY REVOLUTION

> The failure of modern society lies in our alienation—a sense of powerlessness in trying to influence the world in which we live; of meaninglessness in our search for guides to conduct and belief; of isolation from others; of estrangement from one's self. For modern society to have meaning, to convey a sense of coherence, it must find some purpose beyond consumption. Lefebvre argues that it ought to be the production of autonomous, thinking, feeling individuals able to experience their own desires and develop their own style. (Wander 1984:ix)

> The judges of normality are present everywhere. We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the "social-worker"-judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he [*sic*] may find himself, subjects to it his body, his behaviour, his achievements. (Foucault 1975:304)

From the 19th century to recent decades, assertions of KhoeSan 'Bushman' identity by scholars and observers have served to prevent them from participating as full citizens in wider discourses of modernity. They have been explained as coming prior to humans on the evolutionary scale, due to various assertions of their difference, manifest as primitiveness. It was considered, for example, that "[t]he inclination of the moment is decisive to him" (Ratzel 1897:267), such that they display no "drive to create something beyond everyday needs, to secure or permanently to improve systematically the conditions of existence, even the most primitive ones like the procurement of food," and thereby "lack entirely the precondition of any cultural development" (Schultze 1914:290). Such assertions reappear in different guises throughout this century, usually justifying further exclusion of Bushmen from opportunities to participate economically and politically as citizens at least equal to "blacks" as classified under the South African administration's schemata of colour.

Again, there are parallels between these perceptions of "Bushmen" and descriptions of those choosing variously autarkic existences in the industrialised West. As well as rave-participants, we might think, for example, of New-Agers, travellers, communitarians of various descriptions, anti-capitalist protesters, and a growing DIY-culture with many shapes and forms (McKay 1998). In other words, those people portrayed variously as a ragbag bunch living on the margins of formal society deemed incapable of participating in wider (capitalist) society (particularly when it comes to investing in the future); seen as revelling in immediate-returns, pleasure-seeking and irrational behaviours such as trance-dancing and other mind-body altering practices; and generally considered a threat to the norms and ideals of what Lefebvre (1971) terms a bureaucratic society of controlled consumption (Floyd 2001).

But an adherence to such practices and internally reinforcing behaviours instead might be interpreted as assertions of autonomy and autarky *vis à vis* a colonising and dominant cultural mainstream. Among KhoeSan peoples, for example, and paraphrasing Gordon and Sholto Douglas (2000:234–5), the strength of Bushman ideological autonomy needs to be viewed against the need of the colonial project to colonise the minds of indigenous peoples through the internalisation of the norms, categories and values of the industrial capitalist world: one that is a properly Cartesian world of rational individuals. Similarly, rave-participants and groups attempting degrees of self-sufficient and communal existences in the West might be viewed as comprising individuals making various choices towards lifeworlds comprising "affective affluence" (Van der Sluys 2000),[7] while perhaps remaining in relative financial poverty (McKay 1998). Against this backdrop both rave and a current resurgence of Bushman trance-dances (e.g. Shostak 1990 (1981):219; Widlok 1999) might be interpreted more broadly as acts of defiance and resistance in relation to the multiple constraints effected by the political economy and culture of modernity.

In this reading the mind-body experiences articulated by trance-dancers in both rave and KhoeSan contexts become possibilities for transcending the mundanity of everyday life (Lefebvre 1971; de Certeau 1984). They echo Foucault's validation and pursuit of "limit experiences": the practice of extending oneself *beyond* socially defined dictates of the person (Miller 1994). Given the apparently anarchic aspect of spontaneous and improvised dance movement (Dymoke 1999:20), and combined with the possibilities of transformative experiences offered by spontaneous movement and trance-dancing, particularly in communal settings, the acts of dancing can be articulated as powerful individual and group expressions of political will and autonomy. Each dance act thus becomes a multifaceted political act of appropriation: of one's own mind-body space; of physical spaces in which communal dances are located; and of a shared identity marginal to that sanctioned by modernity.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

> The modus operandi of nomad thought is affirmation. . . . (Massumi 1988:xiii)

In this chapter I have drawn on a range of theoretical, ethnographic and experiential perspectives to explore possible concordances between the trance-dance practices of KhoeSan indigenes and participants of an emergent rave culture in the industrialised and bureaucratised West. By way of a conclusion, I wish to affirm the importance of a serious scholarly engagement with the social, cultural, political and historical significance of subjective practices that embrace so-called alternative mind-body experiences. This is particularly important if one concedes that the emancipatory potential of poststructural and postmodern thinking has to a large extent been hijacked by an emphasis on a representational and linguistic analytics. These seem to suggest that experience exists only in the retelling, and that language and importantly the text thereby are the sole areas worthy of academic analysis and reflection (e.g. Cupitt 1998). As potently articulated several decades ago in a critique of patriarchal society by Mary Starks Whitehouse, "Words have become his primary means of communication and realization . . . movement is non-verbal and yet it communicates. . . . just as the body changes in the course of working with the psyche, so the psyche changes in the course of working with the body. We would do well to remember that the two are not separate entities but mysteriously a totality" (1999 (1958):41–2).

Living also is embodied and experience is felt. "Literacy" in these domains offers great possibilities for critical analysis and for wise interpretation. By embracing the dynamic and plural potentialities made possible by a poststructural attack on modernity's ontological certainties (e.g. Deleuze and Guattari 1988 (1980); Irigaray 2002), we might also accept that subjective reflection and dynamic awareness confers possibilities for *agency* and choice, both within, and with the ability to affect and transform, broader structures (Giddens 1985). The states of consciousness embodied in trance-dance practices, and the suggestions here of experiential resonances between these practices in broadly different cultural contexts, suggest to me that here is a domain of activity where identity and ideas of difference are explicitly malleable, being subject to individual intentionality and possible transformation. This may pose a threat to some and liberation to others. But following Lefebvre, it also may be a significant means of thinking and experiencing beyond the phallogocentric cultural confines defining what is legitimate in terms of the constructed bodies and experiences of modernity; thereby actualising the creative potential both latent and present in everyday life.

NOTES

1. The term "KhoeSan" refers to those southern African peoples who are part of a "click" language-cluster comprised of Khoekhoegowab (spoken by Nama, Damara and Hai||om) and a variety of Saan (or "Bushman") languages (Haacke et al. 1997). Although I draw here on trance-dance practices among KhoeSan peoples, I believe that many of the same arguments could be made for other peoples for whom trance-dance events are important parts of social and ceremonial life. For example, see Jennings' (1995) ethnography of social and individual significances of trance-dance and dramatic events among the Senoi Temiar of Malaysia
2. By "underground" I mean a dance culture that involves actions and norms framed as "deviant" and/or illegal by formal society; predominantly the use of psychoactive substances ("drugs") and the "squatting" or appropriation of disused urban and other spaces. For more information on these various dance practices see Chodorow 1991; Pallaro 1999; Roth 1989 (1998) and 1997; Collin and Godfrey 1997; Saunders 1997; Malbon 1999; Silcott 1999.
3. By "universal ability" I mean that the *potential* to access trance-like states through body movement is something akin to Merleau-Ponty's (1961) concept of cross-cultural bodily constants (see Couzens Hoy 1999, p. 6). As the rest of the chapter should make clear, however, and following Foucault (e.g. 1977 (1975)) I also consider that possibilities for accessing these types of experiences are deeply influenced by the situatedness of body, self and subjectivity in socio-political and cultural contexts.
4. As psychological anthropologist Erika Bourguignon (1973:11) states on observing "[t]he presence of institutionalised forms of altered states of consciousness in 90% of . . . sample societies" it would seem that this is ". . . a psychological capacity available to all societies."
5. The experience of dancing at "raves" frequently is accomplished by consumption of psychoactive drugs, predominantly MDMA (3, 4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine) or "ecstasy." Indeed, it is the *interaction* of imbibed chemicals *with* new genres of popular music (from the original 1980s House, Garage and Techno to the more recent sounds of Psychedelic Trance, Hardcore and Gabba) that usually is credited with responsibility for the subcultural phenomena that comprise "rave" (Collin and Godfrey 1997; Robb 1999). This significance of psychoactive substances makes the experiential aspects of rave events easy to discredit by an establishment that is profoundly fearful of, and anti-"recreational-drugs" (unless, of course, these are alcohol or tobacco). It might also be used to suggest that the movement experiences of ravers somehow are less legitimate than those participating in "traditional" trance-dance practices and rituals. This is not the place to enter into a discussion about the legitimacy or otherwise of mind-body experiences facilitated or enhanced by consumption of psychoactive substances (although see Saunders, Saunders and Pauli 2000). What I would suggest, however, is first, that such consumption does not necessarily detract from the subjective significance of trance-dance experiences for an individual; and second, to point out that the supposedly more authentic ritualised trance practices of "the native Other" are themselves

frequently accompanied and enhanced by consumption of various substances—from tobacco amongst KhoeSan, to the profoundly psychoactive ayahuasca consumed by indigenous peoples of the Amazon.

6. As an aside, this significance of nonverbal communication makes me wonder at the current lack of body-awareness and movement training available for anthropologists and other social scientists. It seems to me that the success or otherwise of ethnographic and participant observation research practices rests crucially on a sensitivity to bodily aspects of communication and to nuanced "readings" of these.
7. Following Markovi (1974) in Wander (1984:xvii–xviii) affective affluence might be described as affirming some or all of the following aspects of being: a range of sensory experiences and imaginative possibilities; capacities for communication and creative activity, and abilities to harmonize interests with other individuals, choose between alternative possibilities, and develop a critical consciousness of the self.

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