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Performance Ethnography: The Theory and Method of Dual Tracking

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This article explores the use of dual tracking, or digital video overlay, in performance ethnography. It proposes a reflexive approach to ethnographic filmmaking in which the ethnographic subject and videomakers work collaboratively to uncover the interior realities motivating the performance. The authors review previous approaches to ethnographic filmmaking and then suggest digital video overlay as a method of presenting the actual performances and the subjective experiences of performers simultaneously. The authors' collaborative video, Soukous in San Diego (1999), in which Congolese musician Dominic Kanza reviews his biography, rehearses, and performs concerts, is discussed. The theory of dual tracking is explained, followed by a methodological application and suggestions for future research.

Much traditional ethnographic research and writing is predicated on the reification of factual and observed realities. The imagined realities that shape ethnographic settings and interpretations are often eliminated from final accounts. In the writing of ethnography, however, observations occur in several registers. These registers refer to the representation of ethnographic facts in relationship to allegory and narrative.¹

As early as 1937, Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson realized that trance sequences required special ethnographic treatment in their work on the Balinese *tjalongran* ritual. In *Trance and Dance in Bali*, the ethnographers slowed down dance and body movements on film to accentuate the subjective meanings of ritual. They also manipulated the orchestral sound accompanying the trance sequences to convey the experiences of the performers by creating rudimentary special effects to enhance the ethnographic experience. Given Mead and Bateson's dedication to naturalistic filmmaking, these spe-

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cial effects question the relationship between ethnographic fact and fiction (Bellman and Jules-Rosette 1977:12).

Mead and Bateson's (1937) film was an important forerunner of interpretive ethnography. In her discussion of experimental ethnography, Catherine Russell (1999:193–99) points out that recording trance and possession is in itself a challenge to models of filmic objectivity. She states, "The desire to film possession may be motivated by the idea of subjectivity 'on display,' given theatrical form, and yet it is also a scene of excess, producing something that inevitably escapes representation" (p. 194).

In the discourse of conventional ethnography and ethnographic filmmaking, the realm of fact is considered irrefutable, especially when visual evidence of an objective world is presented. The selective inclusion or exclusion of visual data constitutes an aspect of this view of objectivity (Tiffany and Adams 1996:174). A contrasting approach considers objective facts as a generic creation and delves into the representation of subjective realities as vital to the ethnographic enterprise, thereby questioning the duality of subject/object classifications. Performance ethnography has as its goal the exploration of interior realities by examining ritual, theatrical, or musical events in which subjectivity is on display. This approach highlights the indexical and contextual character of the filmic referent (MacDougall 1995: 217–21; Silverman 1996:198–99). It also critiques the Vertovian ideals of filmic realism that fueled much early ethnographic filmmaking (Ruby 1975: 104–11; Heider 1976:11–15; Barbash and Taylor 1997). This analysis presents a collaborative experiment in ethnographic videomaking in which the researchers and the performer worked together as participants. Jay Ruby (2000:31) asserts,

The agendas of people representing a culture in which they are native have to be different from those who are not. Once it is acknowledged that no one can speak for or represent a culture but only his or her relationship to it, then a multiplicity of viewpoints is possible and welcome—some from within and others from without and all the marvelously gray areas in between.

We criticize the prominence given to the ethnographer-author's dominant interpretations of action by developing visual superimposition sequences that reflect the point of view of the performer and the participants. Although we refer to these ethnographic sequences as dream time, or dual tracking, they are not meant to reflect the performer's actual dreams but, instead, the subject's point of view as expressed in words and actions across various performance settings. We are speculating about one course of action in terms of another, which relies on a certain interpretive leeway. At each point, we use

the informant's actions as a stimulus, but at this juncture, it is not our intention to develop an analysis of audience reception or feedback as the touchstone for the validity of our approach. Rather, we are concerned with portraying the intersection of subjectivities by conveying the essence and spirit of a concert party performance as experienced by the ethnographers, the performer, and the audience. Our notion of performance is not restricted to linguistic discourse but includes the entire event structure (Austin 1962:147–60). The implications of this multifaceted ethnography may be expanded and tested in a larger research project and in application to the redesign of existing ethnographic films of performance and rituals.

THE STORY, THE ACCOUNT, AND THE PERFORMANCE

Erving Goffman (1959:86) argues that everyday interactions rely on a consensus maintained between social actors and their audiences. These performances are conscious representations of activities in which individuals manipulate signs to construct specific impressions. In semiotic and narrative theories, the organization of impressions is referred to as *diegesis*, or the narrative aspect of discourse through which stories about interaction are constructed (Greimas and Courtés 1979:99). This narrative discourse is constituted as the interaction unfolds. In fact, it may be viewed as a second track, or dual track, of the interaction.

The dual track does not imply an immutable dichotomy of inner and outer realities. Not only do observers bring to the interaction another layer of interpretation and experience, but performers also emit a variety of signs that point to subtextual meanings. The reflexivity of the interaction consists of the ethnographer's and the performer's reflections and interpretations about what is going on in multiple facets of the performance. Thus, the story is the compilation of the various performative aspects of the interaction, produced and disclosed by the participants. In contrast, the account consists of what is observed by outsiders.

One of the most salient contributions of conventional reflexive ethnography stems from the recognition that the performance is an ongoing and spontaneous construction with multiple interpretations. Although the ethnographer is an active participant in the interaction, reflexive ethnography is based on the point of view of the ethnographers—not the other performers. In contrast, performance ethnography consists of uniting the story and the account by bringing together the behind-the-scenes interactions and speculations of the performers with the perspectives of the ethnographers. Hence, it is possible to develop a multilevel reflexivity predicated on several simultaneous,

multivalent accounts of the story-image-event by both the ethnographers and the other performers. Some events, however, may be difficult to translate into expanded narratives and filmic accounts because they are, as Peter Loizos (1992:109) emphasizes, “inherently local.”

In ethnographic filmmaking, multiple accounts have been dealt with through the methods of shot-reverse-shot, montage, and parallelism, in which actions and reactions are shown linearly on the screen. These linear constructions portray visual chains of action in an artificially unbroken sequence. In fact, persons interacting simultaneously construct a variety of interpretations of events. The linearity of shot-reverse-shots and parallelism is thus revealed to be an artifice, as is the synchronic construction of ethnographic reflexivity. The method of dual tracking does not resolve debates about subjectivity and objectivity in ethnographic film. Rather, it posits an interpretation of the ethnographic event that allows for multiplicity and simultaneity in the representation process.

In film, several editing strategies may be deployed to demonstrate simultaneity and contrasting event interpretations. The use of extended dissolves and split screens—such as those appearing in Donald Rundstrom, Ronald Rundstrom, and Clinton Bergum’s ethnographic film *The Path* (1972); Michael Wadleigh’s documentary *Woodstock* (1970); and Peter Greenaway’s fiction film *The Pillow Book* (1995)—convey temporal contiguity without delving into differences in point of view. Fiction films such as *Sweet Sweetback’s Baadasssss Song* (1971), by Melvin Van Peebles, use dream-time overlays to demonstrate character development and make transitions. Introducing dream time, or extended dissolves, suggests the possibility of juxtaposing diverse perspectives on an event in the same shot. Hypermedia variations may be employed to add correlative texts and node-and-link supplements to video presentations (Biella 1996:595–604; Lange 2001:141–43). We have experimented with these techniques (Jules-Rosette 2001) and have found split screens to maintain linear formatting without necessarily challenging the subjective constitution of the recorded and edited performance event.²

Superimposition provides for experiential entry into two or more worlds simultaneously and opens up new possibilities for ethnographic interpretation. The final product offers a sensate reality beyond the realm of the everyday. The ethnographic question raised by superimposition relates to how the persons who participate in and construct daily realities are the arbiters of filmic representations and whether objectification of the events is the best means of presenting them. We are proposing a meta-representation of events that captures their experiential base as transformed through dream-time superimpositions.

DIEGESIS AND LIFE HISTORIES

Each visual technology entails its own capacity for reproduction. When working with informant filmmaking during the 1970s, Bellman and Jules-Rosette (1977:9–16) used u-matic video technology and 8 mm film to contrast the works of American students and African informants in Liberia and Zambia. Portable 8 mm film cameras that required little instruction made this project possible. Today, digital video editing opens up alternative avenues of experimentation. Although technology does not determine a particular cultural vision, it makes possible innovative analytic approaches to social interaction. The Cartesian *cogito* is split apart by video virtuality that exposes viewers to new worlds of thought, action, and experience. In the introduction to our discussion, we referred to Mead and Bateson's (1937) use of trance sequences as one way in which the simultaneity of contrasting realities was revealed in early ethnographic filmmaking. Recent research in cultural and film studies indicates the depth of multiple intentionalities in event production by both participants and observers.³

Ethnographic filmmakers as diverse as Jean Rouch, Trinh Minh-ha, Timothy Asch, David and Judith MacDougall, and Manthia Diawara understand the necessary insufficiency of the representation process.⁴ These filmmakers tackle not only the observation by participants of their social worlds but also the ethnographer's reflexive processes of representing these worlds to a larger audience. They show how the process of representation requires a double relationship with both the participants and the audience. Loizos (1993:64) points to Rouch's four major contributions to ethnographic film practice: "collaboration with the subjects; bringing their voices into the films; allowing their dreams and fantasies to take shape; and adding a mode of documentary which was not documentation-realism." Our approach builds on Rouch's overall contributions as a point of departure for expanding the capacity of filmmaking to reflect the experiences of ethnographers and performers (Rouch 1978:2–8).

In the film *Jero on Jero* (1980), an early experiment in reflexive filmmaking, Timothy Asch, Linda Connor, and Patsy Asch rescreen a trance séance with Balinese healer Jero Tapakan to elicit her feedback about the event. Jero watches the film on a video monitor with Linda Connor while Timothy and Patsy Asch record the session. The original film was shot in 16 mm in 1978. The footage was then reshot to Jero after editing in 3/4" video, with Jero's reflexive viewing shot in 16 mm and dubbed over to 3/4" video for distribution in 1980. The syncretism and methodological ambivalence of this film-video project also reflect the ambiguity of the filmmakers' use of reflexivity.

Most of Jero's remarks concern her appearance and behavior, as well as the responses of her clients to the trance diagnosis. For example, Jero remarks, "I go into trance four or five times for each client" (Connor, Asch, and Asch 1996:73). Another interchange between Jero and Linda Connor reflects the relationship between the ethnographer and the performer (p. 77).

- L: That's my voice.
 J: You're explaining in English?
 L: Yes.
 J: You're asking me questions? We're not at all alike.
 L: Yes we are. (*Both laugh.*)

Despite the filmic contract between the ethnographer and performer, each individual has a different view of the interaction. While Jero Tapakan insists on cultural differences, Linda Connor asserts that they are both alike. Then Jero asks (Connor, Asch, and Asch 1996:77–78) the following:

- J: Are we alike there?
 L: What do you mean?
 J: We're sitting like sisters, but one dark, one light face.
 L: We're alike in spirit. (*Both laugh.*)
 J: Alike in spirit. My clothes keep changing.

Jero's remarks about clothes address the filmic interaction as it appears on the screen. To accentuate their cultural bond, Linda Connor refers to something more abstract and elusive. In addition to revealing the mundane aspects of the event, this interchange demonstrates the gap between the ethnographer's and performer's views of what is taking place. Semiotically, the informant is caught within the discourse and display of her own narrative while the anthropologist makes generalizations that articulate the immediate situation in terms of a research goal. The film assumes the status of a meta-document that emphasizes Jero's reactions to her mediated self-image (Loizos 1993:40; El Guindi 1998:478). Connor's attempts at reflexivity bypass Jero's mundane perceptions while revealing the hiatus between the two perspectives and cultural worlds. These interactions are complicated by Jero's use of caste-inflected Balinese and by the translation process (Sherzer 1998:214–15). In their discussion of subjects, images, and voices in ethnographic film, Linda Connor and Patsy Asch (1995:5–35) use a model of dialogical communication in which they argue that the researcher and the ethnographic subject co-create the categories of experience.

In the fieldworld . . . the researcher comes to terms with the particular understandings which constitute the hosts' experience of the world. These indigenous objectifications of experience challenge and change the categories the anthropologist has brought to "the field," a powerful objectification in itself. (Connor and Asch 1995:9)

Brenda Farnell and Laura Graham (1998:418) emphasize that in this type of ethnography, informants are not passive participants in the research enterprise but instead "become intellectual collaborators who can make substantial theoretical contributions."

Clifford Geertz (1973:3–30) proposes "thick description" as another ethnographic procedure for delineating the multiple layers of interpretation and cultural codings. Thick description, however, may be viewed as placing the burden of interpretation on the shoulders of the ethnographer and not the other performers. Geertz writes, "The besetting sin of interpretive approaches to anything—literature, dreams, symptoms, culture—is that they tend to resist, or to be permitted to resist, conceptual articulation and thus escape systematic modes of assessment" (p. 24).

For Geertz (1973:27), the ethnographer determines the correct balances among observation, exegesis, description, and explanation in the final account. Thus, the task of interpretive ethnography becomes building a bridge between "subjects' acts" and a theory of symbolic action devised by the ethnographer. Underlying Geertz's argument is the notion that a scientific grid articulates meaningful structures of social action and multiple evidential claims about performers' intentionalities. Accordingly, Geertz states,

Our "double task" is to uncover the conceptual structures that inform our subjects' acts, the "said," of social discourse, and to construct a system of analysis in whose terms what is generic to those structures, what belongs to them because they are what they are, will stand out against the other determinants of human behavior. (P. 27)

The concept of thick description creates a doubled structure in which the ethnographers' theoretical constructs supplement the subjects' experiences (Geertz 1973:26–28). Instead, we argue that the coproduction of ethnographic scenes complicates the task of description by implicating ethnographers as participants rather than as analytical go-betweens.

During the 1970s and 1980s, in addition to Geertz, anthropologically oriented thinkers as diverse as Paul Rabinow (1977), Jean-Paul Dumont (1978), Victor Turner (1982), James Clifford (1988), and George Marcus (1989)

addressed problems of the reflexive constitution of anthropological settings and the use of both the subjects' and the ethnographers' meta-assessments as part of the final written account. In contrast to these reflexive approaches, we propose that the ethnographer's task, in film and text, is to examine the doubling of the performers' intentions as they orchestrate and produce social action and discourse and to demonstrate the layering of those activities in relationship to the narratives of social science. From this method, we can derive a complex understanding of event structure and social action *in situ* as they are remembered and reproduced.

Trinh Minh-ha's (1982) *Reassemblage* marks another breakthrough in reflexive ethnographic filmmaking by tearing down the wall between observers and observed, filmmakers and their subjects. Minh-ha coins the term of *speaking nearby* to describe the ethnographer's approximation of observed reality (Minh-ha 1982). In *Reassemblage*, she uses pleonasm, black spaces, asynchronous sound, jump cuts, blurred footage, and asymmetrical framing to challenge standard codes of filmic representation and reception. By calling attention to the structuring of the film, she also criticizes conventional conceptions of ethnographic objectivity and authenticity. Minh-ha suggests that the ethnographer's subjective and approximate vision of a setting transforms its representation on film. Minh-ha explains,

The search for meaning will always arrive at a meaning through I. I, therefore, am bound to acknowledge the irreducibility of the object studied and the impossibility of delivering its presence, reproducing it *as it is* in its truth, reality, and otherness. The dilemma lies in the fact that descriptions of native life, although not necessarily false or unfactual, are "actor-oriented," that is to say, reconstructed or fashioned according to an individual's imagination. It also, however, lies in the fact that descriptions are actor-oriented by their very nature. (Min-ha 1989:70)

At the time of its production, Minh-ha's 1982 film raised many eyebrows. It ushered in the era of "postmodern" ethnographic filmmaking, despite many denials by Minh-ha herself. Of primary concern was the blurring of boundaries between the ethnographers' and the subjects' realities and the manipulation of filmic signs, codes, and aesthetics to produce a reality effect that transcended the immediacy of the ethnographic text and context by complicating the status and perception of the ethnographic subject. Minh-ha's semiotic deconstruction of ethnographic film opens up the possibility for integrating dream time and subjective sequences into ethnographic filmmaking.

THE THEORY AND METHOD OF DREAM TIME AND DUAL TRACKING

By dual tracking in performance ethnography, we mean the description or presentation of surface interactions along with the concurrent exploration of dreams, fantasies, and other registers. We do not limit the tracks to two levels but rather we use front and backstage, surface and deep structure as ways of conceptualizing the motivational and accounting structures of interaction. These multiple levels of interaction and experience may be examined through ethnographic observation and interviewing and interpreted through the use of dream time in nonlinear ethnographic video editing.

Dream time, much like its Australian mythical counterpart, refers to a parallel use of space and time, an ongoing world both inside and outside of quotidian temporality.⁵ By using the trope of Australian dream time, we are not referring to its specificities of content but rather to the notion that the worlds of myth and imagination blend with everyday reality and transform each domain. This approach emphasizes the thoughts, dreams, desires, and passions of social performers as they execute the routines of everyday life. In addition, it reflects the simultaneity of social action and event structure. The ethnographer's goal is to represent the multiple dimensions of the performers' experiences. Dual tracking provides a method for visually activating and demonstrating this alternative world of social intentionality.

The seventeen-minute video *Soukous in San Diego* by Bennetta Jules-Rosette, Mark Arbitrario, and Dominic Kanza (1999) depicts the visit of Congolese-born musician and composer Dominic Kanza to the University of California, San Diego.⁶ During his visit, the musician gave a lecture-performance, played music at a concert party, and held a guitar clinic. These three settings are interwoven in the video's narrative, which is intended to explore the performer's biography and experiences and to inform viewers about the history of *soukous* (Congolese popular music) and its transplantation abroad. The video is divided into four parts: (1) a definition of *soukous*, (2) a history of rumba, (3) a biography of the performer, and (4) a discussion of the diffusion of the music and problems of originality and authenticity. The narrative segments are woven together by the musician's discussions in the lecture sessions and dream-time sequences drawn from the actual concert party. Reflexive memory spaces are created by the dream-time segments, which are also intended to generate speculation about the musical performances and their reception. These segments are inspired by the informant's statements about his musical technique in answer to questions from the audience at his guitar clinic (Kanza 1999).

Audience: It looks like when you are playing those chords, there are certain finger, sort of positions—not positions—but configurations that you're always using with the slides. Your hand is always in a certain shape when you slide in a way. (03:12–03:24)

Kanza: Yeah. It really is whatever works for me. I really don't think about technique at all. I'm not keeping anything in mind. All I have in my mind is trying to figure out the beautiful sounds. It's music. (*Audience laughs.*) (03:25–03:36)

To complete the video, we used footage shot at the musician's concert party and selected portions of his two-hour lecture and three-hour guitar clinic footage that highlighted the performer's creativity. Our editing process was based on dividing the video into lecture, clinic, and concert party sequences and developing an alternation among the settings, based on the informant's descriptions and feedback interview on his creative process. The lecture and guitar clinic became the sources of the narrative timeline, and the concert party was superimposed on them, creating an audiovisual triangulation of settings and points of view. A parallel process in another ethnographic setting would involve the superimposition of a ritual over a dialogue or interview about it.

Within a filmic project, the balance of power may be delicate and problematic, subject to shifts during the collaboration process. There are a variety of ways in which to develop informant-researcher, or shared, ethnographic collaboration from observing participation to informant filmmaking (El Guindi 1998:478–80). Our strategy of negotiation in filmic and editorial decisions required that final cuts be made by the video editor in conjunction with the performer and ethnographers. Ultimately, each contributor to our project controlled his or her domain of production (i.e., the musician was responsible for the description and production of his music, the ethnographers for the overall description of the setting, and the video editor for the production of the final piece). Nevertheless, everyone crossed these lines by commenting on the work of others, although in the end, the roles of musician, ethnographer, and video editor were not interchangeable but based on the expertise of each participant. This division of labor is the very definition of collaboration and does not necessarily reflect a power differential (Taylor 1998:534–37).

In digital editing, a layering of images through multiple tracking reflects the intersections of spatial and temporal memory. Digital video editing systems enable sequences to be assembled at a faster rate than previous analog systems. The ability to alter the image in terms of color, speed, scale, and quality no longer necessitates the use of numerous pieces of equipment such as image processors and multispeed video recorders but rather can be performed by a single editing application without postproduction mixing. In her

discussion of new filmic technologies, Anne-Marie Willis (1995:90) points out,

Digitized editing and interactive multimedia allow the operator the same freedom as an artist with a tube of paints to alter, color, combine, re-create, and then animate imagery, all by electronic methods, imagery that after all this manipulation appears as convincing as filmed footage.

Digital editing systems are to filmmaking what word processors are to writing. Traditional cuts-only systems of editing, such as shot-reverse-shot and linear parallelism, may be used to create dual-tracking effects, but the work is so laborious that it complicates the task by breaking the momentum of editing and the flow of the video.

The producers used a Macintosh-based digital video editing system. The Adobe Premiere editing application works as an effective tool due to its simple interface, as well as its ability to handle a digital video format. Although the technical names for the interface windows in other editing applications, such as Final Cut Pro, may differ from Adobe Premiere, the basic principles for constructing dual-track sequences remain the same. The camera acts as the video recorder, as well as an input/output device for the computer, eliminating the need for a video editing deck, three or more of which can be required by most older analog systems.

Adobe Premiere's interface is composed of Project, Monitor, and Timeline windows (see Figure 1). The Project window is a bin where all footage is stored, including visual data, titles, and stills. It acts much like a shelf where all footage and field tapes are kept. The Monitor window is similar to many analog systems in which there are two views—the Preview View on the left and the Program View, where edited sequences appear, on the right.

The Timeline window is set up horizontally. A time ruler is displayed at the top of the screen. Initially, there are four tracks available. From top to bottom, the tracks are labeled as follows:

1. Video 2: This is the uppermost superimposition track, where titles and modified clips are placed. Every other layer is viewed underneath it.
2. Video 1: This is the main video track. Expanded, it is composed of two video tracks labeled Video 1A and Video 1B. A transition track lies between the two tracks where transitions such as dissolves and wipes are placed. This is essentially the same setup as an analog A/B roll system, where Video 1A and Video 1B tracks correspond to the A and B decks, respectively.
3. Audio 1: This is the first stereo—or monaural—audio track, where the audio levels can be viewed and adjusted.
4. Audio 2: This is the secondary audio track.

FIGURE 1
Project, Monitor, and Timeline Windows in the Editing Interface

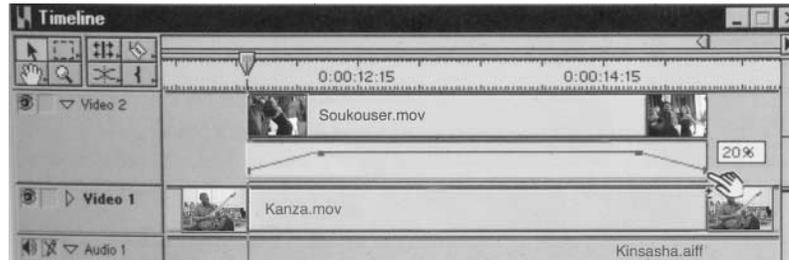


NOTE: The Project window acts as a storage bin for raw footage. The Monitor window displays the footage. The Timeline window is where video footage is edited using the various tracks available.

Additional tracks may be added as needed. Premiere can handle up to ninety-nine video and ninety-nine audio tracks. In our video ethnography, we generally used two contrasting tracks and introduced a third track to deal with the performer's reflexive stance. Placing clips in one video track, end to end, resulted in straight cuts. Pressing play on the controller allowed the edited sequence to replay continuously.

Multilayered sequences use Video 2, or the superimposition track. This track controls the transparency of the video image in minute increments by facilitating greater compositional layering. Control of transparency is set up as a horizontal band that runs across the bottom of each clip. The band is initially set at 100% opacity. By adjusting the opacity level, the superimposed clip can fade in and out with precise control. Additional superimposition tracks may be layered to combine multiple dream-time images (see Figure 2). The manipulation of speed and duration of clips can be accomplished by selecting a clip and entering a numerical value. This adjustment allows editorial control of the pacing of the two clips. Alterations of color and brightness,

FIGURE 2
Adjusting the Opacity of a Video Track in a Multilayered Sequence



camera movements, and changes in scale or composition may be executed in a similar fashion.

ACTUALIZING DREAM TIME

Soukous in San Diego is a test case in actualizing dream time. As already indicated, the track 1 video records a concert party with Dominic Kanza, intercut with lecture footage and a guitar clinic for undergraduate music students. On track 2, the videomakers explore the meanings of soukous, the fantasies and dreams that it evokes, and the biographical reminiscing of the musician. The dream-time activities and projections are laid over the track 1 ethnographic footage to complicate and enrich the ethnography. Multiple cameras may be added to enhance the dream-time effect. Dual tracking points to the intersection between the ethnographers' and performers' realities at the moments when track 1 and additional tracks merge. Screening sessions with other filmmakers and professional editors have met with positive responses concerning the effectiveness of our dual-tracking technique and the ease with which it can be accomplished on a digital system.

The idea for dual tracking emerged during a review of video footage with the performer.⁷ In this audiotaped feedback session, which was independent from our video shoot and log, the informant was asked to explain the source of the inspiration for his work. He answered as follows:

DK: Usually imagination and memories.

BJR: Describe that process.

DK: In terms of imagination, it's usually just observation. I will observe people, how they behave, and get inspired by that. And memories would be . . . you know, things about family and stuff like that.

BJR: Is there any . . . you know, if you're composing, like last night [at the concert party] when you were playing your music, you talked about how you hear the music in your head. And how does it work with lyrics? Do you hear those in your head also?

DK: Yeah. The lyrics always come after the music. It's always what fits with the music. Sometimes the lyrics may be upset, so I would have to try to make some sense of it. But they always come with the music . . . after the music.

BJR: So how do you compose the music?

DK: The music is very . . . a mystery. It just comes. . . . It just happens in my head. Some rhythms just . . . usually rhythms, before melodies.

We assume that, while engaged in mundane activities, performers are often thinking about or visualizing other settings and imagined spaces (Schutz 1973:222–26). Multiple tracking presupposes the contrast of these reality domains through activation of the movement from one zone to another. In response to the notion that dream time is fiction or “made up,” we stress that all events on the second track are tied to the descriptions and speculations of performers. Moreover, dream-time sequences require an alteration of filmic language and grammar, but they do not replace the use of cutaways and B-roll footage. The dissolve, which leads into transitions from one scene or perspective to another, becomes a segue into dream time and is used to mark that transition. Hence, the extended dissolve becomes a signifier for contrasting filmic, social, and imagined textures. Flashbacks may be used in a similar manner to mark changes in time and location in the dream-time sequences.

Using dual tracking with a video log in this project has involved various stages of translation and transcoding, from the raw footage and interviews with the performer to the final video and written texts. When the raw footage was logged and edited, we transcribed the final tape and reviewed it again as a team. We also downloaded dream-time images into scanned stills. The textual version of this project examines how the ethnographic video was constructed and permits a reassessment of the informant's statements in relationship to the edited cuts.

Dual tracking also operates as an autonomous methodology that can be used to rework previous data sets of completed ethnographies and ethnographic films, provided they contain (1) informant-driven sequences and in-depth interviews, (2) contrasting dream-time events (e.g., ceremonies, musical performances, or artistic creations), and (3) modes of activation for the transition from track 1, for everyday events, to track 2, for dream-time sequences. Thus, *Jero on Jero*, described above, could be reworked using our

TABLE I
Excerpt 1: Dual Track in Figures 5 and 6

<i>Track 1</i>	<i>Track 2</i>	<i>Soundtrack</i>
Close-up of Kanza playing rumba style (06:07–06:53)		Kanza: But later, later, you will see that in, uh, Cuba, a particular form of music developed called the “rumba,” which is known worldwide now. In the early stages of rumba, it was nicknamed “dirty dancing.” It was not, uh, an acceptable form of cultural expression because it was very sexually suggestive. Uh, I’m going to play a little bit of rumba just to give you an idea . . . (05:32–06:05)
	<i>Soukous</i> dancer on table (06:18–06:40)	<i>Rumba demonstration on guitar</i> (06:06–06:54)
	Close-up of Kanza smiling (06:20–06:24)	
	Figure 5 with three tracks (06:20)	
	Figure 6 with three tracks (06:23)	
	Kanza playing rumba style at party (06:25–06:33)	

methodology but retaining the same data set (i.e., complete rushes and sound tapes), as could films by Jean Rouch, David MacDougall, Lucien Taylor and Ilsa Barbash, and Alan Lomax. The dream-time track lends more depth to a multidimensional performer-subject and demonstrates the reflexive interaction between performers’ and ethnographers’ perspectives. Not only is the ethnographer engaged in a reflexive construction of the event, but the performer also watches the event unfold while commenting on and activating the transition into dream time. By broadening the array of the performers’ experiences articulated with the narrative timeline, the depth of dream time can be enhanced.

A selection of six still frames has been made from the video *Soukous in San Diego* to illustrate dream time on multiple tracks. To grasp how our method works, it is advisable to examine the photographic frames in conjunction with the video transcript excerpts (see Tables 1–2). This reading should, ideally, be supplemented by viewing the videotape. The frames dis-

TABLE 2
Excerpt 2: Dual Track in Figures 7 and 8

<i>Track 1</i>	<i>Track 2</i>	<i>Soundtrack</i>
Mid-shot of Kanza at clinic with guitar (02:25–02:43)	<i>Soukous</i> dancer on table (02:26–02:34) Figure 7 with three tracks (02:28) Figure 8 with three tracks (02:31) Close-up of Kanza smiling (02:31–02:33)	
Audience claps (02:44–02:50)		Kanza: Just play, you know, with your, with your soul. As soon as you feel that, you know, what you're doing isn't interesting anymore, put the guitar down and walk away. Because you have to always be interested in what you are doing. And once you feel that, you know, there is something more interesting you want to do, I would suggest you go and do it right away, and then come back when you feel hungry for the guitar again. (02:48–03:11)
Mid-shot of Kanza (02:51–02:56)		
Close-up of audience members holding guitars (02:57–03:01)		
Mid-shot of Kanza at clinic (03:02–03:11)		
Long-shot of audience (03:12–03:14)		

cussed in this text are displayed in terms of the complexity of the digital overlays rather than in chronological order. The first frame (Figure 3, 02:02) shows the musician Dominic Kanza at a university guitar clinic on track 1 and a lively soukous dancer from the previous evening's concert party on track 2. This figure represents the basic elements of dream time on a simple dual track. Soukous chord changes indicate the transition into dream time. Apart from this manipulation of sound to signal transitions, we retained the natural sound emerging at each event. Some transitions involved sound fades that accompanied the extended visual dissolves.

FIGURE 3
Performer and Dancer in Dual Track



FIGURE 4
Dual Performances by Musician



FIGURE 5
Performance-Lecture with Three Tracks



In Figure 4 (08:16), the musician presents a lecture-demonstration on track 1 while he performs the same musical piece at a party on track 2. This dual-tracking sequence illustrates the performer's engagement in the construction of both settings and in the recollection of track 1. The images in Figure 5 (06:20) and Figure 6 (06:23) display multiple layers of action. In the segment presented here, we use a selection from Kanza's lecture as a segue into the rumba demonstration and the dual track depicting dancing and performance at the concert party. The first track begins once again with Dominic Kanza's lecture-demonstration with an overlay of a soukous party dancer observed on another track by the musician. This triple layering creates a gestalt effect that encourages the video viewer to reflect on the meaning of the setting for the participants. These figures are freeze frames of moving images in their relational dimensions, and the centrality of the participants changes rapidly. While the lecture-performance continues to be the main track, the other tracks shift in focus, framing, and composition.

The performer's emotions are reflected as he begins to laugh in Figure 5, and the effect continues with greater intensity in Figure 6. Figure 7 (02:28) and Figure 8 (02:31) constitute another sequence. Figure 7 shows the musician at his guitar clinic in track 1 with a second track containing a soukous dancer. In both cases, the musician appears to be concentrating on playing his

FIGURE 6
Emotional Intensity in the Three-Track Performance



FIGURE 7
Dual Tracking of Performance with Audience



FIGURE 8
 Reflexive Triple Tracking Performance with
 Audience and Performer as Observer



music. Track 2 of Figures 7 and 8 shows the audience observing the party performance. As we dissolve into Figure 8, the performer's image appears in reflexive observation of the two settings. We intend this shot to reflect the informant's point of view.

These last two figures are the most complex because they portray the musician as a performer, a teacher, and an observer of his own creations. His discourse suggests triangulating settings by leaving the music aside when it becomes boring or too overwhelming. The multiple roles played by the ethnographic subject complicate the verbal and visual layering processes. Ethnographically, we also portray how the performance is influenced and fueled by its reception. The dancers eventually stimulate the performer to play more vigorously and to participate in the dance party by jumping on a table.

Through the still frames and dissolves, viewers can see the performer progressively becoming more engaged in a variety of settings as a subject and observer. The emotional texture of this engagement intensifies with each frame, as demonstrated by the pacing of images and the moments of activa-

tion of the dream-time sequences as the video unfolds. We use dream time to demonstrate the multiple roles and realities in which the performer operates over time, as seen through the lens of the ethnographic videomaker in collaboration with the performer. The video closes with a one-minute montage in track 1 containing twenty shots that suture track 1 events and track 2 dream-time images. These shots are intended to reinforce the subjective reality of the dream-time image-events.

CONCLUSIONS: NEW APPROACHES TO ETHNOGRAPHIC FILMMAKING

By reconfiguring and reframing subjectivity, dream time and dual tracking open up new approaches to ethnographic filmmaking. The emphasis on multilayering and multidimensionality challenges conventional ethnography and ethnographic filmmaking, which stay within a single track. Dual tracking and dream time encourage ethnographic filmmakers to reexamine the ethnographic authority of master narratives by exploring the alternative positioning of performers and ethnographers. This method may best be used in short video pieces and as illustrative segments in longer works. Both the ethnographers and the subjects, as coparticipants in each scene, share the roles of observers.

Dual tracking goes beyond documenting the inner subjective experiences of performers, audiences, and ethnographers. It also records and produces both the real-time events and alternative realities, or dream time, as described by the performer to the ethnographer. The layering of virtual realities creates the dream effect. Bill Nichols (1994:90) describes this effect when he states,

What has come before—often in another place, another country—confirms the self as multiple, split, and layered, built up of sedimented acts and revised memories. . . . What is remembered serves to constitute a body of knowledge and experience that inflects the politics of location and subjectivity.

An element of virtuality is injected into this process by envisioning the intersection of subjectivities without violating the integrity of point of view (Pinney 1994:424). Dream time expands the possibilities of the anthropological imagination and creates points of access to multiple subjectivities (Minh-ha 1989:70–71). Multilayering and dual tracking can be used to reinvigorate conventional ethnographic materials and open new pathways for the interpretation and analysis of social settings and subjectivities.

NOTES

1. In ethnographic film, these narratives assume the form of stories in which visual and spatial metaphors reinforce the structure of representation (Greimas and Courtés 1979:247–49). These representations are further complicated by the “inclusion of indigenous narrative” (MacDougall 1991:4).

2. In the video *Behind the Blues* (Jules-Rosette and Arbitrario 2000) and in recent work on popular African painting (Jules-Rosette 2001), we experiment with split screen and digital video animation as sources to enhance ethnographic videomaking.

3. Homi Bhabha’s (1994) metaphor of doubling illuminates the contradictory relationship between the ethnographer and the participants, the self and the other. Bhabha writes, “The desire for the Other is doubled by the desire in language, which *splits the difference* between Self and Other so that both positions are partial; neither is sufficient unto itself” (p. 50).

4. As David MacDougall notes in an interview session with Ilsa Barbash and Lucien Taylor, “Films by Jean Rouch and others have shown us that there are cinematic ways of articulating some of the more elusive aspects of social experience that concern anthropologists. I think film may therefore not only enhance the kinds of knowledge that we already have but make possible new kinds of knowledge” (Barbash and Taylor 1996:373).

5. The Australian “dreaming,” or dream time, combines history, myth, and ritual in a seamless symbolic movement (Warner 1937:393–401). In dream time, everyday actions, myths, and dreams coalesce and transcend time and space. For video editing purposes, dream time refers to the use of superimposition and extended dissolves signaled in the film by specific discourse and event transitions. This method may be transferred to other projects by maintaining a standard narrative timeline enhanced by superimposition. It should be noted that the use of dream time does not require an eclectic array of film editing techniques and is fairly simple, although somewhat time-consuming, to accomplish in digital video editing.

6. The complete video *Soukous in San Diego* is available directly from the producers at the Ethnographic Film Lab in the Department of Sociology, University of California, San Diego.

7. Jules-Rosette conducted an audiotaped feedback session with Dominic Kanza on 25 February 1999, after the video shoots of his performances (Kanza 1999). Our goal in this study, however, is not to assess the feedback session in relationship to the video but rather to show how the video reflects the spirit and momentum of the performance.

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