Introduction
Global/Mobile:
Re-orienting Dance and Migration Studies

Paul Scolieri, *Guest Editor*

Like dance studies, the interdisciplinary field of migration studies is interested in theories and methods for understanding patterns of individual and mass human movements across the world's stage, the policies governing human im/mobility, and the social experiences that such movements engender. Both dance and migration studies privilege movement and process as categories of analysis. As such, dance studies is uniquely poised to contribute to migration studies and the foremost topics within its terrain: citizenship and statelessness, territory wars, labor refugeeism, border wars, religious and political occupation, and environmental and epidemiological displacement. Recent scholarship in the fields of music, theater, art, architecture, and literature has persuasively insisted upon the importance of the fine and performing arts to exploring the experiences and conditions of global migration. To date, no volume has investigated the impact of migration studies in relationship to dance. The essays collected in this issue of *Dance Research Journal* offer directions for conceptualizing the philosophical and practical intersections between these two areas of study and make readily apparent the ways in which migration shapes dance performance and reception. Most of the essays were originally presented as lectures at the fortieth anniversary conference of the Congress on Research in Dance held on November 8–11, 2007, at Barnard College in New York City. At this meeting over one hundred dance scholars from over a dozen nations gathered to present research on the intersection of dance and migration studies. Many of the conference panels mapped out areas for new research, such as the effects of political occupation in the dances of the Middle East and India; the relationships between demography and choreography; the impact of immigration on the formation of modern dance in the United States, especially with regard to prominent U.S. immigrant choreographers such as José Limón, Pearl Primus, Hanya Holm, Geoffrey Holder, and George Balanchine; the integration of migration studies with somatic studies, human movement capture systems, and biometric technologies; and the reconfiguration of migratory histories in contemporary choreography by Gabri Christa, Jennifer Monson and BIRD BRAIN, William Forsythe, Akram Khan, and Joanna Haigood. The critical momentum amassed at the conference propels this issue to encompass the changes, crossings, and displacements of bodies that often go "undocumented."

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It is not surprising that dance and migration studies share common ground. The "dance world" is a nomadic one, constituted by a mobile set of performers, choreographers, teachers, and audiences in search of economic prosperity, political asylum, religious freedom, and/or artistic liberty. As such, "choreography"—the arrangement of bodily movement in time and space—might serve as an ideal critical lens for understanding experiences of migration: What does choreography uniquely reveal about the conditions of im/migration, exile, refugeeism, nomadism, forced migration, and other forms of social im/mobility? How have dance theory and practice been shaped by these social and political forces? How can scholarship support and animate activism around the increased politicization—and in some instances criminalization—of touring, studying, teaching, researching, and performing in a globalized world? What does "migration" lend to an established set of critical optics through which we examine the relationships between dances and cultures: "multiculturalism," "diaspora," "postcolonialism," "transnationalism," "globalization"? These are just some of the questions raised by the essays in this issue.

The influence of human migration on the development of dance was an underlying preoccupation of arguably the most ambitious cross-cultural study of dance. The Choreometrics project was conceived and directed by Alan Lomax, co-directed by Conrad Arensberg, professor of anthropology at Columbia University, and carried out in collaboration with movement analysts Forrestine Paulay and Irmgard Bartenieff. Building on his Cantometrics project, which created a classification system for folk music, Lomax conceived of Choreometrics as a system to identify "dance as a measure of society" (Lomax 2003, 279). The Choreometrics team analyzed films of dances from "several hundred cultures" to identify and "code" the "relative presence or absence of certain movement qualities and certain pervasive body attitudes" (Lomax, Bartenieff, and Paulay 1978, 228). Using computers, the team performed statistical analyses on measurable patterns of torso, palm, and foot movements to determine "trans-regional distributions" of movement "styles" across geographic and cultural terrains (Lomax, Bartenieff, and Paulay 1978, 237). They correlated these movement patterns to geography, division of labor, and modes of production. The results of the Choreometics project were disseminated in four documentary films: *Dance in Human History, Palm Play, Step Style, and The Longest Trail.* These documentaries integrate the clips of the dance films upon which the study was based and present "statistical mappings" to visualize the diffusion of specific movement styles between cultures eventuated in part by migration (see Figure 1).

The fourth choreometric film, *The Longest Trail,* attempts to prove the existence of a historic migratory route from Eurasia to the Americas based on the relative interconnectedness of dance styles of cultures inhabiting the trail from the Arctic to South America. In the sweeping arm movement of Kwakiutl war dancers, Lomax sensed broader and deeper pathways of cultural and historical connection. He explicitly articulates the future implications of his research for understanding migrations of the past:

> But when we do have a good sample, it looks as if we are going to be able to trace, through movement patterns, the main historical distributions of the human race in its wanderings around the earth and say many things that will interest

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> archaeologists about the meeting of cultural traditions in various parts of the world and about the mixing of cultures. We are some way down the road from that sort of work, but we seem to be headed there. (Lomax 1971, 9)

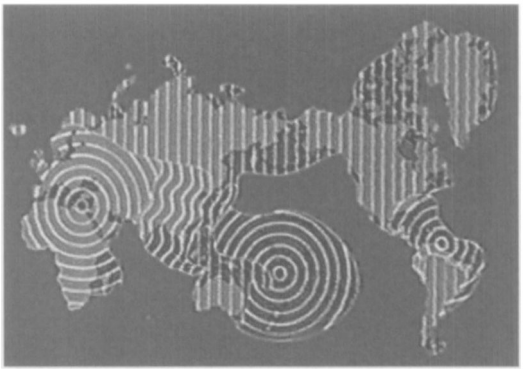


Figure 1. "Trans-Regional Distributions" of Movement Style, Dance and Human History.

However, dance anthropologists went in a very different direction with the groundwork Lomax established. Critics were united in their dismissal of the Choreometrics project and persuasively brought into relief the limits of its methodology (Kaeppler 1978; Keali'inohomoku 1976, 1979; Williams 2007; Youngerman 1974). Many of the critiques rightly took issue with Lomax's eclectic selection of films and his disintegration of dance "style" into its constitutive physical aspects. Almost all agreed that a structural or positivist approach to dance could not alone reliably substantiate the impact of human migration on dance. In the years following the Choreometrics project, the beginnings of a critical literature informed by ethnographic, historical, and theoretical approaches to dance has emerged. The following review of that literature is meant to recognize the critical impulse within dance studies to address issues of migration and to illustrate the range of ideas about migration that have emerged through the study of dance. This scholarship has placed increased theoretical pressure on core issues in dance studies—authenticity, identity, acculturation, appropriation, tradition—by thinking against and alongside ideas about "home," "nation," "culture," and "colony," which are not always useful categories for analyzing the dynamic spheres of immigrant, exile, and refugee communities.

In 1974–75 Elsie Dunin studied *kolo* dancing, a nonpartner group dance, among Slavic-Americans in Los Angeles. She compared dance events according to participants, dance leaders, and the type of music performed, observing that the dance is a "reflector of generational and cultural values" (1989, 165). In an edited volume (2007) on the complex immigration history of Koreans in Hawai'i, Judy Van Zile argues that Korean dance in America held a "significant" role in "reinforcing an identity" among Koreans on Oahu. She traces a "tradition" of Korean dance on the island from the early twentieth century to the 1950s, focusing on the work of three women, two of whom immigrated to Hawai'i (Ha Soo Whang and Halla Huhm) and an American (Mary Jo Freshley). Van Zile also notes that the "work" of tradition bearing in immigrant communities is often left in the care of women.

Two full-length studies on the Argentine tango contributed significantly to conceptualizing the role of migration in dance studies by broadening the locus of investigation of Argentina's "national" dance to consider the transnational movements of bodies and discourses. Marta E. Savigliano's book *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion* provides a history of the Argentine social dance that highlights the "sex, race, and class" tensions precipitated by the "European migration avalanche" that befell Buenos Aires

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in the mid-nineteenth century (1995, 30). Julie Taylor's *Paper Tangos* explores the experiences of internal and external exile engendered by tango in Buenos Aires during the years of Argentina's Dirty War. She lyrically suggests that the tango is "a space to reflect on power and terror" (1998, 71). Addressing the "national" dance of Chile, Jan Sverre Knudsen (2001) examines the "adaptation, redefinition, and reconstruction" of the *cueca* as it is performed "with coats on" by Chilean immigrants in Oslo, Norway. Drawing upon Paul Willis' "necessary symbolic work," Knudsen emphasizes that choosing to perform Chilean music and dance is a "self-conscious" if not ambivalent process, especially among this community of exiles, most of whom fled the Pinochet dictatorship. Knudsen also describes a unique situation in which Chileans living abroad in *el exterior* or Chile's "14th region"—outside of its thirteen continuous regions—are able to request funding through FONDART (Fondo de Desarollo de las Artes y La Cultura), a national arts and cultural fund. Through electronic announcements about *cueca* performances and instructional *cueca* videos on the FONDART Web site, Chileans in *el exterior* maintain contact with their homeland. Interestingly, the *cueca* is a partner dance in which the man and woman do not make physical contact. Instead, they chase each other while making intricate floor patterns, guided by each other's seductive twirls of a handkerchief. The *cueca* requires its dancers to move in relation to yet disconnected from one another—an ideal dance for an exiled community moving in relation to yet distanced from its homeland.

The *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* recently published an issue on the related topic of music and migration that included two essays about the role of dance within multi-ethnic and multi-class refugee communities. Tania Kaiser's (2006) essay focuses on Sudanese refugees in the Kirandongo refugee camp in Uganda. She argues that music and dance afford the refugees control and a way to memorialize experience. She concentrates on Acholi dances performed predominantly by women (*apiti* and *otole*) and girls (*lara-karaka* and *dingidingi*) so as to reveal how dance helps to structure and symbolize new social relationships among women in the refugee camp. Moreover, Kaiser points to how disco dancing among the youth in the camp highlights the "incompatibility of competing generational aspirations" (2006, 200). Mauro Van Aken's research focuses on Palestinian refugees in Jordan who attend *haflas* (wedding ceremonies) where they perform *dabkeh* (a popular Middle Eastern dance). He argues that the *dabkeh* are "symbols of belonging" as well as exclusion among different ethnicities and classes of the displaced refugee community in Jordan (2006, 19).

Wendy James traces the multiple dislocations of the "wide sweeping circle" in African dance. She argues that the dance circle is a resilient pattern of world making, even in the face of "political subjugation and great social change" and particularly within contemporary labor refugee communities on the Sudan-Ethiopia border (2000, 140). She compares the presence of the dance circle in the dances of East Africa with those in the Americas, searching for "ironic echoes for the history of dance in other regions marked by a history of slavery and by modern forms of military enlistment, forced labor, forced migration, forced settlement" (144). She also describes the "revival" of *barangu* dance among Uduk-speaking Sudanese in refugee camps in the 1990s. The *barangu* circle dance, James argues, had altogether disappeared by the 1960s; it re-emerged "secularized even vulgarized," yet

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it "represents some kind of claim to a space for the people to be themselves, to celebrate a self-referential centre of their own" (151–52). Laura Edmondson (2005), who has also written about dance in African refugee communities, focuses on the children's dances performed in the World Vision Children of War Rehabilitation Centre located in Gulu, a town in northern Uganda. She compellingly argues that "former captives of the Lord's Resistance Army use Acholi dance to carve out a space in which cultural memory and globalization intersect, allowing them to script alternative narratives of humanitarianism and terror-warfare in vivid displays of resilience and creativity" (453). She identifies the ways that children perform dance as acts of resilience and resistance within broader narratives of trauma: "Like the soldiers throughout sub-Saharan Africa who manipulate the terms of globalization in order to gain access to international funds, the children use these dances to cater to a multilayered audience that includes themselves, their counselors, and international guests" (473).

Dance histories of American modern dance have taken into account the legacy of migration in shaping dance modernism. Ann Daly's *Done into Dance* (1995) is a critical history of modern dance pioneer Isadora Duncan, whose life and career were shaped by experiences of exile and statelessness, especially in the later years of her life. Ellen Graff's *Stepping Left: Dance and Politics in New York City, 1928–1942* (1997) brings into relief the ways that modern dance in the United States was driven by children of Russian Jewish immigrants, including Helen Tamiris, Anna Sokolow, Edith Segal, and Sophie Maslow, whose ideas about labor, class, and revolution defined the revolutionary dimension of modern dance.

The field of dance history has only just begun to recognize the ways in which immigrants and the immigrant experience informed the development of theatrical dance, a realization that some of the pioneering modern choreographers themselves made. For example, Ted Shawn wrote an outline for a ballet called *An American Ballet in Three Acts* based on Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.[1] The second section of the dance Shawn envisioned is titled "The Dance History of America" and was intended to dramatize the "The Coming of Whites" and the role of "Pioneers, Oh Pioneers" to honor migrant laborers such as miners and woodsmen. Another section of the dance was to honor "Manhattan—The Cosmic City" by representing "the pouring in of immigrants from all over the World with episodic dances of Europe: Spain, Italy, Hungary, Russia; Africa: Savage and Negro; Asia: East Indian, Japanese, Chinese, etc."[2] In his seven-page outline, Shawn describes an idea for choreographing America's "melting pot" as a "Broadway Pageant" and other choreographic possibilities for dramatizing the social transformations of migratory movements. Although this dance was never performed, it bespeaks the ways in which the immigrant experience shaped Shawn's choreographic vision. Similarly, modern dance pioneer Martha Graham choreographed *American Document* (1938) to explore the multicultural origins of the nation. Each of the dance's four "episodes" choreographically "documents" an aspect of U.S. migration: "Declaration" stages the procession of "newly arrived" immigrants; "The Occupation" references the settlement of Native Americans; "The Puritan" suggests a sacred pilgrimage yet dramatizes a sexual encounter; and "Emancipation" symbolizes the promise of pluralism fulfilled with a walkaround of the masses (Costonis 1991). German

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choreographer Kurt Jooss garnered international acclaim in 1932 with his signature dance, *The Green Table,* which is still performed by major dance companies throughout the world. The dance depicts the experiences of refugees in the aftermath of World War I in Europe, especially its fourth scene, entitled "The Refugees." The scene dramatizes the disorienting effects of war on its innocent victims, which are represented by an "Old Woman" who succumbs to the clutches of the dance's character of "Death." In 1944 Franziska Boas, pioneering dance therapist and daughter of the renowned anthropologist Franz Boas, addressed her concern with her perceived sense of elitism in American modern dance by calling for inclusive American dance culture that reflected the nation's multiculturalism: "Modern dance in America must absorb characteristic material from the many peoples that have come here, and must make fluid their individuality to the degree where their native heritage of motion, of outlook, and of expression is available in implementing our dance" ([1944] 1972, 2).

Much scholarly and popular attention to the relation between dance and migration has focused on the accounts of ballet dancers' defections from communist states, instances when the actions of individual dancers affected the high stakes world of cold war diplomacy. In his scholarly treatment of arts and diplomacy in the cold war, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War,* David Caute aptly notes: "The ballet dancer's defection was the most spectacular of all: ovations, flowers, embraces—then, a flying 'leap to freedom'" (2003, 468). Perhaps the most popular defection account is that of ballet legend Rudolf Nureyev, whose 1961 defection from the Soviet Union in Paris made international headlines. For over forty years, almost every aspect of Nureyev's defection has been analyzed and documented: the impact of his departure on young Soviet dancers, his disgraced reputation at home, and his return to the Soviet Union.[3] His defection was followed by that of Soviet ballerina Natalia Makarova in 1970. A celebrated interpreter of classical ballet roles, Makarova announced that her decision to remain in London was based on a desire to perform contemporary dance. Artistic freedom was the same reason given by dance legend Mikhail Baryshnikov, who on June 29, 1974, staged his own defection from the Soviet Union to Canada. The dramatic details of Baryshnikov's defection include reports of his post-performance sprint to a car awaiting him behind the theater. Wary of potential repercussions from the KGB, Baryshnikov refused to speak about his defection in the days immediately following.

The iron curtain draped thickly over China and Cuba as well. *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003) is Li Cunxin's stirring autobiographical account of his training, career, and ultimate departure from the National Ballet of China. U.S.-Cuban relations since the embargo have been preoccupied with narratives of immigration and the politics of exile, among them accounts of defection and asylum of exceptionally trained Cuban dancers. *Mirror Dance* (2005) is a documentary about two identical twin sisters, Margarita and Ramona de Saá, who danced for the National Ballet of Cuba on the eve of the Cuban Revolution. Margarita decided to flee to the United States, where she continues to live. The documentary follows her return to Cuba after decades of living in exile, subtly capturing Cuban dancers' negative attitudes toward Margarita and others who turned their backs on the Revolution. Alicia Alonso, the legendary figure of the Cuban dance world, makes

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a brief appearance in the film. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Alonso's international career was made possible by her freedom to travel between Cuba, the United States, and Europe. Today, she is often criticized for thwarting young Cuban dancers from having the opportunities to tour abroad that she herself enjoyed as a young artist. In September 2007 the recently defected Cuban dancer Rolando Sarabia expressed his frustration with Alonso's influence on the policies that continue to govern the migration of dancers to and from Cuba. To a *New York Times* reporter, Sarabia rhetorically asks then answers: "Where did Alicia Alonso become famous? In New York. Where has she always been? Abroad." He continues to say "I think I have the right . . . to enter and leave my country, but in this moment, it's not so. It's very sad" (Kinetz 2005). Sarabia's desire to defect from Cuba was shared by forty-three cast members of the Havana Night Club Show. They participated in one of the biggest mass defections of performers from a communist country and eventually received asylum.

Dancers from the former communist country of Cambodia have also been placed in the spotlight. In 1990 the Cambodian Classical Dance Company toured the United States, the first tour by a Cambodian dance troupe since the end of the Indochina war in 1975. According to Proeung Chhieng, the director of the Dance School at the University of Phnom Penh, "the troupe's goal in coming to the United States was to demonstrate to Cambodian refugees here 'that we have revived dance and our nation is surviving'" (Butterfield 1990). Ironically, Yim Devi, the troupe's lead performer, defected during the final days of the tour, undermining its primary objective to demonstrate Khmer pride to Khmer exiles abroad. More recently, John Bishop's 2006 film *Seasons of Migration* documents a stage production by Cambodian choreographer Sophiline Cheam Shapiro. The performance draws upon Khmer myths to express the experience of countless numbers of displaced Cambodians in the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge. Although the dance celebrates a type of reconciliation with exile, the film reveals the dancers' attempts to seek asylum in the United States.[4]

Of course, the issues of dance and migration transcend the experiences of theatrical and classical communist dancers. In the post-9/11 landscape, migration policies affect a broad range of performing arts and artists across the world, especially in the United States. On April 4, 2006, Sandra L. Gibson, president and CEO of the Association of Performing Arts Presenters (APA), addressed the Government Reform Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives with a statement entitled "Concerns with Nonimmigrant Visa Processing and the Chilling Impact on Global Cultural Exchange." In this report Gibson brings into relief how international policy violates artists' human rights and thwarts cultural tourism by decreasing government support for international exchange, tourism, and education in the name of "national security." Congress made a step toward improving the visa process for guest artists on April 1, 2008, when the U.S. House of Representatives passed "The Arts Require Timely Service (ARTS) Act" (H.R. 1312), an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act that provides for expedited adjudication of an employer petition for an alien with extraordinary artistic ability, an alien accompanying such alien, or an alien who is an athlete or entertainer. Introduced by Representative Howard Berman (D-CA) and ten other bipartisan leaders, the ARTS legislation will

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now be considered by the Senate against and alongside similar legislation proposed by Senators John Kerry (D-MA) and Orrin Hatch (R-UT) (S. 2178).[5] In a related and recent shift in policy governing the welfare of performing arts and artists, on September 29, 2006, Congress approved a provision to the "Post-Katrina Emergency Management Reform Act of 2006" (S. 3721) allowing performing arts organizations to become eligible to receive funds from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) as part of the FY 2007 Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Appropriations Bill (H.R. 5441).[6] This modest measure to address the traumas of internal displacement evokes previous internal displacements in U.S. history.

The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration maintains a digital archive of photographs that document the experiences of Japanese Americans who were forcibly relocated by the federal War Relocation Authority to internment camps in Arizona, Colorado, and California during World War II. The images document the mundane experiences of an extraordinary situation. There is an entire gallery dedicated to photographs of the social dances, performances, and classes held within the internment camps. These images depict internees participating in "tea dances," "barn dances," "festivals," "swing dances," and "performances" both of "traditional" Japanese and Hawaiian and American dance forms.[7] One of the images captures a young girl performing a tap dance routine to a crowd of evacuees who look on with varying degrees and mixtures of delight, suspicion, and confusion (see Figure 2). In the internment camps, the *Nisei*—younger, American-born citizens—gravitated toward American music and dance and thus performed swing and the Virginia reel at social dances held in camp recreation halls. However, the *Issei,* their Japanese immigrant parents and grandparents, observed traditional Japanese rituals (see Figure 3). In the war relocation camp of Poston, Arizona, for example, Saturday evenings were reserved for *bon* dances of the Japanese Buddhist tradition (Bailey 1971, 207). The images of dancing in the internment camps collectively represent the tensions that intensified between the generations over the maintenance of Japanese tradition in the face of American oppression.

In her memoir *Farewell to Manzanar,* Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston ([1973] 1985) recounts her experience in the internment camp of Manazanar from 1942 and later, in 1951, in an ethnically mixed ghetto. She describes her sense of alterity among the other poor "white migrants from the south" who lived in the ghetto through her experiences as a performer. One of the defining moments in the memoir is when Wakatsuki describes how she sought acceptance from her high school peers by trying to win a carnival queen election by dressing in an exotic sarong instead of dressing up as a bobbysoxer. She is reprimanded by her father, who insists she learn "Japanese ways of movement" and directs her to study traditional forms of *odori* at the local Buddhist church ([1973] 1985, 126). She begins to study *odori* but soon senses her inability to conform to a Japanese sense of modesty: "I smiled during performances, and in Japanese dancing that is equivalent to a concert violinist walking on stage in a bathing suit" (127).

Dance performs multiple and complex roles in refugee communities worldwide—as a form of cultural currency, survival strategy, movement therapy, political activism, and social service. These multiple roles take center stage at many ceremonies and events connected to World Refugee Day. In 2000 the United Nations General Assembly adopted

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Figure 2. Poston, Arizona. "A young evacuee of Japanese ancestry entertains her fellow evacuees with a demonstration of her tap dancing ability. This was one number in an outdoor musical show." Records of the War Relocation Authority, 1941–1947. Courtesy National Archives, photo No. 210–G-D597.



Figure 3. Granada Relocation Center, Amache, Colorado. "Participants in the Bon Odori dance, August 14, sponsored by the Granada Buddhist Church, showing colorful kimonos. Spectators are in background." Records of the War Relocation Authority, 1944–1947. Courtesy National Archives, photo No. 210-G-B895.

Resolution 55/76, which designates June 20 as World Refugee Day. Sponsored by the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), World Refugee Day is designed to raise awareness about global refugee crises. The UNHCR Web site maintains over eighty reports of activities associated with the 2007 World Refugee Day across the globe.[8] For certain, drama, music, film, arts and crafts, and sports play a significant role in these ceremonies, to say nothing of lectures, roundtables, and rallies. However, dance figures prominently in these events

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as well. In 2007 World Refugee Day events included dance performances at the Mexican border city of Tapachula, a performance with fifteen refugee children in Malaysia, and Iranian dance performances in Pakistan. The majority of the activities enlisted dance groups to perform not only for local refugee communities but also, and perhaps more strategically, for visiting diplomats, donors, nongovernmental organization (NGO) aid agency representatives, and the media.

To increase global awareness of the refugee crisis in Palestine, the West Bank's Dheisheh Refugee Camp established the Ibdaa Cultural Center in 1994. The center provides a broad range of social and welfare services to the refugee community, including its dance program, which teaches dance and supports a company of adolescents who tour the world to raise consciousness about Palestinian refugeeism. *The Children of Ibdaa: To Create Something Out of Nothing* (2002) is an award-winning documentary by filmmaker S. Smith Patrick about the members' involvement in the politically inspired dance troupe. The documentary concludes with footage of the filmmakers secretly taking children through checkpoints and into towns formerly inhabited by their grandparents. The dance troupe performs traditional dances (*debkes*) as well as new choreographies to represent Palestinian struggles. For example, *Motigal* (or *Political Prisoner*) dramatizes scenes of Israeli military oppression and Palestinian uprisings against Israeli occupation. The first section of the dance involves a lone Israeli soldier physically manipulating young Palestinian men into submission, then blindfolding and handcuffing them. A young girl dressed as a Palestinian woman swaddles her baby as she witnesses the scenes of torture and begs the soldier to release the prisoners. A woman dressed in white then enters the stage. A symbol of peace, she flutters around the stage while leashed by a rope to the Israeli soldier. Then, a group of dancers dressed as members of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) enter the stage and release the prisoners while waving a Palestinian flag and unfurling a banner onto which the prisoners spray-paint the word "Freedom." Taking its cue from agitprop performance traditions, the dance polarizes complex political ideologies and histories into a dramatization of good versus evil, oppressor versus oppressed, so as to elicit empathy from international audiences.

In 2008 the group will perform a new work entitled *The Key*. According to the documentary, the work was inspired by the story of Palestinian refugees who took their house keys with them to the refugee camp in 1948. These keys are passed down to subsequent generations as a symbol of hope of return. According to the documentary:

> The dance will be part of the 60-year struggle for Palestinian refugees to return . . . The symbol of the key will be present throughout the three segments of the show. In the beginning, families will be shown holding on to their original keys in hopes of a quick resolution and return to their villages. In this context the key represents the catastrophe generation wanting to return to their homeland. But in the second section, when Israeli occupation begins in the camps, bringing jail, detainment, curfew, and violence, the key is to unlock the future. The third section will take the audience to present life in the camps and the contemporary experiences of the youth participants. Here the key becomes symbolic for Right of Return and also for achieving the dream for equality. The young people have

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re-appropriated the key and made it a symbol for their hopes and dreams, not just the hopes and dreams of their grandparents and great-grandparents.

The importance of music and dance among children in refugee communities is also documented in *War/Dance,* a 2007 documentary film that has won multiple honors, including an Academy Award nomination. The film documents the children of the Patongo Primary School in Uganda, who live as refugees within the confines of a government-protected camp within their own nation. The film captures the students' month-long preparation to participate in the 2005 National Music Competition in the capital city of Kampala, where over 20,000 primary schools compete to represent their respective tribes. The film lets audiences see the daily practice sessions under the watchful eye of two master teachers who come to the camp to help train the dancers in Acholi *bwola* dance and Western and traditional musical performances; the film also includes scenes from the actual competition. Interspersed throughout the film, the four students tell their story of survival and the significance of performance to maintaining Acholi identity within the camp. Students describe how music and dance help them to both remember and forget the past. As one young girl plainly states, "I am proud to be Acholi when I dance."

The film follows the teenaged Dominic as he leaves the camp for a military outpost, where he confronts a captured rebel leader. He shows the rebel leader a photograph of his older brother and asks, at the behest of his mother, whether the rebel leader knows whether his brother is still alive. Dominic then reveals—for the first time he qualifies—that he was a child soldier; he was forced, at the gunpoint of rebel leaders, to murder three people who were digging a ditch in the brush of Uganda. He describes in startling detail how he bludgeoned the farmers' bodies with their own hoes. We later see Dominic attempting to perfect his xylophone playing, as if through striking the wooden instrument with his mallet he could transform a violent memory into a creative future. Dominic goes on to win the award for best musician for his xylophone performance at the national competition. He is given a trophy and a new xylophone, which he gives to the younger students in the refugee camp. For Dominic and the other students of the Patongo School, music and dance are means to maintain ties to the past as well as to creating a future. Dominic articulates his desire to perfect his musical skills in order to make the refugee camp a tourist destination for those interested in hearing him perform.

Both *War/Dance* and *The Children of Ibdaa* point to the ways in which children are enlisted to perform symbolic warfare in the public sphere. No doubt the practice and performance of dance provide refugee children with structure to develop connections to the past and to orient them toward the future. That said, it remains to be seen how the politics of national festivals, competitions, and performances stage refugee dances for the "global gaze" (Edmondson 2005, 454). For that reason, some refugee organizations resist the performance competition model altogether. For example, Art for Refugees in Transition (ART) is an organization that "helps rebuild individual and community identity for refugees worldwide" by "drawing upon the indigenous art forms of each community."[9] ART executive director Sara M. Green, a former dancer, conceived of the program in 1999 after experiencing the refugee crisis in Kosovo. In 2003 she worked among Burmese

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immigrants in Thailand and has since developed programs in Colombia. In Bogotá her organization works with displaced farming communities whose land has been seized by drug lords or otherwise scouted for strategic reasons. Working closely with local grassroots organizations, ART members work with local communities to establish classes for teaching and retaining traditional artistic practices. Green explains how displaced communities confront so many primary needs (for food, shelter, and medicine) that cultural practices and traditions tend to be ignored. She notes that ART's role is "to give permission" or "empower" communities to remember those traditions. ART also helps establish classes that give elders a meaningful role as teachers and give children an opportunity to develop a sense of cultural identity, making them less prone, Green argues, to be seduced by the lure of becoming child soldiers in Colombia's civil war. Green is developing a pedagogical model that could be implemented in multiple communities. Recently, ART worked with resettled communities in New Haven, Connecticut, and this year the organization will begin a partnership with Colgate University in Utica, New York, to work with its community of refugees from Somalia, Sudan, Iraq, as well as Bosnia who resettled to the area after the Balkans conflict in 1990.

Of course, there are also informal and formal refugee networks formed by professional artists in exile. For example, Iraqi dancer Muhanad Rasheed was among the thousand Iraqi refugees in Syria, where he lived in a community of other refugee professional artists. In Damascus Rasheed created Iraqi Bodies, a dance group of three men who perform choreographies that reflect on the war-torn state of Iraq. Rasheed now lives with asylum in Holland after having performed there for a festival of Middle Eastern dance in December 2007 (Amos 2008). The Brooklyn Art Council's Folk Feet Program similarly offers a social and professional network for traditional dancers—many of whom are immigrants—who live in Brooklyn, New York. Founded in 2003 and directed by Dr. Kay Turner, the goals of Folk Feet are "to identify the range of traditional dance practices represented in Brooklyn by individuals, companies, and community and social dance groups; to document these artists and their practices; and to present them to a wider public through concerts, showcases, and workshops."[10] Through this program, some immigrant artists are able to maintain a professional involvement in the arts and arts education. Its affiliated artists speak with great insight about the pressures of maintaining a professional career in the arts as an immigrant. Yasser Darwish Khalifa, an Egyptian immigrant and professional dancer, speaks of the problems and possibilities of adapting his performance of *tannoura*—a secular sufi spinning dance—to audiences of students and as entertainment at bar mitzvahs. Vongku Pak, a South Korean living in Brooklyn, describes his unwavering commitment to his traditional Korean drumming, dance, and mask-making, even as he sees his peers with whom he immigrated take on jobs as delivery men for Chinese food restaurants.

One of the potential contributions of further research into the relationship between dance and migration is to augment the arsenal of knowledge for state agencies, NGOs, and the media, which routinely monitor and report on the involvement of dance organizations and/or dance activity in immigration and/or human rights violation incidents. Some of these reports are maintained on the UNHCR's Refworld database, which selects and files "reports relating to situations and countries of origin policy documents and po-

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sitions, and documents relating to international and national legal frameworks."[11] These reports regularly scrutinize dance organizations and activity as potential perpetrators or targets of human rights violations, yet they rely predominantly on tourist Web sites and nonexpert accounts for historical information about dance traditions. For example, one 2003 report filed by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada accounted for an investigation into the Conjunto Danzantes de Tijeras Ayacucho-Peru—a dance troupe known for its performances of the "Scissors Dance"—and its alleged collusion with the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), a Maoist guerilla organization currently on the U.S. Department of State's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003). Another report filed by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (2007) describes rising "demonization" of Sufi Muslims in Iran by Shi'a clerics. According to the Iranian deputy culture minister and executive director of the committee for the Rumi Congress, Mohsen Parviz, "complaints focused on news broadcasts about performances of Sama, the Sufi practice of gathering to listen to religious poetry that is sung and often accompanied by ecstatic dance or other rituals." Although both of these reports reference the history of persecution associated with both the scissors dance and the Sama ritual, neither report reliably uncovers the depths of political resistance mobilized by these contemporary performances of tradition.

The constellation of performances, films, organizations, histories, studies, and policies mentioned above are meant to provide an overview of the myriad convergences between dance and migration. Although no single volume could represent the depth and scope of the relationships between dance and migration, the essays in this issue collectively reflect the diversity of approaches to and investments in them. By illuminating the ways that the experience and conditions of migration inform dance performance and reception, the essays reveal the complexity of dance's meaning making in the twenty-first century. In turn, they offer the broader field of migration studies emerging models for examining some of the grave, irreparable, and enduring effects of migration by attending to the seemingly elusive, ephemeral, and ambiguous arena of dance. Adriana Cruz-Manjarrez's essay provides an ethnographic analysis of how the tradition of Mexican *danzas chuscas* (or parodic dances) enable a form of social critique of U.S.-Mexican immigration. She examines how the exchange of dances between Oaxaca, Mexico, and Los Angeles forms an economy of "remittances" that must be read against and alongside other transnational economies, such as *promesas* (financial offerings to the church) and *pandillerismo* (drug-related gang culture). Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns's essay—the only noncontemporary case study in the volume—examines the trope of "exceptionalism" in the scholarly and popular writings about male Filipino immigrants who patronized U.S. taxi dancehalls in the 1920s and 1930s. Through critical analysis of early sociological studies of the taxi dancehalls, she argues that the seemingly benign praise afforded to Filipino immigrants for their "exceptional" dress, passion, and dancing skills was in fact a complex racist response that was shaped by an ongoing anti-Filipino movement that gave rise to anti-immigration violence and legislation. Cathy Black's essay delivers the first critical study of dance among the Lemkos, a displaced Slavic culture that has survived within and around Poland for over seven centuries. Black's essay looks at the life and work of choreographer

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Jerzy Starzyński and Kyczera, the Lemkos folk dance troupe he founded. Based on her archival research and interviews with Starzyński, Black explores the ironies and contradictions of Starzyński's choreography, which aspires to "regenerate" authentic Lemkos rituals as it simultaneously recognizes the culture's disconnection from its historical, physical, and cultural origin. Toni Phim-Shapiro concentrates on Cambodian choreographer Sophiline Cheam Shapiro, focusing on the choreographer's *Seasons of Migration,* a dance that dramatizes the experiences of modern migrations in traditional Khmer dance. Furthermore, Phim-Shapiro delivers a context for understanding the difficult negotiations that Shapiro must make to honor the tradition of Khmer traditional dance while choreographing dances that bear witness to the social realities of Khmer women within Cambodia and abroad. And finally, Randy Martin's essay examines the work of contemporary U.S. choreographer Bill T. Jones. By analyzing the "allegories of passing" in four of Jones's dances from the past twenty years, Martin argues that Jones's choreography has been in "strategic realignment" with national discourses of risk—from Reaganomics and AIDS to current debates surrounding national security and immigration.

Notes

1. According to Norton Owen, director of preservation for Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, Shawn most likely wrote this scenario prior to 1930 since he states that the dance was "To be danced by Ruth St. Denis-Ted Shawn and their Denishawn Dancers," which disbanded by 1930.

2. Norton Owen, personal communication.

3. Nureyev is listed in the "Gallery of Prominent Refugees" alongside scholars, activists, and artists such as Chinua Achebe, Madeleine Albright, and Edward Said on the UNHRC Web site: http://www.unhcr.org.

4. See Shapiro-Phim's essay in this issue for an in-depth exploration into the tour and film.

5. For more information, see the American Arts Alliance Web site, http://www.americanartsalliance.org.

6. For more information, see the American Arts Alliance Web site.

7. For the "Japanese American Experiences during World War II" gallery, see the Archival Research Catalog at http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/topics/japanese-americans.

8. For more information, see the UNHCR Web site, see http://www.unhcr.org.

9. For more information about ART, see http://www.artforrefugees.org.

10. See the Brooklyn Arts Council Web site, http://www.brooklynartscouncil.org/documents/66.

11. For the UNHCR's Refworld database, see http://www.unhcr.org/refworld.

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