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**Key theme:
Ethnography and Liminality: boundaries,
opportunities and living 'at the edge'**

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Notes from the Field – and Orange Sheep!

West African Djembe – A critical analysis: From Tribal Roots to Facebook

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Introduction

The main objective of this paper is to examine the cultural transmission of the West African Djembe, a traditional percussion instrument, from a typical village in West Africa, through the Liminality that is Facebook, to a surreal village location in Glen Isla, Kirkton, Scotland!

Fig. 1. Afro-Scottish Stag. 2013

I will be examining the relevance of both Paradigmatic and Liminal changes. In order to achieve this, I will examine existing literature surrounding the narrative of the Djembe, to include; story-telling, pedagogy, globalisation, liminality and diversity, from its known origins to our digital world today.

The paper will draw on both an interpretive and ethnographical approach.

Traditionally considered to be an instrument only played for celebrations, rites and initiations, within rural villages in West Africa, the Djembe is now considered to be a world-class percussion instrument. (Charry 2005) The author will contrast the evolving nature of the Djembe in terms of examining the interaction of people, within social media networking and will be examining 'threads' on Facebook, within the global djembe community, to ascertain the power of social networking as a tool to promote the djembe as a global instrument. The authenticity of the music will be questioned in terms of ritual/performance/workshop scenarios, to evaluate the effect of emerging digital technology upon the ritualistic tribal aspects of the Djembe, and how this has evolved in the 21st century, in terms of globalisation and commercialism.

Marshall McLuhan was the first known person to coin the phrase; Global Village' and describes it as a 'Geographic convergence of culture, politics and nations'. Mcluhan (1964). However, when the digital world finally became an integral part of the human existence, it was barely acknowledged as a new phenomenon. Connectivity with the entire world was now possible. The sharing of culture, the gathering of new information had become a 'click' away.

Understanding Paradigms and Liminality

Paradigms explained

In order to identify the emerging paradigm, it is necessary to first define the term. Thomas Kuhn introduces the notion of the paradigm, in terms of his

research on early histories of chemistry and astronomy in his book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, (1970/1962). Kuhn's central definition of the term 'Paradigm' is that it is a set of 'model problems and solutions for a community of researchers'. Kuhn (1970/1962, p. vii). Both Jensen and Neuman comment on the need for an understanding within communication scholarship, to solve complex, multi-institutional, and increasingly global media systems. To achieve this, the primary aim amongst community researchers must be, to identify the 'main puzzles and analytic methods'. Jensen and Neuman (2013). Furthermore, Proscio (2004) comments on the popular use of the term paradigm as being a 'natural consequence' for everyone and anyone who are to make a claim in changing the way the world goes around to come about advocating their point of view as 'the new paradigm' which gets rid of the "blinding effects of the previous one"! Proscio (2004).

Göktürks essay which poses the question; What is 'Paradigm?' offers several definitions of the term;

Paradigm:
1   One that serves as pattern or model,
2   A set or list of all the inflectional forms of a word or one of its grammatical categories: the paradigm of an irregular verb.
3   A set of assumptions, concepts, values and practices that constitutes a way of viewing reality for the community that shares them, especially in an intellectual discipline.
    (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2000).

1   An example; a model; a pattern.
2   (Gram.) An example of a conjugation or declension, showing a word in all its different forms of inflection.
3   (Rhet.) An illustration, as by a parable or fable.

(Websters Revised Unabridged Dictionary, 1998)

Göktürk clearly draws a parallel between the words 'pattern', 'model' and 'paradigm' by stating that there is a clear correlation, however, he also comments that although the meanings may be the same or similar, they do not accurately convey the actual meaning. Göktürk (n.d).

This paper will necessarily examine the nature of power relations within the four paradigms, in terms of identifying the changing symbolic status of the Djembe Master, from the traditional rural artistic cultural practice to the digital online social networking environment, and comment on how the identified shifts between paradigms further alter the concept of tribalism, in terms of the commodification of the djembe, and its emerging identity within a global stage, as a part of this cultural phenomenon.

Paradigms within communication

The history of mass communication is discussed within Jensen and Neumans report; Evolving Paradigms of Communication Research, in terms of the period following the Second World War, and propaganda involving radio and television. (Delian, 1987; Neuman & Guggenheim, 2011; Park & Pooley, 2008; Rogers, 1994). George Orwell brings to our attention the notion of surveillance through his ideas on the 'Big Brother is watching' scenario. Neuman notes that it is the easily manipulated audience reacting to the enforced authoritarian orthodoxy Neuman (1991).

Jenson identifies two "sub-disciplines" as one-to-one communication and interpersonal communication. Jensen, (2010). He suggests that there is a general failure to connect these two sub-disciplines due to the authoritarian

voice of the propagandist and the singular passive voice of the 'taken for granted' nation state. Jensen (2010).

Emerging paradigms

McQuail contributes to the debate on 'emerging paradigms' by suggesting that within communication theory there is a 'struggle' currently occurring, in terms of the digital environment, with its forms of media use. McQuail (2010). Hall suggests that in critical intellectual work 'there are no absolute beginnings and few unbroken continuities' Hall (1980). This would appear to be the case with the evolving musical cultures seen in West Africa today. Hall reiterates that what we find instead is a series of 'untidy, but characteristic uneven developments'.   Early research in West African history suggests that, according to Charry (1996), the traditional rural village drumming remained purely for ceremonial purposes, and continued to refer strongly to ancient beliefs, stories and rituals, right up until Séckoú Tourés command to organise a competition, which would include only the best musicians from each village. The result of this competition would emerge as the new paradigm of the cultural representation of Guinea's music to the rest of Africa, in terms of the alteration of the symbolic meaning of Djembe music, from ceremonial to performance. This command by Touré was carried out mainly with fear, and brings to mind the distinctive and problematic issues, which surrounded the Orwellian totalitarian big brother style revolution In George Orwell's novel, Nineteen Eighty-Four. Similarly powerful mantras such as; "war is peace,

slavery is freedom, ignorance is strength" were used to promote the surveillance and obedience was indoctrinated. In parallel to this Touré used fear based statements, which were repeatedly played twenty-four hours a day via local radio stations, therefore instilling his message to the community. Charry (1996).

Paradigm shifts

Hall discusses the notion of culture in terms of the paradigm shift, and concludes that the conceptualisation of 'indigenous or native' traditions is complex. He states that there is an area of 'richness,' which is an area of continuing 'tension'. Hall (1980 :89). Williams offers a central description of culture as being a process, and defines it as: 'The study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life'. He states that;

> "…since our way of seeing things is literally our way of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and hence common activities and purposes; the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to tensions and achievements of growth and change" Williams (1961 :55, cited in Hall, 1980).

However, Thompson's critique questions William's definition of the term 'culture' by employing a more classical approach taken from Marxist traditions, to draw a distinction between 'what is culture and what is not culture'. The elements of ' consciousness and conditions' are linked with the concept of 'experience', thus he argues that:

> '…culture is defined as encompassing both the meanings and values which arise amongst distinctive social groups and classes, on the basis of their given historical conditions and relationships, through which they 'handle' and respond to conditions of existence; and as the lived traditions and practices through which those 'understandings' are expressed and in which they are embodied'
>
> Thompson, cited in Hall (1980 :62)

Hall notes that both Williams and Thompson both authenticate 'experience' as being an important factor in cultural analysis. The researcher will discuss the role of both the Djembefola and the student, in terms of the evolving nature of 'authenticity within the music' and its relation to the globalisation and digitisation of the totemic instrument – the djembe.

The digital world – A new paradigm

According to Wittel, 'traditional ethnographies have been based on the ideas of locality' Globalisation has necessitated a shift in this perception to multi-sited ethnographies, noted to be, at this time largely under-researched, he focuses on the implications of fieldwork in virtual settings. Wittel (2000). Cultural transmission is changing radically as paradigms shift due to the advancement of technology. From the rural village drumming to the digitised drumming seen (for the purposes of this report) on the Social networking site – Facebook.

Fig. 2. Paradigm Shift. 2014

In order for there to be an identifiable paradigm, in the digitised environment, it is understood by the researcher that there must have been a radical crisis in the ideology of globalisation and the pre-digitised world. Facebook offers the researcher an encapsulated environment in which to compare and contrast the ideology surrounding the characteristics of the Djembe and performance, in terms of investigating the narrative interaction of people who exhibit shared interests, through the use of personal pages, groups, events, visual material and private and public chat. Both tensions and transitions are to be found within paradigms; tensions within the field of study and transitions in the object of the study. Jensen & Neuman (2013). The Internet, has in principle, opened a sphere of unlimited 'free space' available to citizens, to participate in what Habermas (1984-1987/1981) describes as a 'vibrant and accessible "public sphere" or an "open market place'. Jensen & Neuman conclude that

there is significant pressures on the field to change in response to new communicative practices, evolved from the image of the 'isolated television viewer' of the 1950's to the 'always connected internet user of the new millennium'. Jensen & Neuman (2013). The paradigmatic shift from material space fieldwork to so-called cyberspace is discussed by Wittel, where he describes the growth of the Internet as; 'one of the greatest cultural phenomena of our time, impacting almost all areas of our lives'. Wittel (2000) He cites Whyte's 'Street Corner Society" as an example of obtaining 'access' to information. Contrasting the real and the virtual space. The use of a 'gatekeeper' for introductions to the 'tribe or community' is paramount, and will result in 'thick description,' only obtainable when the researcher is immersed in the culture. Geertz describes this as 'construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical'. Geertz (1973 :5).

Kuhn describes the notion of the paradigm as 'A basic set of assumptions, or 'paradigms', within the ruling theory of science'. He argues that the process of scientific advancement is not evolutionary, but one that is interrupted by 'a series of peaceful interludes (Liminal Phases) punctuated by intellectually violent revolutions'. Kuhn (1962 :10).

Liminality explained

Liminality: *The transitional phase*
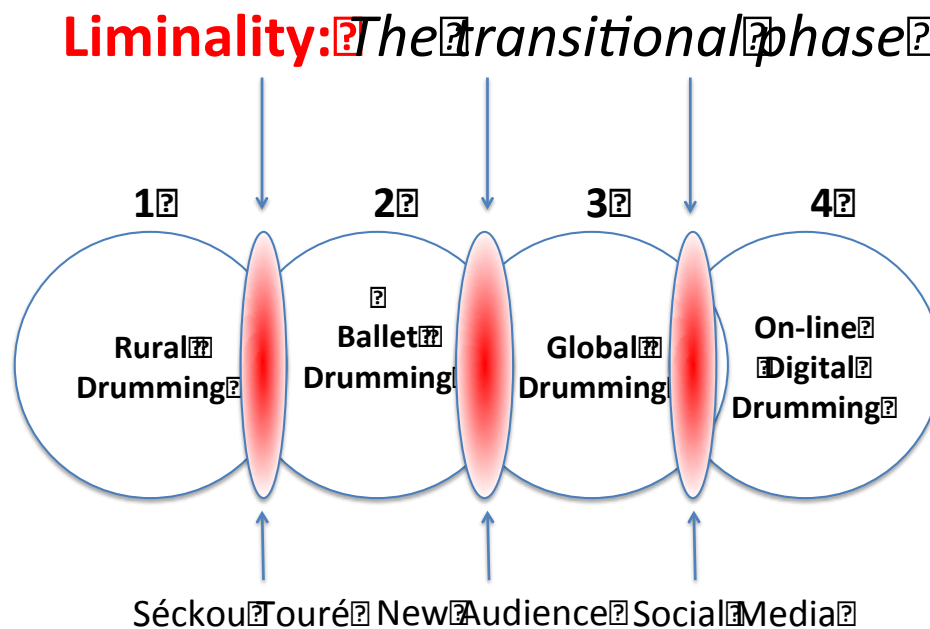
Fig. 3. Liminality explained. 2014

Arnold Van Gennep first introduced the term 'Liminal' into the anthropological world in 1909 in his seminal work *'Les rites de passage'*. Van Gennep describes the 'rites of passage' as having three distinct areas:

1. Separation

2. Liminal period

3. Re-assimilation

Van Gennep (1960).

Although Thomassen notes that Van Gennep distinguished between those that result in a change of status for an individual or social group, and those that signify transitions in the passage of time. Thomassen (2009: 6).   Victor Turner developed this theory by confirming his nomenclature for the three phases of passage from one culturally defined state or status to another…preliminal, liminal and post liminal. Turner (1969: 155). Turners book, 'The Forest Symbols', published in 1967, includes an essay entitled 'Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage', which sees the traditional perception of the term Liminality begin to deviate towards ritual passages within small scale societies. His fieldwork with the Ndembu tribe, demonstrates numerous connections between tribal and non-tribal societies, which have far reaching consequences, moving the pre-conception of the three stages of liminality to one of a realization of 'human reactions to liminal experiences, personality re-shaping and the tying together of thought and experience'. Thomassen, (2009: 14).   Hovarth argues that Turners term 'Liminoid' (the ability to analyse the modern world), should be applied to 'concrete historical events' in order to offer a vital means for historical and sociological understanding. Hovarth (2013). Thomassen notes that Liminality has both spatial and temporal dimensions, and can be applied to a variety of subjects:

- Individuals
- Larger Groups (cohorts or villages)
- Whole societies
- …and possibly entire civilizations

Thomassen (2009: 16)

His chart (Fig. 4) demonstrates the main characteristics and key examples of each category.

	Individual	*Group*	*Society*
Moment	Sudden event affecting one's life (death, divorce, illness) or individualized ritual passage (baptism, ritual passage to adulthood, as for example among the Ndembu).	Ritual passage to adulthood (almost always in cohorts); graduation ceremonies, etc.	A whole society facing a sudden event (sudden invasion, natural disaster, a plague) where social distinctions and normal hierarchy disappear; Carnivals; Revolutions.
Period	Critical life-stages; Puberty or teenage years.	Ritual passage to adulthood, which may extend into weeks or months in some societies; Group travels; Going to university, college or taking a gap year	Wars; Revolutionary periods.
Epoch (or life-span duration)	Individuals standing "outside society", by choice or designated; Monkhood; In some tribal societies, individuals remain "dangerous" because of a failed ritual passage; Twins are permanently liminal in some societies	Religious Fraternities, Ethnic minorities, Social minorities, Transgender; Immigrant groups betwixt and between; Old and new culture; Groups that live at the edge of "normal structures", often perceived as both dangerous and "holy".	Prolonged wars, enduring political instability, prolonged intellectual confusion; Incorporation and reproduction of liminality into "structures"; Modernity as "permanent liminality".

Fig.4. Thomassen: Liminality Key Characteristics. 2009

Powdermaker states that:

> "To understand a strange society, the anthropologist has traditionally immersed himself in it, learning, as far as possible, to think, see, feel, and sometimes act as a member of its culture and at the same time as a trained anthropologist *from* another culture. This is the heart of the participant observation method - involvement and detachment. Its practice is both an art and a science. Involvement is necessary to understand the psychological realities of a culture, that is, its meanings for the indigenous members. Detachment is necessary to construct the abstract reality: a network of social relations, including the rules and how they function - not necessarily real to the people studied. Fieldwork is a deeply human as well as a scientific experience and a detailed knowledge of both aspects is an important source of data in itself, and necessary for any comparative study of methodology". Powdermaker (1966:9)

In 2010, Kozinets coined the phrase 'Netnography'. He writes: 'Online communities form or manifest cultures, the learned beliefs, values and customs that serve to order, guide and direct the behaviour of a particular society or group'. Kozinets (2010 :12). Extended beyond the traditional notion of ethnography, Netnography incorporates cultural analysis and representation, from traditionally carried out ethnography to technologically mediated interactions in online networks and communities, and the cyber-culture shared between them Kozinets (2010). I aim to implement the netnographic methods applied by Kozinets to analyse and examine the new emerging paradigm of digital djembe culture, by blending both ethnographic and netnographic approaches to my research.

Proposed methodology

The researcher intends to use existing literature, in the form of archival material, (both on and off-line), books, photographs, journals, videos, semi-structured interviews and surveys (on-line, within the djembe related threads, discussion groups, and contacts, in my own network, on Facebook). This will result in the development of an informed evaluation of the online 'spread' of the Djembe and its collaborators. A qualitative framework is proposed,

An online Facebook private group, was created, entitled 'Friends of African Drum Village. (Glenisla, Scotland)', referred to from this point forward as: ADV (African Drum Village), and populated with a group of people from various non-connected locations, both in the UK and West Africa.

An evaluation of the links between Facebook individual and group profiles, and the connections, if any, which are created, profiling the Djembe around the world, Global workshops for example.

The researcher has decided to use an interpretive and ethnographical form of data collection and analysis, incorporating fieldwork, pilot study, ethnography, both in person and virtual, participant observation and statistical data gathered from both online (within social networking groups) and in person, (within group settings such as workshops). Interviews, surveys and questionnaires will be prepared, taking into account the formation of the actual questioning process. Care will be taken to ensure participant ethics are adhered to and explained at all times. The researcher recently attended a 2 day workshop at Essex University which focussed on 'The Art of Interviewing',

which helped her to better understand the process involved in developing a suitable interview crib sheet to use when interviewing participants in her research, in order to gain the maximum amount of quality data, in preparation for analysis.

Modes of research

Fieldwork participant observation and, open-ended Interviews.

The development of Fieldwork notes is an important element of any piece of writing, enabling the researcher to gather information, encourage active thinking, and consider further potential methods useful to successful data gathering. DeWalt (2011 :165-168). The researcher kept a journal for notes and observations, also including: references, ideas, thoughts, images, and suggestions from other participants.

Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski, stresses the importance of a 'highly methodical and well-theorized approach to social research. He considered that it was vital that the researcher had daily contact in the field with the participants, in order to record the 'imponerabilia of everyday life' which he states, 'is so important in the understanding of other cultures and lives'. He stated that the goal of the anthropologist, or ethnographer, is 'to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world'. Malinowski (1961: 25).

In contrast however, Yeager states that 'armchair theorizing has the potential to disclose a sound empirical basis' allowing the researcher to develop and shape new contributions to existing scholarly material. Yeager (2001).

The researcher visited The Gambia from 20th January 2014 -10th February 2014. The main emphasis of this field trip was to 'immerse' herself within the

Djembe drumming culture, for three weeks.   Contact was made with the organiser of the trip, through the event page, which was posted on Facebook, permission was given (by the organiser – Mrs Chris Sylla) to actively observe and interview the teachers, also to ask other students if they would mind being interviewed.   The Facebook event page was then 'visited', and private messages to all attendees, asking if they would mind being interviewed.   Most have replied agreeing.   A full explanation fully of the process was explained again, before each interview in Gambia, and copies of consent forms were collected, post interview, which will again fully explained the purpose of the research.   There were 6-7 teachers and 20-25 students on the intensive drumming residential workshop.

The researcher lived inside the compound, with the other participants, although the teachers (apart from Nansady Keita, who were with us) resided in another compound nearby.   The compound is surrounded by a boundary fence, and houses several members of an extended family.   This was a typical Gambian compound, where the families live, eat, socialise and communicate together.   The living accommodation was traditional, small round mud huts covered with palm leaves, woven together to be weather-proof. By western styles the accommodation was considered to be very basic, at best!   The program of activities consisted of a minimum of 5 hours drumming a day with one day off in four. The level of teaching was be from 'intermediate level' to 'advanced level' and was extremely intensive.   The primary teacher was Djembefola (Master) Nansady Keita, descended from the royal lineage, and considered to be a master of his craft.   He was accompanied by several local drummers who will play the other instruments,

to make up the complete rhythm, such as; the Balafon, an instrument similar to a xylophone, but made of wood, with gourds suspended underneath to provide the tone, the Dun-Duns, a set of three drums, cylindrical in shape and skinned on both ends. Dance teachers wwere also be available to students wishing to learn the related dance to each rhythm.

Upon her return from Gambia, the researcher 'joined' a Facebook group, which was advertising an event called: Friends of African drum village, (Glenisla, Scotland).

Fig. 5. ADV. 2013

The Blue rectangular box on the Left of the image is there to protect sensitive information about the author. The organiser, Steve Haden has been running this event successfully for nine years, but has decided to take a break for 2014, however we can see that plans are afoot for 2015! The event, advertised on Facebook sells out each year, to percussionists, singers, dancers and performers, who are interested in the West African diaspora.

ADV is held in a tiny village called: Glenisla in Kirkton, Scotland.

Fig. 6. Entrance to Glenisla, African Drum Village. 2013

…and is a long way from The Gambia.
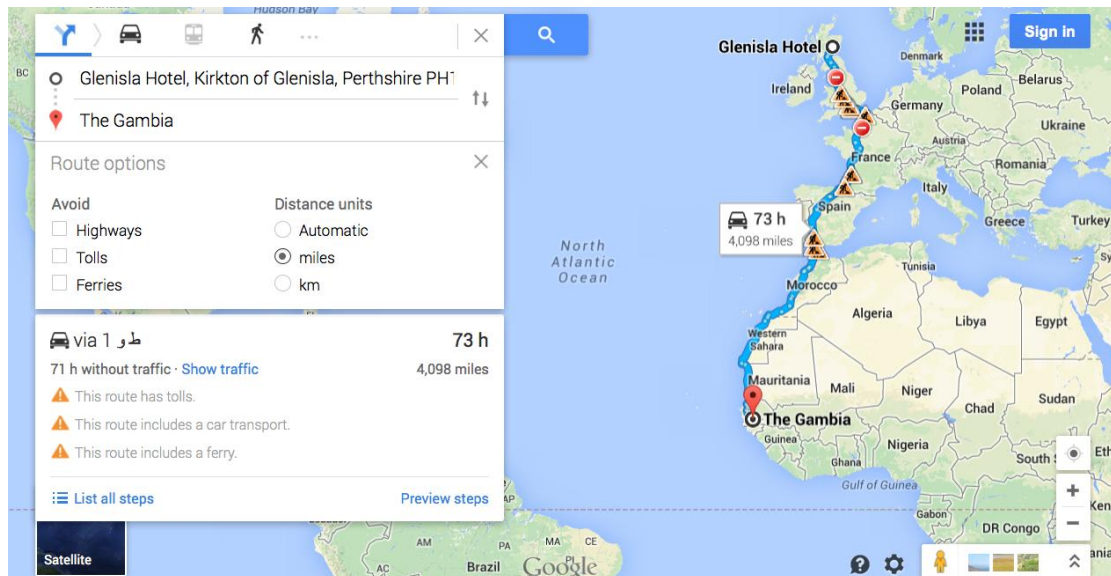
Fig. 7. Google map – Gambia to Glenisla, Scotland. 2014

The local village hall replaces the central meeting place in the village where the elders, sit and discuss village politics, whilst the women tend the crops, feed the children and clean the village. The centre of the village is considered to be the heart of the village, a place where celebrations, rituals and ceremonies take place, drumming and dancing are frequent sights. In Glenisla, the village hall was transformed into a place of ceremony, the opening of the Drum Village, the performances, speeches, and often into a shared kitchen/dining room. The hustle and bustle of the 'village' continued throughout the 5-day duration.

Nansady Keita, whom the researcher had spent time with, and drummed with, during her field trip in Gambia, was present, in his role as 'teacher' or 'Master Drummer'.

The use of Facebook as a vehicle to draw people from a wide geographical area together, and to create a 'virtual tribe' demonstrates the flexibility and speed of electronic media, and further defines new definitions of human interaction. Burlacu, (2014).

The term 'Tribe' originates from the Latin word, Tribus – meaning 'a social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious, or blood ties, with a common culture and dialect, typically having a recognized leader'. Oxford Dictionary (2013). This explanation of the term Tribe, can, in the twenty first century, incorporate both online, (digitally connected), and offline, (physically connected) communities. Tribal interfacing is a common phenomenon seen consistently in social networking sites (SNS's) all over the world, such as Facebook. Shared interests invite people from all over the world to create online communities, a

digital 'place where people can compare notes, chat and generally interact, as if occupying the same physical space, rather than a borderless cyberspace. Lundberg, Malm and Ronstom, (2003). It has been noted that Social Networking Sites have the potential to become surrogate families to groups of people sharing interests, or simply wishing to connect with others also searching for the opportunity to 'chat'. Locations can be important considerations, as users are able to 'connect' with groups to create 'Urban Tribes' both near and far. Watters, 2003. Omurchu, et al., (2004)

Matai states that:

> Digital tribalism has evolved with the onset of the digital revolution, enabling like-minded people to interact with each other, no matter what the geographical location. The behaviours of traditional tribes within the West African villages are mimicked, with conversations being held, activities organised, with the Facebook group page simulating the village square. Digital networks have taken tribal behaviour to a whole new level of collective consciousness: dynamic self-assembling tribes that come into existence almost instantaneously. Human civilisation has gone from local to national and from national to trans-national tribal behaviour and congregation enabled by digital catalysts. Matai, D. (2011)

The Facebook page for ADV clearly shows how many people belong to the group, or 'tribe', and the conversations that are held. Individuals own Facebook pages can be accessed from the group page, allowing basic information to be 'shared', such as location, status, other groups that the individual belongs to, etc.

The researcher booked her tickets for ADV and began the long trek to Scotland, a journey of some 496 miles, certainly a lot further than her connection point to the internet!
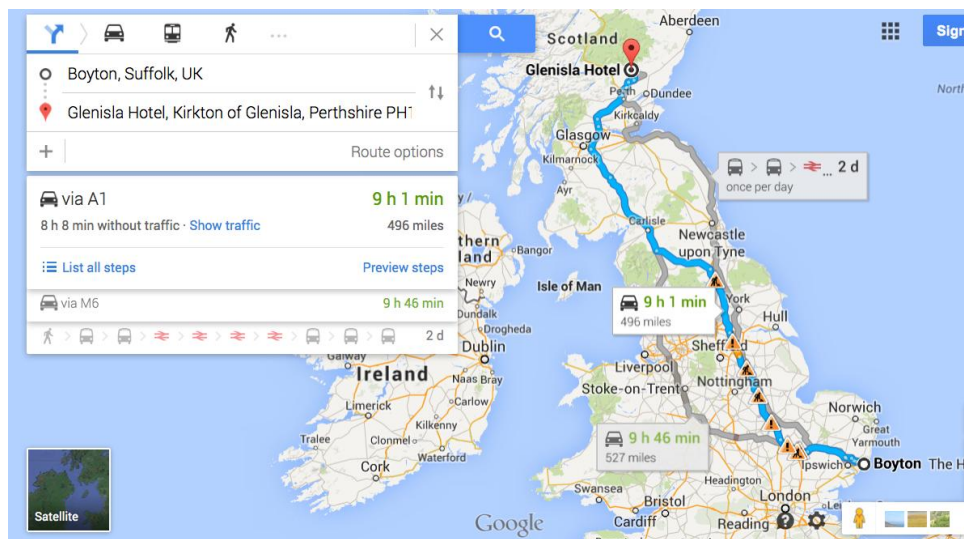
Fig. 8. Google Maps – Boyton – Glenisla. 2014

Upon her arrival, some 10 hours later, she was to discover a village hall and playing field, which had been converted to an African village. Tribal shields greeted her as she entered through the gates to begin the process of finding that perfect camping spot. There was a sense of togetherness, of arriving, and commonality. African music could be heard emanating from many tents and campervans in the field. Laughter and greetings were the order of the day. The smell of the evening meal wafted over the 'village' – a delicious Goat Curry, a traditional staple meal of the West Africans, in The Gambia. As she sat in her newly constructed home, (her tent) drinking coffee brewed on a tiny gas stove, she was struck by the enormous role that Social Networking plays in creating and bringing together tribes, from the digital world into reality, and then the hosting of the 'memories' of the event, which are posted on the ADV group page post event. Images, videos, comments, discussions, new connections and news items are read almost immediately upon arrival home.
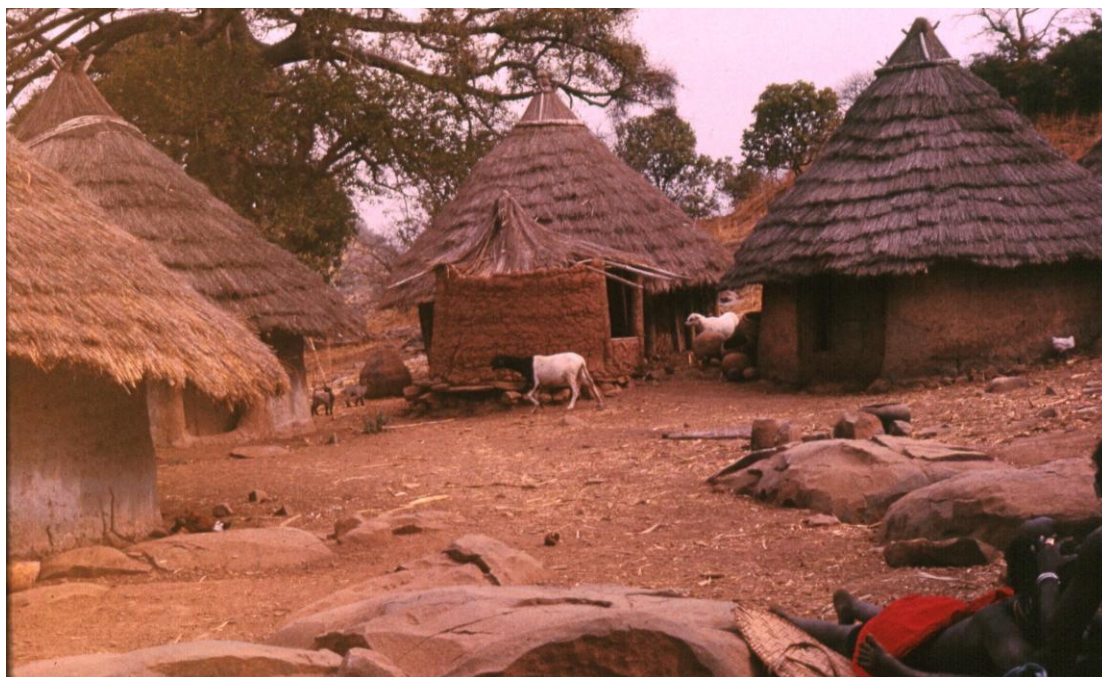
Fig. 9. Bedik village, Southeast Sénégal

Fig. 10. 2013. African Drum Village, Glenisla, Scotland

Conclusion

The 'geographical convergence of culture, politics and nations' according to McLuhan (1964) has been clearly demonstrated within this paper. The cultural transmission of West Africa's Djembe has been exceptional. From its rural village roots to world stage, the Djembe is considered to be a 'world-class percussion instrument, Charry (2005).

Van Gennep's description of the three distinct areas found within a 'rite of passage' as Separation, Liminal period and Re-assimilation can be seen as 'transitional phases' allowing the shift, and creation of a new paradigm. (See fig. 3). Van Gennep (1909). Turner develops this theory, and uses terminology such as; pre liminal, liminal and post liminal. Turner (1965). Turners term 'Liminoid' is further extended to include the 'ability to analyse the modern world. However, Hovarth argues that the term Liminoid should also be applied to 'concrete historical events, in order to offer a vital means for historical and sociological understanding' Hovath (2013).

This paper aims to identify and explore a new fourth paradigm of djembe music, which is the subject of the researchers Thesis, following on from the;

First Paradigm – Founding Fathers: rural village drumming.

Second Paradigm – Into Africa, the extension of the Djembe to the African continent.

Third Paradigm – Out of Africa, the further extension of the Djembe to a wider, international audience, increasing popularity, a further move away from the traditional and ritualistic origins but, at the same time, the acquisition of

characteristics which further and differently define the nature of the music and its communicative value.

Fourth Paradigm – A global phenomenon with its roots firmly embedded within the global Facebook "tribe". The emergence of a new form of drumming defined as a further extension of Djembe technique and practice. This is further removed from the original traditional and ritualistic practices. This section raises the issues on which the thesis is based and seeks to evaluate the contribution of the new form in terms of its global contribution: gains and losses, in order to consider the relative significance of the increasing commodification of the Djembe when set against the contribution of the new paradigm in world music.

The advancement of technology, both within the analogue and digital realms, enable the cultural transmission of the Djembe to change radically, The world has in-fact become digitally 'borderless', with time and distance holding no relevance to communication, shared interests, and organization.

The experience of the cultural analysis, of the Djembe residential workshops held in The Gambia and in Glenisla, Scotland have been compared and contrasted. Facebook was the 'facilitator' for both these events, with a 'tribe' being created, both on and off-line. The commercial aspects of both events were taken into account and balanced with the 'experience'. The 'betwixt and between' was seen on many levels, from the references to authenticity to the experience of participating in West African Djembe rituals in the Highlands of Scotland!

Goats stroll around the West African villages, highly prized by their owners, as a potential 'dowry' or as a future food source, and provider of the skins for the Djembe heads, whilst in the Highlands of Glenisla, we found ourselves surrounded by 'Orange sheep!!! Research into this phenomenon shows that there are several reasons given as to why they are orange: `visibility on the Glenns, a deterrant to sheep rustling and showing off' !!!! Prize herds will be coloured orange after winning at the highland show.

Fig.11. Cooke, H. 2013. Orange Sheep!

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