Migrating with Movement Expressions

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Abstract
This article portrays how a selection of Ethiopian and Eritrean immigrants to Norway deal with their movement practices in the new country, compared to what they did in their country of origin. Movement practices include dancing, ways of greeting people, and religious worship. The immigrants each give per-sonal accounts of their life experiences in such fields through open, informal interviews. Their stories illustrate in vernacular language how dance is situated in their home country in relation to religion and ethnicity. The author did not select particularly eager dancers for the interviews, seeking instead to work with non-experts. Commenting on the stories, the author proposes some factors influencing the position of dance in the immigrants' new lives, such as the conditions offered by the authorities, the general climate of immigration among the general public, and the immigrants' own expectations.

Keywords: Immigration, worship, movement practices, liturgy, dance, religion, integration, non-dancers

Individuals absorb movement practices[1] from their environment, may they be deep and basic, or simple and changeable. Dance and related expressive movement genres are part of such practices. When individuals and groups change their environment, they may leave or lose, continue or keep the practices, and migration is a particularly dramatic change of environment. This article will tell and discuss individual stories of immigrants from Ethiopia and Eritrea to Norway.[2] The stories are mostly based on interviews but will also refer to the author's impressions and observations from other kinds of interaction with immigrants, as well as to a short visit he made to Ethiopia's capital city Addis Ababa in November 2016.[3]

The aim is to investigate how the migration influenced each individual's use of movement practices, and examples of such are dancing, ways of greeting people and religious worship. In a modest work like this it was not possible to approach questions about the movement structures; the concrete content of the practices. It would of course be interesting to survey movement characteristics and the changes that may occur in the movement contents. Within the scope of this work, and due to lack of personal competence in North-East African movement practices, I could only discuss what place

the individuals portrayed felt that different movement practices had in their lives before and after emigrating.

Does the individual see the changing or continuation of movement as something that he or she wished for and made efforts to achieve? Did it result from personal choices or was it something that "just happened"? Was it caused by external circumstances, restricting or enabling the possibilities? Dance and similar movement expressions are in focus, but only as general activities and actions and not as concrete movement structures.

The basic idea here is to investigate processes from an individual's point of view in terms of the concrete practicalities at play as well the individuals' understanding of it. This approach may result in common-sense descriptions and interpretations from the individual point of view. It does not mean that the individual is not seen as a member of a group, but that such memberships are used to discuss and cautiously interpret the story of the individual rather than to build a discussion about a group and its characteristics. It may, however, question if a researcher's often more generalised descriptions and interpretations necessarily are always more valid and useful than anecdotical and individual stories. They will, of course, both of them be a researcher's construction, only based on different approaches to the material.

Studying individuals is a well-known format in dance research, particularly in theatrical dance, and has often taken the shape of "chronicles of stars". The point has been to portray the important contributions of the individual. Mark Franko's recent work on Serge Lifar (2020) where societal and artistic trends are portrayed through one of its leading personalities, may serve as an example of recent, advanced research centred on an individual. In ethnochoreology and traditional dance the impressive Hungarian monograph about one dancer's repertoire is another outstanding example (Martin, Felföldi & Karácsony 2004). These kinds of works can hardly be compared to the approaches in this article.

An approach more similar to mine is to let ordinary people speak to topics but then the author gives them the floor to speak, often in short quotations on one topic at a time. The author then supplies a general text where pieces from interviews are presented as supporting evidence for the author's descriptive text. Mats Nilsson's thesis on dance in Gothenburg is a typical example (Nilsson 1998:200). In other dissertations we may find interview transcripts made available as appendices. The difference here is that I mostly let my interviewees speak uninterrupted in the main text and concentrate my comments and contextualizations before or after the story part.

The article will approach the question of immigrant integration by discussing how a small selection of immigrants from Ethiopia and Eritrea to Norway have experienced their situation when it comes to how much and in which context they used certain kinds of movement practices. It will also touch upon the concept of habitus when looking at the individuals'

relationship to available options in their new habitat (Sholten 2011:43). What barriers are created by a deeply rooted fear of getting into water, or what do deeply rooted taboos against showing or seeing naked or scantily dressed bodies do to an immigrant's possibility to feel all right in a public bath or on a beach? This again opens the question of which options an average immigrant realistically can relate to when his or her habitus seems to block them.

Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-faith country with just under 80 ethnic groups, speaking twice as many dialects and languages. It is the second largest country in Africa in terms of population. Major ethnic groups are the Oromo, the Amhara, the Somali and the Tigray, which each have their important language and a broad spectrum of differences in cultural heritage, such as dance. The religions do not follow the ethnic divides, and the three most significant ones are the Orthodox, the Muslims and the Protestants, but there are also Roman Catholics and local indigenous religions (Fessha 2013:151).

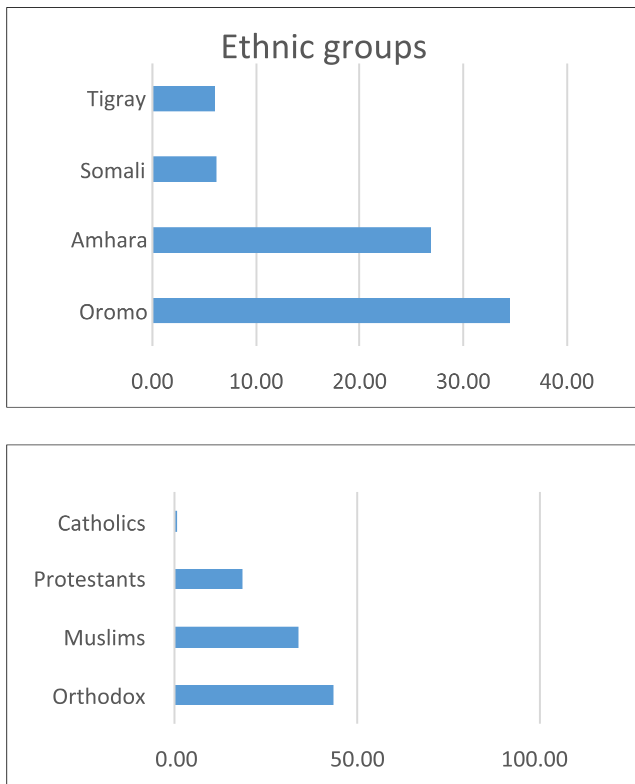


Figure 1. These tables are based upon information from Fessha about the main ethnic groups and the main religious affiliations in Ethiopia.

Ethiopians were ruled under a feudalist-imperial monarchy until 1974 and then by a socialist dictatorship until 1991 (Tronvoll & Hagmann 2011:11). From 1991 the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) ruled, institutionalizing political power on the basis of ethnicity through the country's new administrative regions (its nine regional states) corresponding to putative ethnic homelands. Each region has its own legislative, executive and judicial branches. This has favoured northern highland groups such as the Orthodox Amhara and Tigrayans and marginalized the Oromo and other groups in the southern lowlands, some of which are also Muslims.

In the 2015 parliamentary elections, EPRDF claimed to have won every seat in parliament; not one opposition or independent parliamentarian sits in the 547-seat House of People's Representatives, which confirms that authoritarian rule will persist in the country for the foreseeable future. The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) formed the EPRDF as a coalition in order to transform itself from a rebel movement into a national government. TPLF facilitated the establishment of parties for the Amhara, the Oromo and Southern Ethiopians so that they could function as constituent parties of the EPRDF in the country's three largest regions. The EPRDF considers these parties to be affiliates, and they have no representation in the EPRDF's Executive Committee, the most important decision-making body in Ethiopia, leaving the TPLF as the dominant party (Arriola & Lyons 2016:77). In the time since the interviews for this article were conducted and the article written, there have been dramatic political events, changes in power relationships, and even war. I do not find it relevant to portray this since the interviews reflect the situation before the changes.

Telling the Histories of Immigrants

In 2014, there were 7,807 Ethiopians in Norway, which is the fourth largest group from any African country (Kommuneprofilen 2017). The political and religious situation in Ethiopia will shine through in the account. It was of course also why they left Ethiopia, but this issue is for obvious reasons not addressed here. I did attempt to make a selection of interviewees where the largest ethnic groups and the most significant religious groups were represented, and in one case one interviewee was selected because of his knowledge of dance. There is still no representative selection, so I only have stories from individuals that do not lend themselves to many generalizations. Their individual short stories below are based on separate video-recorded interviews with seven persons. The interviews were not based on questionnaires, and the topics covered evolved in the meetings between the interviewer and the interviewees. This is the methodology of Oral History or Cultural Memory Studies (Erll, Nünning & Young 2010).

Memory studies will be a relevant methodological framework from which to take inspiration. Olick and Robbins

> [...] refer to "social memory studies" as a general rubric for inquiry into the varieties of forms through which we are shaped by the past, conscious and unconscious, public and private, material and communicative, consensual and challenged. We refer to distinct sets of mnemonic practices in various social sites, rather than to collective memory as a thing. This approach, we argue, enables us to identify ways in which past and present are intertwined without reifying a mystical group mind and without including absolutely everything in the enterprise (Olick & Robbins 1998:11).

Dance and movement did not play any important part in the lives of my interviewees, and I will look at what a few individuals say about this topic. I do not look at broad life histories. The basis for generalizations is very modest, and the individual stories only exemplify the enormous span in differences played out in the countries of origin and in the new country. The interviewees are young people in their twenties or thirties, so the timespan of the past is modest.

Individual Stories

The individuals selected for interview are some friends and connections, and some individuals who were proposed by my friends in order to have the main ethnic groups and religions represented. Working with people whom I knew and who trusted me, and people to whom my friends introduced me was helpful. Personal stories are delicate matters for all immigrants,[3] and even more in the vulnerable situation as a refugee. It is crucial for me to keep away from any information or issue that might influence their future chances or options. Immigrant authorities are reported to advise refugees to keep their stories to themselves. Therefore, their status and their reasons for staying in Norway are not discussed, and I have anonymized them. The problem with this is of course that the accounts avoid all descriptions of or references to the whole complex of persecution, danger, fear and discrimination that may be the black and scary backdrop for many of the individuals. There is, therefore, a reason why the stories will be falsely idyllic.

When the interviewees spoke English better than or equally well as Norwegian, I interviewed in English, but some interviewees preferred Norwegian. I have transcribed the interviews and then taken out what I considered the most relevant points and condensed each interview into a short account. I have tried as much as possible to keep the wording of the interviewee but have omitted my own questions. Since the interviews had a factual tone, not aiming primarily at exposing feelings, value judgements or attitudes, I have not found it purposeful to present accurate quotations with all the technicalities that requires. Therefore, the text contains largely

the wording of the interviewee, including also formulations or value judgments, that do not fit in an academic text, and for that reason, I should rather have quoted precisely. In order to be able to adjust to the flow of written language, I have still chosen the technique of paraphrasing, or perhaps better reporting what the interviewee said, presenting his/her words in third person to signal that it is not a transcript, and to sometimes report on the impression of the interviewee's attitude. In some places I also had to search and supply information from other sources about topics not familiar to non-Ethiopians. When information about the same phenomenon comes at different places in one interview, it has often been combined or merged, and the pieces do not always come in the order found in the transcribed interview. All the content is therefore taken from interview transcripts, with a few exceptions for comments and external information that I have added. The order of the elements is in some cases reorganized, and the wording is transformed into my reporting in the third person to offer easily readable texts.

This kind of interviewing, remaining on a factual and superficial level, poses questions about what you really get to know. First, there is the tension between what is assumed to be usual; what the general discourse claims is the custom, as opposed to what happened in a singular event. The question whether Eritreans use their traditional clothes from their home country at weddings in Norway may be answered yes, whereas the question whether the interviewee ever did so may be no. The two answers may, of course, be compatible, but the two pieces of information are situated in two different epistemological spheres.

An Ethiopian Protestant Oromo Man from the Capital City: Abraham

Abraham was born and raised in the Baptist missionary compound in Ethiopia's capital city Addis Ababa. His mother is a preacher, and his father worked with economic matters in the compound's office. Three families were living inside the compound, in each their little flat, but close together. The children went to ordinary public school outside the compound, but most of the social life of the families took place inside, in the apartment or festivities with a bonfire in the courtyard. Social life had religious worship as a core. As a young man, he had a good network of friends also outside the compound, and he met them, hanging out in the city, mostly at cafes. His friends did not all belong to his religious community. His parents wished him to keep away from the plentiful nightclubs and discos, and he felt that was not safe, and never went there due to his personal conviction. Asked about memories of dance from Ethiopia, he recalls having been at a big festival of traditional dance and music with people from rural regions. He found the festival a positive experience, and his parents did not have

anything against it. This was a one-time experience of cultural dance, even if this kind of dancing was a generally known phenomenon in Ethiopia. Then he left his country around the age of 22.

Abraham came to Norway and had been there, mostly in Trondheim, for five years when he gave the interview. When asked about dance, he pointed to the worship movement *Shibsheba* to his mind as somehow connected to dance, even though the people back home might not consider it as dance in their understanding, due to the secularity of the word. Having arrived in Trondheim, he found an Ethiopian Baptist community where he could continue his worship practice. The small community does not have specialized leaders nor musicians to accompany the worship, so it does not have the same intensity as he experienced in Ethiopia, but he still finds it rewarding. He also attends the general services of his congregation, where a standard Norwegian service is given to some few Norwegians and immigrants from many different countries. It is evident that Shibsheba is an essential expression for him, because everyone else does it.

Film 1. Protestant Shibsheba.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kCZRmZS2HXE.

The Shibsheba has been seen as going back the famous Saint Yared (505–571). He was a legendary Ethiopian musician credited with inventing the sacred music tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Ethiopia's system of musical notation. He is also said to have combined spiritual singing with dancing, known locally as Shibsheba. If true, this would be a striking continuity. After a history of some 1,500 years in the Orthodox Church, a small minority of Protestants have adopted the practice, and Ethiopians of different Christian groups have then brought the practice along into diasporic communities. Western scholars, however, have other opinions about the age of the Ethiopian liturgy (Chaillot (2006:146).

Abraham still follows the practice from home, not going to discos, dance places or nightclubs. He does not feel safe and does not like to be around where people drink alcohol or use drugs, which keeps him away from the predominant kinds of social life among young people. By chance, he has participated a little in the folk dance of another immigrant group, which he found rewarding and might have continued if it had not stopped.

An Ethiopian Protestant Oromo Man from the Countryside: Eba

Eba grew up in the western part of Ethiopia, in a small town with 15,000–16,000 inhabitants. His father worked in the city administration, but also

moved around with his work, so the family lived in several places, even in the countryside. The townspeople were predominantly Protestants, but the rural population around were Muslims. Eba's father used to go to the Orthodox Church, but changed, and started to go to Protestant church. The Orthodox Church was preaching in the old church language Ge'ez, and according to Eba it was very old-fashioned, whereas the Protestant church used Oromo and was modern. The Orthodox Church also promoted the Amharic identity as being the Ethiopian identity and left out Oromo identity. This made large numbers of Oromos change to the Protestant church.

Eba remembers a romantic dance performed on the eve of weddings. Boys and girls line up in two rows and are showing off and competing in dance, and then at the end of the dance they kiss each other. His older sisters went to such an event, and he sneaked out and followed them to watch. He was too young to join in, and his parents did not like him to go to such places. The people who had such weddings were not very religious. Those who were would not allow these secular songs, replacing the secular content with religious content to make them gospel songs. He also thinks alcohol played a role for Protestant scepticism; alcohol gives the people the courage to do what they would not do otherwise.

After he entered high school, he made more of his own decisions and could participate in dancing at school. Dances could be taught as part of musical education, particularly cultural dances. The cultural dances were still also functioning in the celebrations of ordinary people, and the teaching at school did not need to be that systematic. Eba has the impression that people who are convinced Protestants are against dance, but many Orthodox are not actively religious and do not mind. Those who are really into the religion, also on the orthodox side, do not dance much. He thinks the Muslims are even stricter in the faith and do not dance so much, but some of them do.

Eba moved to university, took his bachelor's degree in 2005 and after working a couple of years he started his master's studies. In 2010, he won a scholarship to study performing arts in Germany and Denmark. When he came back to Ethiopia, he had problems with the security police, escaped, and came to Norway in 2013.

He says he is into Shagoye, and when he was in Germany he tried to show his friends how Shagoye is performed. He gives the Jiman and Shouwan Oromo dance some of the same credit, but says that he is not really into the dances of Wallaga where he comes from.

In Frankfurt and Copenhagen, they had to do the tango and used it on stage. The tango here and in Addis is almost the same. In 2014 he did the tango in Norway too – for performance – when there was a cultural day in Molde, not for the sake of social dancing. In addition, he coordinated dancing with a few Oromos. This is the only time he danced in Norway. He does

not go to clubs. He does not drink, and he says that if you go to clubs, you have to drink. Also in Addis, young people dance a lot and get drunk in clubs.

When asked about Shibsheba, Eba explains that it is a religious dance, originally orthodox, and it is used for worship. The movement is particularly done with the hands, but also with the legs, bending down, mostly dancing on the spot but even sometimes backwards and forwards. Nowadays the Protestants also use Shibsheba. There is a big drum made of skin that is carried to accompany the worship; the drummer dances and jumps as well. The Orthodox Church also use music composed by Jared, he received the composition from God, and it is different from the Protestants' music for Shibsheba.

In Stavanger where lives now, there are no services of this kind, but in Oslo there are events where people do the dances. When he goes to Protestant services in Oslo, he joins in with the worship song and then there are also dances or movement in certain ways. These movements are more or less the secular dance movements from back home. When people come together, they invite singers, and they dance. This does not happen frequently, maybe two or three times a year, but in churches; they do the songs and the movements more often.

He appreciates that the Oromo people maintain the movements in the church, which means a lot for him. Eba feels that the Oromos have been treated as evil and backward in the Orthodox Church in the past, so the fact that the Protestant church managed to use traditional dances in their religious life is truly marvellous. Personally, however, he has his own opinion as to how the church employs the cultural dances during worship. When you use dance in church for worship, you need to adapt the form, because of the change of purpose. Eba does not agree with the use of the exact same dance from the cultural setting, believing they have to be adapted for the worship.

The use of cultural dances in the churches started some five or six years ago. The Oromo nationalists criticize the Protestants for being against the Oromo culture. In Eba's opinion, it is a false criticism. The Protestants have even supported the Oromo language and translated the Bible into Oromo. The Protestant religion has done very much for Oromo culture, but due to the criticism, activists in the church have started to adopt Oromo culture in the church, and also the dances – they use the cultural dress, cultural dances and cultural music in response to the nationalist criticism.

There are two national-scale calendar events in Ethiopia. One is called Epiphany (Christ's baptism). It is a religious event, but the songs and dances are entirely secular, you go there to see people dancing, and you do some movements. Many Oromos come to Addis during Epiphany. A group of people from Shewa Oromo have a powerful dance called Ichesa, which is believed to come out of horse-riding. In Achaba, situated in the centre of Addis, you see a lot of Shewa dance at Epiphany, and when you look at it you also do some movements, it is inevitable.

The other occasion is the Meskel, the cross-celebration. They believe that the cross on which Christ was crucified was lost and Mary managed to find it on this day. At this time, you see the grand, grand, full-fledged performance of the Shibsheba in Addis and Nanibala. People travel to central places to celebrate.

Film 2. Flames, singing, dancing in Addis Ababa: Orthodox Meskel festival.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=peAoQQkoruo.

The dances have come down from generation to generation. You follow the steps. Nowadays when the cultural dances are staged and televised, and used in a competition environment, there are a lot of changes. They now mix the cultural dances with the modern type of moves, and different types are introduced into the original types of movements. In addition, if this trend continues, we will not have pure cultural dances in a few years. Yes, the televised versions, the one which they perform for commercial purposes, they are improved forms of the cultural dances, a kind of hybrid, because they try to modernize, make it appeal to the eyes of the new generation. Therefore, competition forms are entirely different from those that are performed in the countryside.

Outside Ethiopia, the church has been the very stronghold for cultural practices. Now there is also the Oromo media network. It is a new institution formed two years ago, bringing people together for fundraising and discussions of progress. Before that, we had the Oromo Liberation Front in western European countries, which has been so strong during the 1990s and early 2000s. It was the only institution in the west that brought Oromos together and helped them do their cultural practices. Some Oromo singers also had to leave the country, and having left, they are also out of the art.

However, in places like smaller cities where there are not many in the community, the chance to practice anything is limited. So, in the small towns people integrate more in a shorter time because they are obliged to. Few people to talk to in your language, you cannot go to worship in your own language – all kinds of practices. Cultural events at change of season become very different here because of varying weather. Irrecha is a Thanksgiving in September, after the difficult summer season, when flowers are starting to bloom. Here in Europe, the weather is totally different. The celebration is not natural.

Film 3. Irreechaafi Waaqeffannaa, the traditional Ethiopian Thanksgiving Day in the traditional religion of Oromyia (Ta'a 2012). Posted by Daniel Areri.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kcPzAqH3C78.

Eba feels that people do not greet much here. In Ethiopia, people shake hands and they hug, and in rural areas people even kiss each other on the

forehead. Here it is different if one wants to greet people, it is only a nod or a hi, and for an Ethiopian this is a shock. When he came to Molde, he shook hands and then tried to hug people, but they did not want to. They believed he might be a homo. There is no visible homosexual culture in Ethiopia, so this was a shock, and embarrassing.

In the same way, there are practices here that shock an Ethiopian; for instance, they kiss each other in public spaces. In Eba's culture, people do not do that. It took him some time to get used to this, and on the spot, it feels embarrassing when he wants to shake hands or hug and the greeting is refused. If you do not greet, you stop people from being social with you; it seems unfriendly. When Eba lived in Molde, he did not see much of his neighbours. One day he met an Ethiopian who also lived there. He asked Eba, "why don't you greet us and talk to us, in Ethiopia you have to be friendly and greet people and talk to them".

An Eritrean Orthodox Man from the Capital City: Simon

Simon is from Asmara, the capital city of Eritrea. His family is Christian Orthodox and they speak Tigrigna. His family had no objection to dancing, even if they did not consider music or dance to be good professions.

He sometimes went to Tigrigna outdoor concerts and dances at a place called the Expo. They were mainly for young people, and there could be small concerts for some 200 people, and sometimes festivals where 2,000 people could attend. There was an entrance fee, there was a stage for the singers, and down in front of the scene there was the Expo, a big compound which also contained indoors night clubs.

Film 4. Eritrean Festival 2014. Zoba Debub performance of Gayle, a traditional Eritrean music festival at the Expo. Posted by Deki Enganna. The performers come from villages.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hqWm5VdK0mM.

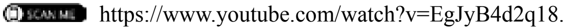
There are nine ethnic groups in Eritrea, each with its traditional dances. The best-known Tigrinya dance would be Gayle, but there is also Kouda, Cherauata, and there is Aulo, which is not exactly a dance. He does do not consider himself to be a good dancer, but he can do the dances of his ethnic group. When he goes to a concert with friends, he would have to dance.

His family was Christian Orthodox, and they would not object to him dancing. In this culture, to be a dancer or singer is not a good profession, it is forbidden by God. However, to dance in general is not a problem. Older people dance as well, only being a singer, doing it for money, was not good.

Expo is where festivals take place; there are also small nightclubs and concerts. The nightclubs have mostly English music. He could go to Expo maybe one a month or every other month.

In Norway, he danced for instance at last New Year. He was also at the wedding of his niece in Oslo where there were mostly Eritreans, and almost everyone joined in the dancing, but he has not danced in Norway on other occasions.

Film 5. Tigrigna dance. The Eritrean community in Sioux Falls celebrated their independence day on 24 May 2015. Posted by Hagos Haile.



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EgJyB4d2q18.

He likes to dance, and he likes music, and in his country, he used it, but not here, perhaps because he feels like a stranger; maybe he will dance more in the future. He likes both kinds of dance, the Eritrean cultural dance as well as the English dance, there is no difference, and drinking at dance places does not bother him. They drink a lot in his country as well.

He says he has an interest in learning new things. In the *mottak* (a centre where asylum seekers are kept until their case has been tried),[4] there were many activities, and he missed them after moving out. When he settled outside,[5] he could still go to swimming and football. Now he lives with a group of other people and keeps in contact with them.

When a group of musicians hold a weekend concert, they bring 2–3 girls and 2–3 boys who are professional dancers and who receive money for the job.[6] At weddings you do not need dancers; only a wealthy person rents them because at a wedding the guests dance themselves. The dancers at concerts dress in particular cultural dress, boys in *kedan hawisha* and girls in *kamish shuria*, belonging to Tigrinya.

Eritrean people also wear such clothes during baptisms and weddings; here it can be seen in the churches. However, Eba did not wear it at his niece's wedding in Oslo but at that time he wore a regular suit because he doesn't have such clothes here, only back in Eritrea.

An Ethiopian Orthodox, Amharic Man from the Wollo Province of Caleb

Caleb was born in Wollo, the Amhara region, but grew up in different places. He has been in Oromia, Amhara region, and in Addis Ababa, so he feels that at least he knows different cultures. His father passed away when he was in high school. He was working for non-governmental organizations, such as the Red Cross in the transportation sector. They are a family of Christian Orthodox religion, speaking Amharic as their mother tongue, but honestly he believes he belongs to all groups, enjoying all types of culture. He listens to all music and likes all kinds of dance.

When he was young, he really danced a lot; he remembers when he was in grade 1 and grade 2 he was the best dancer in the family. He won some

awards, and all the people looked at him. However, as time went on, he got involved in education and football and totally disengaged with dance. His family danced at weddings and on such occasions, but at home not very much.

At Epiphany, in the morning of 11 January according to the Ethiopian calendar, people will all be in and around the church. At that celebration, all people dance together, old people and young people, even if people also make groups according to age. In the morning, kids dressed smartly, and that day many kids were given new clothes. Then they got some money and went to buy sweets. Outside the sphere of the church there are different kinds of singing and dancing. Some people promise that if God helps them in the coming year, they will dance in front of people or something like that. They had different systems. People played various games and competitions. The elders followed the church stuff because they are closer to religion and understand what that means. The kids just want to play different games and dance.

The young people, the adults, were trying to find some girl or some partner. If a boy wants a certain girl, he will buy a lemon to throw at her, meaning that he likes her, and if she picks up the lemon, that is good. All went to the place where they hold the church ceremony.

From each church, they took the church ceremony stuff to one large field and all the church members would come to this common place. Dancing could start with small, small kids, but all the people join in, and it becomes larger and larger and larger. It is attractive, and you can see some men who dance very nicely or something special. If one is not interested in that group, one goes to another one. There are different cultural affinities, but in the dance at Epiphany one could find Oromia, Tigrinya, Amharic and Southern.

They stay one night, and on the next day there would be some prayers, and holy water and everybody would fight for that, to be blessed. Then people would accompany the stuff from the churches back to its places; there were churches for St Gabriel, St Mary, St George and so on. Caleb preferred to accompany St Mary.

When Caleb was a kid in Wollo, the majority there were Amharic, but still people were really free to dance their own dance, and yet they got some appreciation in that company. For instance, in Wollo some part of the population are Oromia people, no problem, and for example, some people sing Tigrinya, no problem people will enjoy that. Even the Muslims watched, but you know, Epiphany is for Christians. Muslims and Christians really grew up together, Muslims also celebrated Christian holidays and Christians celebrated their holidays. Usually the Muslims may not dance because of their religion, but they enjoyed just coming to look. Especially at home they will call even their Christian neighbours, and all will go and sit together. The Muslims have some singing with some drums, especially

when they go to the prayers; of course, they have their own expression. Instead of dance, they clap their hands they sing, they have drums. But it is difficult to say that it is dance.

In the imperial and the Derg period, there was a certain mistrust of the Protestants. Why do they bring religion from outside? Now the Protestants are accepted, and they have their halls and perform the worship like anyone else.

The parents would not have any scepticism about their children's dancing. If Caleb said that he would go to music dance with his friends his father would not care. Even the majority of Ethiopians do not care. But what they care about is religion, they are afraid of their kids taking on a new religion. If children go to a party or wedding and they dance, the father will be happy, but if they go to a religious place that is different, the challenge is religion.

Film 6. Orthodox mass/Divine Liturgy at Lalibela, Ethiopia.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x62gdMHS4QQ.

An Ethiopian Muslim Oromo married couple from Moyale/ Nekemte: Fahrida and Mubarak

Fahrida, the wife, is 26 years old and grew up in a Muslim family in Moyale,[7] South Ethiopia on the border with Kenya. The only one in her family she saw dancing was her mother's mother. Mubarak, the husband, is 35 years old and grew up in a Muslim family in the town of Nekemte.[8] It was quite usual that the children sang and danced different songs, but he does not remember so much of them anymore, but he did participate. In weddings, it was usual to dance and sing, but he did not see his parents dance. Muslims are not allowed to dance, but they had to be together with other Oromo who were not Muslims, but Christians, and then all of them would dance.

Mubarak did not see his parents dance, they were adults, but perhaps they danced when they were young. He and the other children danced at that time, but not so much as adults. When there was a wedding Fahrida could go and look, there had to be dancing and singing in a wedding whether the family was Muslim or not. There was no dancing connected to Ramadan, but Oromo youth went from house to house at New Year to collect money or sweets, which they could share among themselves afterwards.

Mubarak first lived two hours away from the town of Nekemte. There were no mosques and no other Muslims there, so they prayed at home. They had a farm where they grew coffee and different vegetables. Then they moved to the town, and there were two mosques quite nearby. Fahrida's family lived quite near the mosque, and they went there almost every day and especially Fridays.

Mubarak says that it was forbidden to sing and perform movements in the mosque, even to speak too loudly. Everyone came there every Friday, that was compulsory. They arrived at the same time, and there was perhaps some chatting in the beginning, but no movement, nothing. They just came in and sat down quietly. They listened if someone was giving some speech, then everyone prayed at the same time. Then it finished and people left. Even the leader did not do any movement; everyone just prayed with him. When he said "Allah Akbar", so did everyone else and bowed. Other things were not said out loud, but only to oneself. Fahrida said that men and women entered the mosque, each going to their place, and women did the same as the men at the same time. They also heard what the leader said, but the women could not say "Allah Akbar" out loud, only to themselves. Mubarak remembers some songs and dances that were used at Muslim weddings, but not so well. Men and women did not sing the same. The men sang (he quotes a song text) and moved around. The women had their own, but sometimes men and women mixed.

Fahrida says that sometimes there were women's songs that only the girls sang. Sometimes women and men each formed a line. Perhaps six or ten in each line, and they sang and answered each other. Such dances could also be used on cultural days; She remembers attending such days twice when she was little. All the different cultures (ethnic and religious groups) who lived in the place came. They wore their traditional clothes and met each other in a huge field, dancing and interacting in different groups around the field. Sometimes one person sang first and others repeated, or a line of men and a line of women sang to each other.

Mubarak says that they have attended Oromo cultural events in Norway where there has been singing and where everyone danced, even Muslims. One cannot sit still when there is singing and music, even if one may be religious. Fahrida attended a wedding where they put on even American music, mixing it with the Ethiopian music, and people danced both kinds. She also saw Oromo dancing at a wedding and at a cultural evening in Norway. There were a lot of people, and she was a bit scared, and it was not only girls dancing, so she did not join in, but enjoyed looking at it.

Mubarak also experienced Ethiopian dancing at a cultural evening and participated in the dancing. As long as he was single, he also went to discos with friends and danced there, but now he does not want to go there anymore. Most of his Muslim friends say that they go to discos to see and even dance.

Discussions and Reflections

The people interviewed for this article were selected without consideration for their relationship to dance. A central point was to look at the role of dance in their lives, whatever it might be, and therefore a non-dancer's

perspective is equally interesting as that of a good dancer. By writing this, I also challenge the conventional use of “dancer”. The term is mostly understood as a professional, but we also need a way of referring to practitioners in general, and then the term “good dancer” might work, based on the individual’s understanding of his or her competence for any kind of dance.

To establish the role of dance in a community it is necessary to work with a representative selection of the population. From published work, including my own, it seems that the most accomplished and knowledgeable dancers are considered to be most interesting as interviewees for dance researchers. By concentrating only on them, however, we will miss the perspectives of non-dancers and individuals less active in dance. This seems to be the case in most ethnographic works about dance. Studies explicitly including non-dancers mostly compare the abilities and skills of dancers and non-dancers to say something about the (positive) effect of dance (e.g. Kapur & Rawat 2016:96), or they discuss the use of “non-dancers” in contemporary dance productions (Damkjaer 2016:17). In both cases, the focus is on the dancers rather than on the non-dancers, and hardly at all on different relationships to dancing in the community. In this study, the interviewees considered themselves to have varying degrees of skills and different degrees of interest in dancing. The intensity of dancing in their communities of origin also seemed to be very different, ranging from something in which their families never engaged to something loved and ever present in daily life.

A question is how the different backgrounds they have from their home countries influenced their relationship to dance in Norway. The interviews give the impression that there is, in general, a good and relaxed relationship between ethnic groups and people with different religions on an individual level. When I talked to four men in their twenties at a restaurant in Addis Ababa, asking about this, they also stressed the same. They turned out to be from different ethnic groups and religions and said that there was no problem having friends with different backgrounds and hanging out together, and they by no means saw themselves as exceptions. On the other hand, there were serious conflicts between parts of the Oromo and the authorities during my visit to Addis Ababa in November – December 2016. They were so severe, that the authorities declared an emergency situation and blocked the Internet and social media. As foreign guests in the capital city, we only noticed certain restrictions on social media, but from all kinds of reports and news it is clear that there are serious conflicts and lasting political tensions, as discussed above. The political tensions between different groups that can be seen, for instance, in the many political parties in Ethiopia are also mirrored abroad.

I learned from my own experience that Ethiopians abroad do not interact much across ethnic and religious divides. There are groups for opposing

political views and aims that do not seem to interact or cooperate much, even whether individuals know about each other and may interact a little in a small place such as Trondheim. These groups may arrange seminars or parties where singers may be brought in from other cities, and where there may be a performance of cultural dances and perhaps even social dance. There are also the complexities of religious adherence. The Muslims meet at their mosque, the Protestants have a church with Oromo or Amharic services and the Orthodox also have services, most often in cooperation with immigrants from other countries where the Orthodox Church is strong. My impression is that these religious services are what constitute much of the basis for friendships and contacts among Ethiopians in Trondheim, but mainly among those who frequented the same services.

This also become important because of the strong and ancient music and movement practice established by the Orthodox church through Yared. There are the huge and colourful ceremonies and liturgies that are the core of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, which are also brought out of the churches on specific days to huge mass celebrations. In the Orthodox Church, it is the church staff of clergy and musicians who perform these expressions. This is particularly demanding for small diasporic congregations outside the country.

It is interesting to note how the Protestants have taken up this music and movement expression of the Orthodox church and adapted it in the twentieth century to some of the old principles of the Reformation. The ancient church language Gez, parallel to Latin, is replaced by modern language, may be particularly Oromo, and the liturgy is performed by the whole congregation, and also modernized.

For this reason, the tension between religions is perhaps strongest between the Orthodox and the Protestant churches because the "foreign" modern Protestants have been particularly recruiting young Oromos and Southerns. The Protestants are also easier able to recreate services in their Ethiopian style and form abroad. Therefore, their services seem to be a particularly important outlet for music and movement expressions from the home country.

I believe that one important factor for how immigrants integrate is the conditions offered in the new country by the authorities, another is the general climate of immigration among the general public, and their expectations. In the following I will try to situate Norway's policy of integration. I will illustrate the main principles of integration policies through examples of opposing systems in two European countries and then situate the Norwegian situation in comparison to these.

Peter Scholten gives an informative description of the Dutch multicultural model of integration (Scholten 2011:16):

> In both national and international literature, there is a prevailing description of the Dutch approach in terms of a national "multicultural model". This model is characterised by a tendency to institutionalise cultural pluralism in the belief that the cultural emancipation of immigrant minorities is the key to their integration into Dutch society. It is frequently connected to the Netherlands' history of pillarisation,[9] which yielded an institutional differentiation of large sections of society into different national minorities (Catholics, Protestants, socialists, liberals).

Scholten characterizes the French policy as more assimilationist, and Schnapper, Krief and Peignard (2003:15) describe it in more detail:

> In France […] there is a tradition of so-called "assimilation" policy with regards to foreign migrants. […] The nation has been historically constructed through the "assimilation" of populations from various regions (Burgundy, Brittany, Provence, for instance). All these populations had their own cultural identities and in some cases, religious identities as well as traditional dress codes and languages. The pattern of integration has always been founded on the "assimilation" of such populations by transforming them into French citizens, as opposed to promoting regional identity.

So, how is Norway situated compared with French assimilation or transforming local identities into a strictly national one or with the Dutch pillarization into identity groups? In Norway regional and local differences have been appreciated, the multitude of dialects spoken, and the steadily growing acceptance of them for instance on television is a good example. This means that, whereas there are two versions of Norwegian as written language, there is no authorized standard for Norwegian spoken language, as all the dialects are equally acceptable as spoken language. This is an attitude in clear opposition to the French assimilation. There were, however, vigorous attempts to assimilate minority groups such as the Sami people up until the 1970s, when this policy was abandoned and later condemned (Eriksen 2013:3). In my understanding Norway also does not have any pillarization. Issues of religion or language, for instance, do not to any strong degree decide one's political affiliation. Sholten juxtaposes pillarization with multiculturalism, which "tends to lock migrant ethnics into their separate worlds, whereas the goal of civic integration is migrants' participation in mainstream institutions" (Joppke 2007:249 in Scholten 2011:68).

The lack of assimilation expectations in the French sense and the pillarization as in the Netherlands might be interpreted as a "mild climate" for integration. It is my impression as regards dancing that immigrants to Norway have found ways of participating in mainstream popular, competitive as well as theatrical dance, although I have not noticed Ethiopians in such contexts. My impression is that multicultural tendencies among Ethiopians are mostly found connected to religion and politics, and less to dancing. One might have expected Ethiopian folk dance groups, but I have not heard of any.

None of our informants seem to have had dance as an essential part of their lives, be it in Ethiopia or in Norway. As children, their relation to dance varied. The strictly religious families tried to keep their children away from dancing as much as possible. Some families did not care whether their children danced or not, and none seemed really to consider dance an essential value of their communities. Several of the interviewees felt a firm push from their parents towards education. The parents did not want them to concentrate on anything else, which was also given as a reason for the few possibilities for dancing. There is a clear agenda against drinking and clubbing among the Protestant interviewees, which makes disco dancing and the like uncomfortable and not compatible with their habitus, it seems. Among the interviewees here, the Muslims were less opposed to discos, but that may just be individual differences rather something based on religious background.

Concluding Remarks

An aim of this article was to look at the consequences of migration processes for movement expressions. The tool was a set of simple factual interviews with migrants who have moved from Ethiopia and Eritrea to Norway in recent decades. The idea was to stress the importance of singular events and the importance of understanding the singularity of an individual and his or her account. Singular events make up the flow of life and history, and a look at the individuals account may bring out understandings that advanced interpretations may hide. The problem is, of course, that much of the interviewee's report does not refer to singular events. Instead they give their understanding of usual patterns of life, perhaps based more on the general discourse of their society that on their personal experience. We have seen the stories of a few migrants from their home countries and from their years in Norway in terms of relation to dance. It is not a very rich body of material since it is not based upon a researcher's observation or analysis of dance processes. Still, I hope it contributes to the understanding of the singular, and that it also questions the portrayal of dance and community by concentrating on the most active dancers only.

Dance has not been a vital component throughout the lives of any of the interviewees. Most of them enjoyed dancing as children or adolescents back in their countries of origin, and dance, celebrations and ceremonies seem to have been vital for cohesion, particularly in rural society in a country divided into many groups.

Dance does not seem to have been a vital factor for integration in the new country, although some interviewees reported that they went to discos a little. None of them went to discos often, and some of them did not want to go there at all.

Dance could be a factor in weddings and Ethiopian cultural events in the new country, but neither weddings nor cultural events happen frequently. The one clearly most important kind of event seems to be the Orthodox and the Protestant Oromo services where the congregation engaged in the Shibsheba, and Ethiopians meet at the Protestant church nearly every weekend.

A typical enterprise in strong diasporic communities has been to set up groups for cultivating folk dances, or to use the customary English term in many African countries, cultural dances.

The scene for Norwegian folk dance has slowed down considerably during the last few decades, and therefore not been there as a force to inspire immigrants to form their own groups, nor to invite them to a Norwegian group. One of my Ethiopian friends pointed just to this. He felt that a stronger presence and use of Norwegian folk dances might have been able to interact with immigrant groups and inspire them to use their dances in similar ways, thereby also creating interaction between such groups and possibilities for learning from each other. From the world of sports, we see examples where immigrants have been integrated through targeted recruitment efforts. In short, the Norwegian scene of social dancing does not seem to have contributed much to the integration of immigrants, even if one might think there is potential.[10]

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[1] I use the term here to mean actions that people do following established norm or conventions, such as dancing a dance, baking bread or shaking hands.

[2] The term immigrant is used to mean any person who has come to Norway and intends to stay for a longer period. It includes people who came as students, who came to take up a job and people who came as refugees.

[3] I would like to thank my interviewees for their important contribution, and also some of my other Ethiopian friends; Dr Alemu Belay for generous help with proofreading and ideas and Samuel Yadeta for helping with contacts. The interviews for this article were conducted in the winter of 2015–16 and the article was finished in 2017. Since then, there have been important political developments in Ethiopia, but the interviews reflect the earlier situation and the later developments are therefore not relevant.

[4] He uses the Norwegian term for the refugee reception centre.

[5] When refugees are accepted and given the right to stay in Norway a municipality gives each of them a place to stay, sometimes in individual small flats, sometimes in places where they share kitchen and bathroom, for instance.

[6] This information came up when we looked at some clips on the Internet and the interviewer saw a group that the interviewee identified as professional dancers at the Hedemo nightclub inside the Expo.

[7] The place is located in Oromia, some 800 km south of Addis Ababa.

[8] The place is located in Oromia, some 300 km west of Addis Ababa.

[9] The separation of a society into groups by religion and associated political beliefs.

[10] Fargespill is a project to create stage performances for children merging expressions from different cultures.