Filming Itinerant Musicians in Ethiopia: Azmari and Lalibalocc: The Camera as Evidence of Communication

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The aim of this paper is to highlight and analyze my anthropological filmmaking practice based on long-term participant observation of two different itinerant musical groups in northern Ethiopia: Azmari and Lalibalocc. I produced two different films on both groups: *Kids got a Song to Sing* (2006) and *Lalibalocc-Living in the Endless Blessing* (2005). These films were shown at academic seminars, conferences, lectures, and film festivals. The films I have produced take a slightly different viewpoint from that of most ethnographic films, which do not engage the subjects and are filmed in a detached manner, as if from a distance. They also differ from problem-and-solution-oriented documentary films that advocate specific social change or convey strong messages to the audience. Rather, the films attempt to capture the lives of people as they communicate and collaborate with the researcher/filmmaker. This method questions the binary opposition of researcher and informant. I consider the interactions between myself as an anthropological researcher with a video camera and the people of my films to be the fundamental aspect of the reality in an anthropological filmmaking context. The first part of this paper introduces the Azmari and Lalibalocc people, including their geographical, social, and historical background. Then I argue and clarify my position on filmmaking regarding certain key concepts of how to approach subjects.

Key words: Gondar, Azmari and Lalibalocc, anthropological filmmaking dealing with intimacy

1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural anthropologists have long supposed that outsiders can objectively describe and explain a culture from a native's point of view. Because it tries to maintain this "scientific" objectivity, observational cinema has been touted as the leading method of anthropological filmmaking (Ruby 2000). A static camera on a tripod focusing on the interaction of people in a long sequence shot was thought to protect the subject of the film from distortion due to the filmmaker's personal bias. This trend is evident in several classic ethnographic films that have no engagement with the subjects. As MacDougal pointed out, "Those in the English-speaking world were hesitant to interact with their subjects on film, except occasionally to interview them" (MacDougal 1998: 127).

However, the representation of others in anthropology is the result of an encounter between a researcher and his or her subjects; anthropological/ethnographic films are the products that capture the very moment of this interaction. Consequently, the film itself, in the fundamental sense, can be considered evidence of communication between a researcher and his or her subjects.

Since 2001, I have been pursuing the potential of transmitting anthropological knowledge through

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film based on long-term research and communication with two groups of itinerant musicians in Ethiopia: Azmari and Lalibalocc. In this paper, I clarify my position on filmmaking by referencing films I have made on these two groups with certain conceptual keys to approaching the subject. I first provide an overview on the ethnographic background of both groups.

2. ITINERANT MUSICIANS IN ETHIOPIA

2.1. Azmari

Azmari, who play one-stringed fiddles called *masinqos*, are one of the most familiar figures in the musical culture of Ethiopia. A few decades have passed since ethnomusicologists (Powne 1968, Kebede 1971, Kimberlin 1976) referred to the instrumentation and melodic characteristics of Azmari music and gave a general description of Azmari. In those writings, Azmari were described as wandering minstrels or singers who served princes and the nobility and played multiple roles throughout the ages in Ethiopia. According to Kimberlin (1976) and Bolay (1999), the word *Azmari* is derived from the Geez word *Zammara*, which means, "he sang," or "one who praises God." Today the concept primarily applies to professional *masinqo* players and the female singers who accompany them. However, the word *Azmari* carries a negative image among Amharic speakers due to the stigma of this profession; it can also be used to mean "the one who talks too much," and some people continue to consider this profession to be disgraceful.

Azmari move from city to city to find relatives and engage in musical activities. It is said that they come back and settle down in their village of origin when they become too old to play music. Another type of Azmari follow a seasonal schedule, usually living as farmers in the village. The musical season falls in September after the festivities surrounding the Ethiopian New Year and in December after the harvest (*teff*) when they are free of agricultural activities.

Azmari in Gondar usually perform in local bars such as *Bunna bet*, *Tara bet*, and *Tedj bet* where people enjoy alcoholic drinks. These are the dominant settings for Azmari performances. However, festivities and rituals are also important occasions for Azmari musicians. In Gondar, Azmari performances are in strong demand for celebrations such as baptisms and weddings. The annual celebrations of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, such as *Timket*, *Qedes Yohannes*, and *Mesker*, are the primary religious occasions for this music. On *Qedes Yohannes*, the Ethiopian New Year's Day, groups of Azmari travel all over the city visiting from house to house and blessing people for the coming year. Sometimes, however, they are shooed away from houses as if they were importunate beggars.

Azmari performances can also be required for the *Zar* (spirit possession) cult, considered a pagan religion by the Christian Amhara society. Although it might seem ironic, *Zar* is regularly held on local saints' holidays such as *Sani-Michael* in June, *Qedes Yohannes* in September, and *Hidar Michael* in November. In addition, *Zar* can be held at any time when requested by an ailing person. Thus, it functions as a healing ceremony. However, local priests of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church denounce *Zar* as pagan and contrary to the teachings of Christianity. In *Zar*, *Bala Kole*, the person possessed by the spirit, gives cues to the Azmari, indicating the songs and the tempo. Azmari invoke the spirit by playing its favorite songs, even praising *Bala Kole* and the spirit in ad lib fashion. Then Azmari repeat the words of *Bala Kole* and sing for the audience.

Azmari performances can also be seen once in a while during agricultural activities such as the harvest time for *teff*. In the one I witnessed, people worked rhythmically to an Azmari who was playing a type of war song called *shillera*, a song traditionally performed to rouse a warrior. The venues where Azmari play are not limited to the performer's own religious denomination. Each musician has the option of playing for Christian, Muslim, or pagan religious occasions.

2.2. Lalibalocc

Lalibalocc (or *Lalibela*, singular) share the oral tradition that condemns them and their descendants to leprosy unless they sing, beg, and bless for alms in the morning. One of the oral traditions shared

Fig. 1. Azmari playing for the wedding banquet, Gondar 2004

by Lalibalocc traces their origin back to the time of Adam and Eve, when God is said to have put a curse upon some of their descendants, commanding this practice from generation to generation. Other oral traditions point to the story of Gebre-Christos, who came from a noble family but made a grave mistake and was punished by God.

The name for Lalibalocc varies from place to place: *Hamina* (Gondar, Gojjam); *Abbaude* (Wollo; Mesffin 2000); *Lalibela/Lalibalocc, Abba-Gunda, Abba-Woggat* (Shoa). They travel alone or with their family from town to town in a seasonal cycle. The majority of Lalibalocc come from Shoa, Wollo, and Gojjam. Specifically, Dejen in Gojjam and Fiche in Shoa are densely populated by Lalibalocc, who maintain the close kinship relations. The activities of Lalibalocc are more limited than those of Azmari, who perform in various social settings. However, in some areas such as northern Shoa, Lalibalocc occasionally attend *tazkar* (*rota* in their own terminology), the religious service and banquet held for the commemoration of the deceased, where they sing about the deceased for the family and receive the leg of a caw in return.

Leprosy or the infection caused by leprosy is termed *Syukkachi* by Lalibalocc. However, the existence of this belief varies widely among Lalibalocc today. Most Lalibalocc admit that they have never known any Lalibela who had contracted leprosy for discontinuing his or her activities. Moreover, many say publicly that they just sing to earn their daily bread. Nonetheless, society still stigmatizes them with relation to leprosy, which is strongly abhorred in Ethiopia.

2.3. Song Lyrics

Frequent themes in Azmari songs are love in illusive or idealized forms, as well as the past glories and exploits of heroes. A fierce sort of repertoire, such as *shillera*, is played in *Tedj bet* by elderly Azmaris, whereas songs such as *Medina* and *Zerasennya* concern religious beliefs and concepts associated with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The younger generations quite often imitate the songs they hear from recorded Azmari cassettes and Ethiopian pop tunes.

In the song lyrics of Azmari and Lalibalocc, the poetry can be largely improvised or sung with the art of double meaning called *Qene* or *Semmnawarqe* (literally, "wax and gold"), which is prominent

Fig. 2. A lalibalocc couple singing in front of the house, Gondar 2004

in the lyrics of musicians in the northern highland. "Wax" refers to the literal meaning of the lyrics; as the wax melts, "gold," the hidden message, slowly emerges. The audience should not take the lyrics literally; people are challenged to listen carefully to get the "golden" meaning. Azmari praise particular individuals in the audience through the songs to raise their spirits. Azmari accept spontaneous poetic verses from some audience members and incorporate them into the music. These predominantly comprise *Fukkara* (self-boasting sung by men with loud voices). In this way, the musician is able to involve the general audience in the singing. A good Azmari does not miss the lyrics thrown from the audience. Instead, he sets to a familiar melody a spontaneously composed rhyming text called *Bet meta, Bet daffa*, concerning persons and events of immediate interest.

Lalibalocc never use instruments, and their manner of singing can be classified into two primary forms. One is a duet between a man and a woman. The couple moves from house to house, the woman singing vocables in a strained vocal quality (Shelemay 1982) followed by the man singing verses of praise. Then the couple sings in unison. A single Lalibela man or woman can also sing both the chorus and verse. They often gather information from neighbors about the people from whom they are begging and sing verses tied to the listeners' religion or occupation. Once Lalibalocc receive alms in the form of money, clothes, and food, they sing blessings to wish prosperity to the listeners. Thus, their lyrics are a mixture of fixed and improvised verses. They learn these skills when they are young by imitating their parents' activities.

2.4. In-Group Identity and Argot

In some cases, minority groups who are categorized in the lower rungs of society by the surrounding dominant population keep their self-designation secret and make the group aspect ambiguous to outsiders so that they can avoid stigmatization from the dominant populations (Iwatani 2002).

Azmari is a term mainly used by non-Azmaris. Significantly, Azmari people identify as, and prefer to call themselves, *Enzata*. The self-designation *Enzata* distinguishes the in-group and allows members to retain a concept of authenticity as "real Azmari" in their self-named category. To be Enzata, one has to be the descendant of Enzata, so this word implies the sharing of genealogical ties. People

who do not belong to this category are called *Bugga*. If someone who is not from an Enzata family background becomes a skilful *masinqo* player, people may call him or her *Azmari*. Nevertheless, that person would still be distinguished from the in-group by being called *Bugga*. Those who are born of Enzata descent but who are not engaged in playing music are generally regarded as *Gunmashi Enzata* (meaning "half-Enzata") by the group.

It is desirable for Enzata to marry a person with an Enzata family background from another village in the Gondar region. Therefore, complex networks of Enzata in-group marriage exist in Gondar. Furthermore, when choosing a marital partner, young people are aware of the fact that the partner is of Enzata descent and that they thus share genealogical ties. For the 120 couples of three villages (Bourboks, Sakkarto, Bahir Gumb), 89% of the marriages were between persons of Enzata descent, making the strong genealogical preference for Enzata clear. Most Azmari engaged in musical activities in Gondar are actually Enzata. This tendency can be, by and large, adapted to *Casainchs* in Addis Ababa, where a great number of Enzata from the aforementioned villages in Gondar have been engaged in musical activities.

Lalibalocc also keep a similar in-group mentality and maintain a "we-group" identity. They identify themselves as *Lawaji*, which designates their genealogical links. Anyone who does not belong to this group is called *Balute* and is excluded from the Lawaji group.

In addition to the system of in-group marriage, communication through the secret argot of both groups allows each group to share a sense of community and exclusivity. Moreover, it helps as a means of exchanging information members do not want outsiders to know. Communication by argot can occur most advantageously when used during performances in front of an audience of outsiders. It is strictly taboo to share the argot with outsiders. Thus, information related to their business transactions is frequently exchanged through the argot.

The argots of Azmari and Lalibalocc are generally different, although they share many common words. The argots were formed on the basis of Amharic and can vary slightly according to generation and place. Several viewpoints have been put forward about tracing the origin of the argots. Leslau (1964) indicated that the great majority of the vocabulary of the argot of Azmari was a deformation of Amharic words and that the argot borrowed vocabulary from other languages such as Agäw, Sidaama, and Oromo. Both argots follow similar rules of reduplication of the root with a consonant inserted between the reduplicates.

3. THE BACKGROUND OF MY FILMMAKING

3.1. Filming the Episodic Rhythm of Daily Life of Azmari Children

Gondar, which is located on the north of Lake Tana, is known for its high population of Azmari, who are engaged in various musical activities. They originally came from nearby villages and rent rooms in Kebele 11 just beside Fasil castle. Of their villages of origin, Bourboks, about 24 km from the city, claims 64% (2002) of the Azmari population in the city. Quite a few prominent figures in the present Ethiopian popular music scene (such as Yerga Dubbale, Tadla Fante, Manalemosh Dibo, Dereb Desalegn, and Adane Teka) originated from these areas. Some of them even succeeded abroad in concert tours as well as musical business targeted at Ethiopian diasporas. Therefore, Bourboks has become very well-known among people in northern Ethiopia as the Azmari village that produces superior musicians.

I have been conducting field research in this area since 2001. During my stay in Gondar in 2002, I came to socialize well with a group of young Azmari (approximately eight children, aged 9–14) who were engaged in the intensive musical activities in the city. Most of their parents were seasonal singers and stayed in the village as farmers. Consequently, these children shared rooms together in the Kebele 11 area and supported themselves.

Due to their high mobility and the stigma attached to their descent, the children had removed themselves from school. Many Azmari children declared that once the students in the school had

found out they were of Azmari background, they would taunt them about their descent. In fact, Azmari can be put in the category of *Moyatenna*, traditional artisans including, for example, weavers, potters, and blacksmiths. People from the *Moyatenna* background are traditionally considered of humble origin by the dominant populations in Amhara society. This stigma lives on among the great majority of people in Gondar.

In the course of day-to-day activities, young Azmari go from bar to bar seeking the chance to play music for tips. However, they are quite often pushed out the door, as those places are the domain of adult Azmari who perform regularly for steady payment. Moreover, young performers are likely to be looked down on by the customers in the bars as being poorly skilled. Thus, the children also seek for the chance to perform in such places as local recreation centers (where young couples spend their leisure time) and historical ruins (where tourists visit occasionally).

Compared to adult musicians, who were at times very skeptical about my research, these children were quite open-minded and had a great deal of curiosity almost immediately, which helped establish a rapport with them. They would drop by where I was staying right before or after going to work to chat about their work and trivial matters. They soon allowed me access to varied and intimate aspects of their universe. Their versatile ways of thinking about their musical activities were so surprising to me that I started filming their daily lives. Filming the musical performances of adult Azmari created tensions, as some believed I would make money by selling their images. However, the children accepted me readily, and I was able to interact more freely with them even while filming.

Through filming the daily lives of the children, I came to wonder if I could draw a picture of this particular itinerant minority group from the perspective of the youngsters. I thought about following the characters chronologically with a video camera to represent how certain communities maintain, renew, and pass on their culture because in anthropological discourse, the agency of children is still undervalued.

Kids Got a Song to Sing recounts the story of two boys, Tagabu and Ytaial, Azmari children in Gondar from 2001 to 2004. During filmmaking I set up some conceptual keys to describe the episodic rhythm of their daily lives. These included the economic survival strategy of their musical activities and the struggle of territorial disputes with adult Azmari. In addition, I tried to capture the intimacy between us as those children incorporated me so deeply that I was almost an integral part of their daily lives. A stream of anthropological filmmaking deals closely with the filmmaker's personal aspect as well as the interaction between the filmmaker and the subjects. In this sense, the camera sometimes becomes a tool that can explore the filmmaker's inner space and sensory practice rather than merely observe a foreign culture. It sometimes represents the deep emotion of the filmmaker through the representation of others. Consider some examples from relatively recent films produced by anthropologists based on long-term research in Ethiopia. Thomas Osmond and Jean Marc Lamoure's *Chaalo, the Voices of Mourning* (2004) is an intimate film based on anthropological inquiries but led by the personal experience of the filmmakers. *Tezkar: An Ethiopian Pledge to Remember* (1999) digs deep into the self-identity of historical anthropologist Makeda Ketcham as well as shedding light on modern Ethiopian history. My investigation owes a great deal to their works, especially with regard to which aspects of our interaction and communication had to be revealed based on anthropological inquiry or the articulated theoretical position within the film context.

Following are the sequences of the film *Kids Got a Song to Sing*:

Prologue.
Sequence 1. Musical activities of Tagabu and Ytaial in the recreation center in Gondar
Sequence 2. Conversation between myself and Tagabu on instrumental structure while riding in the horse car
Sequence 3. Local drinking place; Tagabu and Ytaial fail to find an audience.
Sequence 4. Wedding ceremony in the recreation center where Tagabu and Ytaial try to find an audience but in vain due to the adult singer who is contracted to sing at the ceremony

Sequence 5. Conversation between myself and Tagabu and Ytaial while playing on the field about their family background
Sequence 6. Ytaial's family, living in the nearby village Bourboks
Sequence 7. Interaction with other Azmaris while Tagabu and Ytaial rest
Sequence 8. Wedding ceremony where, once again, the boys get kicked out by the adult musicians who are contracted to sing at the ceremony
Sequence 9. Discussion on their future, held among Tagabu, Ytaial, and myself

After spending some time with Tagabu and Ytaial, I started sharing their daily objective, namely finding the opportunity to sing and receiving enough payment to survive. Sharing this objective and the context of their life, I allowed myself to speak to them, and sometimes even provoke them, while filming. Moreover, I kept my eyes open for their characteristic expressions of mischievousness, joy, deception, joking, emotional conflict, and the gap in perception between us. These were not easily transformed into a coherent narrative, although I believe they can be very important factors in representing the natural flow of the daily lives of Azmari children.

In reality, their musical skills were not very highly developed, so they were frequently ignored by audiences even when they succeeded in finding an opportunity to sing. Furthermore, adult Azmari pushed them away as most of the adults are territorial. *Kids Got a Song to Sing* therefore contains repeated sequences in which Tagabu and Ytaial do not succeed in their musical activities.

3.2. Filming Interwoven Interactions between Lalibalocc and the Audience
Shooting of the other itinerant Ethiopian musical group, Lalibalocc, took place during my research on Azmari in 2004. In 2001, I was fortunate enough to befriend a Lalibalocc couple, Bogara and Aizarech, who came from Dejen, Goggam. They traveled the highland almost all year singing, begging, and blessing from house to house. September, when the Ethiopian New Year occurs, was the only time they took a brief rest at home in Dejen. They traveled with children and visited Gondar, where I happened to meet them around the rainy season.

From the very first moment I heard Bogara's deep guttural chant and Aizarech's magnificent husky voice, I was very fascinated by their performance and found myself following their activities every morning. People in Gondar had varied reactions to them: some welcomed them sincerely, whereas

Fig. 3. Tagabu approaching the camera, from "*Kids Got a Song to Sing*"

Fig. 4. A girl giving a tip to Bogara, from "*Lalibalocc Living in the Endless Blessing*"

others refused them with deep-seated antipathy. Some people, for example, tried to drive them away from in front of their houses, saying, "A very sick person is in my house so you have to shut up," "The owner of the house is away," "We're in mourning for our family member now," and so on. No matter what anyone says, Lalibalocc do not usually give up singing so easily. They justify their activities using a variety of jokes and rhetorical expressions in conversation and in song with the intended audience in an attempt to improve the unpleasant mood of the hostile people. In this way, the communication exchange between Lalibalocc and the people on the streets of Gondar struck me as very theatrical. Consequently, I came to think that the details of the communication were an integral part of their ever-changing music-making process. I decided to highlight this flexible and dynamic aspect of their street performance in the film because previous studies on Ethiopian music had tended to focus on analyses of instrumental and musical structure.

The film *Lalibalocc: Living in the Endless Blessing* (2005) attempts to describe in detail the interaction between the singers and the audience. Specifically, the opening of the film, which contains an uncut 7-min sequence, shows the viewer the details of the conversation and interaction. It proves that the complex interaction between the performers and audience is reflected in their songs and performance. This film also tries to capture the daily cycle of this couple.

The following are the sequences of the film *Lalibalocc: Living in the Endless Blessing*:

Prologue.
Sequence 1. Musical performance on the street, the Lalibalocc couple visiting from house to house in Gondar
Sequence 2. Conversation between myself and the Lalibalocc couple on their oral traditions, held in a local drinking place
Sequence 3. Musical performance on the street accompanying the child of the couple, collecting information about the family to whom they will sing
Sequence 4. Lunch after their musical activity in the local inn where they stay
Sequence 5. Comparison of Lalibalocc lyrics for Muslim and Christian audiences
Sequence 6. Lalibalocc opinion on the narrative by outsiders to them, in the inn
Sequence 7. Interaction between Lalibalocc and butchers
Sequence 8. The local drinking place, an interview about their travel patterns

Sequence 9. At the bus stop, seeing off the Lalibalocc family who is taking off for its next destination

In *Lalibalocc: Living in the Endless Blessing*, I remained distant from the performance on the street and tried not to interfere. In other words, I was trying to use my camera to capture the performance and daily routine of the Lalibalocc family quite objectively. This idea soon backfired, as many people watching the Lalibalocc performance in Gondar reacted as I chased the couple from behind with my camera. Some joked about me spending time with this beggar-looking (or -seeming) minority; others became excited and hammed it up for the camera. Moreover, a Lalibalocc couple, and even the main subjects of my film, started singing about me in their songs and my film turned out be a triangle of interaction featuring the singers, the audience, and myself. This experience made me think long and hard about reflexivity in the context of anthropological film.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS: TOWARD THE FILM AS ONGOING COMMUNICATION

In the process of filming, I held feedback screenings with my subjects mostly via the attached monitor of the video camera. In the Lalibalocc case, this feedback screening provided me with an interesting angle for viewing their performance. It opened up the way for understanding the interwoven argot communication that they held while singing. The couple frequently exchanged information related to their business transactions in this specific code. The feedback screening made it possible to analyze this communication in detail and better understand their activity. Above all, the Lalibalocc couple seemed to be highly entertained by watching themselves on the monitor. It became almost routine whenever I finished recording their morning activity on the street because they begged me to show the tape.

Lalibalocc: Living in the Endless Blessing has received varied feedback. Lalibalocc are regarded as some of the more mysterious figures in the history of Ethiopian music studies due to their high mobility and the oral histories associated with the group. Thus, the audiovisual documentation of their performance itself is appealing, especially to ethnomusicologists. In fact, the majority of ethnomusicologists who watched the film at the annual conference of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Atlanta in 2005 admired the musical skill of the singers and welcomed the film quite warmly. In contrast, the film received criticism from Ethiopian authorities at the annual meeting on Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage organized by UNESCO Addis Ababa. Some claimed that this kind of film should not be shown to outsiders because it projects Ethiopia as a poor country full of beggars.

The children who had been filmed in *Kids Got a Song to Sing* claimed after watching the film that it should have explored the Azmari performance in the urban context much more rather than focus on their daily life in the relatively rural setting. They requested that I represent them in nice traditional clothes in traditional music clubs in Addis Ababa. However, in fact, most of them are still based in the Gondar region, wandering from place to place looking for the opportunity to sing for pay. Their ideal of how they would like to be represented does not match the reality. Therefore, feedback screening to the children in *Kids Got a Song to Sing* highlighted the ideal of Azmari children.

Ruby (2000) pointed out that a researcher should actively pursue ways in which the people he or she films can have an active voice in the construction of their image. In my investigation, communication with those who received my films will have no small effect on my future representation of Azmari and Lalibalocc. The various comments and critical remarks I have received from audiences at screenings have helped me to rethink my research subjects from different perspectives. An ongoing communication must ensue between those filmed, those who watch the films, and myself so that we can reach a higher stage of understanding and construct a better image.

Having had many and varied screening opportunities, I feel that no final goal exists for this communication.

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Lalibalocc: Living in the Endless Blessing
(2005, Gondar, DVD, 24 min, Amharic with English and Japanese subtitles)
Director: Itsushi Kawase; Camera: Itsushi Kawase, Jemmal Mohamed; Editing: Itsushi Kawase
This film was produced in cooperation with ASAFAS, Kyoto University, and the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), Addis Ababa University.

Screening Record
14th Conference of the Japan Association for Nilo-Ethiopian Studies, April 2005
42nd Conference of the Japan Association of African Studies, May 2005
The Ethiopian Association of Japan, JICA, June 2005
Ryukoku University, International Relations Course, July 2005
Nagano Independent Film Festival 2005, October 2005
Annual Meeting for the Japan Association for Cultural Anthropology, Tokyo University, May 2006
Leiden University, Department of Languages and Cultures of Africa, October 2005
The Society for Ethnomusicology, 50th Annual Conference, Atlanta, GA, November 2005
Harvard University, Department of Music, November 2005
Hamburg University, Asia-Africa Institute, January and March 2006
Cologne University, Institute of Linguistics, January 2006
Visual Anthropology Seminar, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, February 2006
Meeting on Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage (Djibouti, Ethiopia and Somalia), Ministry of Culture and Tourism (ARCCH) and UNESCO Addis Ababa Office, October 2006
Ethiopian Music Festival VI, Alliance Ethio-Française, Addis Ababa, January 2007
Addis Ababa University, Department of Foreign Languages and Literature, February 2007

Kids Got a Song to Sing
(2006, Gondar, DVD, 37 min, Amharic and Azmari with English and Japanese subtitles)
Director, camera, editing: Itsushi Kawase
This film was produced in cooperation with ASAFAS, Kyoto University, and Visual Folklore Japan.

Screening Record
Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, Department of International Relations, September 2005
Chuo University, Faculty of Policy Studies, November 2005
Japanese Ethnological Film Society, November 2005
Kyoto Society for Anthropology, December 2005
Association for Studies of Contemporary African Urban Cultures, Nagoya University, January 2006
43rd Conference of the Japan Association of African Studies, May 2006
Ryukoku University, Faculty of Sociology, July 2006
Visual Anthropology Symposium "Japanische Blicke auf Asien und Afrika," Hamburg University, June 2006
Screening Seminar for Ethiopian Diaspora in Germany, Hamburg University, June 2006
Ethiopian Music Festival VI, Alliance Ethio-Française, Addis Ababa, January 2007
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