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Avoiding dilemmas in film analysis: A proposal for emic perspective in anthropological analysis of cinematic dance in Greece[3]

Abstract:
In this paper we examine people's critical views about sociopolitical reality in a suburb of Athens due to Greek financial crisis. We are doing so by asking them to comment about certain dancing scenes in films. By giving people the chance to respond to what they see we come to achieve a certain degree of interaction, which enables us to shape our analysis. We draw upon recent anthropological research and its attention to visual and media systems. According to this perspective, we suggest that people can guide research to a fruitful fieldwork leaving aside several presuppositions that sometimes result in dilemmas. For avoiding it, we make use of a questionnaire with open-ended questions. This works as a methodological tool that can transform people answering it from commentators into communicators of exchanging thoughts. The result is a creative understanding of the issues involved.

Key words:
cinematic dance, visual anthropology, film analysis, combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, "open-air" questionnaire, "favourite", "unforgettable", Korydallos, Greece

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Introduction

Phrases such as *"dance of politics", "dance of populism", "we are in dance and we have to dance", "the case is a strong Zeibekiko dance",* and *"they dance us on the baking pan"* are very common in everyday life in Greece nowadays. Even though some of them are parts of our cultural "stuff" they have come forth with strong presence due to the severe sociopolitical situation that people are facing in Greece. Having participated in several conversations as well as dance events, we've seen a nearly metaphorical usage of dance. A number of cinematic dialogues, and cinematic dances is intertwining in our everyday discussions and practices revealing amongst others a special relation between people and certain films and actors of the cinema in Greece. Some films remain strikingly popular becoming part of people's life (Sutton 2009), *"these are not just about cinema, she is our Aliki[4], these are our Saturday nights"* as several interlocutors have argued about. They have been so deeply woven into cultural stuff that as Wogan suggests (2009) that they can be part of a deeply critical commentary. This is because they are either intimate to people's lives, or used metaphorically. Adopting the stand that anthropological study should "take people seriously" in order to understand how they interpret social world around them and how they act in it (MacClancy 2002, 4) by searching in simple, usual events of everyday life (Dubisch 1995, xviii) our focus is on the social engagement with these Greek films and especially with of their cinematic dance. Inspired by visual anthropology's methods towards an interrelation between researchers and people during the production of a film, we adopt this perspective and we move on an anthropological analysis of the cinematic dance. Thus, leaving aside certain screenings and audience relationships through the focus on a rather personal program of viewing and embodiment of the favourites, we concentrate on how people understand and meet performatively, politically, historically and culturally difficult situations such as the Greek financial crisis by analyzing their thoughts and acts about their "favourite films" and especially some cinematic dance scenes during this period.

In this paper we will discuss the usage of a questionnaire as a research tool.[5] We will present how this tool helped us to establish our argument on the engagement of cinematic dance to the nationalization of certain sociopolitical events in Greece. Facing a double dilemma about which films and which dance scenes would be the corpus of the study, the usual categorizations could not fit to our point of view. In Greek films, people do not dance only in musicals and comedies, and furthermore just dancing in the taverna

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[4] "Our Aliki" is for Aliki Vougiouklaki, very famous actress in Greece, well–known as "national star" with great popularity in cinema in 50s, 60s and 70s.
[5] This is part of Mimina Pateraki's methodology for her PhD research which we'll present briefly later on.

for fun was not the kind of dance scene we had in our minds. Furthermore, some films could not be included even though they had important cinematic dance as *Zorba the Greek,* which although it is a classic film with an unforgettable cinematic dance, it cannot be categorized in films with music and dance or musicals in Greek cinema, or Greek films generally. Still it has provided a great negotiation of national identity both inside and outside Greece for a long time since its release in 1964 (Zografou & Pateraki 2007).

Cinematic dance is the central axe which moves in between and amongst different films leaving aside exclusions that commercial criteria usually shape in order to build film genres (Kartalou 2006) and brings forth how people enact films in their lives. Our first thought was either to contradict or confirm that people do focus on cinematic dance. If they do, where of their focus on. And for what reasons do they focus on certain cinematic dances? So we've decided to ask people to present to us their point of view guiding us to our research field. We asked questions such as: "Which films do you prefer?", "Which scenes?", "Which are the reasons?". These particular open questions were actually acting as a sort of mini-interview, which could provide a good amount of knowledge about our informants. Ultimately, their answers were shaping our research. Furthermore, this line of questioning could be an effective way to find and finally enact people to participate to our research. Asking people these specific questions in turn led us to think that it would be appropriate for us to use a questionnaire.

The turn towards the study of visual mediation by broadening the field and including all the visual media (MacDougall 1997, 292-293) and representative systems (Morphy & Banks 1997, 2) opened the road to the study of every visual documents permitting every cinema film to be perceived as a rich ethnographic research field (Pink 2007, 1; Crawford 1992, 74; Morphy & Banks 1997, 13). On the other hand the use of visual mediums in dance study[6] (Thomas 2002; Sklar 2001; Ness 2003) feed this work by giving central role to the necessity of the anthropological perspective for the study of cinematic dance as a visual system of mediation and interpretation**.**

Drawing upon contemporary visual anthropology, anthropology of media, film studies, anthropology of cinema and anthropology of dance our work is operating a journey in people's local commentaries (Kirtsoglou 2010) through the vehicle of cinematic dance. In the first section of this paper, we'll present the theoretical framework for this work, the cinematic dance and our commentators, citizens of Korydallos and, in the second section, we'll present the principles under which we designed our questionnaire and its action.

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[6] For an extend study on the contribution of visual anthropology in dance study see Pateraki, M. 2012.The contribution of visual anthropology in dance study. *Science of Dance* 6: 1-18.

Section A

1. Theoretical framework

The study of public culture in contemporary urban context, even though it was not a preferential locus for anthropology for a long time, was gradually occupied by Appadurai's (1996) influential proposal about mediascapes that transcended the margins. The relationship amongst media, nation-states, local and global motion provided the shift towards mediation of power, practices of normalization as well manipulation of media (Ginsburg 2002). This reveals that production is shifted beyond the studios and reception is constructed beyond sitting rooms. The shift (in the 80s) towards the study of active forms of social engagement provided that media consumption "is not only recycled but is differentiated and resisted" (Fiske 1987; Hall 1980; Hall 1997 in Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, Larkin 2002, 3). The public is not a homogenous mass constructed by extended groups of people with certain preferences. Instead, people as viewers make their own interpretations that are mutually related to their social experiences. Furthermore, films can have their own biography throughout their career (Kopytoff 1986).

Due to a continuous process of ethnographic research (Pink 2006, 118) films are perceived as ambivalent visual images between which the subjectivity of producers and viewers meet (Pink 2006, 117). That is, films are representations rather than evidence of certain meanings (Pink 2006, 128) that compose rather than reproduce "natural" or "given" events. Visual and verbal data composed by what films say and what people say about them constitute the key for a deeper understanding on how people engage films in their lives.

We have found a great number of influential works published in Greece on film analysis to be especially thought provoking. Through different theoretical genealogies, researchers provide their analysis of film texts, the genre's shaping and a number of aspects that have great significance for filmmaking and cinema institution based mainly on researcher's criteria. More specifically, there is a huge range of criteria we can use in order to organize our film analysis. Sometimes this becomes difficult to manage and building our own research castle has several dilemmas which create ambiguities. Etic perspective has also a strong relation to reception studies. Statistics about how many people go to the cinema to see a certain film is a good way to see the tendency for a specific time in the biography of a film in a specific place. But this data can provide us with little knowledge about the film's contemporary social engagement. For instance, we can know the popularity of a certain film in its production year in specific cities of the world but nothing more about other places or the subsequent years after its first screening. It is

difficult to follow its numbers in circulation as well as to follow its re-circulation for instance ten years after its first screening.

  We are focusing on etic/emic perspective as it is not rare in social research and since it is common as well both in film and dance studies. An emic point of view turns the focus on the establishment of a research methodology socially, culturally and historically (Guba & Lincoln 1984, 106). As Gray points out (2010, 138) cinema has a complex history especially if we understand cinema beyond the normal boundaries of Hollywood, Europe and maybe Japan and India. Through complex connections and disconnects, between various times, genres, national endeavors, and events we have to keep in mind that film rather exists in its constantly shifting relationship with people. Content and filmmaker, issues of appreciation, theories about film as art form, national context, social and cultural context of production are certain issues of research – a research that stays apart – that is, stays apart from communicating with other disciplines leaving the study of cinema isolated, as of it was something out of society. Regarding that cinema is "more than the pictures on the screen but involves a network of relationships that stretches the local sites of exhibition to global political and economic maneuvering" (Gray 2010, 137-138), the anthropological perspective suggests that cinema as a part of our life can really enrich its study and give us a deeper understanding of the social world.

  In looking at the literature, researchers usually choose specific films of a specific genre in order to discuss that particular film and/or genre with people. Additionally, researchers follow people, the viewers, to the cinema to watch with them a certain film or at their homes for a certain television program. In our case, there was not a certain television program that we were interested in or a certain film. Furthermore, there was not a set of criteria, which could address our research needs. So which film would we select and with which criteria? Or if we wanted to choose more than one, how would we select it and why? As our point is to elaborate on the ways that people engage cinematic dance in their lives this requires more than one film and most importantly it should stress on what people choose.

2. Cinematic Dance

  Dance as an embodied practice socially and culturally structured which is mutually related with identity (Desmond 1997) and when it concerns a collectivity as Pipyrou (2010) has argued studying kinesis is transformed to the study of a medium of negotiation. Thus, dance is not just a self or community expression, or a collective symbol, but additionally, it "cultivates a dialogic and practical narration infused with political considerations" (Zografou & Pipyrou 2011). The interpretation based on how deep inside to cultural knowledge can people be initiated (Farnell 2001) is facilitated due to an intersubjective social evaluation (Pipyrou 2004, 56-57) of dance symbolic

demonstrations of the social system of the certain community (Cowan 1990, 180).   This specific "visibility" led Pipyrou (2010) to turn the focus on the "viewer" and the relation to dance performance highlighting the agency of dance for the interpretation of social action. This work is drawing upon her suggestion to define dance as a methodological tool for exploring social relations putting in central position the relation of the "viewer" with the cinematic dance. What can a certain cinematic dance enact today? By what can it be mediated? At first sight, there is probably a sense of nostalgia or flabbiness that cannot reveal any deliberateness. However, what is really happening when people use cinematic dance in order to criticize their lives during a severe sociopolitical situation?

Adopting Seremetaki's concept about embodied practices we argue that dance in Greece embodies "symbolically thick social descriptions" bringing meanings from "areas of discontinuous historical experience" (Seremetaki 2008, 18, 21). It constitutes a culturally significant embodiment that can mediate communication among different historical periods without the preoccupation of continuity but instead reveals that it has its own historicity and constitutes a "mediated transformation of previous systems, beliefs and institutions" (Seremetaki 2008, 46). Under this perspective, by discussing a certain cinematic dance scene the viewer can see a collectivity in dance performance and not just a dance performer. Furthermore, what is happening in front of our eyes shapes a dialogue each time with everyone that provides the event (either a director, or an institution etc). As far as its materiality is concerned, cinematic dance connects common experiences of the past, the presence and the future extending dialogue between the screen and the viewer beyond the traditional line of separation. Even though someone cannot really understand or define by certain dance name what is screening in front of their eyes, however, what can be understood is that something is significant for them based amongst others on performers' powerful expression. It is plain that these performances are not just "pretty pictures" (Morphy 2011, 281).

Drawing upon concepts, we argue that cinematic dance can be studied as a visual system of mediation and interpretation. This visual system in our case, following people's narrations and dance performances in Korydallos, is shaped by cinematic screening of dance based on well-known, cultural significant motifs, invented, performed, recorded and produced for films that were mainly addressed to "Greek" society constituting amongst others, certain personal experience, cultural production and social interaction (Pink 2001). We are interested in discussing their relation to Greekness, in order to explore how people in a suburb near Athens nowadays engage them with their narrative and bodily critique due to a process of nationalization which is still challenged by them. Even though they have been produced 40 or 50 years ago there is an established although rather invisible relation between people and them. Adopting that dancing bodies "are not just reflecting themselves or

the community but construct and spread cultural meaning through 'embodied dance practices'" (Thomas 2003) we are suggesting that cinematic dance can guide us in sociopolitical life as well, highlighting discontinuities and gaps inside homogeneity.

3. Citizens of Korydallos & the Cinema

Adopting Gray's concept, that the cinema is rather a global phenomenon and that it has the power to move people and enact relationships that are at heart dialogic (Gray 2010, 137) our proposal turns the focus on people's views in a more extended concept than just "audience". In film and generally media studies, people are defined as "audience" but as Fiske points out – and we adopt he's concept – we have to be concerned with living and breathing people, that have their own lives, history and understanding of the world around us, making their meanings through their social engagement. Our focus is on specific people in a certain place, and in a certain time. People that live, study, and work in Korydallos, active citizens in a place in-between Piraeus and Athens. We followed and discussed with them in different places inside and outside the city, following them in cinema screenings, in cinema club, where after the screenings people talked in public about the films, sometimes with directors and actors. Additionally, we followed them in dance club, their living room, in theaters for staged dance performances socializing, drinking, eating and dancing.

The ethnographic data was selected by Mimina Pateraki due to fieldwork amongst November 2009 to November 2012 in Korydallos, a contemporary city in Attica, Greece, in-between Piraeus and the west suburbs of Athens. The citizens that live and work in Korydallos as well collectivities that are activated and the political action of local government are shaping a complex cultural web. As Korydallos is located between two important and influential city – centers as Piraeus (the central port in Greece) and Athens, the capital city, Korydalliotes, citizens of Korydallos, faced great influences in different historical periods. We'll briefly present them due to archives as well people's oral histories.

According to historical resources for the surrounding area that are endorsed by the public archives[7] of municipality of Korydallos, Korydallos (means the name for a bird with great colors and sound) was introduced in history references as one of the 100 municipalities of Attica at 508 B. C. by Clisthenes who made the political reformation for the citizens of ancient classical Athens. After that and almost until 7th century B.C. there was a great number of people living in Korydallos. After that the history of Municipality is reported again by the scholar and clergyman Theofilos Korydalleys (1563-

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[7] Koridallos, History of the City and the Municipality 2002; Business Plan of Municipality of Korydallos, 2008.

1646). The next historical point presents the ciftlik[8] of Emmanuel Kout-sikaris (1812-1865) in 1870 and 40 people living and working in it as *colligi* (peasant-workers). Emmanuel Koutsikaris was the owner of the land and the first mayor of the local council in Athens during the first years of the New Greek State. At that time the place was identified as a suburb of Athens in countryside. In 1922, after the Asia Minor Catastrophe, a lot of refugees came to the extend area and a great number of them was settled in Korydallos. In 1928, according to registration of population archives, there were 2.429 residents in the place.

In 1931, Koutsikari was disassociated from Municipality of Athenians and is connected to the administration of Municipality of Piraeus. Finally, in 1934 is mapped out the Community of Koutsikari and its state autonomy and we have the first Local Council elected by the people. Until 1936, the place was identified as Koutsikari and, after that, the local council voted for renaming the place "Korydallos" according to its ancient name. The name of Korydallos was actually closer to biota of the place as well to history and to new state of getting again public governed. At that period the place was half pine-clad and half full of olive trees and vineyards, friendly healthy dry climate and a great amount of underground potable waters. This was also a reason for being a countryside resort near by Athens for several urbanite families. In 1946, the Community was recognized as Municipality according to the growth of the population (14.360 residents).

After the end of Second World War, the hard time during German Occupation and Civil War, the first elections took place in 1951. In the 1950s there was a new wave of population identified as "inside migration" from peripheral countryside to urban centre based on hard economic recession and the anonymity that large cities could provide after civil war. In 1961, the results of registration of population (National Statistics Service of Greece) for Korydalliotes were 31.199 residents showing a great tendency to be redou-

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[8] Ciftlik system for land had operated since the end of the sixteen century generally in Balkans. Ciftliks were originally land grants made by the Ottoman sultans to Muslim settlers in Turkish-occupied lands (Karavidas 1931 in Knight 2011, 94). The occupiers of the Ottoman public land after 1830, becoming privately owners by the meanwhile introduced in Greece Romano-Germanic law withdrawn selling "rights" in Greek capitalists at bargain prices (Vergopoulos 1975 in Kallieris 2010). The new *Ciftlikades* were the absolute owners of their lands. However, especially in "Old Greece" Attica and Peloponnesos they rarely exercised these absolute rights and therefore the peasant workers did not pursue their ultimate desire of devolution of all land ownership. This was partially because on the issue of the "common lands" – land that was deemed "civic" and fell outside the domain of the ciftliks; the landlords and the peasants were united in seeking unconditional devolution of ownership and thus the opposition between the two interest parties was somewhat nullified (Aroni-Tsichli 2005, 27 in Knight 2010, 95).

bled. In 2001, population in Korydallos run into 67.456 residents (National Statistics Service of Greece).

From *colligi* to refugees, from starving people during German Occupation to small tradesmen after the victimization of civil war and the inside migrants of the 50s problems such as the dark roads at nights, the closed ravines that very often resulted in floats, the life out of the city plan, the absence of state welfare for a number of problems such as public health, education, transportation, were almost common problems that people had to face. Local people that were living and working in Korydallos contested for a better way of life against these problems that were sharing with everyone else that was living beyond the river Kifissos that discriminates the Athenian centre from the west suburbs. It's really interesting that in 1962 the First High School was built (History of the city and municipality of Korydallos 2002, 38) even though the central state prison was built in the area at the end of 1950's and the Asylum for juvenile delinquents a decade before.

One of the first buildings that owned by the municipality of Korydallos came after long time and it was the result of a well-organized action by the local government close to the needs of the citizens identifying one more contest in the local history of Korydalliotes. The ownership of open-air cinema "Victor" and its reworking was based on the enactment of a group with young people that was interested in the cinema.[9] In early 1980's young people shaped a cinema club and organized cinema screenings and discussions about films every Wednesday in open cinema "Astron" (meaning "Star"). The history of cinema in periphery and its destiny in the global cinema institution was the step for inviting Tornatore[10] to inaugurate the municipal open cinema in Korydallos, at the 4th of August in 1989. "Cine Paradeisos" is for more than 20 years a local cinema with great recognition to the extend area and to a lot of viewers from inside and outside the city. The cinema club has a very activate role in the schedule of the screenings and organizes as well close theater screenings into the Municipal Cultural Center of Korydallos. Recently (2011) they started the publication of a electronic journal (Montage).

"Cine Paradeisos" was the leader for a movement of the endorsement of local cinemas and the growing of municipal cinemas. Korydallos participated to "Cities and cinemas of Europe" and welcomed the conference "Villes et Cinemas". It as well was participated in European networks such as "Europa

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[9] We have to see this event under the concept of early 1980's where globally cinema theaters were closing one after the other and were transformed into supermarkets. These were the ancestors of village centers due to 1990's. This was part of a global transformation in cinematographic institution with a time differences form place to place (Page 2009) and was not exclusively Greek phenomenon.
[10] When open-air cinema "Victor" became municipal in 1989, a film that afterwards won Oscar was on screens – "Cinema Paradiso" by Italian director Giuseppe Tornatore.

Cinemas" and "Eurokids" and was part of the council "Youth and Cinema". Cine Paradeisos became the symbol of cultural action of the city providing the interests of citizens' for cinema and the society. Due to period 2006-2008 there was a reconstruction of the building with two theaters (open-air and close) and a contemporary technological outfit. Especially in the period 2008-2010 there was a coordinate action for getting closer to the mythical world of cinema. Municipality and Cinema Club organized Open University and Cinema Workshop, where citizens had the opportunity to study Theory and Practice of Cinema attending courses by a great amount of theoretical and practical professors   from the University and cinematography in Greece. Additionally, they organized festival for short films related to migration and a special event for social history due to oral narration presenting the trilogy of Alinda Dimitriou which was based on the presence of women in Resistance to German Occupation, in Civil War and in Junta (1967-1973). During the event, people had the opportunity to discuss with the director.

"Cine Paradeisos" is located almost 200 meters far from the state's prison in Korydallos. Unfortunately, it is not rare when media refer to persons who are punished with prison to refer generally to the city as if the city is identified with the prison. Especially people who live in Athens or somewhere opposite to west suburbs, beyond the river, refer to Korydallos stressing on a marginality as they ask with a smile "do you live in or out?" meaning the identification of prison with the city. This joke is not naïve. However, citizens of Korydallos contest for a better way of life for everybody inside or outside the prison challenging local as well supra–local boundaries and marginalities.

Section B

1.   *"Open-air" questionnaire vs Dilemmas*

Methodology is the strategy followed by each research effort in order to fulfill its aims. It is established under the theoretical orientation of the researcher on how to carry out the research and what methods of collection and analysis of research material are appropriate to use (Kantza 2011, 10). Under this notion, we can see that researcher acts as a "bricoleur" composing a corpus of methods that needed. Furthermore, it seems that methodology has to be interactive, rather moving than being static.

Fieldwork constituting researcher's own paths is imbued with "multiple negotiations and ethical dilemmas" (Patch 1994, 84). As observation and interviewing are central in social life and not unique in social science (Silverman 2010, 123) following people and the interconnections between their textual personas, as Marcus suggests in multi-cited ethnography, is a journey that is not to be a "static setting" (Hunt 1984, 185 in Patch 1994, 87). Furthermore, it is a journey where we have to "think seriously [about] the politi-

cal and ethical dimensions of what we are about to experience" (Patch 1994, 83, 94).

As discussed by Denzin & Lincoln (2005) modern fast pace of life has developed rapid social changes where key feature is the deeply competitive environment. Facing these new challenges, the research was asked to manage with required to manage these social contexts by taking initiatives in line with the needs minimizing this way the possible failures of traditional methodologies and avoiding wasted time and manpower. Towards this direction, the usage of quantitative tools is very useful for collecting specific data as well as assisting in the formation of a group of subjects in a general population (Flick 2002 in Denzin & Lincoln 2005, 11).

In this research we have chosen a "flexible strategy" (Gefou-Madianou 2011, 21) based on principles of "multi-sited ethnography" (Marcus, 1998) following the paths of cultural procedure involving them in different places of activity (ibid). Drawing upon this, our methodological schema was based on mobility and on the monitoring of the thread of cinematic dance. This way we form the subject of study by creating connections through transitions, interpretations and correlations of multiple research sites following the dispersion of the subjects (Marcus 1998, 80-81). More specifically we followed people in different environments (cinema, theaters, tavernas etc) crossing their narratives, their metaphorical reviews interweaving different aspects of their lives (Marcus 1998, 90-94).

Ethnographic data was collected due to a "multi-method" (Saunders 2009) which was orchestrated by composing quantitative and qualitative research tools (Lydaki 2001, 133), in order to achieve a deeper and enriched understanding (Denzin 1989). That is participant observation, semi-structured interviews, personal and group (2-3 or more persons) composed with video projection of films and recording viewing and discussion on them, as well questionnaires. This construction of methodology is gradually articulating the research facilitating the shaping of corpus of films that are related to this project.

In our work, the use of a mainstream quantitative tool such as a questionnaire is close to the classic tools of fieldwork such as the participant observation or semi-structured interviews. Personal and group (2-3 or more persons) sessions composed of video projection of films and recording the viewing and discussion of them seems like an illustrated idea in order to fascinate. Instead, this method is rather an orchestrated event, based on "multi-method" effort (Saunders 2009) which comprises of quantitative and qualitative research tools (Lydaki 2001, 133) in order to achieve a deeper and enriched understanding (Denzin 1989). The questionnaire can enrich data from participant observation as the researcher can extract opinions and notions of informants that cannot be crystallized due to everyday observations. Although open questions can introduce us to participant thoughts and attitudes, still we do not have the possibility to go back and to re-examine them in order

to clarify some of them (that's why we ask if some of them want to participate further).

Furthermore, this composition gives us the opportunity to establish an anthropological perspective of cinematic dance providing the turn of our informants into interlocutors by giving voice to them in order to achieve their mutuality in shaping the texts of our analysis. This construction of methodology is articulated gradually and the research facilitates the shaping of the corpus of films that are related to this project and the gathering of data, leaving apart "producing people as objects" (Smith 1992). A questionnaire which is situated culturally and historically makes lived experience central and, based on an open dialogue, can provide enriched documentaries for analysis. The open-ended nature of questions provides ethics of caring and responsibility not imposing and taking anything for granted. As MacClancy (2010, 10) highlights, "the rise of worldwide telecommunications has contributed to the ending of any real sense of isolation" so we have to take very little for granted "since different people comprehend the world in different ways (…) we have to be prepared for even our most cherished preconditions to be overturned" (ibid).

However, Mac Clancy discusses questionnaires in a rather opposite direction of that of making friends commenting that is more important to "get to know people" before trying to learn what they know". Insisting that a questionnaire is about "collecting fabrications" as people are not trusting and just give the favorable answer (yes) where the questioner is perceived as a senior, he points out that we have to stress "what is important to people rather than to impose (our) own ideas and categories on others". We argue that the questionnaire can engage people to a dialogue instead of gazing upon in a Foucauldian sense (Rosaldo 1986, 92) and can "evoke" (Tyler 1986, 123) missing voices that are kept silent, thus keeping the researcher and fieldwork on a moving position (Pratt 1986, 32).

The questionnaire, as a connecting ring, can create bonds between researcher and participants and guide the fieldwork. It is a highly structured data collection technique whereby each respondent is asked much the same questions (De Vaus 1998, 80) and, according to Pershing (2006), has to bring answers that are solid and favourable. Selecting questions is a very important procedure where we have to remember three questions: "Can this question be understood?"; "Can people answer it?"; and finally, "Will they answer it?" (Bell 1999). Constructing questions has to do with effective wording. It is important to use simple language, brief and clear, asking one question at a time and evaluate to see if the question is leading the answer (De Vaus 1998). Quality of response (De Vaus 1998, 107) is geographically dispersed. The questions are constructed in order to see attributes for segmentation, behaviors (what people do), attitudes (what people think is desirable) and beliefs (what people believe). "The art of questionnaire design involves thinking

ahead about the research problem, what the concepts mean and how we will analyze the data. The questionnaire should reflect both theoretical thinking and an understanding of data analysis" (De Vaus 1998, 81).

For coding written answers to open questions we applied content analysis addressing units of registration (Lydaki 2008, 61-62). For accessing thoughts of participants we conduct discourse analysis to data in order to explore the way people understand social and political life (Louise & Marrianne Tonkiss 1998 in Rose 2001, 140). Discourse analysis has been referred in several ways in social research. We approach our work through Foucault's concept. According to Foucault, discourse is an organized unity of rules and conventions that guide the production of meaning. Phrases that are part of this unity are linked for constructing the shape that formulates the meaning. Simultaneously, there is an effort to lighten every discontinuities, gaps, thresholds and boundaries (Foucault 1987, 50-53), due to study of forms and types of sequence, the dissemination of notions and every selection, every issue of preference, under this notion the focus is turned from difference into dissemination (Foucault 1987, 55-60).

Every questionnaire is a representation of unity for its responder and the number of questions is the unity for the people that are mutually shaping the textuality. Our questionnaire is voluntary and asks for pseudonyms. Most of them were administered by us where we introduced ourselves and our work in order to achieve people's response. We trained also two "interviewers" to administer questionnaires as well as to help participants in any misunderstandings. The questionnaire needed about 20 – 30 minutes to be answered. We split them in three ways: a) by being present in order to help and waiting to collect them b) by arranging a next meeting for selecting them c) by sending e-mails. The questions are intertwined gradually each other. The first three questions constituted the first section which acts as the first part and introductory to our theme and can help us to explore, to contradict or to confirm people's focus on cinematic dance. The second section is constituted of four questions about films with music and dance, dance scenes and the reasons why they choose them (performance, choreography, music, costumes or other comments). For attributes about segmentation people answered about age, gender, education, profession, addresses. Questions were about film genres revealing the plurality of viewers' choices, aiming to explore behavior trends about films and scenes, related to "music and dance". Additionally, exploring attitude trends questions were on certain cinematic dance and why they focus on them. Afterwards, the focus was turned to the beliefs on relations between dance and Greek films and the possible linkages between dance and Greek cinema. Finally, there were also two questions about how they manage their viewing nowadays and how it was on previous times.

2. Questionnaire in action

The final model showed 300 participants having taken part in the questionnaires. This was a very good response out of the 400 to whom it was delivered. Participants were required to provide preliminary information regarding their gender, age, education, profession, and home address. This information defines the categories for the comparative segmentation analysis. Amongst the 300 citizens of Korydallos, 220 were women and 80 were men. That is 72,58%, almost three quarters were women and the rest 26,76% were men. Regarding the age of participants, we made a climax of 8 levels. The first was 16 to 19 years old (11%), the second 20 to 30 years old (14,7%), the third 30 to 40 years old (27,1%), the fourth 40 to 50 years old (24,4%), the fifth 50 to 60 years old (10,7%), the sixth 60 to 70 years old (8%), the seventh 70 to 80 years old (2,3%), and finally, the eighth over 80 years old (2,78%). The schema above shows, the base of the citizens was amongst 30 to 50 years old. Concerning the categories of education: 17,73% had the compulsory education (school and high school), 34,45% had a senior high school diploma, 36,12% had a university diploma, 5,69% had postgraduate studies, while 5,69% of the participants did not answer this question.

The people that participated to the research answering the questionnaire were representatives of different neighborhoods which were shaped based on geographical parameters of the city. More specifically, as someone moves in the city can see three separated settlements on the north peripheral side of Korydallos (Sxisto, Dexameni and Ano Dexameni). Getting closer to the centre, we can see Upper Korydallos which includes the prison area. The centre of the city is defined by the squares of Eleftherios Venizelos (the old military camp of Germans during German Occupation), the square of Saint George, the square of Merkatis (old land owner of the area), and, towards the south border, the square of Memos.

Additionally, central loci for the research were the "cine Paradeisos", the municipal amphitheater "Thanasis Veggos", and the municipal Cultural Club "Melina Merkouri". In these places, citizens of Korydallos participate for a range of events in the life of the city, as parents in children's festival, as members of the cinema club, as members of the cinema workshop, as members of music choral groups, as members in theater and dancing groups. Additionally, participants were also public servants in the municipality, teachers in public schools, members of parent's school councils of Korydallos as well educators and students from School for second chance due to long lasting educational programs, members in public and private athletic groups, members in dancing groups, newcomer students in universities in Greece after their public acknowledgement for their entry, owners and workers in different trade shops of the city (floristry, bakery, greengrocer's shop, public market, hagiographer, taxi driver, lawyer etc).

Our first priority was the questionnaires to shape the trends of people so that we made our research choice according their suggestions. As we were scheduling to analyze a few scenes of cinematic dance in Greece and what people say about them, we thought that we could start by their choices through questionnaires and then go back to elaborate on them. What was really interesting was that we took a lot more than we could imagine through this path. Ethnographic data that is constructed by questionnaire is constructed by several themes, concepts and discourses. Due to the questionnaire a huge range of films is inscribed and a range of certain interests and issues is provided and the dissemination of these themes is accommodated to the presence of cinematic dance. Certain themes that come again and again from different films and especially from different scenes of cinematic dance establish certain normative standards in public culture due to cinema and television screenings.

What is really interesting is the focus on "The unforgettable". A number of actors those that people really enjoy and desire to watch on screen again and again are considered to be unforgettable. These unforgettable performers, personas, roles and plays have been recorded at least 40 or 50 years ago but – as data in questionnaire provide – people have watched them on cinema screens, on television and videos for numerous times, enacting a social relation with them. How have these "favourites" imbued people's lives with meaning and how have we engaged them in our lives?

The analysis unfolds two basic axes: the critique for films and the critique for the contemporary situation. These two axes actually are mutually related as the interlocutors criticize certain films, scenes, actors, choreographers and directors by taking into consideration the criteria both of today and of the production period, getting very close to two different historical times. This rhetoric is double oriented as films are under the lenses of their critique and at the same time films become the lenses of critique. Under this framework, people unfold their discussion for the procedure of ritualization of viewing (situations, preparation, place, time, then, now, choices, etc), the viewing material (content of film, especially the scenes of cinematic dance, choreographies, music syntheses, performances, etc), the relations of dance and cinema exploring the initiations and the engagements of dance with film and with viewer separately.

The performances of actors have central role: *"authentic", "spontaneous", "self – taught", "human"*. Additionally, central role have also the stories of scenarios: *"films that come out of the life", "direct, human"*. From the performances and their stories phrases like "*Tzeni's dance" (meaning Tzeni Karezi's performance), "the zeibekiko of Dimitris"(meaning Dimitris Papamichail dancing), "the shake of Seilinos"* etc, came up   supporting and establishing the *"unforgettable"* cultural (cinematic) material. This *"unforgettable"* cultural material is constructed gradually through their references separately to titles of films, to certain scenes, to actors, to directors, to per-

formances and to embodied performances of the past. These references build a system of sequence where they are moving amongst less popular but still important themes. Everything has its own place challenging their participant to the shaping of the Greekness of cinema in Greece (for instance, the filmography of Theodoros Angelopoulos and the filmography of Thanasis Veggos). More specifically, the concept of dance as principal characteristic of the people in Greece who challenge its exclusiveness by their favorites films which they see again and again on TV, or in videotapes, or in personal computers, as well by the strong critique of the crisis in Greece through these films.

Citizens of Korydallos "direct" and metabolize the available material by both the public and the private sphere and criticize the crisis. Dance is orchestrating ("*bending the film"*). Cinematic dance unfolds different aspects of a procedure of connection amongst individual and social experience. These aspects are mutually supporting and constructed close to the concepts such as synesthesia, memory, historicity, and heritage. Under this notion, they unfold the mutual relations between dance and the Greek cinema, especially if dance establishes the Greekness of cinema. This is mutually related with issues as the cultural memory and heritage, identity and historicity. However, citizens of Korydallos define dance as a global cultural phenomenon as well. A special point is that dance put the film into motion, the viewer as well, and that dance has a mutual relation with life. The above put the *"unforgettable, the favorites, our things"* at the front of the issues of cultural intimacy and nostalgia. These films *"that are coming out of life"* and *"our films"* are the basis for their critique to their contemporary life. This unexpected critique is catalytic and arises through several cloaks with or without masks. Parody is mobilized as a political tug of war activating the cinematic dance as an inventive agent that can conclude the embodiment of disappointment, of betrayal, as well the nostalgia of the future.

People share with us their thoughts about dance, cinema and social life introducing us through the cinematic dance and other scenes to a veiled practice of resistance fixed by their agony and their irony about issues such as corruption, unemployment as well their hopes for a better life. In a really uncertain world, people define dance as the strong hope of life. Dancing was not just "pretty pictures", it was struggle for survival, a way of life challenging for a better way of life and for understanding this we have to situate our readings culturally and historically, close to people who choose it.

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Мимина Патераки и Магда Зографоу

Избегавање дилема у анализи филма: предлог за увођење емске перспективе у антрополошку анализу плеса у грчким филмовима

У овом раду, испитујемо људе о њиховим критичким погледима на друштвено-политичку стварност у предграђу Атине, насталу услед грчке финансијске кризе. То чинимо тражећи од њих да коментаришу одређене сцене у филмовима. Дајући шансу људима да одговоре на оно што виде, постигли смо одређени ниво интеракције, што нам омогућава да уобличимо нашу анализу. Користе нам и рецентна антрополошка истраживања чија је пажња усмерена на визуелне и медијске системе. У складу с таквом перспективом, указујемо да је могуће спровести плодно теренско истраживање, пошто се одбаци неколико претпоставки које, понекад, узрокују настанак дилема. Те дилеме избегавамо коришћењем отвореног упитника, што функционише као методолошко оруђе којим се испитаници трансформишу из коментатора у комуникаторе у размени мисли. Резултат је креативно разумевање обухваћених тема.

Кључне речи: филмски плес, визуелна антропологија, анализа филма, комбинација квалитативног и квантитативног метода, упитник за истраживање „на отвореном“, „омиљено“, „незаборавно“, Коридалос, Грчка