CASTING AND HAULING IN NUUP KANGERLUA, GREENLAND: SENSORY ETHNOGRAPHY FOR A STUDY OF INUIT LIVELIHOODS AND THE BODY

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A Kalaallit fisher baiting longlines in Nuuk's municipal workshop. Photographed by author, 2014.

Abstract

Sensory ethnography has been employed to proffer anthropological understandings that extend beyond the written word, and in many cases, sensory ethnographers have gravitated toward the study of both contemporary and traditional livelihoods. Yet ethnographic inquiries made outside of textual forms of representation, inclusive of those concerning livelihoods, are projects that are often contested on epistemological grounds. I will show how sensory ethnography may be understood in relation to longstanding concerns about representing the human body and how it bears in mind this history through its work, despite lacking an explicit, written corpus to support it. Recognizing and remaining conscious that the topic of representation in anthropology lies atop contested grounds, I suggest that a paradigm shift toward non-textual sensory ethnography *tout court* is inopportune, especially in relation to the study of livelihoods. By briefly showing that longline fishing practices in Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland

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(the Nuuk Fjord), shape and are shaped by complex environmental, political and technological processes, I seek to problematize the assumption that employing sensory ethnographic methods without the discursive handles of text affords a discernible contribution to the study of livelihoods. Instead, I suggest that sensory ethnography functions productively as a discursive project when circumscribed by textual critique, even if the pith of its anthropological representation exists outside of words. Especially in an ethnographic study of longline fishing livelihoods in Greenland, the site and its socio-political processes demand methodological and representational approaches that remain attentive to how the environment, local and global politics and technology transform and are transformed by bodily or sensory practices.

Tags: Greenland, small-scale fishing, representation, point-of view recording, sensory ethnography

Introduction

'The older generations communicate with their bodies when they are telling stories. In the fjord, they are often using their hands too, but most of the time, they are saying nothing.' –Kunuk,[2] Kalaallit fisherman.

VISCOM LISTSERV: On Sunday 3 March 2013 at 8:54 AM, Jay Ruby wrote: 'Lucien Castaing-Taylor has become the first anthropologist to become a well-regarded avant-garde filmmaker. For me the art world's gain is visual anthropology's loss.'

In recent years, several of the most prolific scholars in visual anthropology have struggled to reconcile sensory ethnography within the discipline. Some do not perceive films made by groups like Harvard's Sensory Ethnography Lab as ethnography, nor as part of the ethnographic film tradition (Henley, 2014). Others argue that sensory ethnography's uptake by the art world comes at a loss for visual anthropology (Ruby, 2013). With scepticism of their labours, sensory ethnographers have responded by clarifying that even *they* remain sceptical of their work as part of the canon of visual anthropology (Spray to Snyder, 2013a), and some openly invalidate their titles as anthropologists (Chang, 2013 in Snyder, 2013b). However, because sensory ethnography has frequently been employed within the ethnographic study of livelihoods (Barbash and Taylor, 2009, Grasseni, 2007, Taylor and Paravel, 2012), the extent to which thematic or regional interests can continue to be comprehensively studied with sensory ethnography remains unknown.

[2] Names mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms to protect anonymity.

As Marilyn Strathern plainly remarked, some regions of the world seem to provide locations for the pursuit of particular problems in anthropological theory, whereas others do not (1990: 204). In the 1980s, the Arctic re-emerged as an area that had once again become valuable for scrutinizing theoretical problems in relation to the body, livelihoods, the politics of representation, and space and place (Tester, 2006: 5, 15, 21). Considered against the backdrop of earlier representational histories of the Inuit — which extend back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the work of Lewis Henry Morgan (1871) and Marcel Mauss (1935), for example — Greenland emerges as a key site in which to challenge generations of primitive visual and linguistic representations of Inuit culture and technology (Stevenson, 2006: 244). Because contemporary Inuit studies seeks to tread fresh methodological soil to find better ways of representing human knowledge, we should ask which themes ought to be probed and with which methods (Kersenboom, 1995: 234). Given that livelihoods remain a longstanding focus in both Inuit Studies and sensory ethnography, I seek to question how and to what degree the latter is a germane approach by means of an ethnographic study of longline fishing practices in Greenland.

The initial function of this paper is to show that anthropology's discursive history of representational concerns has, if only in part, developed in the direction of the creation of sensory anthropology. Sensory ethnography, operating on two distinct vectors (one textual, the other ontologically sensory) can be understood in relation to historically grounded representational concerns. Yet the latter, more sensory iteration of sensory ethnography poses epistemological and discursive concerns that are especially contested within a study of livelihoods. Chiefly, while sensory ethnography responds to key themes in anthropology – including phenomenology, the body and affect theory – the manner in which it represents its findings through sensory media fails to align with anthropology's discursive, textual frameworks. More often than not, sensory ethnography without textual circumscriptions fails to satisfy fundamental goals for a more engaged and systematic ethnographic study of livelihoods, especially in the Arctic.

The questions I pose include the following: (1) How has anthropology's history of representation given birth to sensory ethnography, and how has its creation perpetuated key debates in visual anthropology, sensory anthropology and the anthropology of the body? (2) Because the body is a site with which anthropology has critically engaged throughout its history (Stoller, 1997: XV) and because it remains an area of interest throughout the discipline (Edwards, 1999, Krmpotich, 2010, Kratz, 2011, Wolff, 2012), how does sensory ethnography, as a method and a representational strategy, contribute to a study of the body? (3) Is sen-

sory ethnography a germane approach for studying livelihoods, such as longline fishing in Greenland? If not, (4?) which methods and thematic tools should also be considered to achieve a more critical Inuit Studies?

In Part 1, I describe the thematic handles used to hold on to the various components of the argument (e.g. representational strategies, body versus embodiment) by tracing some of the key historical sediments of representation in anthropology. Part 2 focuses on how anthropology has critiqued and represented the body and how the field has developed in the direction of sensory anthropology. In Part 3, I outline sensory ethnography's two distinct vectors, which I then seek to make clearer with two case studies in Part 4. By analyzing an article written by sensory ethnographer J.P. Sniadecki (2014), I shall highlight the merits of yoking a critical, textual ethnographic account to his critical media practice. Sniadecki's projects propose (1) a discursively engaged and (2) reflexive anthropological representation, but they also (3) challenge distinctions between discourse and practice and (4) permit interpretation of his efforts as a sensory ethnographer tacking between the sensible and the analytical (Stoller, 1997). In the final section, I will describe my own attempts to adopt a sensory ethnographic approach in the study of indigenous fishing livelihoods in Greenland. Instead of relying entirely on sensory ethnography, a rigorous and systematic use of sensory and textually based ethnographic methods emerged as compulsory for considering how longline fishing practices configure and are configured within complex environmental, historical, political and technological currents.

In Part 5, I conclude with a culminating analysis of the outlined history of representation and the case studies. I argue that representational issues not only persist, but are amplified when anthropologists employ sensory ethnography in its current configuration. I suggest that studying livelihoods, especially in Greenland, requires attention to not merely phenomenological, affective concerns, but also to the political ecologies and technologies that are active forces within the very bodily experiences of Inuit fishers in Greenland.

While I describe some of the fieldwork I have undertaken in Greenland, space and current knowledge constraints prevent me from doing justice to other emergent themes that build upon environmental studies, political economy, and science and technology studies. In addition, the principle aim of this paper is not to undermine, disqualify or determine one representational strategy or theme as *the* means by which livelihoods should be studied. Instead, the initial aim is to trace the historical and discursive configurations that ground these sensory experiments and that remain open to the new set of both representational and thematic concerns that unfold as a result.

At the risk of repeating myself, the cross-cultural and theoretical significance of Greenland's longline fishing livelihoods should be approached carefully. As Arjun Appadurai remarks, 'if places become the guardians of particular cultural features or of particular forms of sociality, does this not affect the way these cultural forms and features are analysed in other places?' (1986: 356). What might be understood within longline fishing livelihoods in Greenland should not be assumed to be either regionally exceptional or cross-culturally applicable. This is especially crucial to bear in mind as artisanal, semi-commercial and commercial fishing practices throughout the world grapple with different configurations of environmental, political and social histories (Tilley, 1997; Subramanian, 2009; Krmpotich, 2010; Chimello de Oliveira and Begossi, 2012).

Part 1. A History of Representational Strategies of the Body

A Kalaallit fisher points in the direction of where he intends to cast a gill net. Photographed by author, 2014.

1.1. Phenomenology of the Body: Toward a Crisis of Representation

The body has long been an important locus in the discourse of the human sciences (Stoller, 1989, XII), of special concern within both visual anthropology (Edwards, 1999; Ruby, 2000, Grimshaw, 2001; MacDougall, 2006; Pink, 2010) and the anthropology of the senses (Howes, 1991; Ingold, 2000). While the body has been an area of anthropological inquiry since the early twentieth century (Mauss, 1935, 1950; Boas, 1944), many of the representational questions concerning it are rooted in phenomenology and make frequent reference to the work of Merleau-Ponty (1945). Grounded in the phenomenological turn, Jackson (1983: 328) insists that the anthropology of the body has been limited by the tendency to interpret embodied experience using linguistic and cognitive models of meaning, which limits the

phenomenological qualities of the body, as well as the analytical representations through which the body is understood. Instead, Jackson argues that 'anthropological analysis should be consonant with indigenous understandings which … are frequently embedded in practices rather than spelled out in ideas' (ibid.: 339).

While Jackson's interest in bodily practice and phenomenological considerations for the body partly fuelled what would later become the crisis of representation, Nakamura (2013: 133) suggests that 'a crisis in cultural or textual anthropology had been going on for more than two decades in visual anthropology'. Amid a positivistic era of anthropology, phenomenological considerations of conceptualizing the body through visual means were limited due to ethnographic films adopting expository styles and film-makers' ceaseless quests for objectivity and transparency (Nichols, 2001: 163; Pink, 2006: 109).

As Pink argues (ibid.: 12), by the 1980s and 1990s ethnographic film had emerged as a subjective and reflexive genre in the films of Jean Rouch and David MacDougall, who rejected past attempts to serve the scientific anthropology promulgated by Karl Heider in the late 1970s. While I disagree with Pink that this occurred for the first time in the 1980s, since as Rouch had been making reflexive films since the late 1950s (Henley, 2009: 93), questions about the body, phenomenology and experience, as well as an interrogation of the relationship of film to anthropological writing, did become increasingly important at this time (Pink, ibid.). Rouch not only served as a crucial figure in the history of cinema, he has also been described as the first anthropologist to become a well-known avant-garde film-maker (Henley, 2009, X, XV, 91), not Lucien Castaing-Taylor, as purported by Ruby (2013). Situated temporally between Rouch and Taylor's films, Trinh T. Minh-Ha's subjective and rhetorical films in the 1980s and 1990s were also pivotal for anthropology. Her notion of representation and speaking about, but also 'nearby' (Chen, 1992), indicates an increasing interest in becoming theoretically and proximally closer in a study of the body.

1.2. Polemics Against Text

Stoller (1989: 154, 156) also recognizes Rouch's work as influential for the ways in which ethnography might evoke, rather than state, 'a sense of what it is like to live in other worlds'. Like Jackson, he critiques the anthropology of the senses as logo-centric. Stoller (1989) argues that the senses are culturally constructed and biologically experienced, as well as being an apparatus of the body through which we experience the world. Stoller's work is among the earliest to show an inextricable relationship between the senses and the body, seeing both as facing similar epistemological and representational challenges vis-à-vis logo-centrism.

Responding to Stoller's *Taste of Ethnographic Things* (1989), Moore questions the usefulness of Stoller's (1989: 155) allergy to 'lifeless texts' and his call for 'the decolonization of anthropological texts' (Stoller, ibid.: 84). Moore asks with reason, 'are there only two frameworks [for anthropological representations of the senses], one good and one bad? There are a great many ways to do fieldwork, and even more ways to write. What we need least is a new orthodoxy' (Moore, 1990: 131). Like Jackson, Stoller and others, Moore (ibid.: 130) implores anthropologists to consider 'other dimensions of ethnographic discourse [and] other conventions of representation which may carry anthropology deeper into the being of the others.'

1.3. Theory, Practice, and Habitus: Historicizing the Body

Considering a historical dimension of ethnographic discourse as a means to scrutinize the body and the senses, Csordas (1990: 5) historicizes a paradigm of embodiment that can be elaborated for the study of culture and the self. Doing so generates concerns about the distinctions between the body and embodiment. Recognizing phenomenological frameworks, Csordas clarifies their role within the study of the body in relation to Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) notions of discourse (representation) and practice (methods). Csordas also invokes Mauss (Mauss and Hubert 1972 [1902]), a figure whose work grounds some of the earliest considerations for the study and representations of the body, as well as being a figure of continuing importance within Inuit studies.

Later refined by Jackson (1983) in his notion of understandings embedded in practices rather than in words, Bourdieu (1977, 1984) situates embodiment in an anthropological discourse of practice (Csordas, 1990: 7). For Merleau-Ponty, Csordas points out that, in the understanding of the body, speech does not exist in opposition to embodiment, but instead is 'a gesture with which one takes up an existential position in the world' (Merleau Ponty, 1945 in Csordas, 1990: 25). However, Csordas also recognizes Merleau-Ponty's skepticism of what can be seen or described, given that 'there is always more than meets the eye' (Csordas, 1990: 8). These kinds of claims seem central to discussions about ethnographic film's purchase within the field of anthropology, and they challenge the seductive nature of purportedly totalizing thick descriptions (Jackson, 2013: 153). While speech and the written word can describe the body, according to Csordas, the meanings of the body are always incomplete. His explication of the distinction that Mauss (1935, 1950) draws between *la notion du personne* (a theory of the body) and *les techniques du corps* (bodily practices) suggests that what is known through a discourse of the body is different from bodily practices and thus signals a departure from studying the body to studying embodiment. When Csordas (1990: 8) suggests

'that the body as a methodological figure must itself be non-dualistic and not distinct from our interaction with an opposed principle of mind,' he is arguing for an epistemological indigeneity or somaticity that would not collapse the space between indigenous and scholarly knowledge, but would instead work to legitimize the methods upon which his epistemological claims are based (cf. Jackson, 2014).

Reflexivity collapses the subject–object and body–embodiment distinctions that Csordas (1990) describes in his notion of embodiment as a paradigm. Reflexivity in anthropological representation writ large emerges in the wake of the *Writing Culture* movement (Clifford and Marcus, 1986) that punctuates the crisis of representation, within which Ruby's longstanding claims for a more reflexive ethnographic film are brought to the fore. Reflexivity in an ethnographic film context is as much about showing the film-making process itself as depicting the film-maker and his or her body.

In accepting the notion of embodiment as a study of culture and the self (cf. Csordas, 1990: 5), Lock critiques the discursive tendency toward 'a radical separation of knowledge and practice (in poststructuralist terms, of text and enactment)' (Lock, 1993: 136, her parentheses). Returning to Mauss and his insistence that all bodily expressions are learned (Lock, 1993: 135), she argues that an anthropology of the body 'requires more than reconciling theory with practice', which has special implications for those writing about the body (Lock, 1993: 136, 148). While she isolates the representational concern to writing, representing bodily practice is an area of concern for filmic and photographic representation as well. As posited by Jackson (1983), Lock (1993: 148) also detracts notions of the body as a sterile 'it', which she believes is part of the assumption and contention with representing a totalized body, especially when bodily knowledge is thought of as being located within and through the body and bodily practices. She also finds textual representation to be an increasing challenge for an anthropology of the body, yet also insists that text is 'an excellent forum to reflect not only theoretical dilemmas, but also the politics of the practice of anthropology' (ibid.).

An embodied study of the body is achieved through reflexivity while remaining aware of and accepting the body as a site which refuses to sit still and be totalized. A theory of embodiment is developed and is based upon Boas's (1944) work on gestures and posture, and Mauss's (1935, 1979) concept of the *habitus*, all of which are grounded in mimeticism. As elaborated by Bourdieu (1977), mimeticism is grounded in the repetition of unconscious mundane bodily practices (Lock, 1993: 137). As I show later, these mundane bodily practices remain important in the study of longline fishing practices in Greenland, and they are also

attended to carefully in sensory ethnography. According to Lock (ibid.: 139), 'ethnographic accounts in which taste, sound, and touch take centre stage have opened up new horizons, with great potential for a politics of aesthetics grounded in felt experience'.[3] The question remains: how can such a mimetic, embodied and felt study actualize itself methodologically and representationally?

1.4. The Anthropology of the Senses

While an anthropology of the senses positions the senses centre stage, two propositions limit its depth. Firstly, Pink (2006: 44) argues that in the 1990s the anthropology of the senses isolated and studied only one sense, instead of the senses as a whole through comparison between 'modern western [and] 'other' cultural expressions of sensory experience' (Classen, 1993; Howes, 1991). Secondly, such ethnographic accounts of the senses continue to employ logical analysis through text, despite former scholarship (Jackson, 1983; Stoller, 1989) flagging both the ambiguous and dynamic (as opposed to static) nature of the senses that fuels scholars to think through representing the senses beyond words.

Stoller's (1997) *Sensuous Scholarship* reaffirms the senses' relation to the body as located within it,[4] the need to study the senses as a whole and the strategies by which they could be represented. He remains skeptical of the supposition that 'rigorous research methods result in more or less objective observations' (ibid.: XIII). Was anthropology in the late 1990s still struggling over positivistic notions of objectivity? As an undercurrent of his argument, I remain sceptical that the objectivity hatchet had been buried. However, Stoller problematizes the body in anthropology as a representational issue and fortifies Lock's discontent about the trajectory of sensory/bodily discourse when he says that, 'even the most insightful writers consider the body as a text that can be read and analyzed' (ibid.: XIV). Stoller (1997) argues that 'textualizing' the body strips it of its smells, tastes, textures and sensuousness.

Stoller seeks to build upon Lock's (1993) suggestion for an incorporation of all the senses alongside addressing longstanding epistemological challenges of representing the body through text. While defended *ad nauseam*, he, like several others, argues that 'scholars should not consider the body as a text which can be read and analyzed' (Stoller, 1997: XIV). Instead,

[3] Because affect theory has emerged as a key area of inquiry related to the body, and because it also raises special epistemological concerns, I describe its work more fully in Part 3.

[4] While I have shown that the body is often 'wrongly' described as an 'it', the body as an 'it' in this instance is a pronoun, and therefore faces a hermeneutic challenge of the English language, as opposed to a suggestion of the body as absent of life, dynamism, or gender. This challenge should be considered when 'it' takes the place of 'the body' throughout the paper.

a sensuous scholarship should tack between 'the analytical' and 'the sensible' through which 'embodied form as well as disembodied logic [can] constitute scholarly argument' (ibid.: XV).

Sensuous Scholarship posits several troubling reductions. First, while Stoller insists that a study of the body ought to tack between the analytical and the sensible, he only writes as much and suggests no further representational strategies by which to bring the full sensorium to the fore. Secondly, when he describes a binary situation in which writing is a form of disembodied logic, he reduces and discredits the possibilities of analytically describing embodied and sensate experiences through the written word, which is a possible project, as I demonstrate later by drawing on the work of Grasseni (2007). Thirdly, under his framework of a sensuous scholarship that considers all the senses together, film is also compromised because, after all, films ostensibly attend to the senses of vision and hearing, not the full sensorium.

The most troubling reduction is Stoller's reaffirmation that there is great benefit to aligning scholarly understandings of the body with indigenous ones. 'An inclusion of the sensuous body is paramount in the ethnographic description of societies in which the eurocentric notion of text — and of textual interpretations — is not important' (Stoller, 1997: XV, 30, 57). However, both 'preliterate' *and* textually based societies benefit from ethnographic analysis that takes the form of text. Such assumptions also reduce the sensory elements that are found within our 'modern' or 'literate' societies. To attribute a sensory numbness to purportedly Eurocentric societies exoticizes the Other and his or her body and senses. Representational consonances between 'the indigenous' and 'the scholarly' guarantee an understanding that is no more holistic than a multiplicity of representational strategies, especially amid the now frequently contested and collapsing boundary between scholarly and indigenous knowledge (Haakanson, 2001).

1.5. Film and Anthropological Representation, Problematized

Taylor (1996) brings visual anthropology and film back into the debate regarding anthropological representations of the body and the senses and deepens the distinction between Stoller's categories of the analytical and the sensible. He disputes reflexivity as film's means of reconciling its discontents with text when he insists that Ruby's prescriptions are a logically impossible order (Taylor, ibid.: 82). Instead, (ibid.: 75) he conceptualizes film 'as a sensory medium, nearly as much as the human subject is a sensory being, and [yet the human subject] is more often than not made up of both images and words.'

Taylor therefore argues that many meanings are inherent in both film and textual anthropological representations. With scepticism, he nonetheless affirms that text alone 'is the [present] condition of a possibility of a legitimate (discussive, intellectual) visual anthropology' (ibid.: 66). However, he argues that depicting the body beyond text aligns with earlier notions of an anthropology of the body that fails to hold still (Lock, 1993: 148), or a notion in which there is always more than meets the eye (Csordas, 1990: 8). Paradoxically, he argues that filmic ethnography, 'whether about Mursi spitting at each other, an Icelandic ram exhibition, or anything else, requires as much 'local knowledge' as written ethnography' (Taylor, 1996: 77). If reflexivity *à la* Ruby is logically impossible, yet both textual and filmic ethnography require context, how does Taylor's proposition differ from the fundamental claims of scientific ethnographic films such as *The Axe Fight* (1975)? Taylor's project instead relies not on transparency or exposition, but rather on the ambiguity and messiness of the lived experience. As I show later, this key claim emerges as a substantial representational contradiction and ultimately undermines the discursive legitimacy of his work.

1.6. The Pictorial Turn

Theorizing the role of film within the analytical and the sensible, MacDougall (1998: 61) insists that visual representation may be seen as an appropriate alternative to ethnographic writing in understanding the body and the senses. I continue to challenge MacDougall's positioning of film as a representational *alternative* to words: as Taylor insists (1996: 75), both representations are fallible, and more often than not the human subject is comprised of both. Because image-based technologies mediate different kinds of relationships between ethnographers, subjects and audiences than those associated with the production of literary texts (Grimshaw, 2001: 3), the pictorial turn sought to critically reposition film's role in anthropology. Yet, as I will show later, text remains a productive project for understanding and representing the full sensorium, even within a specific focus on vision (Grasseni, 2007).

What film provides is a forum to scrutinize both reflexivity and the body. MacDougall (1998: 90) argues that Taylor's understanding of Ruby's reflexivity is rooted in the 1980s, in response to the doctrines of scientific objectivity. Against Taylor, MacDougall insists that reflexivity be taken to a deeper and more integral level, the relevance of which emerges most saliently in relation to his study of the body in cinema.[5] The cinematic body is never ordinary; instead, the body on the screen is often heroic, beautiful and sanitized, evoking Jack-

[5] As I show later, such concern for the body in cinema is taken up seriously by Taylor in his film *Leviathan* (2012).

son's (1983) notion of the body as a sterile 'it.' Referring to a modernist notion of the unfamiliar qualities of the lived experience, as expressed in Mauss and Bourdieu's notion of the *habitus*, the body engages in mundane activities, albeit seldom depicted in cinema (MacDougall, 2006). How might a visual anthropology of the body formulate a mundane, unfamiliar, reflexive, embodied and deeper representation?

As I have shown, the interconnected clashes and responses to the crisis of representation are found in epistemological concerns over representing the body and the senses, many of which are conceptualized through a binary of either film or text. These dilemmas have manifested themselves through a more reflexive and embodied ethnography that also continues to challenge the binaries of theory/practice, subject/object and scholarly/indigenous knowledge through textual and filmic representation. The body remains a site of contestation within the collision of an anthropology of the senses and visual anthropology. In the next part, I briefly describe how sensory anthropology's debates with the anthropology of the senses have filmic implications for its representational strategies.

Part 2. A History of Sensory Anthropology

A Kalaallit fisher signals an acceptable boat heading amid rough weather conditions. Photographed by author, 2014.

2.1. A Storm in a Teacup: Sensory Anthropology versus the Anthropology of the Senses

Sensory approaches have manifested themselves in ethnographic film (MacDougall, 1998; Ruby, 2000), in experimental anthropological methods (Grimshaw and Ravetz, 2005), and also when considering the materiality and sensory qualities of visual artefacts (Edwards, 1999, Pink, 2006: 42). Sensory anthropology, as opposed to the anthropology of the senses, purports to avoid situating sensory modalities in 'disembodied culture' which, Pink (ibid.:

332) argues, are 'incompatible with an anthropology that understands learning and knowing as situated in embodied practice and movement'. Jackson's (1983) insistence that indigenous understandings are embedded in practices, Stoller's (1997) call for a study of the senses that is written in a disembodied language, and Lock's (1993) understanding of the body that moves instead of standing still fortify the claims made by Pink (2006) within sensory anthropology.

To address these concerns, Pink (2010: 332) insists that the senses 'have to be considered together to be compatible with representations of the body, which are achieved through practice and movement.' Although Classen (1997) suggests that the anthropology of the senses has always been concerned with the senses as a means of inquiry and not solely as an object of study, the discipline has made few, if any, representational experiments through sensory means. One can begin to question how or where it is even possible to conduct a sensory project without or beyond words. Anthropologists problematize the word for such a project, but as I have shown, there is little empirical evidence to bolster the sensory outside of the supposed limits of words. Debates surrounding disembodied and textual representations have had implications for both film and text, which have shaped both sensory anthropology and sensory ethnography.

2.2. Body vs. Embodiment in Text

MacDougall's work contributes to how the body is seen within the pictorial turn. But for sensory anthropology, the question remains: does the body see, or is it merely seen? While published outside anthropology, *The Third Eye* (1996) theorizes and historicizes how the human body has been visualized as an object to be gazed upon and studied. Within an anthropological context, Rony (1996) ponders what it is to see oneself as one is seen, as a seeing body rather than a seen body. Her questioning helps to break down the distinctions between the body and embodiment, thus deepening conjectures that embodied studies require new representational strategies.

Considering MacDougall's call for reflexivity at a deeper level and Rony's interest in how the body sees, Grasseni (2007: 5) argues that 'skilled visions orient perceptions and structure understanding that may not only convey ideas, meanings, and beliefs, but configure them'. Understanding a particular visual configuration through participant observation and textual representation offers an analytical yet embodied understanding of how the body sees. Looking not merely at the personal empathy that arises from being there, vision is understood as embedded in mediating devices, contexts and routines (ibid.: 6). Embodiment is therefore

not merely understood through a reflexivity of one's own participant observation. By eliding some of the theoretical and historical conceptualizations of looking at the body that Rony (1996) arraigns, Grasseni attempts to understand how the body senses with consideration for all of the senses, yet remains engaged with some of anthropology's core representational and methodological strategies.

While *Skilled Visions* challenges Stoller and Pink's calls for a representational strategy beyond or in isolation from words in order to study embodiment, it also further interferes with the distinction between an anthropology of the senses and sensory anthropology. As I show in Part 5, sensory ethnography collapses neat and clear distinctions between the body and embodiment, but because such moves are beholden to a particular discursive history, it is also liable to criticism.

Part 3. The Evolution of Sensory Ethnography

A frame grab from Leviathan (2012) of a sternman hauling chains recorded with a head-mounted point-of-view camera. Photographed by ARRETE TON CINEMA, 2012. © The Cinema Guild.

3.1. Sensory Ethnography's Two Strands

Continuing to legitimize a representational dichotomy between text and film, Nakamura (2013) describes two chief strands of sensory ethnography, both of which are conceptualized within the purview of visual anthropology. Nakamura's two strands of sensory ethnography (ibid.: 133) are: the aesthetic-sensual (the conveyance of emotional states through vivid aesthetic-sensual immersion) and the multisensory-experiential (which employs the great use of multisensory experiential data, namely vision, taste, hearing, smell, touch, etc., in traditional ethnographic fieldwork). While I will ultimately disagree with Nakamura's conceptualization

of both projects as distinct, I use these categories to describe the disparate aims of the strands in relation to the work throughout the anthropology of the senses and sensory anthropology, and the constant calls for representational experimentation through sensory means. Because the first strand is akin to the work described above within sensory anthropology, I focus more on charting the second strand of sensory ethnography, which beckons theoretical and historical analysis in order to better determine its configuration within anthropology.

3.2. Bodily Praxis and Harvard University's Sensory Ethnography Lab

The second strand of sensory ethnography charted by Nakamura is produced most prominently by Lucien Castaing-Taylor and his colleagues at Harvard's Sensory Ethnography Lab (SEL), the projects of which have spawned disagreement among visual anthropologists regarding the role of such projects within anthropology. SEL supports 'innovative combinations of aesthetics and ethnography, with original nonfiction media practices that explore the bodily praxis and affective fabric of human existence … it encourages attention to the many dimensions of social experience and subjectivity that may only with difficulty be rendered in words alone' (Nakamura, 2013: 133). SEL is contested and relevant on several grounds concerning its conceptualizations of the body and its representations.

First, in a Freirean[6] sense, bodily praxis suggests the consummation of theory and practice of the body in action, which is a palimpsest of the theory of the body as posited by Jackson (1983) and Merleau-Ponty (1945). Grasseni and others have engaged in a form of bodily praxis through participant observation, but their projects and those of SEL differ in their representational strategies of bodily praxis. For SEL, bodily praxis — the theoretical and conceptual understandings of the body — are represented in their filmic sensory ethnographies, whereas bodily praxis in the projects of Grasseni and others starts with participant observation attending to the sensory aspects and ultimately produces its understanding of bodily praxis through textual analytical representation.

Secondly, instead of a study of human experience, SEL seeks to explore mere *existence*, which I interpret as a specific inclusion of the mundane and the repetitious, which may be interpreted as an ontological approach toward the body. In doing so, SEL, which is directed by Taylor, also elides Hastrup's epistemological concerns for the field of 'experience' in anthropology (Taylor, 1996: 67). Because sensory ethnographers have largely chosen not to

[6] Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1985) posits a notion of praxis as reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.

theorize their work textually, I am primarily describing interpretations here rather than affirmations.

SEL has produced several sensory ethnographies, all of which have taken the form of films, with the exception of a few phonographic recordings by Ernst Karel and Stephanie Spray. The most prominent works include *Demolition* (2008), *Sweetgrass* (2009), *Foreign Parts (*2011), *Leviathan* (2012) and, most recently, *Manakamana* (2013).[7] While other films have been produced within SEL, I refer primarily to *Leviathan* and *Demolition,* as these projects intersect the anthropology of the body and anthropology's representational strategies in fruitful ways. I first reposition sensory ethnography's intersections within the historical sediments of phenomenology, the body, aesthetics and the recent interest in affect theory.

As Merleau-Ponty (1945) described it, the human body provides the fundamental mediation point between thought and the world, an idea that has emerged throughout the history of anthropology as a key epistemological and representational concern. Understanding how anthropology might interpret humanity through the body has culminated in becoming a methodological and representational issue within sensory ethnography, and it remains its central tenant.

Regarding the body, Bourdieu's reformulation of Mauss' concept of the *habitus* also remains a key theme within sensory ethnography, especially considering its grounding in the repetition of unconscious and mundane bodily practices (Lock, 1993: 137). As MacDougall affirms, mundane bodily practices are often the first pieces of the lived experience to be cut from films, including moments as ordinary as 'taking a pee,' which are rarely found in fiction films, and are no more common in ethnographic ones (MacDougall, 2006: 19). While considered ambiguous, Taylor (1996: 76) insists that observation (in the case of film-making) 'reflects an ambiguity of meaning that is at the heart of human experience'. Like Jackson, SEL also takes inspiration from Boas's work on gestures and postures, as well as from Mauss and Bourdieu, in order to develop a theory of embodiment grounded in mimeticism (Lock, 1993: 137). In *Leviathan,* mimeticism takes centre stage as the camera moves on and with the body (because it is attached to it), recording and mimicking the very working practices of the body. In the case of *Skilled Visions,* similar acts of mimeticism occur during Grasseni's fieldwork, both of which work toward developing a critical understanding of how bodies see.

As Lock (1993: 139) posited in the early 1990s, 'ethnographic accounts in which olfaction, taste, sound and touch take center stage … open great potential for a politics of aesthet-

[7] See the Appendix for short synopses and URLs to films mentioned herein.

ics grounded in felt experience'. In the context of affect theory, sensory ethnography's complex assemblages of bodies and worlds present novel combinations of themes and methods that challenge anthropology's relations to art and aesthetics. While phenomenological approaches in anthropology may be seen as 'archaic and occulted', they have been reinvigorated within the study of affect, namely within phenomenologies of embodiment in relation to human and non-human environments (Gregg and Siegworth, 2010: 290).

While sensory ethnography attempts to distinguish itself from earlier scholarship on the body and the senses through its representational strategies, it faces a key representational contradiction when conceptualized in direct relation to the principle aims and representational strategies of the anthropology of the senses. Taylor's (1996: 66) insistence on the need for 'local context' in written ethnography and film not only fails to sit comfortably in a discursive history of the body and the senses as dynamic and subjective, it also contradicts SEL's affective, post-phenomenological and non-textual frameworks. Because only an exceptionally small body of text exists to defend the theoretical aims of SEL (Nakamura, 2012; Sniadecki, 2014), its scholars have formulated a major discursive clash. While sensory anthropology has proved to contribute to an understanding of the body and bodily practices through text, sensory ethnography seeks to attend to the representational strategies of bodily praxis through a critical media practice of film-making.

Replying to the critical acclaim of Lucien Castaing-Taylor and Véréna Paravel's film *Leviathan* (2012), Ruby (2013) suggests that visual anthropology could stand to gain from a critical engagement with their work within the discipline. While SEL's labours are, if only in part, situated within a discursive history of the body, anthropology struggles to be an interlocutor to SEL's critical visual language, a language that is largely unknown within a discipline that purportedly 'falls prey to the illusion that the order of things could be adequately represented in an order of words' (Woolgar, 1986: 312). Despite being seemingly vernacularly opposed, sensory ethnography and sensory anthropology are not mutually exclusive domains of inquiry, especially considering their similar historical sediments. Recognizing their discursive and methodological overlap enables Harvard's SEL to be compatible with preexisting dilemmas and theoretical frameworks, as well as with topics such as art, aesthetics and affect, as a representationally polemic project.

The first case study will analyse some of the objections levelled at SEL's representational strategies in J.P. Sniadecki's film *Demolition* (2008), which was produced in the Sensory Ethnography Lab, as well as a reflective article he recently wrote on his critical media practice (Sniadecki, 2014). The second case study builds upon SEL's representational strategies

and historical configurations and seeks to address a more critical understanding of the body within sensory ethnography.

Part 4.1 Sniadecki's Sensory Deconstruction

Frame grab from J.P. Sniadecki's Demolition (2008) of migrant workers on a lunch break. Photographed by J.P. Sniadecki, 2008. © J.P. Sniadecki.

4.1.1 - Demolition: Sniadecki's Reflections on Media Practice

In a demolition site in the centre of Chengdu, China, J.P. Sniadecki (2014: 23) collaborated with 'migrant workers, site managers, and city dwellers to produce the feature-length film *Chaiqian (Demolition)*, which offers a sensual and open-ended portrait of migrant labor, urban space, and ephemerality'. Unlike Castaing-Taylor and others in SEL, Snidecki's recently published reflective article (2014) provides an exceptional opportunity to engage critically with both his ethnographic and representational theory, through which it is possible to situate SEL's sensory ethnography discursively and representationally.

4.1.2. Theoretical Framing

Situating the theory behind his filmic practice and reflexive writing, Sniadecki (2014: 26) invokes Taylor's notion of 'excess' — inclusive of ethnographic film — which grants the image a seductive power that 'draws the viewer into an interpretative relationship that bypasses professional mediation' (Taylor, 1996: 68). Snaidecki argues that sensory ethnography is a potential threat to anthropology: 'if everyone can engage excess and draw conclusions on social complexity and cultural difference on its own terms, then anthropologists are no longer

necessary, or so the argument goes' (Sniadecki, 2014: 26). While visual anthropologists might quibble with sensory ethnographers over the excess of ethnographic meaning in film, Sniadecki is more concerned with reconciling sensory ethnography's lack of logical, or discussive analysis.

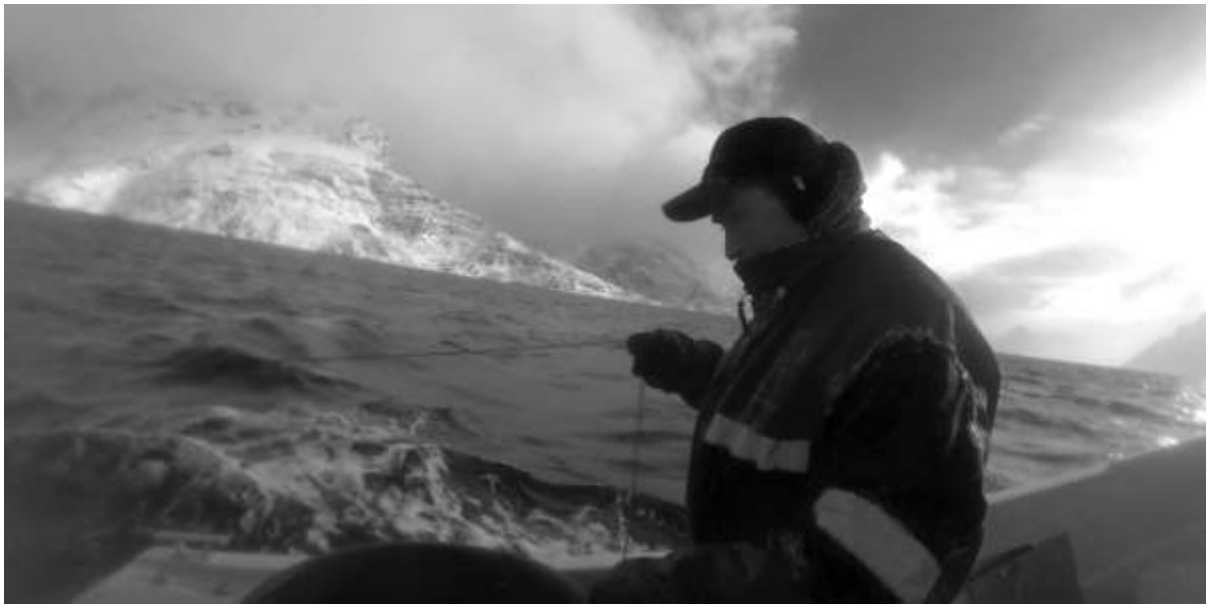
Fortunately, Sniadecki recognizes similar concerns when he evokes Stoller's (1997) notion of the 'sensible' and the 'analytical', through which he describes his filmic practice as proceeding 'neither through the reductionism of abstract language nor the subordination of image and sound to argument, but instead through the expansive potential of aesthetic experience and experiential knowledge' (Sniadecki, 2014: 27). Such experiential knowledge is also akin to the strand of sensory ethnography charted by Nakamura (2013) and evinced through the fieldwork of Grasseni (2007). Sniadecki's film entails greater involvement from the audience or reader (Sniadecki, 2014) and evokes MacDougall's (1998: 79) argument that new concepts in anthropological knowledge 'are being broached in which meaning is not merely the outcome of reflection upon experience but necessarily *includes* the experience; in part then, 'the experience *is* the knowledge.' Knowledge through experience aligns with Stoller's category of 'the sensible,' whereas 'the analytical' is also formative in Snaidecki's article. By critically reflecting upon the theory that underpins his sensory ethnography, anthropology becomes an interlocutor with sensory ethnography's praxis, regardless of whether its scholars agree with the theory or its practice.

4.1.3. Writing and Sensory Ethnography

Sniadecki affirms the necessity of writing in relation to film and sensory ethnography. Writing, he insists, 'excels at advancing finely reasoned propositions in the service of interpreting and explaining not only social reality, but also abstract theory, whereas the sensorial, the corporeal and the affective tend to elude argumentation and resist propositional logic' (Sniadecki, 2014: 26, 30-31). Sniadecki's labours permits a tack between the sensible film and intelligible writing. While not fully summarized here, Sniadecki's analytical engagement permits a conversation with anthropology's historical representational and sub-discipline specific themes, such as the mundane and the everyday, and the reflexive capacities of film, for example. He exceptionalizes sensory ethnography's representational strategies as distinctly situated between conventional documentary and written ethnography, which clarifies the fact that even his ethnographic descriptions fail to be adequately understood or analysed through images alone.

While Sniadecki's text interferes with an assumption that film is an alternative to text (MacDougall, 1998) and argues for the affordances of film in representing the sensible (Stoller, 1997), the tack between the sensible and the intelligible vis-à-vis the body is not so clear cut. In the next case study, I scrutinize how a confluence of sensory ethnographic approaches from both strands may be a germane approach when considering site-specific representations of bodily practices in Greenland.

Part 4.2. Casting and Hauling in Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland



Frame grab from a chest-mounted video camera of a Kallalit fisher casting a longline in Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland. Photographed by author, 2014.

My ethnographic fieldwork in the Nuuk Fjord (Nuup Kangerlua) of Greenland focused on how Inuit conceptualize and sustain relations with the natural environment through longline fishing livelihoods. During two field visits (March-April 2014, and June-July 2014), I sought to examine how bodily practices such as fishing techniques, gestures and recognition of the natural and human environment might suggest how Inuit enact and embody social relations within the natural world. In doing so, I sought to shed light on how sensory ethnography could be employed in the study of indigenous livelihoods as it had been in other regional contexts (Sniadecki, 2008, Barbash and Taylor, 2009, Taylor and Paravel, 2012), and if so, to what extent.

4.2.2. Theoretical Framing

In keeping with the anthropology of the body and the senses, as well as sensory ethnography, phenomenology remained a guiding theme throughout the fieldwork. Since phenomenology attempts to represent how things are experienced by a subject (Tilley, 1997: 12) and understands the human body as a fundamental mediation point between thought and the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1945: 39, 278, 325), I began by recording the gesturing and working body. Moreover, remaining mindful of sensory anthropology's textual affordances (Grasseni, 2007), I later critically described the body in relation to the linguistic and discursive world that surrounds it. Like the work of the anthropology of the body, Inuit Studies strive to produce critical knowledge through a 'distancing' process. This relates into the modernist practice of 'defamiliarization', in which the aim is to reveal the strangeness, even absurdity, of that which is most familiar (Stevenson, 2006: 20). I also examined whether defamiliarizing approaches can only be achieved through merely a 'distanced' study of a sensing and moving body. Most importantly, I found it necessary to engage, with my own body, in the kind of explicit contextualizing, theorizing and thematizing work that Lucien Castaing-Taylor and others in SEL seem to have been less willing to perform.

4.2.3. Methods

Participant observation remains relevant in Inuit, sensory and bodily studies. According to Stevenson, cultural representation 'through practice of cultural activities rather than by articulating cultural norms in textual documents underlines the Inuit belief that one learns by doing' (2006, 15). Such participation also reaffirms Jackson's (1983) now longstanding conjecture that indigenous understandings are embedded in practices rather than spelled out in words. In the case of the film *Leviathan* (2012), the camera becomes an embodied one, recording and mimicking the body at work (Snyder, 2013b: 176). In recording Inuit longline fishers, I sought also to test the extent to which bodily practice can be represented through mimetic, participatory means. However, conducting interviews remained necessary to understand and articulate indigenous livelihoods throughout the Nuuk Fjord. Sniadecki's textual (2014) and filmic (2008) labours also reaffirm this need. A key question then emerges: which methods and representational strategies can be adopted to allow an ethnographer to achieve a sensible and analytical understanding of bodily practices and indigenous livelihoods?

4.2.4. Casting: Recording the Body

In the first stage, I wore a point-of-view (POV) camera[8] in a similar way as in *Leviathan* (2012), but instead of fishing on Georges Bank as seen in *Leviathan*, I sailed aboard a small open boat in Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland (Nuuk Fjord). Initial recordings were limited to my own bodily movement, inclusive of gesture,[9] rather than an embodied depiction of the fisher's body at work in the fjord. Upon reviewing the footage of my bodily movement and realizing I was incapable of coping with the extreme cold, I asked if the fisherman would wear the camera on his body while working. After strapping the camera to his chest, he and his deckhand sailed deep into the fjord to haul in the lines that the fisher and I had cast the day before. Unlike my footage, theirs shows how their bodies respond to the natural environment by ducking to avoid the wind[10] or remaining balanced atop choppy seas, as well as quotidian tasks such smoking a cigarette or urinating.[11] Longline fishers' recordings also showed (1) the skill disparities between experienced fishers and a junior deckhand in the rapidity with which each works,[12] (2) the gesturing to deckhands and other boats, and (3) the searching for natural landmarks for purposes of orientation.[13] While the camera records the body as a source of gesture, it eventually becomes a nuisance for the fisher. In the recording, something unexpected then occurs. His young deckhand offers to place the camera upon his body, resulting in footage depicting an inexperienced fisher at work.[14] Through this unexpected shift in perspectives, the process of learning by doing was clearly made visible (Stevenson, 2006). Specifically, the doing refers to the practice of the deckhand learning to clean fish and haul in lines (Jackson, 1983).

While I consider these visual representations to fall under Stoller's (1997) notion of the sensible, the recordings are not the sole means of understanding the environmental, political, ethical and technical circumstances that contextualize bodily movement and gesture. The recordings alone lack a vital analytical dimension. Reviewing the footage several days later with the fishermen permitted us to appraise the ethical implications of placing a recording camera on the body and to consider where and how the presence of a camera affects bodily movement and gesture.[15] These reasons alone suggest the necessity to ask about, listen to and

[8] See Video 1 in the Appendix.
[9] See Video 2 in the Appendix.
[10] See Video 3 in the Appendix.
[11] See Video 4 in the Appendix. Does not include compromising or explicit imagery.
[12] See Video 5 in the Appendix.
[13] See Video 6 in the Appendix.
[14] See Video 7 in the Appendix.
[15] See Transcript 1 in the Appendix to read the conversation between the researcher, a translator and the fisher.

engage in a deeper, more reflexive participation, and to be explicit, yet prudent, in divulging and withholding extraneous or compromising recordings.

4.2.5. Hauling: Approaching the Body Through Practice, Asking, and Listening

In the summer months, the approach I took was developed in response to the environmental, ethical, political and technical limitations discovered in the first stage. This time, I worked as a curious deckhand aboard several small open boats and participated in the core longline fishing activities,[16] from baiting and casting to hauling and selling. Though repetitive and ostensibly mundane, putting my own body into action,[17] yet also asking, listening and observing how Inuit work, I did discover the following.

First, fishers move and respond to the rhythms of the natural environment, other human interaction and the technology that facilitates their work. Responses to the human and non-human environment are enacted through bodily movement, which is highly tacit and often subconsciously reactionary (e.g. we bend our knees to stay balanced in rough seas),[18] often without realizing it. These bodily movements and gestures are learned through doing (Kulchyski, 2006) and may be vitiated when described through words alone. Since learning is imparted through showing and telling, learning how to cast and haul is dependent upon a critical understanding of the body in action and also on remaining attentive to bodily, gestural and verbal communication. Learning to fish is not entirely tacit and phenomenological. Instead, communication and learning in this context are carried out between Inuit through both words and gestures, which become 'what in modern parlance is part of the individual's habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977: 78-87).

Secondly, while some bodily practices, including gestures, may be verbally indescribable, some movements and techniques shape and are shaped by family politics and technology. These are best critically analysed through text. Casting longlines in Nuup Kangerlua requires a knowledge of where fishers' families have cast their lines,[19] which is indicated by buoys that are often difficult to see in rough seas. Casting locations are openly disclosed and shared

[16] Because the aim of returning to Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland, was to participate, ask, listen and observe, I made far fewer video recordings than during my first fieldwork, as evinced in a lack of video clips when compared with the first fieldwork period.
[17] See Video 8 in the Appendix.
[18] See Video 9 in the Appendix.
[19] Many families in Nuuk contain several fishers each, often brothers, uncles, nephews or fathers who share knowledge and work together within their elementary family, as well as being in constant contact with other fishers in other families. Where fish have been caught in large quantities or where lines have been cast are commonly discussed topics that perpetuate interdependence within and between families.

through hand gestures[20] and not just through tacit bodily movement. As one fisherman told me, 'most people describe with hand gestures the locations of where they cast their lines. This is to avoid overlap and hardship. But if you don't want someone fishing in your spot, then you keep [the location] to yourself.' Knowledge of the locations of productive fisheries, seal populations,[21] migrating whales and cast longlines are communicated through the body and voice, supporting a notion of Inuit interdependence through sharing resources and open communication. As fishers pass each other in the fjord, they rarely stop, but instead gesture toward their origin, destination or the location of cast longlines through hand signals. If open boats pass each other at distances further than several hundred metres, mobile phones or VHF radio are used. While radios may limit bodily communication, fishers actively put radio technology to work both to remain safe and efficient while fishing and to maintain their interdependence.

Thirdly, fishing politics are not only maintained in everyday bodily movement but also through language. On one occasion, two fishermen from different families climbed a steep fjord wall before casting lines to discuss and point out ideal fishing locations and, as I later learned, to describe areas where a fisher and his sons frequently cast[22] their lines. Given that bodily practices of casting and hauling are predicated upon verbal and gestural communication, both sensual and analytical approaches become critical. Since the sensible is linked to the analytical (i.e. bodily movement shapes and is shaped by family politics and technology) and since the analytical is enacted within the sensible (i.e. interdependence[23] configures how and where fishers move), Stoller's (1997) notion of the analytical and the sensible collapses. Ultimately this suggests that sensory ethnography requires the textual as much as it promotes the sensible. Challenging what sensory ethnography calls bodily praxis requires not just an understanding of how the body moves, but also why.

As I have shown in the earlier sections, SEL's projects are built on the same historical bedrock of phenomenology, body studies and sensory anthropology, yet their politics of representation suggest distinct epistemological projects. However, this divergence also places them within a constructive conversation concerning representational limits. While a sensory ethnography proposed by SEL may not sit comfortably within cognitive, epistemologically ordered frameworks of anthropology, Sniadecki (2014) shows that is fruitful to level both

[20] See Image 1 in the Appendix for an example of a fisher signalling the location of his buoy.
[21] See Image 2 in the Appendix for an example of a fisher signalling the location of group of surfacing seals.
[22] See Image 3 in the Appendix.
[23] Interdependence is also an increasingly key factor in collaborative research, especially as it intersects with new media technologies, including video. See Jackson's (2004) for clarification.

ethnographic and methodological critiques to sensory ethnography films through text. In the case of studying longline fishers in Nuup Kangerlua, tacking between sensory and analytical approaches is not just possible but a compulsory methodological and representational step toward a deeper understanding of the complexities of human–environment relations in Greenland.

Part 5. Culminating Analysis

Frame grab from a chest-mounted video camera of a Kallalit fisher hauling a longline in Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland. Photographed by deckhand, 2014.

5.1.- Key Concerns of the Body and Representation

Ethnographic experimentations seeking deeper understandings of the body remain a productively contested practice. As I have shown, historical and conceptual issues that have been at stake in anthropology for several decades remain the substrate for sensory ethnography. How has the history of anthropological representation acted as a catalyst for a sensory ethnography? How does sensory ethnography propose to contribute an understanding of the body, or is generating a cognitive understanding even its goal?

Sensory ethnography seeks to remedy Jackson's (1983) call on the limits of words by representing non-textual understandings of the body, which purportedly fail to fit neatly into interpretive frames (Sniadecki, 2014: 29). Doing so also satisfies the call for an embodied and representationally distinct study of the body in excess of textual representations of the anthropology of the senses (Stoller, 1989, 1997; Howes, 1991; Rony, 1996). While not explicitly defended by anthropologist-filmmakers, phenomenological approaches to the representation of the body may be operative in films such as *Leviathan* (2012), which requires a

more active perception by the audience through the employment of embodied cameras, through which the sensory ethnographers attempt to show how a subject experiences the world (Merleau-Ponty 1945: 39, 278, 325, Snyder, 2013b: 176). Such subjective projects distinguish their theoretical framing as akin to the work of Mead and Bateson, who contended that anthropology becomes a science of words and that film is a means to use new tools to replace 'subjective field notes' (Mead, 1995: 5; Weinberger, 1992: 38). Against Mead and Bateson's positivist approach to film as merely objective and text as merely subjective, sensory ethnography aligns with Ingold's (2014: 385) notion that ethnography is 'more an art than a science, but no less accurate or truthful than that,' and instead recognizes that both filmic and textual representations contain many meanings (Pinney, 1992: 27).

When sensory ethnographers produce films that rely on image and sound, they affirm MacDougall's (2006) insistence that unfamilar bodily representations through film remains an area of inquiry. In doing so, they elide the claims of ocular-centrism put forward by scholars of the senses (Howes, 1991). Special attention to bodily practices is found within the mundane and unfamiliar, which resonates with the notion of the *habitus,* seen in the case of scallop shucking in *Leviathan* (2012), long shots of demolition work in *Demolition* (2008), the work of longline fishers in Nuup Kangerlua, within the scholarship of critical Inuit Studies (Stevenson, 2006), and even in cattle breeding in northern Italy (Grasseni, 2007). Placing cameras on fishermen in my own fieldwork in Nuup Kangerlua and in *Leviathan* (2012) upsets both the relations between subjects and authors and notions of indigenous media. While one may argue that anthropologists provoke such recordings, therefore disqualifying the media as indigenous, the earliest historical projects categorized as 'indigenous video' have always been prompted by the presence of an anthropologist (Worth and Adair, 1972).

While MacDougall (1998, 2006), Ruby (1980, 2000) and others call for reflexivity, sensory ethnographers like Sniadecki (2008, 2014) employ it in both filmic practice and critical writing. Because sensory ethnographers are trained in anthropology and ground their filmic practice in ethnographic methods, they attempt to work toward reconciling a longstanding radical separation of knowledge and practice in the study of the body – in post-structural terms, of text and enactment (Lock, 1993). Sniadecki's (2014) scholarship involves yoking critical, discursive and sensuous representations together in an attempt to fuse knowledge and practice. However, as one of sensory ethnography's forerunners, the anthropologist Lucien Castaing-Taylor has not produced any writing that could permit a deeper understanding of the bodily praxis present in films such as *Leviathan* (2012). Instead of assuming the body as being readable as a text (Stoller, 1997), Sniadecki (2014) and Grasseni (2007) both show that

the body can be read — if only partly — *with* text. While words have limits, they remain a key means by which to engage in discourse and analysis.

The problem with situating SEL within the historical frameworks of anthropological representation appears to be due to a disinterest in producing totalizing, thick descriptions of the body or the senses. However, when its scholars choose to explore topics such as affect and aesthetics, some, barring Sniadecki, make the foolish assumption that such areas of anthropological inquiry are exempt from discursive engagement. Yet, some of anthropology's most representationally challenging topics have vetted their efforts through text, as most recently evinced in John L. Jackson's (2013) *Thin Description*, the development of affect theory (Gregg and Seigworth, 2010) and even an entire corpus of non-representational theory (Anderson, 2010). Despite their anthropological project attending to areas that struggle to be described, why should SEL's scholars be exempt from discursive engagement?

5.2. Toward a Reconfigured Sensory Ethnography

As shown in the cases of *Demolition* (2008, 2014) and in longline casting and hauling in Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland, tacking between the sensible and the analytical is not only a possible and collapsible project, but also a highly productive task for understanding ethnography's representational limits, for auditing each representation's discursive contributions, and for moving toward a synthesis of a more holistic ethnographic understanding. Such understandings still recognize that the capacity of a body is never defined by a body alone, but is always aided and abetted by, and dovetails with, the field or context of its force relations, which are dynamic and ever-changing (Gregg and Seigworth, 2010). Such a configuration moves toward a goal of avoiding the trap of conceptualizing its task as providing complete and total knowledge. Instead, a reconfigured sensory ethnography would embrace Csordas's (1990) notion that there is more than meets the eye. It would also espouse Jackson's notion of 'thin description,' which is a way of knowing that privileges non-knowing, but not anthropological totalism (Jackson, 2013: 153).

Such a representational configuration may be a germane approach within the regional context of Greenland. The unfamiliar and the mundane remain important, which harks back to historical concerns raised by Mauss's and Boas's work in Inuit Studies. Such a configuration is also consonant with an Inuit belief that one learns by doing (Stevenson, 2006: 15). Employing point-of-view cameras in similar ways to their use in *Leviathan* (2012) records bodily praxis during which the body is seen, yet reviewing the footage and placing cameras on fishermen also shows how bodies see. While such recordings are sensible representations,

exegesis is required to understand and critique the reflexive, ethical, political and environmental circumstances that situate Inuit-recorded bodily movement. Reviewing video recordings and participant observation permits a deeper, more analytical and reflexive understanding of the body, from which critical engagement and discourse can emerge.

While it may be possible to represent the mundanity and mimicry of casting and hauling longlines textually, the body at work — especially highly tacit and subconsciously reactionary movements — struggle to be represented in words alone. However, because longline fishing bodily movements — inclusive of gesture — can be traced and understood in relation to a set of social politics, text becomes a crucial representational strategy in analysing how and also why the body moves. Existing politics and notions of interdependence that remain important from a structural-functional perspective are formed through a confluence of bodily movement and verbal and gestural communication that — contrary to the aims of the SEL — ultimately struggle to be represented in images alone.

A reconfigured sensory ethnography yokes the affordances of sensory ethnography's critical media practice and the representational affordances of text. Such a configuration proffers a methodological and theoretical forum for understanding bodily practices and their representational quandaries. It also challenges the space between the analytical and the sensible, as well as the distinctions between Nakamura's two strands of sensory ethnography, and ultimately criticizes SEL's unwillingness to contribute to anthropology through textual means.

Part 6. Conclusion

Fishers discuss the politics and locations of casting lines within Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland. Photographed by author, 2014.

Anthropology continues to ask if there are other dimensions to ethnographic discourse, other ways of knowing and other conventions of representation that could carry the discipline deeper into the being of the others (Moore, 1990: 130). When considering indigenous livelihoods in Greenland and sensory ethnography as a germane method and form of representation, what emerges is that, while sensory ethnography may offer a particular sensory 'depth', an ethnography of longline fishing livelihoods in Greenland cannot be studied and represented merely through sensory means. While many scholars have flagged the representational limits of text (Jackson, 1983; Ingold, 2000; Sniadecki, 2014), a comprehensive, deep and systematic examination of a sensing body has and will continue to rely upon the written word to construct and deconstruct its epistemological frameworks.

While Lucien Castaing-Taylor is not the very first anthropologist to become a famous avant-garde film-maker, he and his colleagues' work in SEL recognizes yet also diverges from sensory and visual anthropology's textual anchors. Even though SEL's project explores seemingly ineffable areas of anthropological inquiry, the project is stifled when its scholars refuse to circumscribe their sensate scholarship within anthropology's well-established textual modes of knowledge production. In the recent efforts of Sniadecki (2008, 2014), sensory ethnography's two strands as set forth by Nakamura (2013) collapse into one, through which possibilities emerge for sensory ethnography to engage with anthropology's methodological

and discursive history of the body and of the senses. Scrutinizing sensory ethnography on representational grounds also raises new site-specific and thematic questions. While it became clear that employing sensory ethnography among longline fishers would require the collapse of sensual and analytical frameworks (i.e. working similarly to Grasseni (2007) and Sniadecki (2014)), the chief realization in the study of indigenous livelihoods is that they are not merely tacit, sensory or traditional. Since longline fishing in Nuuk exists between cash and subsistence economies, it informs and is informed by family politics, local governance, the market economy and a modernizing fishing industry. Beyond phenomenological and sensory considerations, these very dimensions shape and are shaped by indigenous livelihoods. Political economy, critical geopolitics and the history of technology are only some of the many themes that must be considered as part of the somatic complexities of indigenous livelihoods in Greenland.

Rehearsing the representational debates surrounding the body is therefore not merely useful for understanding anthropology's means of producing and critiquing knowledge production, it has also informed my approach to the site-specific complexities in Greenland. While scholars within these fields may question who their interlocutors are, these seemingly mutually exclusive domains within anthropology do share a history, even if detractors deny it. And furthermore, they can constructively be put into conversation. In calling attention to the environmental, political and technical processes that are present in longline fishing, discourse continues to be an indispensable mechanism for the development of anthropological thought. If a study of livelihoods is to call upon the methodological and representational affordances of sensory ethnography, then the site, methods and representations need to be scrutinized for the themes they evoke, the lived experiences they record, and the politics their representations conjecture.

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Appendix

Images

Image 1. A fisher signalling the location of his buoy. *Photographed by author, 2014.*

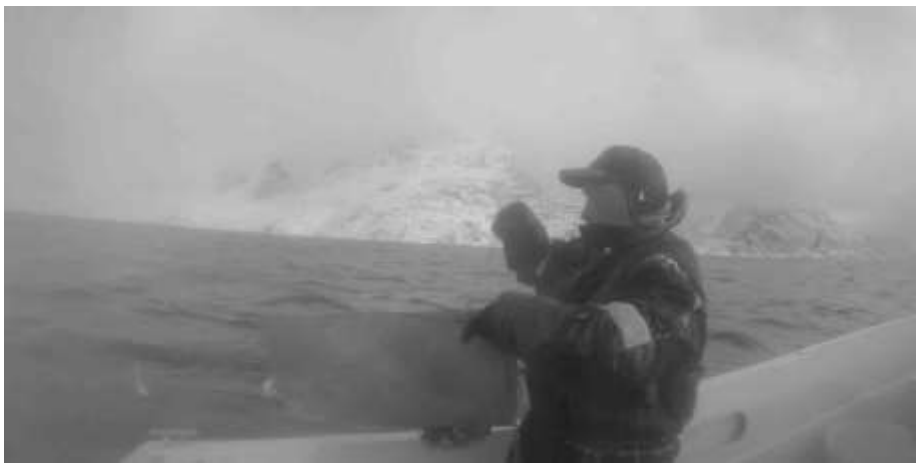
Image 2. A fisher signalling the location of a group of surfacing seals. *Photographed by author, 2014.*

Image 3. Looking down into the fjord, two fishers discuss the politics and locations of casting lines in Nuup Kangerlua. *Photographed by author, 2014.*

Video

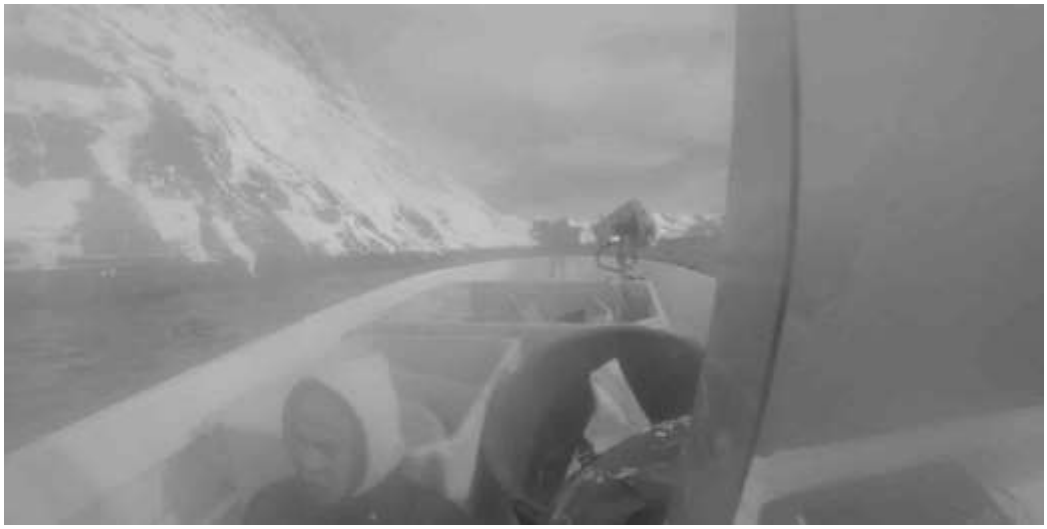
To strike a balance between convenience while upholding respondent privacy, the video clips referred to below are available as unlisted videos on YouTube, which are not available to the public. Readers with the URLs on the following pages are able to access the clips. Please type the URL exactly as it appears here to access the video clips.

Video 1. TRT 02:02. A video clip recorded from a chest-mounted video camera of a fisher casting a longline and tying a knot to a home-made anchor in April 2014 in Nuup Kangerlua, Greenland. *Photographed by author, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland1

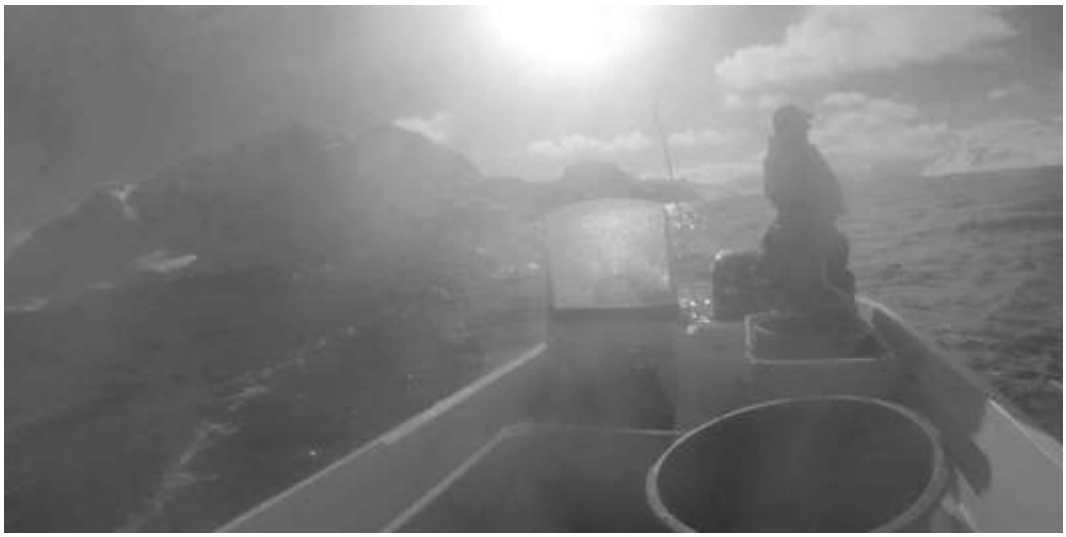


Video 2. TRT 00:19. A video clip recorded from a chest-mounted video camera of the fisher commanding the researcher to steer the boat toward a natural landmark. *Photographed by author, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland2

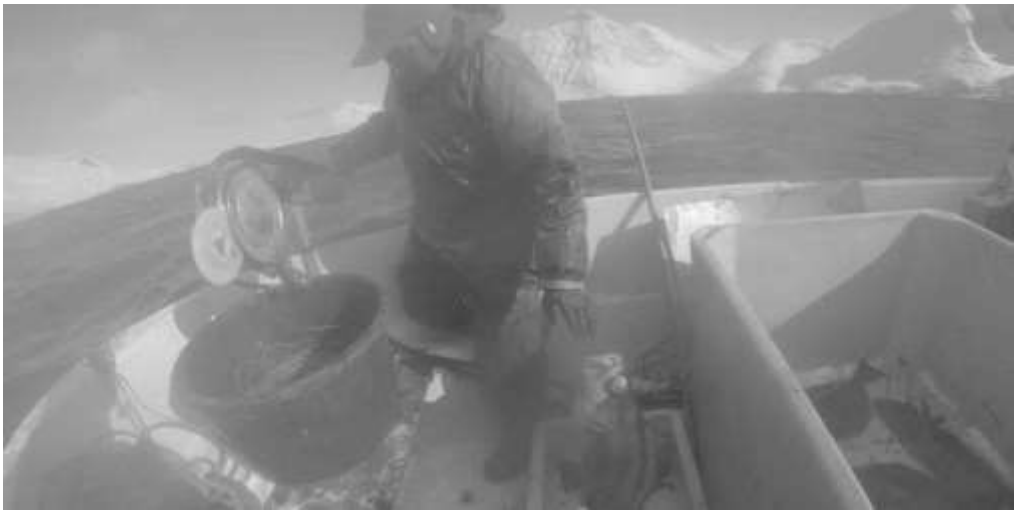
Video 3. TRT 00:28. A video clip recorded from a chest-mounted video camera on the fisher of the deckhand sitting below the gunwales to avoid the winter wind as the men sail into the fjord to haul the longline caught the day before. *Photographed by fisher, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland3



Video 4. TRT 00:12. A video clip recorded from a chest-mounted video camera on the deckhand of the fisher removing his ocean suit in order to urinate from the stern of the boat. NOTE: no potentially unethical recording of a respondent urinating was taken by the deckhand. *Photographed by deckhand, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland4

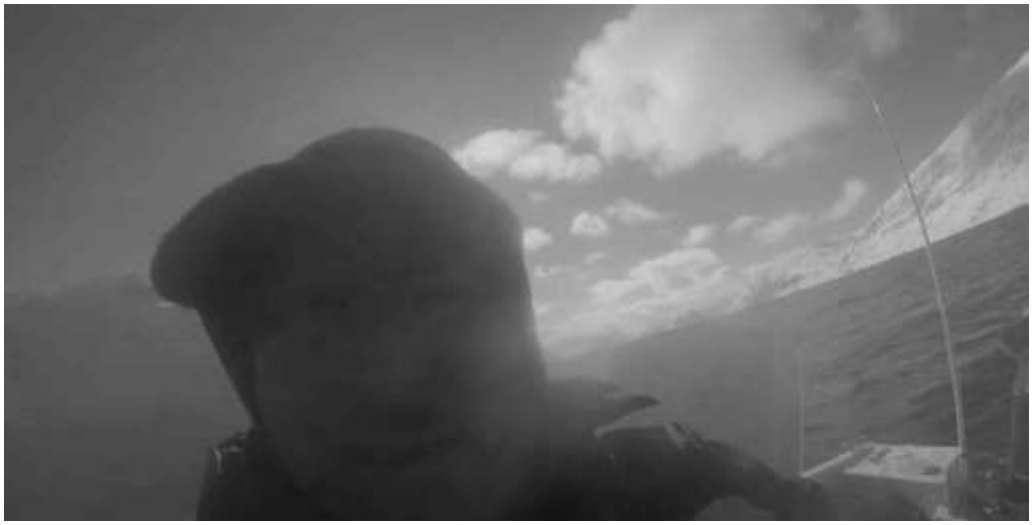


Video 5. TRT 00:54. A video clip recorded from a chest-mounted video camera on the deckhand of the fisher hauling the longline, with the deckhand gutting the incoming catch. NOTE: Contains graphic images of gutting fish. *Photographed by deckhand, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland5



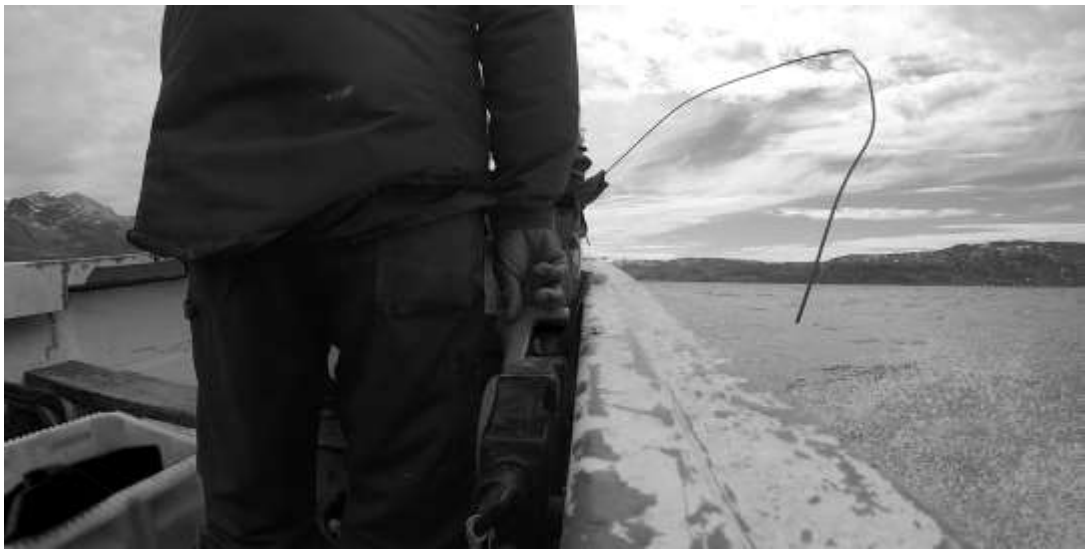
Video 6. TRT 00:26. A video clip recorded from a chest-mounted video camera on the fisher of the latter referring to his GPS and looking toward a corresponding natural landmark, after which the deckhand points toward the location of the orange buoy that indicates the anchor of the longline cast the day before. *Photographed by fisher, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland6

Video 7. TRT 00:46. A video clip recorded from a chest-mounted video camera of the fisher removing the obstreperous camera and handing it to the deckhand. *Photographed by deckhand and fisher, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland7



Video 8. TRT 01:29. A video clip recorded from a head-mounted video camera on the researcher of the practices of gutting fish while a fisher and his son haul in a longline. NOTE: Contains graphic images of gutting fish. *Photographed by author, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland8

Video 9. TRT 00:10. A video clip of a fisher's leg compression and balance while sailing into the fjord during choppy conditions. *Photographed by author, 2014.* URL: http://bit.ly/Greenland9



Synopses of Selected SEL Films

The following synopses have been written by the Harvard Film Archive (http://hcl.harvard.edu/hfa/)

Demolition (2008)
Directed by J.P. Sniadecki
US 2008, video, color, 62 min. Mandarin and Sichuanese with English subtitles

Chaiqian focuses primarily upon a vast demolition site in the center of Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province in western China, a bustling site emblematic of the many urban centers in China undergoing rapid and radical transformation. A remarkable combination of rigorous, structured aesthetics—making especially notable use of the long take—and a richly human look at migrant labor and social dynamics in flux, Chaiqian follows the site's laborers at work and rest, occasionally overhearing the workers speak to each other about being filmed and joking with the 'man from Harvard' behind the camera. Eventually the film branches out to follow a group of men who wander off to discover the city by night. Available via: https://www.dropbox.com/s/kfxr6c09rl92dg1/Demolition.mov?dl=0

Sweetgrass (2009)
By Lucien Castaing-Taylor and Ilisa Barbash. US/France/UK 2009
Digital video, color, 101 min. Not Rated. In English.

Sweetgrass offers both a sweeping panorama and intimate portrait of the vanishing way of life of Montana's possibly last generation of sheep herders. Sensitively documenting the efforts of a small group of herders to drive their sheep into Montana's Beartooth Mountains for summer pasture, Sweetgrass reveals a breathtakingly epic study of man in nature that is shaded by a mournful eulogy for the vanishing frontier that recalls the revisionist Westerns of the 1970s. Barbash and Castaing-Taylor make their points visually, beginning with the sheep and only gradually coming to focus on the herders themselves, and using an evocative sound design that doesn't necessarily foreground speech over the sound of wind and bleating sheep. Indeed, the spoken word comes later, reaching its apotheosis during a tearful cell phone call from a herder in a remote meadow. Sweetgrass is equally successful as an observational documentary as a landscape film, with the filmmakers' background in visual anthropology clearly evident in their skillful rendering of the herders' life and labor. Carefully avoiding any romanticization of the pastoral, Sweetgrass is instead an unsentimental witness to the changing nature of man's relationship to the environment.

Foreign Parts (2011)
Directed by Véréna Paravel and J.P. Sniadecki. USA,2010.
Digital video, color, 80 min. Not Rated. In English.

Foreign Parts is a portrait of a place, made up of an accumulation of moments out of which several characters emerge – including, ultimately, the filmmakers themselves – yet no real narrative. The film reveals Willets Point to be a well-functioning urban ecosystem threatened by economic redevelopment. There are tensions among those who live and work in the neighbourhood, especially around drugs and – to a lesser extent – race, but the primary menace is the threat of eviction at the hands of real estate developers and the city officials who do their bidding.

Leviathan (2012)
Directed by Lucien Castaing-Taylor and Véréna Paravel. USA/France/UK, 2012.
Digital video, color, 87 min. DCP / 1.85:1 / Dolby 5.1. Not Rated. In English.

A ground-breaking, immersive portrait of the contemporary commercial fishing industry. Filmed off the coast of New Bedford, Massachusetts – at one time the whaling capital of the world as well as Melville's inspiration for 'Moby Dick'; it is today the country's largest fishing port with over 500 ships sailing from its harbor every month. Leviathan follows one such vessel, a hulking groundfish trawler, into the surrounding murky black waters on a weeks-long fishing expedition. But instead of romanticizing the labor or partaking in the longstanding tradition of turning fisherfolk into images, filmmakers Lucien Castiang-Taylor (Sweetgrass) and Verena Paravel (Foreign Parts) present a vivid, almost-kaleidoscopic representation of the work, the sea, the machinery

and the players, both human and marine.
Employing an arsenal of cameras that passed freely from film crew to ship crew; that swoop from below sea level to astonishing bird's-eye views, the film that emerges is unlike anything that has been seen before. Entirely dialogue-free, but mesmerizing and gripping throughout, it is a cosmic portrait of one of mankind's oldest endeavors. Available via: https://www.dropbox.com/s/hzoljhv04xp5xwj/Leviathan.mp4?dl=0

Manakamana (2013)
Directed by Stephanie Spray and Pacho Velez. USA, 2013
Super 16mm, color, 118 mins. DCP. 1.85: 1. Stereo. USA. Not Rated. In Nepali with English Subtitles.

High above a jungle in Nepal, pilgrims make an ancient journey by cable car to worship Manakamana. Available via: https://www.dropbox.com/s/0rghgrt494n0mkg/Manakamana.mp4?dl=0

Transcript

Exercise 3. Semi-Structured Interview with Apollo and Per Kunuk Lynge
Recorded: 1 April 2014

Below are selected interview questions and responses from a 45-minute interview. Most of the selected clips highlight methodological considerations such as my or the camera's presence, though a few instances are representative of the data sought after toward the ethnographic research interests. CUT signifies a cut in the original recorded interview.

0:02 Researcher (R): It is okay if I do an audio recording of us when we are talking about the...
0:09 *Laughing*
0:11 Per Kunuk Lynge (PL) 'Per Kunuk Lynge' translates into Greenlandic (Kalaallisut)
0:14 R: In case I forget....
0:02 PL: You have to be, because his family is waiting.
0:20 R: Okay.

AUDIO CLIP CUT

0:19 *Video playback in Greenlandic of Apollo speaking to fellow fishermen from his boat in the harbor about the camera he is wearing on his chest*
0:21 Apollo: *Speaking back what he says in the video in Kalaallisut*
0:24 PL: Ah, he said, 'This is my passenger.'

0:26 R: Ah! Okay.
0:26 PL, A, R: *Laughing*
0:32 *Video playback continues of Apollo speaking to fellow fishermen*
0:38 R: Does the camera feel like it disappears?
0:37 PL: *Translating into Kalaallisut*
0:43 A: Nah.
0:43 PL: Nah.
0:43 R: Always notice it...
0:45 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*

AUDIO CLIP CUT

0:46 R: When you look at this [footage you recorded (exercise 2)] does it feel like you can understand what it is to fish better than when I was recording – when I showed the clips earlier of me recording?
1:01 PL: *Translating to Kalaallisut*
1:14 R: Who does a better job of recording [the fishing]? Me or you?
1:18 PL: *Translating to Kalaallisut*

1:18 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
1:30 PL: In that point of matter, it's better that he have the camera, because you don't know anything about the fishing. It's very uncomfortable and it disturb[s] them in their work.
1:41 R: Okay, at one point he (Apollo) takes off the camera and Inunnguaq puts on the camera. Why did he decide to [do that]?
1:48 PL: *Translating to Kalaallisut*
1:58 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
2:04 PL: It was...
2:06 A: *Speaking in Greenlandic*
2:06 PL: He have to wear this, uh, rain…
2:09 R: The suit (a standard orange PVC waterproof rain suit)
2:09 PL: Yeah, the suit... protecting again [from the weather].
2:12 R: It wasn't because he wanted to [show a new perspective]?
2:13 PL: No.
2:13 R: Yeah, OK.

AUDIO CLIP CUT

2:15 R: When I went out wearing the camera, on the first time, was it strange that I was wearing the camera?
2:24 PL: *Translating to Kalaallisut*
2:24 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
2:36 PL: It was very okay.
2:35 R: It was more OK than the second time (exercise 2)?
2:39 PL: *Translating to Kalaallisut*
2:51 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
2:52 PL: It was better if you were with him.
2:54 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
2:54 PL: Because...
3:01 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
3:06 PL: They have very difficult – different things to do and they – it is going very fast. If you are with [them] you are just following them. Both of them.
3:19 R: Instead of them having to worry about [the camera]?
3:20 PL: Aap (Yes in Kalaallisut).
3:20 R: Ah, okay.
3:23 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
3:26 PL: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*
3:32 A: *Gesturing the shape of the camera on the head*
3:32 PL: Hmmmm
3:31 R: On the head is better?
3:31 PL: Yeah.
3:35 PL: But the most good thing is if you are going with him.
3:43 R: Yeah, OK.
CUT
3:45 R: I did not do a very good – would he agree that I wasn't able to do a very good job of filming him while I am trying to steer the boat?
3:51 PL: No, no, no. He was just thinking about your health and your comfort. Because he know exactly that you don't know a shit of being out[doors].
4:02 R: Yeah. (Pause) Yeah.
4:05 PL: *Speaking in Kalaallisut to Apollo*
4:05 R: He...
4:15 PL: He was just trying to protect you.
4:15 R: Yeah.

AUDIO CLIP CUT

4:15 PL: He said, did you get some experience of how a Greenlandic fishermen is living?

4:23 R: Aap (Yes in Kalaallisut)

4:23 PL: *Translating to Kalaallisut*

4:22 A: *Speaking in Kalaallisut*

4:27 PL: Since he was a child [he has been fishing].

4:30 R: Yeah.

4:30 PL: He has not been a worker or a labor. He has just been a fishermen. So, that is his world.