Shaping a Global Art Form: How UK-Based Players Engage with the International Landscape of Taiko Practice

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Music University of Sheffield June 2021

This work was supported by the Arts & Humanities Research Council (grant number AH/L503848/1) through the White Rose College of the Arts & Humanities.

Abstract

This thesis explores how taiko players based in the United Kingdom engage with and contribute to the international landscape of taiko practice (LoTP). I offer a unique contribution to the extant body of taiko literature by analysing the 'adoption' of the art form by White players. I draw upon ethnographic fieldwork conducted on three continents and undertake quantitative analysis of large-scale data sets. I also bring into play my experiences as a performing member of Tsuchigumo Daiko – a Glasgow-based ensemble – and design and employ a bespoke notation system to identify how social processes are manifested musically and choreographically.

The research design elicited recurring themes within the landscape which are arranged into five substantive chapters: the global circulation of the artform; its utility as a tool to bring about social change; the role of leaders within the community; the impact of international gatherings upon social and musical practices; and the development of distinctive, localised ensemble 'styles'. I consider these phenomena through a theoretical framework encompassing communities/landscapes of practice and arts impacts, and I develop and apply two novel models – taiko leadership and musical cosmopolitan sociability – to account for processes enacted by players.

While UK-based taiko artists may belong to local communities of taiko practice (CoTP) (e.g. through group membership), my research illustrates that engagement with the 'taiko community' is thereafter inherently international; any boundaries between UK-based players and artists in other countries – particularly Europe and North America – are porous. I identify a core group of British actors who have exerted profound influence on the art form and taiko community at large – principally by directing events, composing, teaching and performing. My main conclusion, however, highlights that these players direct sound and social structures within the LoTP to empower and support *others* – both within and beyond CoTPs.

Contents

Abstra		i
	of Contents	ii
	Figures	V
	Tables	viii
	Musical Examples	ix
	Media Files	Х
	Abbreviations	xi
Ackno	wledgements	xii
1.	Taiko and the United Kingdom	1
	1.1 Research Objectives, Themes and Questions	2
	1.2 Literature Review	5
	1.3 Research Methodology	13
	1.3.1 What, Where and Why Is the 'Field' in the UK Taiko Community?	15
	1.3.2 What Is My Epistemological Approach to Ethnographic Practice?	16
	1.3.3 What Is the Role of Praxis in My Research?	17
	1.3.4 How Do I Engage Meaningfully with Multiple Communities within the Landscape?	18
	1.3.5 Ethical Considerations	20
	1.4 Taiko Notation	22
	1.4.1 The Use of Notation by Taiko Practitioners in the United Kingdom	24
	1.4.2 The Use of Notation for Taiko among Researchers	26
	1.4.3 The Need for Taiko Notation	28
	1.4.4 Somatic and Sonic (Re-)Presentations	29
	1.5 Chapter Outline	31
2.	UK Taiko in Global Contexts	34
	2.1 Taiko in the UK: Demography and Locality	34
	2.1.1 Principal Quantitative Instruments	35
	2.1.2 UK-Based Taiko Players: A Privileged Cohort	36
	2.1.3 Deference to Japan	39
	2.1.4 Significance of the UK-Based Taiko Player Profile	40
	2.2 History and Migratory Flows	41
	2.3 Contemporary Representations of Taiko in the United Kingdom	47
	2.4 Conclusion	50
3.	Taiko as a Deliberate Social Change Mechanism	52
	3.1 Taiko in Wider Contemporary Society	52
	3.2 Theoretical and Disciplinary Considerations	55
	3.3 Social/Civic Action Approach: (Women's) Marches	55
	3.4 Community Cultural Development Approach: International Women's Day	59

	3.4.1 TCA Taiko Census 2016	60
	3.4.2 International Women's Day 2018 Campaign	62
	3.5 Therapeutic Approach	67
	3.6 Challenging the System from within the System: The British Embassy Taiko Team	71
	3.6.1 UK Foreign Policy in Japan	72
	3.6.2 British Embassy Taiko Team: The 'Face' of the Embassy	73
	3.6.3 LGBT Activism in Japan	76
	3.6.4 The Role of Taiko in LGBT Activism	77
	3.7 Conclusion and Recommendations	84
4.	Taiko Leadership	88
	4.1 Introduction to the Nascent Model of Taiko Leadership	88
	4.2 Case Study One: The Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute	91
	4.2.1 Stage One: Identifying the Issue	91
	4.2.2 Stage Two: Adopting Leadership Roles	93
	4.2.3 Stage Three: Responses by Players	95
	4.2.4 Stage Four: Output	97
	4.2.5 Lessons in System-Level Leadership	101
	4.3 Case Study Two: The Humber Taiko Festival	102
	4.3.1 Taiko and the Humber: A Profile	102
	4.3.2 The Socio-Musical Context in the Humber4.3.3 Leadership Behaviours	104 107
	4.3.3 Leadership Behaviours4.3.4 Advancing Socio-Musical Conditions for Playing Taiko	107
	4.3.4 Advancing socio-infusical conditions for Playing Failed	110
	4.3.6 Lessons in Localised Leadership	114
	4.4 Wider Applications of the Model	114
5.	Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability at the European Taiko Conference	117
	5.1 The Need for a New Model	117
	5.2 Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability: A Model	123
	5.3 Case Study One (2016): Conference Programming and the Shared Performance of 'Shimabayashi'	125
	5.3.1 Conference Programming	125
	5.3.2 'Shimabayashi'	136
	5.4 Case Study Two (2017): Digital Mediation of 'Never Again Is Now'	141
	5.4.1 Responding to War through Taiko: A Distinct Manifestation of Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability	142
	5.4.2 Social Capital at the Second European Taiko Conference	142
	5.4.3 Social Media as an Arrangement Tool	143
	5.4.4 Musical Analysis of 'Never Again Is Now'	148
	5.4.5 Case Study Findings	152
	5.5 Case Study Three (2018): Creating a 'Worldwide Matsuri' through Shared Repertoire	153
	5.5.1 The Intended Impact of a Shared Continental Repertoire	154
	5.5.2 Musical Expressions of Intent in 'Worldwide Matsuri'	155
	5.5.3 The Efficacy of Transmission via a Conference	161

5.5	5.4 Conclusion	162
	ase Study Four (2019): Spontaneous Teaching, Learning and Dancing	162
5.6		163
	Conference	
5.6		166
5.6		172
	ne Limits and Potential Wider Applications of Musical Cosmopolitan	172
	pciability	172
6. A Figur	e in the Landscape: Martin Doyle	176
-	orking Musicians in the UK Community of Taiko Practice	176
	lartin Doyle: A Working Scottish Taiko Artist	177
6.2		178
6.2		183
	IozamJam': An Open Community Piece	186
	onclusion	191
0.1 0.		TOT
7. Conclu	sion	192
	nree Golden Threads	193
	1 Fluid Community Assemblages	193
7.1		195
7.1		198
	iture Research	199
	ontribution to Broader Fields of Study	200
References		202
Appendix A:	European Taiko Conference 2016 Pre-Event Survey	224
Appendix B:	TCA Taiko Census 2016 Questions	231
Appendix C:	International Women's Day 2018 Social Media Cards	236
Appendix D:	Lyrics to 'Yellow Submarine' by The Beatles (1966)	241
Appendix E:	Partial Notation of 'Yellow Submarine Ondo' Arranged by the	242
	British Embassy Taiko Team	
Appendix F:	Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute Pre-Event Participant	248
	Survey	
Appendix G:	Humber Taiko Festival 2017 Programme	253
Appendix H:	Humber Taiko Festival 2018 Programme	254
Appendix I:	European Taiko Conference 2016 Programme	256
Appendix J:	'Shimabayashi' (Full Prescriptive Notation)	258
Appendix K:	Proposed Base Rhythms for 'Never Again Is Now'	291
Appendix L:	Partial Prescriptive Notation for 'Never Again Is Now'	294
Appendix M:	European Taiko Conference 2018 Survey (Immediate Aftermath)	317
Appendix N:	European Taiko Conference 2018 Survey (Six Weeks Later)	325
Appendix O:	European Taiko Conference 2019 Programme	331
Appendix P:	Prescriptive Notation for 'MozamJam'	333

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Okedo-daiko.	3
Figure 1.2	<i>Nagado-daiko</i> (performed <i>beta</i> -style).	3
Figure 1.3	O-daiko.	3
Figure 1.4	Shime-daiko.	3
Figure 1.5	Iterative research web incorporating research-led practice.	18
Figure 2.1	Map of UK TCA Taiko Census 2016 respondents' locations (based on home postcode).	39
Figure 2.2	Photograph of an <i>o-daiko</i> player performing in <i>fundoshi</i> (used to promote Ondekoza concerts at the Espace Pierre Cardin in 1975).	42
Figure 2.3	Promotional poster for a performance by Kodō in Geneva.	43
Figure 2.4	Performance at the 2019 Foyle O-Bon in Derry-Londonderry.	50
Figure 3.1	Front and back of 'We Play for Unity' t-shirts.	57
Figure 3.2	Advertisement for online rally drumming training led by Kristin Block.	58
Figure 3.3	Map of known taiko groups in Africa, the Americas, Europe and the Persian Gulf.	60
Figure 3.4	Example of a social media card uploaded to Facebook groups as part of the International Women's Day campaign on March 8, 2018.	63
Figure 3.5	The third European Taiko Conference programme cover featuring CCS Taiko.	68
Figure 3.6	Student groups taught by taiko teachers in the UK.	69
Figure 3.7	British Embassy Taiko Team performing at Fuji Rock in 2017.	75
Figure 3.8	The US, Irish and British Ambassadors, and Co-Chairs of the	78
	Tokyo Rainbow Pride Board of Directors before a performance by the British Embassy Taiko Team on May 8, 2016.	
Figure 3.9	Tyre drum used during practice sessions at the British Embassy Tokyo.	79
Figure 3.10	A player practicing in the <i>naname</i> style.	79
Figure 4.1	The nascent model of taiko leadership.	90
Figure 4.2	Hand-painted Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute schedule on display in the main hall of the Buddhist Temple of San Diego.	91
Figure 4.3	Three participants from the Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute performing an interpretive dance in which they lift others up.	99
Figure 4.4	Partial map of the UK with Grimsby (east) and Scunthorpe (west) highlighted.	102
Figure 4.5	Members of Tiny Taiko performing at 'Taiko Night' at the Baths Hall on November 3, 2018.	107
Figure 4.6	Yeeman 'ManMan' Mui (Mujō Creative/Taiko Together/Los Angeles Taiko Institute) performing solo <i>o-daiko</i> and Amy Naylor (Coritani) playing handpan and singing during 'Rhythm Soul' at	109

	Humber Taiko Festival 2018.	
Figure 4.7	Postcodes of Humber Taiko Festival 2017 concert ticket-	110
0	purchasers plotted on a partial map of the UK.	
Figure 4.8	Nascent model of taiko leadership aligned with acts of	115
_	leadership performed for the Humber Taiko Festivals in	
	November 2017 and November 2018.	
Figure 5.1	European Taiko Conference survey participants' motivation for	128
	playing taiko.	
Figure 5.2	Piero Nota and Martin Doyle performing together at the	129
	European Taiko Conference on February 19, 2016.	
Figure 5.3	Map of the Hannah's at Seale Hayne campus configured for the	130
	inaugural European Taiko Conference.	
Figure 5.4	Veronique Martin (England) and Aeko Yoshikawa (USA) eating	131
	together at the European Taiko Conference on February 18,	
	2016.	
Figure 5.5	Steven Cools (Belgium) participating in a yoga session facilitated	133
	by Heather Murray at the European Taiko Conference on	
	February 20, 2016.	
Figure 5.6	Elements of musical cosmopolitan sociability in the European	134
	Taiko Conference 2016 programme design.	
Figure 5.7	Participants' shared performance of 'Shimabayashi' at the	141
	European Taiko Conference on February 21, 2016.	
Figure 5.8	Diagrammatic representation of bonding and bridging social	143
	capital.	
Figure 5.9	Screenshot of Facebook Messenger interface where the hand	147
	pan part for 'Never Again Is Now' is presented and responded to.	
Figure 5.10	Slide from Jonathan Kirby's European Taiko Conference 2018	154
	opening remarks indicating the intended impact of the	
	conference.	
Figure 5.11	European Taiko Conference 2016-2018 conference populations	164
	by country.	
Figure 5.12	Participants spontaneously dancing 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' in the	167
	conference hall of the Sunderhof on February 23, 2019.	
Figure 5.13	PJ Hirabayashi performing the 'dig dig' in 'Ei Ja Nai Ka'.	169
Figure 5.14	PJ Hirabayashi performing the 'pick pick' in 'Ei Ja Nai Ka'.	169
Figure 5.15	Participants spontaneously dancing 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' at the	170
	conclusion of the fourth European Taiko Conference on Sunday,	
	February 24, 2019.	
Figure 5.16	Visual representation of the meaning of the European Taiko	174
	Conference to members of the English language group at the	
	fourth conference.	
Figure 6.1	Portrait photo of Martin Doyle.	178
Figure 6.2	Tsuchigumo Daiko's first public performance at the European	179
	Taiko Conference on February 19, 2016.	
Figure 6.3	Evolution of the Tsuchigumo Daiko logo.	180
Figure 6.4	Player performing 'Yatai Bayashi'.	183
Figure 6.5	Player performing 'Miyake'.	183

Figure 6.6	Caricatures of members of Tsuchigumo Daiko.	185
Figure 6.7	Members of Tsuchigumo Daiko performing 'Crossing the	186
	Streams' composed by Martin Doyle.	
Figure 6.8	Chanchiki.	190

List of Tables

Table 1.1	A non-exhaustive summary of <i>kuchi-shōga</i> syllables and interpretations.	25
Table 1.2	Sonic and musical elements included in taiko notation.	30
Table 2.1	Social class of adult instrumental learners in the UK.	37
Table 3.1	Textual summary of social media cards for International Women's Day campaign with summary of interactions by members of Facebook groups.	64
Table 3.2	Lyrics and translation of 'Yellow Submarine Ondō' performed by Akiko Kanazawa.	80
Table 4.1	Breakdown of participants, workshop leaders and discussion session leaders by gender at NATC 2017.	96

List of Musical Examples

Musical Example 1.1	A fragment of the score interpreted by Daihachi Oguchi.	23
Musical Example 1.2	Comparative notation of the main theme of 'Kuru-Kuru'.	25
Musical Example 1.3	Excerpt from notation of 'Yodan Uchi'.	27
Musical Example 1.4	Example of Benesh notation with added graphical	30
	representation.	
Musical Example 1.5	Notation depicting use of the body.	30
Musical Example 1.6	Short sequence of notated movement.	31
Musical Example 1.7	Short exemplar phrase presented using taiko notation.	31
Musical Example 3.1	Notated excerpt of 'Yellow Submarine Ondō' (voice and <i>nagado-daiko</i>).	82
Musical Example 4.1	Structure and instrumentation of 'Kazarimono No More'.	97
Musical Example 4.2	Notation of part B of 'Kazarimono No More' (excluding interpretative dance).	98
Musical Example 4.3	Part B coda of 'Kazarimono No More'.	99
Musical Example 4.4	Prescriptive notation of the sung refrain from 'Kazarimono No More'.	100
Musical Example 4.5	<i>Nagado-daiko ju-ichi</i> in part D of 'Kazarimono No More'.	100
Musical Example 5.1	'Dongo' notation.	137
Musical Example 5.2	Notated excerpt of the 'Shimabayashi' 'melody'.	138
Musical Example 5.3	Basic structure and lyrics of 'Never Again Is Now'.	150
Musical Example 5.4	Comparison of <i>naname</i> and <i>beta</i> choreography variations in 'Never Again Is Now'.	151
Musical Example 5.5	Tag from 'Never Again Is Now'.	152
Musical Example 5.6	Structure of 'Worldwide Matsuri'.	157
Musical Example 5.7	Notation for section A of 'Worldwide Matsuri'.	159
Musical Example 5.8	'Ei Ja Nai Ka' movements mapped against a 48-beat rhythmic cycle.	171
Musical Example 6.1	Structure sheet for 'MozamJam'.	188
Musical Example 6.2	Mozambique rhythm arranged for drum set.	189
Musical Example 6.3	Mozambique pattern in 'MozamJam'.	190

List of Media Files

- 1 'Yellow Submarine Ondō' performed by the British Embassy Taiko Team during a practice session on September 1, 2016.
- 2 Performance of 'Never Again Is Now' at the European Taiko Conference (2017).
- 3 Performance of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' at the European Taiko Conference (2019).
- 4 Performance of 'MozamJam' at the UK Taiko Festival (2017)

List of Abbreviations

ABRSM BAME BCCJ BETT CCD CoMP CoP CoTP DfE ETC HTF IMD IWD JET LGBT LOTP MCS NATC OECD OFSTED RAW REC SJT STI TC TCA TUBS UKTE	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic British Chamber of Commerce in Japan British Embassy Taiko Team Community Cultural Development Community of Musical Practice Community of Practice Community of Practice Community of Taiko Practice Department for Education European Taiko Conference Humber Taiko Festival International Women's Day International Women's Day Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Landscape of Taiko Practice Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability North American Taiko Conference Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills Raging Asian Women Research Ethics Committee San Jose Taiko Summer Taiko Institute Technical Committee Taiko Community Alliance Time Unit Box System UK Taiko Festival
	Time Unit Box System
UKTF	UK Taiko Festival
VLE	Virtual Learning Environment
WSF	World Shakuhachi Festival

Acknowledgements

In 1996, Hillary Rodham Clinton borrowed a proverb for the title of her book which explores the impact of wider society upon children's wellbeing. 'It takes a village to raise a child' subsequently entered popular lexicon, yet I suggest it is equally applicable to my experience as a doctoral candidate in ethnomusicology. Since the start of my PhD programme in October 2014, thousands of taiko players and colleagues have not only contributed to my research project but also exhibited remarkable kindness and support. Indeed, the completion of my thesis would not have been possible without the unfailing generosity of so many people – from those who took the time to complete censuses and surveys, opened their homes to me, answered my questions, advanced my taiko skills, checked translated texts, and served as my cheerleaders. From San Diego to Scunthorpe, I have encountered tremendous warmth and magnanimity that I now know is characteristic of the taiko community at large.

Although I cannot name everybody, I nevertheless wish to thank:

- Each participant who dedicated time and energy to this project, whether by completing surveys, participating in focus groups and/or semi-structured interviews, facilitating fieldwork or playing taiko with me.
- My fellow 'spiders' at Tsuchigumo Daiko for the boundless fun during our training sessions and performances. In particular, I extend my gratitude to Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker whose thoughtful instruction immeasurably advanced my skills as a taiko player; Morag Kewell for providing the beautiful line drawings that illustrate the thesis; Lisa Wright and Paddy Gibson who kindly lent me their video camera to capture good quality fieldwork recordings; Anna Laing for being a wonderful gig partner and friend; and the Edinburgh gang Lisa, Paddy, Sally Dempsey, Jessica Brown and Lizzie Mortimer for the twice weekly carpool chat along the M8.
- Jonathan Kirby for providing a rich partnership opportunity, trust and constructive feedback.
- Yoshihiko Miyamoto and the kaDON team for providing support during the data collection phase.
- Taiko Community Alliance Tech Committee members particularly Linda Uyechi, Elise Fujimoto, Susan Yuen, Peter Spangler, Abena Oteng-Agipong and Sarah Gilbert – as well as Derek Oye, Chair of the Board of Directors, for our transatlantic fellowship.
- Linda Uyechi and Stephen Sano for facilitating my visit to Stanford University and countless fruitful conversations. I am also immeasurably grateful to Linda for proofreading the thesis.
- Peter Underwood for his assistance with Japanese translations and camaraderie as Co-Chair of the Ethnomusicology Reading Group.
- Chie Allan for developing my Japanese language skills during our weekly language exchange.
- Alejandra Cervantes Nieto, Martin Mandl and colleagues in the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Vienna for the exchange of ideas and support following my move to Austria.
- Members of the Academic Women Online Writing Retreat for the company and encouragement during the final nine months of the project, including long periods in

lockdown. I extend my most sincere gratitude to Dieuwertje Dyi Huijg whose practical advice and support proved invaluable during the final weeks of the project.

- My family for cheering me on from the sidelines.
- Sandra McKinnon, a very dear friend, for helping me to navigate the last six years.
- Alex Boianghu whose wisdom made the final months of the project much smoother than they otherwise might have been.
- The White Rose College of the Arts and Humanities (WRoCAH) for providing a comprehensive studentship to undertake the research project. I am particularly grateful for the additional funding to conduct fieldwork and attend conferences, as well as the skills training provided by the Doctoral Training Partnership.
- Caryn Douglas and Clare Meadley for their endless positivity and support to make the most of my WRoCAH studentship.
- Andrew Killick, my principal supervisor, whose calm, empathic approach has ultimately enabled me to submit on time after a long doctoral journey. I feel ill equipped to describe the impact of his contribution one characterised by kindness, generosity, honesty, understanding and critical reflection. I shall always be grateful to him for sharpening my analytical skills and modelling ethnomusicological inquiry.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to Senior Jimmy and Mr. G, two men who passed away during the research project.

1. Taiko and the United Kingdom

When taiko players meet for the first time, they often exchange details of their first contact with the art form. Since starting classes in October 2012, I have heard countless stories of curious concertgoers and happenstance encounters at festivals across the UK – moments that catalysed deep and sustained engagement with taiko for the individuals concerned. In their conversations with me, players often recall precise details such as the event, date or even features from the performers' costumes, suggesting a formative moment. Some recount subsequent, often lengthy trips to Japan to train with groups as well as workshops with Japanese and American instructors in Europe. Alas, I cannot remember how, why or when I came across taiko; it feels as though it has always formed part of my musical landscape. I remember school trips to the Edinburgh Festival Fringe from 2001-2004, including performances by Japanese ensembles. At that time, I was already aware of Mugenkyo, an active professional ensemble based in Scotland's central belt. A decade later, I saw a banner advertising a beginners' course outside a church in central Edinburgh and decided to sign up.

This thesis is concerned with many of the themes illustrated by my introductory vignette. I explore the myriad ways in which players based in the United Kingdom consciously develop and engage with communities of taiko practice (CoTPs). I consider why members – most of whom have no personal connection to Japan – dedicate much of their leisure time and financial resources to the art form, often travelling extensively to meet, share and learn from other players. Indeed, while most people associate taiko with Japan, I suggest that many are unaware of the extent of taiko activity beyond Japan and the striking differences in how the art form is practiced in disparate geographies. Taiko in the United Kingdom is thus a music culture in and of itself and deserving of ethnographic inquiry. By drawing upon local, national and international community activities and events, I examine sharing and learning among players for whom taiko is an 'adopted' tradition (Eisentraut 2001).

'Taiko' (太鼓) translates simply as 'drum' (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.: online); Angela Ahlgren, a taiko scholar, also offers 'fat drum' as a translation (2018: 4). Taiko is both a generic term for all drums and Japanese barrel drums struck with sticks. This thesis, however, is principally concerned with taiko as a music/dance genre that typically employs a range of double-skin Japanese drums. Responding to Stephanie Pitt's (2005: 12) call to employ participants' vernacular in academic writing, I adopt community members' use of the term. Thus, throughout this thesis, 'taiko' variously denotes the instruments as well as the practice of ensemble taiko drumming.¹

During the latter half of the twentieth century, the use of taiko in Japanese music making changed profoundly. Prior to World War II, these barrel drums were predominantly heard as a supporting instrument in both festival performances and religious ceremonies. In the 1950s, Daihachi Oguchi, a Japanese jazz drummer, arranged a notated piece of music found in a warehouse for an ensemble of drums (as opposed to a single membranophone). Oguchi initiated the concept of *kumi-daiko* (ensemble taiko drumming) by using a range of taiko in different musical roles, in turn highlighting both the musicality of the instruments and the corporeal relationship between the drum and the musician (Bender 2012: 49).

¹ The Japanese terms are 和太鼓 (*wadaiko* [Japanese drum]) and 組太鼓 (*kumi-daiko* [ensemble taiko drumming]) (Jisho n.d.f, n.d.c). The UK taiko players I encountered during the research project use neither term commonly.

The strenuous use of the body to produce sound, highly choreographed movement and ensemble set-up marked *kumi-daiko* as a distinct Japanese performance genre – one that became known to mainstream audiences in Japan and beyond due to its inclusion in the opening ceremony of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games (Takada 1995: 43). In the 1980s, the number of groups in Japan began to increase rapidly (Bender 2012: 110). Today, some 661 groups and 19,000 individuals are registered with the Nippon Taiko Foundation, the largest of Japan's professional taiko associations (Nippon Taiko Foundation 2020: 4). Moreover, the organisers of the postponed Tokyo 2020 Nippon Festival – an event 'showcasing Japan's proud culture and performing arts' ahead of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Tokyo 2020 n.d.: online) – showcase *kumi-daiko*, while an 'official' taiko drum forms part of the Games' merchandise.

More broadly, Japanese ensembles such as Kodō, Yamato and Drum Tao regularly tour the Americas and Europe. Local professional and/or community groups can be found in Australasia, North and South America, Sub-Saharan Africa, East and Southeast Asia, the Persian Gulf and Europe (Taiko Source n.d.), some of which have relatively long lineages. For instance, in 2018, various projects and initiatives celebrated fifty years of taiko in North America (Taiko Community Alliance 2018).² This research, however, is primarily concerned with players and ensembles in the United Kingdom and their involvement in the international taiko community. Over the past thirty-five years, *kumi-daiko* has experienced considerable growth, evolving from two players in the 1980s to a vibrant, globally engaged scene comprised of more than forty groups dispersed across the four countries of the UK.

1.1 Research Objectives, Themes and Questions

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Jochen Eisentraut argued that most ethnomusicological studies tend to focus upon cultural contexts in which the music has developed over a significant period (2001: 85). In the last decade, a new wave of scholarship has emerged which focuses on musical practices in places far from their origins (Ahlgren 2018; Bigenho 2012; Bosse 2013; Maira 2008; Meyers 2015; Morelli 2019; Wong 2019). However, only a handful of studies deviate from the extensive literature on music in diaspora by examining cases where communities embrace a musical tradition with which they have little or no cultural and/or historical connection (Asaba 2019; Ede 2017; Eisentraut 2001; Hutchinson 2014). This research examines precisely this phenomenon, namely an 'adopted' art form.

The characteristics of the instruments affect the kinds of musical and social interactions that take place through taiko. Based upon the Hornbostel-Sachs system, the drums typically found in a contemporary ensemble can be categorised as double-skin cylindrical drums (*okedo-daiko*) (see Figure 1.1) and double-skin barrel drums (*nagado-daiko*, *o-daiko* and *shime-daiko*). As the illustrations presented in Figures 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 show, the barrel drums range significantly in size from that of a snare drum (tensioned with ropes or bolts) to a drumhead of 90cm-120cm. The size and dynamic range of taiko prevent most players from practicing on drums at home; instead, instruments are typically purchased by groups rather than individuals and stored in training venues (e.g. music studios, community centres and dedicated taiko centres) (Walker 2016c). Since performances are given by ensembles rather than individuals and players of all abilities are taught in group settings,

² Seiichi Tanaka founded the San Francisco Taiko Dojo – the first taiko group in the USA – in 1968.

learning to play taiko in the UK usually necessitates joining a new or pre-existing community.³ As Radocy and Boyle (2003) highlight in their wide-ranging discussion of the psychological foundations of musical behaviour, intergroup and interpersonal relations are generated by communal musical behaviour, thus facilitating social interaction.



Figure 1.1. *Okedo-daiko. Source*: Asano Taiko Co. Ltd. n.d.b.



Figure 1.2. *Nagado-daiko* (performed *beta*-style). Line drawing by Morag Kewell.



Figure 1.3. *O-daiko*. Line drawing by Morag Kewell.



Figure 1.4. *Shime-daiko*. Line drawing by Morag Kewell.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and resultant restrictions, players based in the United Kingdom routinely came together to practice taiko. Such gatherings took a variety of forms, spanning regular training sessions as members of local ensembles to participation in workshops, performances and discussion sessions at weekend-long events including the UK Taiko Festival. Players continue to engage digitally through social media and attendance at synchronous online events, including classes and concerts. To analyse the phenomena at play, I draw extensively upon Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner's concept of 'communities of practice', namely 'groups of people who share a concern or a passion for

³ It is possible to undertake taiko classes online. For instance, kaDON (n.d.c) offers its subscribers access to an online training library.

something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly' (2015a: online). In this case, the community is organised around the domain of taiko and I thus extend the term to incorporate the art form, employing 'communities of taiko practice' (CoTPs) throughout.

I also utilise a recent update to the idea of communities of practice, namely the metaphor of a landscape, in recognition of UK-based players' international engagement with taiko scenes in different geographies – including participation in the European, North American and World Taiko Conferences. As Hutchinson et al (2015: 2) acknowledge, it 'ensures that we pay attention to boundaries, to our multimembership [sic] in different communities and to the challenges we face as our personal trajectories take us through multiple communities'. A landscape of taiko practice (LoTP) acknowledges potential interactions among players from different geographies/socio-cultural backgrounds. Put simply, it allows for a shared fervour for taiko yet accommodates the possibility that the art form holds quite different meaning(s) for players in other CoTPs. I undertake more detailed consideration of both terms in the literature review.

Taiko practice and performance play a central role in the social, cultural and political identities of many players. As a genre that connects subjectivity with embodied musical practice and collectively performed meaning, taiko functions as a site where socio-cultural and political meaning can be assessed in relation to the individual, yet also where processes of group socialisation, aesthetics, values and their ramifications are realised through embodied practice. Consequently, ensemble taiko drumming functions as an effective analytical lens due to its sonic and embodied outputs; both are affected at the individual and collective level by socio-historical legacies, in turn facilitating a discourse among participants in relation to individual and collective agency and 'authenticity'.

Bender (2012) constructs taiko as 'new folk', enabling performers to respond collectively to specific identity anxieties such as race, gender, sexuality and social class. Much of the existing literature – which overwhelmingly examines practice in North America, Japan, and Australasia – has pursued this path. Considering my focus on the UK context, I wish to propose a new course: rather than presupposing that taiko performance and identity politics are coterminous globally, I employ ethnomusicological research to interrogate how taiko practice (and, in turn, performance) is affected by the construction of communities of practice at local, national and international levels, and the musical ramifications. Indeed, given that the growth and practice of taiko in the United Kingdom has not been subject to sustained scholarly analysis, the primary objective of this thesis is to document and identify the ways in which UK players form and engage with communities of taiko practice. I also set out to identify UK players' unique contributions to the wider (global) landscape of practice, particularly regarding taiko activity in mainland Europe, the USA and Canada.

My research project does not attempt to engage all taiko players in the United Kingdom, nor can it reflect the experiences of every player in the country. Indeed, it is difficult to gauge just how many people practice taiko across the country; there is no national association or comprehensive listing of groups in the United Kingdom or beyond. Although certainly incomplete, Wadaiko Toshokan's (n.d.) group map lists 44 groups in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and some 570 players belonged to 'UK Taiko Scene', a public Facebook group, in September 2020.⁴ Instead of mapping UK taiko (players), however, I employ ethnographic and quantitative methods among self-selecting CoTP members as well

⁴ 'UK Taiko Scene' is not limited to players resident in the UK. Players from other geographies (e.g. Germany, USA) have joined to remain abreast of developments and share opportunities.

as detailed musical analysis to present national and international community building at work.

The marriage of social engagement and musical practice raises various questions that form central themes in this thesis, namely:

- How is the UK community of taiko practice structured and what are its parameters?
- What barriers, if any, prevent participation in the CoTP?
- Who leads the development of the CoTP? How do they go about doing so?
- Do CoTP members express shared/common values?
- How do UK players engage with other communities within the landscape of taiko practice (e.g. North America)?

How is the social engagement enacted in the taiko music composed and/or performed?

I seek to connect analysis of musical sound (or intended musical sound in the case of compositions) to the sociocultural context of the UK CoTP and, where appropriate, the international landscape of taiko practice. In other words, I offer an ethnomusicological view of contemporary taiko practice in the United Kingdom by drawing upon the transdisciplinary concepts of communities and landscapes of practice. Ultimately, I hope to explain how UK players generate communities, meaning and values through the shared domain of talko, ultimately improving their practice as they engage with other UK-based players and members of the wider landscape.

1.2 Literature Review

If I am to interrogate the formation and development of a community of practice (CoP) organised around an 'adopted' musical tradition, I need to attend to various conceptual concerns. I examine existing scholarly literature on taiko published in English. Thereafter, I draw upon a wide range of sources from beyond ethnomusicology to determine existing understanding from relevant fields – anthropology, sociology, linguistics, media studies, Asian studies, and cultural studies are all incorporated. I conclude by suggesting what the new knowledge generated by this research is likely to contribute to our understanding of both taiko in the United Kingdom and the wider academy.

Before turning to review English language outputs, I first wish to acknowledge taiko scholarship published in Japanese. Unsurprisingly, the somewhat sparse literature focuses on the practice of *kumi-daiko* in Japan (see, for example, Kono 2002; Kuwahara 2005; Mogi 2003; Yagi 1994). A sole article focuses exclusively on taiko beyond Japan. Izumi (2008) traces the development of the three 'pioneer' groups in North America (Kinnara Taiko, San Francisco Taiko Dojo, and San Jose Taiko). She argues that the 'liberation' of the drum from its Japanese confines ultimately enables it to produce new sounds that reflect cultural transplantation (Izumi 2008: 163). Two brief articles published in *Taikology*, a biannual Japanese language magazine published by The Asano Foundation for Taiko Culture Research

from 1988-2014,⁵ complete the Japanese language literature focused specifically on taiko outside Japan. Leong (1998) and The Asano Foundation for Taiko Culture Research (2011) provide short overviews of the taiko scenes in North America and the UK respectively.⁶

Taiko has experienced considerable growth in the United Kingdom, developing from two players in the 1980s to more than forty groups spread across the four countries of the UK today. The growth and ramifications have not hitherto been subject to academic analysis; two journal articles published in English make up the existing literature focused on taiko in the UK. The first considers the health and wellbeing benefits of an outreach scheme designed to support disabled adults and children in the Wirral, Merseyside. Wheelan (2013) identifies three (often interlinked) positive themes from participants' involvement in the Taiko Drumming for Health initiative: socialising, mental health and wellbeing, and new skills. She undertakes a social return on investment analysis and concludes that every pound spent on the initiative generates a social return of £8.58 (2013: 22). The second article examines the pedagogy deployed by an ensemble and whether measurable outcomes could be achieved (in terms of exam results) by giving 'at risk' boys a programme of taiko over two terms. Notably, Sarah Hennessy argues that although Kagemusha Taiko (the ensemble in question) was established to develop 'an English style of taiko' based on English traditional dance rhythms, the 'Japanese-ness' of taiko is the over-riding element of teaching and performance practices (2005: 221). The sonic, embodied and material approaches to taiko practice result in new ways of facilitating participation and conceptualising the genre.

Other existing literature focused on taiko outside Japan examines the tension between taiko performance and the assertion of a specific individual and/or collective identity; this is largely a result of extensive research in North America where taiko practice is undertaken by large numbers of Asian American players. In addition to either participatory or professional group ideologies, Hideyo Konagaya (2001) suggests the existence of two distinct taiko aesthetics and practices within Japanese American communities: one which is Japanoriented and works to promote taiko as an art form while maintaining the purity of the tradition; and a second that is grounded in Japanese American values based on Buddhist beliefs and teachings and suggests unlimited possibilities for taiko expression.

More broadly, researchers have explored the expansive possibilities of taiko as a tool for self-identification. Paul Yoon (2001) argues that taiko is both sonically and visually representative of the heterogeneous nature of Asian America – an often-rejected categorisation by those who remember the Japanese American internment camps of World War II and their aftermath. He contends performers can employ taiko to critique and subvert authority by asserting their ethnicity, gaining agency in turn. Kim Kobayashi further draws attention to taiko's utility as a tool for self-empowerment (2006a). Writing from a feminist perspective, she suggests that the Asian woman is re-defined through the action of the body: by playing taiko, one is able to perform a strong, commanding identity that is, in some circumstances, also queer, through physical exertion.

⁵ The magazine provides short articles '文化人類学的見地から [from a cultural anthropological perspective]' as well as interviews with taiko players. The publishers note that

^{&#}x27;毎号の企画にあたっては国内の最新の太鼓事情をはじめ [each issue of the magazine is designed to provide an overview of the latest taiko developments in Japan and beyond]' (Asano Foundation for Taiko Culture Research n.d.: online).

⁶ Benjamin Pachter, a taiko scholar, maintains an up-to-date bibliography of taiko-related scholarship in English, Japanese and German. See: https://taikosource.com/reference/bibliography/. Shawn Bender provides translated titles of *Taikology* articles in the bibliography of his monograph that may prove helpful for non-Japanese speakers (2012: 227-240).

In the most recent scholarship focused on taiko in North America, Angela Ahlgren (2018) applies an intersectional lens to ethnography, ultimately arguing that players with a range of identity characteristics perform Asian America on stage. She calls for players to engage reflexively with Asian American historical activism yet confronts any assumptions of taiko as an 'Asian' musical practice, drawing sustained attention to orientalist tendencies among audience members and institutions in the United States. Meanwhile, Deborah Wong (2019) employs participatory ethnography to explore the intersections of performing Asian American bodies with Japanese American internment, identity and gender politics, and neoliberal multiculturalism. She highlights the generative possibilities of taiko for Asian American players, particularly in terms of visibility and audibility, ultimately positioning the art form as both a result of and contributor to community activism.

The notion of taiko as a tool for self-expression, understanding and empowerment is prevalent. Kimberley Powell suggests that 'taiko configures an acoustemological sense of knowing that configures the practice and performance of taiko as an Asian American soundscape of (re)composed cultural identity' (2012: 102). Yoon (2007) explores multifaceted concerns about the growth of taiko ensembles in the USA. Key issues include the authority to teach, funding and financial support, copyright and ownership, and concerns over expansion (including the [perceived] dilution of community focus and shift away from taiko practice as Asian American). Yoon summarises that the US taiko community is neither static nor monolithic but rather a 'network of taiko performers who are self-reflexively recontextualising themselves and actively engaged in debates over the future of their art form' (2007: 4).

Two scholars have attempted to generate typologies of taiko identities. Mille Creighton (2007) locates three identities through engagement with taiko: Japanese identity within Japan; an Asian, mixed, or hybrid heritage identity outside Japan; and a universal identity as citizens of the earth. Meanwhile, Mark Tusler distinguishes five taiko identities in the United States:

1) those born in Japan negotiating their identities in North America; 2) those Japanese Americans searching for their Japanese roots; 3) those Japanese Americans desiring to be more involved in the Japanese American community; 4) those Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans seeking to participate in something they consider to be an Asian American art form that expresses a pan ethnic Asian American experience; and 5) those who are not of Asian heritage but are seeking to participate in an intriguing art form in which aspects of identity other than the search for roots and ethnic awareness are at play (2003: 100).

Tusler's categorisations clearly reflect North American identity politics. In the UK, however, there are so few people of Japanese ethnicity that they are subsumed into the comprehensive category of 'Any Other Asian' in censuses, rendering both classification systems somewhat irrelevant (Office for National Statistics 2011).

One journal article expressly examines taiko vis-à-vis the construction of community. Henry Johnson (2012) presents a case study of an amateur taiko ensemble in New Zealand and explores multi-cultural community music making through the lens of a group that identifies itself through the ethnicity of participants (Japanese or bi-racial Japanese). Drawing upon Veblen's perspective on community music making, the group's intention becomes clear: to practice and perform Japanese music in New Zealand. Johnson argues that membership of the ensemble enables individuals from the Japanese diaspora community to establish and maintain friendships with others who, in turn, perform on behalf of and to the Japanese-New Zealand community.

In the wider literature, the notion of the co-operative taiko community is brought into doubt, particularly when transnational relations between Japanese and North American taiko groups are considered. Wong (2019: 62) references a letter read out at the 1999 North American Taiko Conference (NATC) on behalf of Oedo Sukeroku Daiko, one of Japan's oldest ensembles. The group is widely credited with an eponymous style of taiko, one that is 'characterised by dynamic, sharp and acrobatic movements created with [the] whole body, and visually beautiful, stylish and elegant postures. ... [It] is the total combination of art, sports and music' (Oedo Sukeroku Daiko n.d.: online). The letter forbade North American ensembles from playing its pieces or using its designs for stands without express permission; furthermore, authorised groups were to pay a registration fee and royalties. One Oedo Sukeroku Daiko member cited the fracture as 'old school' taiko versus 'new world ... modes' (Ko 1999: 31-33). The ensemble's self-conferred legislative authority was never ultimately enforced, and the stand design is now in widespread use; indeed, roughly 500 drummers attended the NATC in 1999, thus rendering policing impractical (Watanabe 1999: para. 5).

Beyond Oedo Sukeroku Daiko's dictum, very little attention has been paid to community rupture. For instance, Heidi Varian charges new groups with adopting and performing material that is not their own and failing 'to recognise its origins' yet does not discuss whether such 'origins' refer to the region of Japan, composer(s), or ensemble (2013: 36). Indeed, the notion of authority within the community is thoroughly under analysed. Mark Tusler (2003: 135) writes that '[Seiichi] Tanaka was the first and only qualified ensemble taiko (*kumi daiko*) instructor in the United States' yet the criteria (as well as who can bestow such a title) are unclear.

Researchers' inconsistent use of transcription contributes to our limited understanding of transmission as well as repertoire. The five taiko scholars who provide notation seem determined to rely on Western staff notation, Time Unit Box System (TUBS) or *kuchi-shōga*, a non-standardised phonetic system used to teach some Japanese instruments (Carle 2008; Kobayashi 2006b; Pachter 2009; Viviano 2013; Endo 1999). The extant literature that attempts to transcribe and analyse taiko music typically focuses on sections of songs, themes and patterns rather than complete compositions. Carle (2008) – the sole exception to the rule – provides transcriptions of three pieces performed in North America. However, the exclusion of choreography, particularly for pieces that include dance parts, limits our understanding of how players 'frame personal history within a musical context' (Carle 2008: 41). Indeed, the focus on anthropological research means that taiko has been minimally analysed from a musicological perspective.

When considering the parameters, development, values and international engagement of the UK CoTP, one first needs to give thought to the adoption of the art form in the UK setting – specifically its Japaneseness and potential for transformation and assimilation. Bender focuses upon contemporary taiko practice in Japan, particularly the adoption and performance of regional traditions using a relatively new format that is presented as homogeneously Japanese. The process raises questions of ownership, transmission and commercialism in the contemporary era of globalisation (Bender: 2012). Attention on these anxieties disrupts the notion of Japan as a 'superculture' for hegemonic taiko practice, instead suggesting possibilities for taiko 'intercultures' based upon Slobin's 'affinity' framework. In other words, within the all-embracing category of taiko exists 'overlapping, intersecting planes of multiple group activities' that emerge solely as a result of

players' strong attraction to the musical form (Slobin 2000: 60) – a model that acknowledges varied practices by those who 'adopt' the art form in different geographies.

The notion of taiko as a transnational phenomenon allows for what Wong labels 'slippage' in North American taiko – namely its evolution from a Japanese performance tradition to Japanese American tradition, its reconfiguration as a pan Asian American tradition, to one open to any participants from all backgrounds (2005: 75). In an examination of taiko practice in New Zealand, Johnson (2012) argues that performance enables individuals to connect to their *imagined* notion of Japanese culture given their performance of contemporary pieces played on drums made in New Zealand or China. Creighton also suggests taiko is promoted and conceived as performing the 'idea of Japan' outside Japan (2008: 42). Pachter's discussion of taiko's intercultural development suggests one-way discourse: representations of taiko by Japanese artists are visible in the United States but not vice-versa (2013). The lack of interchange is seemingly linked to notions of authenticity derived from connections to Japan among US players. As Pachter (2013: 352) surmises, 'Japan is seen as a place to learn, while the United States is a place for people to perform'. This position is strongly supported/advocated or contested by US-based groups and individual performers. Attending, however, to the interplay between Japaneseness, tradition and authenticity facilitates a holistic overview of the effect on practice outside Japan. Linda Fujie argues that it is the flexibility of the so-called taiko 'tradition' that facilitates its appeal to Western audiences – for instance, mixed-race and gender ensembles suggest an openness that aligns with a perceived folk ethos in the Western imagination (2001).

Looking beyond the literature of taiko, Jochen Eisentraut examines the *values* associated with participation in another 'adopted' tradition, namely samba drumming in Wales. Eisentraut identifies inclusivity, community, physicality and sexuality, wellbeing, celebration, and empowerment, suggesting multiple individual and collective identities are formulated through the practice of an 'adopted music' (2001: 85). Furthermore, Eisentraut implies that participation stems from the common experience of being human rather than any wish to highlight socially constructed differences; Creighton's (2007) universal taiko identity as citizens of the earth also reflects this phenomenon. In brief, the pre-existing literature suggests that embodied and percussive musical practices do not assume national characteristics; rather, they enable and promote values that are both meaningful to and bind participants together, in turn distinguishing them from the wider populace.

The spread of taiko around the world reflects the rapid globalisation of Japanese cultural manifestations. Kōichi (2004: 55), however, argues that internationally successful popular culture 'products' are 'culturally odourless'. William Tsutsui further argues that 'Japanese goods can only sell internationally if they are scrupulously scrubbed clean of cultural association with Japan, and presented as a kind of placeless, historyless, cultureless, odourless entertainment commodity' (2011: 143). Both Kōichi and Tsutsui's statements are problematic, particularly in the UK context where Japanese culture conventions are popular. For instance, the biannual Hyper Japan Festival seeks to 'bring the best of Japan to London' and attracts between 60,000-80,000 attendees over the course of three days (Hyper Japan n.d.: online). It offers an array of performances, exhibitions and activities based on Japanese food and drink, anime, cosplay (costume play), art, music, and fashion.⁷ However, Kōichi and Tsutsui's claims reflect varied engagement with taiko outside Japan (presented as a

⁷ The programme in July 2016 included Okinawa tea ceremony, *rakugo* (comic storytelling), and performances by Hiroko Tanaka Nihon Buyo Group (a classical Japanese dance troupe) and J-pop groups. Artists travelled from Japan to perform.

continuum from a strictly upheld Japanese phenomenon to a genre that is responsive to the socio-political and cultural environment in which it is practiced). Donahue offers a framework for considering engagement with Japaneseness in Euro-America and beyond, suggesting that Japaneseness is 'the interplay of culture and consciousness' at both the micro (interpersonal) and macro (sociocultural) levels (2002: viiii). His viewpoint reflects a long-standing desire to preserve the uniqueness of Japanese culture, the synonymy of global and Western in Japanese society and an understanding of the nation's integrity as dependent upon tradition (Cox and Bruman 2010).

The perception of taiko as 'tradition' still generates discourses of the genre as distinctly Japanese, even though ensemble taiko drumming was first established in the 1950s. It is an 'invented tradition' whereby 'practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature ... seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past' (Hobsbawm 1983: 1). This process is a manifestation of individual and collective agency, warranting an investigation of the role of 'agents of reproduction' in affecting community building and development, particularly in the UK where I seek to analyse how players adopt taiko and form a CoTP around its practice (Cox and Bruman 2010: 2).

Postmodern Euro-American discourses have generated various conceptions of community that can be constructed and applied in referential, ideological, etic and emic senses. In many ways, the term 'community' is problematic in relation to taiko practice in the United Kingdom and reflects the often nebulous interchanges between the disciplines of community music, music education, ethnomusicology, and music therapy. As a student of taiko, I am aware of practitioners applying 'community' to interactions based on activities: the teaching of young people and adults, local and regional performances, and therapeutic interventions and events designed to bring taiko players together. While all foster engagement based on the practice of taiko, each has different objectives and outcomes, particularly in relation to how individuals come together as a result to shape collective practice. Unsurprisingly, 'community' is conceptually inconsistent when used by practitioners. It is, however, a term often used by taiko players – particularly in relation to teaching, learning and transmission – hence critical engagement with its application as part of the research design (Pitts 2005: 12).

Taiko practice ordinarily takes place in a range of settings and contexts: concerts, festival performances and public engagement classes aim to introduce taiko to the general public and provide a wellspring of new members, whereas intensive training schemes take place in $d\bar{o}j\bar{o}s$ (spaces dedicated to learning 'the way' of taiko) and other settings with the purpose of producing professional taiko performers and teachers.⁸ Participants often travel long distances in order to engage in practice and performance, thus dissolving the notion of the geographically bounded community. The complex, interactive range of activities and opportunities to progress from beginner to professional reflect Finnegan's notion of the 'hidden musician'. Many players, including those operating at a professional level, have no other musical or performance background and thus follow supported 'pathways' in order to develop their skills (Finnegan 1989: 305). In addition, Stebbins' (1992) serious leisure framework – in which progression from amateur to professional is analysed in a range of musical and non-musical activities – is highly applicable.

⁸ The COVID-19 pandemic and resultant measures severely restricted the practice and performance of taiko in 2020 and 2021.

Finnegan and Stebbins' ideas are closely linked to the sociocultural production of communities of practice. As Veblen and Olsson (2002) suggest, musical communities can be established and developed because of different impetuses: hierarchical ensembles provide opportunities for music making to the public, and more egalitarian individuals or groups provide music making opportunities as a result of their own activism. Their synthesis of the core tenets of community music scholarship suggests that community music practices are profoundly dynamic, enabling an individual to take part in myriad ways and in varied roles (Veblen and Olsson 2002: 731). In short, 'community music is always shaped and defined by particular social settings' (Veblen 2008: 6). Such social settings thus affect practice, destabilising an element that serves to bind an otherwise dispersed group together. Indeed, some of the groups examined by taiko scholars seem to offer limited types of musical activity that align with an ideological perception as either professional or participatory (Coutts-Smith 1997; Hennessy 2005; Izumi 2001; Johnson 2012; Tusler 2003; Williams 2013). These selfconstructed identities in turn produce communities in which aesthetics, discourses and values are manifested through musical practice, reflecting Turino's (2008) categorisations of musical activities as participatory, presentational, high fidelity or studio art.

Notably, the development of taiko practice and players stems in part from engagement with the public, suggesting an audience involvement spectrum that maps out the varying ways participatory arts programmes function and entry points for participation (Everitt 1997). Rudman (2009) calls for 'organisational porosity' between professional artists and audience members to enable varying levels of engagement and control by participants. Moreover, Dwight Conquergood's so-called 'five intersecting planes' of performance studies analysis – performance as cultural process, performance as ethnographic praxis, performance and hermeneutics, performance and scholarly representation, and the politics of performance – are salient given taiko is a thoroughly experiential and embodied practice (Conquergood 1991: 190).

Wider ethnomusicological and anthropological studies interrogate the theoretical construction of musical communities. In her examination of dance groups, Lauren Horton (2001) proposes the application of the term 'communality' on a group-by-group basis – rather than a holistic consideration of the entire community – in order to refer in abstract terms to what binds a group together (i.e. the shared activity that results in a sense of community). The domain of community is thus identified through practice rather than location. Wayne Bowman (2009: 110) defines (musical) communities as 'fluid, porous, negotiated affairs: patterns of human interaction grounded in *practices*'. He demonstrates how communities reflect both individuals and the collective, highlighting how the former simultaneously accede to and shape normative practices. This suggests that musical communities can assimilate specific qualities and function as an index (i.e. able to reference specific identities and/or subjectivities). In his examination of a contra-dance community in South Carolina, Paul Jordan-Smith analyses a grassroots effort to publish and promote a structured format of prevailing norms to help newcomers integrate into the scene and to manage the ongoing dynamics among regulars (2001). It is precisely because some UK groups/events promote the adoption of philosophies or 'ways' that taiko functions as an index for collective and individual identity categories that are developed through communities of practice.

While Frost and Schoen (2004) outline the conditions for establishing and maintaining viable communities of practice – namely organising and facilitating community activities, connecting people and their knowledge, finding a common focus, interacting with the

community environment, and living the community values – the concept paves the way to explore collective tensions in relation to taiko. While communities of practice are typically viewed as having three defining characteristics (namely a body of common knowledge/practice, sense of shared identity, and some common or overlapping values), it does not necessarily follow that expansion of the community is welcome (Hislop 2004: 38). Lave and Wenger examine the notion of legitimate peripheral participation whereby 'learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and ... the mastery of knowledge and skills requires newcomers to move towards full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community' (1991: 29). Peripherality is constructed as positive, suggesting the possibility of movement towards full membership of a community of practice. Nevertheless, developing knowledgeable and skilled identities and transforming and reproducing communities of practice are fundamentally embedded in social structures involving complex webs of power; indeed, Lave and Wenger argue that CoPs are essential for knowledge to exist. The role of CoPs in relation to the expansion of participation in the UK is therefore likely to contribute to our understanding of broader sociological issues.

Music education scholar Ailbhe Kenny (2016) extends the CoP framework and develops a sociocultural learning model from extensive ethnographic fieldwork in County Limerick (Republic of Ireland) and online. Each 'community of musical practice' (CoMP), she argues, contains practices, structures, norms, interactions and rules. Kenny identifies three constant themes from discrete case study settings, namely a sense of belonging, collaborative learning and identity building. I found it challenging, however, to distinguish a CoMP – namely 'a group of people who form a community of practice through shared music making and/or musical interests' (Kenny 2016: 16) – from a CoP organised around a non-musical domain given the scant attention paid to musical outputs. As Alan Hewitt notes:

Just as each musical style has an identifiable set of musical features that provide its distinctive identity (e.g. harmony, instruments used, formats, structures, and so on), so they also embody a set of practices and behaviours in their creation, performance and consumption that are equally distinctive and defining (Hewitt 2009: 330).

In my approach to the analysis of CoMPs, I focus unceasingly on the ways in which social engagement is directly reflected in taiko compositions and performances.

The ramifications of globalisation affect critical engagement with communities of practice, particularly when musical practice is considered in relation to identity politics. Appadurai conceives of 'neighbourhoods' in lieu of communities, indicating social structures that can be spatially-bound or virtual with potential for reproduction; the global cultural flow of ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes all serve to construct our imagined worlds (2005: 33). This notion suggests that 'community' is something of a redundant term, an argument put forward by Dorothy Noyes. She proposes that:

we distinguish between the empirical network of interactions in which culture is created and moves, and the community of the social imaginary that occasionally emerges in performance. Our everyday word *group* might best serve as shorthand for the dialogue between the two (Noyes 1995: 452, emphasis original).

Alternative visualisations are available to describe and analyse the practices of taiko players in an age of global cultural flow. For instance, I have heard UK practitioners use the terms

'scene' and 'network'. Extra-musical activities – part of the 'web of group affiliations' in addition to taiko as the organising factor – raise the question of whether they reflect a longing for community or simply reflect its existence (Simmel 1955: 211). Regardless, expressive practices may – according to Noyes (1995) – be the result of a desire for tradition in the postmodern epoch.

Wenger (now Wenger-Trayner) first introduced the metaphor of a landscape of practice in his 1998 monograph. Put simply, a landscape is comprised of multiple, heterogeneous, dynamic, sometimes competing CoPs, each of which presents different boundaries. In *Learning in Landscapes of Practice*, Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner place greater attention on the individual, noting that:

As a trajectory through a social landscape, learning is not merely the acquisition of knowledge. It is the becoming of a person who inhabits the landscape with an identity whose dynamic construction reflects our trajectory through that landscape (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015b: 19).

In order to move through the landscape and partake in multi-membership, individuals must engage reflexively with both who they are and the meaning of what they do. Consequently, members develop 'knowledgeability', namely a unique relationship to the varied practices across the landscape based upon experience (ibid: 13). The process is 'a weaving of both boundaries and peripheries' (Wenger 1998: 118). Some 'take a "systems" view ... These "system convenors" act to reconfigure the landscape by forging new learning partnerships across traditional boundaries' (Wenger-Trayner et al 2015: 97). Problematically, however, access issues – specifically social class, financial resources and power – are thoroughly underexamined and yet profoundly influence who can participate and convene. Moreover, contributors to the 2015 edited collection focus on professional identities, thus excluding 'serious leisure' hobbyists or amateurs who nevertheless engage in multiple CoPs in order to learn. In my consideration of the international landscape of taiko practice and its constituent CoPs, I pay attention to matters of inclusion/exclusion throughout and attend to the role and impact of system convenors in chapters three, four and five.

In addition to forming the foundations of our theoretical knowledge of taiko practice in the United Kingdom, this research addresses limitations in the existing literature. To date, Anglophone researchers' geographic and social-cultural focus has largely been restricted to Japan, North America and Australasia. Moreover, most outputs are characterised by an acute lack of musicological inquiry. This project will provide a detailed example of taiko as an 'adopted' art form in a setting far from its origins, responding to a wider trend in ethnomusicological research. Furthermore, it will consider how UK players engage in CoTPs and contribute to the international landscape of taiko practice. To date, none of these themes has been addressed in prevailing taiko literature examining practice in any setting. More widely, this research will also contribute to our understanding of a range of issues, specifically: the ways in which a musical practice facilitates group cohesion on local, national and international levels; how groups' identities are affected by porous geographical and cultural boundaries; and how the UK functions as a multi-positional site among cultures and their inhabitants where identities are continuously, yet never fully, formed (Bhabha 1994).

1.3 Research Methodology

This research project is concerned with the formation and development of a CoTP in the United Kingdom as well as members' interactions with the wider landscape of taiko practice.

From the outset, I have sought to negotiate 'individual and communal experience, the process of forming relationships, [and] the representation of [a] musical ethnography' (Barz and Cooley 2008: 22-23). The initial methodological framework consisted of three components guided by Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory: literature review; participant-observation; and in-depth, semi-structured interviews. I anticipated fieldwork evolving over time in a manner that Spradley describes as 'participating in activities, asking questions ... [and] interviewing informants' (1980: 3). I envisaged that I would – to borrow Denzin and Lincoln's analogy – stitch together a series of representations like a 'quilt maker' (2011: 4). In turn, I would be equipped to theorise about the relationships revealed in the data I had collected, thus fulfilling the objective of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Very shortly after commencing fieldwork, it became apparent that my conventional methodology would not yield high-quality data nor generate insights into the workings of the CoTP. Numerous ethnomusicologists have successfully negotiated conducting fieldwork 'at home' (Hield 2010; Stock and Chou 2008; Garnett 2005; Boele 2011). I found, however, that my pre-existing role within the music culture and new identification as a researcher required mediation, particularly given my focus upon the processes of community construction in a complex and geographically dispersed network of individuals and groups. While grounded theory enabled me to identify areas of interest (aided by my pre-existing knowledge of the field), sampling strategies did not enable the discovery of basic social processes between and among groups at regional, national or international levels, despite fieldwork conducted with a range of groups. Instead, I was able to identify how individuals formed communities of practice at the local level (i.e. within individual groups). Furthermore, the inductive construction and refinement of data codes and categories proved inappropriate due to the range of practices associated with taiko in the UK. For example, UK groups typically position themselves on a taiko continuum from a genre that is responsive to the socio-political and cultural environment in which it is practiced to a strictly upheld Japanese phenomenon. In short, the process did not encompass the range and variety of perspectives and activities taking place. Finally, while equipped to analyse integral social relations at the local level, I found it necessary to capture and analyse musical outputs (e.g. fieldwork recordings, notation) quite separately, thus denying a holistic approach.

I present three brief études – conceptualised by Gaztambide-Fernández et al (2011) as case studies to illustrate a point of ethnographic challenge and/or technique – as examples of wider issues I faced during preliminary engagement with taiko practitioners across the UK:

- 1. At a workshop delivered by Chieko Kojima, a founding member of Kodō and internationally respected player and teacher, the organiser (who also functions as the Japanese translator) formally and publicly introduces me as 'the PhD researcher'. My playing background is not mentioned, and many of the players present (mostly British professional performers of the art form) do not know me. My Japanese is not strong enough to expand on the introduction, and nor do I feel it would be appropriate to do so.
- 2. I attend a workshop for players from groups across the north of England. I do not know any of the players, including the leaders, and so introduce myself. I mention that I train with Mugenkyo. This immediately brings replies of 'please don't expect much from us', 'we just play for fun', and 'I'm sure you'll find this easy' from the other participants. Some had participated in weekend workshops with Mugenkyo and spoke

highly of the experience. On the second day of the workshop, we split into small groups of four to practice a piece. The other three players look to me to lead this rehearsal process.

3. I attend a concert performed by a UK group in a small, local theatre in northern England. I already know the group's founder who introduces me to the other players ahead of the performance. During the first half, a clear range of abilities is presented on stage; indeed, it is focused upon during one piece when a player deliberately pretends to miss a solo by asking 'is it me?' During the interval, an audience member (who self-identifies as a researcher in the physical sciences) sarcastically questions who will want to read the outputs of my research project given it encompasses amateur groups.

All three études illustrate the need for different kinds of boundaries to be negotiated, namely professional and personal recognition (of both the researcher and participants), full access to the research site, language, and whom the outputs of this research project will affect. While certainly not unique themes to be addressed by an ethnomusicology researcher, these early experiences collectively prompted reflection and reinforced the realisation that the ethnographic approach I had initially adopted – namely participant-observation guided by grounded theory – would not suffice.

My consideration of the following questions led to the evolution of my methodological approach – one ultimately designed to facilitate engagement with individual players *and* communities of practice.

1.3.1 What, Where and Why Is the 'Field' in the UK Taiko Community?

Jeff Todd Titon (2004) documents the evolution of approaches to data collection by ethnomusicologists: first, the laboratory-bound researcher who awaited musical samples or specimens from travellers; second, the fieldworker who travelled abroad to collect samples to analyse upon their return; and third, the ethnomusicologist of today who examines music making on home ground within a postmodern framework contingent upon the moulding of subjects through ideological discourse. The contemporary model thoroughly destabilises the concept of the 'field' and the metaphor employed - suggestive of physical work such as digging in a specific rural setting to harvest research findings - is deeply suspect in contemporary ethnographic practice. It also does not reflect contemporary taiko practice across the United Kingdom. Data from the 2016 Taiko Community Alliance global census of taiko players shows that 76% of participants resident in the United Kingdom practice or engage with taiko for less than five hours per week. Furthermore, only nine percent of respondents earn more than half their income through taiko, suggesting that it is a leisure activity for most participants (Walker 2016c). Thus, short, often sporadic undertakings by me - such as visits to weekly rehearsals or annual festivals - form one element of data collection and mirrors how most players engage with the art form.

In refuting the notion of a field, I instead consider my engagement with taiko sequences. Expanding upon Richard Schechner's (2002: 191) performance framework, I suggest that engagement with taiko is not bound to or affected by specific sites but rather time-space sequences encompassing proto-performances (composition, training, rehearsals and workshops), performances (warm-up, public performances, events and activities contributing to the public performance, cool down), and the aftermath (critical responses, archives and memories). Somewhat problematically, 'public performance' immediately

denotes a 'presentational' approach to taiko practice in which performers and audience members (usually non-players) are clearly divided (Turino 2008). While such events certainly occur in the UK context, I employ Schechner's framework on the basis that 'public' can refer to CoTP members. In chapter five, for instance, I examine the European Taiko Conference – a closed event for taiko players in which groups perform informally for each other. Indeed, as several case studies in the thesis suggest, players are motivated by a wide range of factors and play together and/or perform in manifold settings.

In considering the landscape of taiko practice and its constituent CoTPs, I draw upon five interconnected taiko sequences. These span my participation in taiko as an individual; the activity of Tsuchigumo Daiko (an ensemble in Scotland where I served as an active member); the role of three further UK groups and their members, namely CCS Taiko, Humber Taiko and Kagemusha Taiko; UK players' engagement with the wider European taiko scene; and participation by UK-based players in the self-defined global taiko community. I conceive of these as sequences for two reasons: first, each layer of engagement both succeeds and is reliant upon the preceding sequence; and second, the time-space sequences of protoperformances, performances, and the aftermath facilitate the construction of communities of practice at the local, national and international level. I therefore consider sequences (both individually and collectively) as 'broad conceptual zone[s] united by a chain of inquiry' (Kisliuk 2008: 189).

The sequences described above are sporadic in nature. I am therefore subject to what Bernard Lortat-Jacob (1995) conceives as an ongoing leaving and returning from home to the sequences and back. Furthermore, given twice-weekly rehearsals and additional performances with Tsuchigumo Daiko, I am subject to regular meta-entries and exits; my role shifts as I spend short, routine periods as a taiko performer-cum-researcher before returning to study and employment. It is to such epistemological considerations that I now turn.

1.3.2 What Is My Epistemological Approach to Ethnographic Practice?

At the outset of my study, I already considered myself part of the self-described taiko 'scene' in Scotland (my place of residence). I had participated in Mugenkyo's classes for members of the public and attended performances of 'The Way of the Drum' – a concert that 'introduces the traditions of taiko in an accessible and entertaining concert' (Mugen Taiko n.d.h: online) – in St. Andrews and Edinburgh. My knowledge of taiko in other parts of the United Kingdom, however, was limited to desk research and engagement with groups' social media activity.

By working within a culture to which I already belong, I am partially conducting research 'at home'. As such, the framework of this study responds to a current concern in ethnomusicology and related disciplines. While this brings some advantages (such as an extant insight into practice ahead of qualitative research), it raises challenges, including the potential for a narrow range of sequences and presumed knowledge and understanding. To mitigate such risks and capitalise upon my pre-existing role within the taiko scene, I adopt a phenomenological approach and focus upon how particular phenomena are perceived by the agents (including me) in the sequences. As Corbin and Strauss suggest, 'the primary purpose of doing qualitative research is discovery, not hypothesis testing ... not trying to control variables, but to discover them' (2008: 317). To achieve thorough knowledge of the sequences, I endeavour to follow Jackson's long-standing advice of 'seeing ... the most difficult task of all. [For] what is most obvious may not be what is most representative; what is most obvious is often what is most unordinary' (1987: 59). I utilise qualitative, inductive methods including semi-structured interviews, participant-observation, discussion and

apprenticeship – an approach I return to later. Moreover, to gain insight at the system level, I draw upon quantitative data. However, in gaining insight into individuals' actions, motivations and perspectives, I seek to embrace both the subjectivity and knowledge of the actors in the sequences as well as my personal agency in the development of theory.

1.3.3 What Is the Role of Praxis in My Research?

When designing a research strategy, I planned to play with Mugenkyo and pass through their training programme. This initiative allows players with relatively little experience (usually acquired through participation in public classes) to audition to join its *dojo* performance team and, in turn, perform at community and corporate events. Some players are selected to join Mugenkyo, a group that tours the UK and occasionally abroad (Mugen Taiko Dojo n.d.b). I was successful in the audition process and trained at the *dojo* from January to March 2016. During that short time, however, I elected to join the newly established Tsuchigumo Daiko instead. I deemed it more productive to work and train with its members for the purposes of my research given their express intention of 'fostering community [and] inclusivity' (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.a). From the outset, the group – founded by Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker - sought to engage with and contribute to national and international community-building events. Indeed, Tsuchigumo Daiko chose to perform for the first time in public at the inaugural European Taiko Conference (ETC) just a few weeks after forming. Since then, the group has participated in and led activities at multiple events designed to bring together players from different groups, including subsequent ETCs, UK Taiko Festival, Humber Taiko Festival and Taikopalooza. By taking part in community events as a member of a well-known group and a researcher, I felt better equipped to gather data, understand phenomena and ultimately respond to my research questions.

The training scheme at Tsuchigumo Daiko is a form of apprenticeship; during the course of my membership, there were no prescribed levels within the group but as one progressed, one could perform at events.⁹ In other words, I was engaged in 'the process of developing from novice to proficiency under the guidance of a skilled expert', namely Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker (Downey et al 2015: 183). At the outset, all the other players had significantly more taiko experience than I did, and some had significant performing experience acquired as professional members of Mugenkyo. However, the curriculum was not modified according to prior experience; instead, all players simultaneously worked through the programme of study which is designed to embed the necessary skills and techniques to become a proficient taiko player. I consider such an apprenticeship an optimal means by which to enter the wider ethnographic sequences meaningfully as an 'observing participant' rather than 'participant observer' (Woodward 2008). As Downey et al (2015) suggest, I was positioned to enter the community and occupy a meaningful position within it while directly experiencing the processes of bodily and musical enculturation (i.e. emic knowledge).

The role of ethnographer-apprentice brings specific challenges – as a researcher who privileges participation, it was not possible, for instance, to take detailed notes at practices. Instead, I seek what Lave and Wenger (1991: 29) term legitimate peripheral participation whereby 'learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and ... the mastery of knowledge and skills requires newcomers to move towards full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community'. Drawing upon Timothy Rice's experiences of

⁹ Prior to the pandemic, the group offered regular classes for beginner, intermediate and advanced level players (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.c: online).

ethnomusicological fieldwork, I seek to deconstruct the dichotomous insider-outsider categorisation often ascribed to fieldworkers (2008). As a result, it is inevitable that I become entangled in the processes and politics of transmission, thus enabling me to embrace fully my engagement in communities of practice, rather than charting their development from a professional distance.

By situating praxis at the centre of my research strategy, I sought to gain not only enhanced interpersonal relationships with participants (and therefore more meaningful data) but also enhanced creative skills. As a member of Tsuchigumo Daiko, I was expected to improvise solos and contributed to the arrangement pieces for the group to perform. In doing so, I respond to the concept of 'research-led practice' whereby 'scholarly research can lead to creative work' (Smith and Dean 2009: 7). I have adapted a model by Smith and Dean that denotes the constant shift between research and practice, the cross-referencing of activities and the iterative nature of the process (see Figure 1.5). For instance, later in this chapter, I tackle a challenge for taiko players (the development of a meaningful and accessible notation system) and work through the difficulties of notating for instruments that blend both rhythm and precise choreography. Such an activity demands both academic skills and specific taiko knowledge and thus responds to the concept of research-led practice.

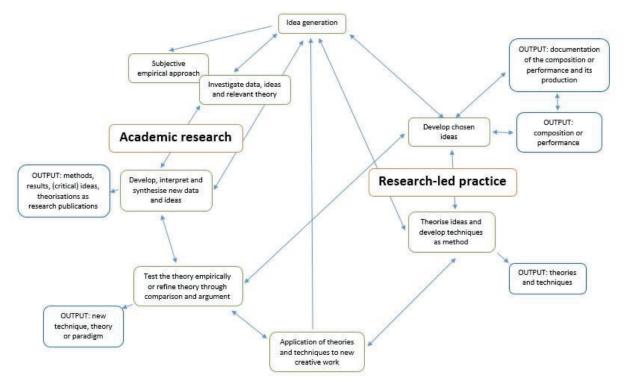


Figure 1.5. Iterative research web incorporating research-led practice. *Source*: developed from Smith and Dean 2009.

1.3.4 How Do I Engage Meaningfully with Multiple Communities within the Landscape?

As a researcher of a community of musical practice that sits within a wider international landscape, I am presented with a specific challenge: on the one hand, I seek to understand and explain how a group of people dispersed across the UK form and develop a CoP around taiko and, on the other hand, consider their engagement with other communities (e.g. North America). The second objective demands some familiarity with the wider landscape and its constituent communities; UK engagement alone will not suffice. Moreover, if I want to

understand the peculiarities or specificities of the UK CoTP, it stands to reason that I must understand the workings of other communities. However, the (incomplete) group map lists nearly 500 groups on six continents (Taiko Source n.d.). Thus, acquiring knowledge and understanding of practice on each continent would form a lifetime's work – an endeavour that falls beyond the scope of this research project.

As Bruno Nettl (2005: 143-144) notes, 'anthropologists, folklorists, and, perhaps even more, ethnomusicologists, are typically distinguished by their belief that a (musical) culture can best be understood through intensive work with a relatively small number of its representatives'. In my introductory remarks to the thesis, I make clear that I did not set out to engage every player across the United Kingdom nor represent their experiences in my writing. Rather, I work with key actors in the CoTP to interpret its formation and development. This approach, however, does not offer any insights into the impact of actors' activities on members of the wider UK CoTP nor other communities within the landscape. While it is certainly impractical to conduct ethnographic fieldwork on six continents, I suggest a method little used in the discipline of ethnomusicology can provide some insight: large-scale quantitative data.

In 2011, Jennifer Post published the second edition of a research and information guide for ethnomusicology. At almost 500 pages, it presents briefly annotated resources relevant to the discipline broadly organised by topic and resource type. Strikingly, only two entries refer to the use of quantitative data: Fraleigh and Hanstein's *Researching Dance: Evolving Modes of Inquiry* (1999) and Phelps et al's *Guide to Research in Music Education* (2005). A further review of contemporary scholarly outputs from ethnomusicology reveals a discipline seemingly devoid of large-scale quantitative data. Indeed, I have been unable to identify any project which gathers quantitative data from players in multiple geographies (whether local, national or international) or at scale. As Nettl (2005: 67) highlights, among ethnomusicologists 'there is suspicion of the quantitative techniques inevitably used in comparative study, and the belief that in a field devoted to this kind of work, data gathering will be prejudicial in favour of materials that lend themselves to comparison'.

How, then, does one gather 'broad' data to support in-depth understanding of how members nurture and develop a CoTP, in turn interacting with the wider landscape? In other words, how does a quantitative approach 'fit into' an ethnomusicological study? First, we must attend to what Tilly labels 'a common prejudice' among scholars, one that:

to be sure, divides the social world into phenomena that are suitable for quantification (population distributions, social mobility, etc.) and those that are irreducibly qualitative: conversation, narratives, biography, ethnography, and history often serve as examples. Formalisms clearly can and do apply, however, to these phenomena as well (Tilly 2004: 597).

In my case, I employ quantitative data – principally taiko census data from 2,500 respondents around the world and survey data from community events – out of necessity. Quantitative data analysis serves as a means of producing knowledge about a geographically dispersed community that has hitherto been overlooked by researchers. However, I do not treat such data as an end in itself; instead, I view quantification as an instrument to *support* the ethnographic tools commonly used in ethnomusicology. By viewing 'data' as a wide range of scholarly (by-)products, including censuses, semi-structured interviews, audio-visual recordings, compositions and fieldnotes during the apprenticeship, one can draw together various sources which address the same theme, thus offering rich opportunities for multi-

modal analysis. As Ruth Stone (2008: 113) observes, 'objective quantitative information can be related to subjective qualitative aspects of performance'.

Throughout the thesis, I utilise quantitative data to challenge or support observations derived from standard ethnographic (i.e. qualitative) means. In doing so, I hope readers of the thesis, especially fellow ethnomusicologists, 'become critical consumers of quantitative research who neither fetishize numbers nor fear them' (Lemercier and Zalc 2019: 1). The current absence of quantitative data in contemporary ethnomusicological research makes it difficult to compare taiko practice to other forms of music making in the UK, particularly 'adopted' traditions such as *shakuhachi* and samba. However, by blending the quantitative and the qualitative, I acknowledge the shortcomings of each method when used in isolation, particularly with regards to my research questions. For instance, in any kind of survey or census, the dialogic is lost; the medium impacts upon the questions asked and the data produced as a result. Relying solely on qualitative methods, however, restricts the researcher to a small sample of the community, thus necessarily limiting our understanding of its workings. As Nettl (2005: 144) acknowledges, 'ethnomusicologists also have an interest in quantifying data and statistics' – one that I operationalise throughout the research project in support of more commonly-used methodological tools.

1.3.5 Ethical Considerations

In December 2014, the University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Committee (REC) assessed my proposed research project as 'low-risk' based on its review process. Nevertheless, various ethical concerns emerged and affected the research process, specifically informed consent, the widespread use of social media by the researcher and project participants, and the longitudinal nature of the project.

I consider myself a key informant in the project given praxis sits at the centre of my research strategy. Most of the data, however, is provided by other players or individuals connected to the taiko scene. Informants broadly fall into one of three categories: players who participated in events, such as the UK Taiko Festival and Humber Taiko Festivals, where they went about their normal activities; individuals who provided additional, often in-depth data specifically for the purposes of this research project by, for example, engaging in semi-structured interviews; and players who provided data to support the development of community events and organisations (e.g. by completing the Taiko Community Alliance Taiko Census 2016 or participating in focus groups to guide the development of the European Taiko Conference).

I acquired informed consent from all project participants, regardless of type. I provided interviewees, group leaders and event organisers with a Participant Information Sheet and a consent form for completion. As Smith (1990: 167) notes, however, the organisation of social relations between the researcher and project participants is a 'textually mediated discourse' – an approach that is unhelpful when working with young children. In such cases, I provided a simplified verbal explanation of the project and audio-recorded participants' spoken consent. While I completed a criminal record check prior to starting fieldwork, I conducted interviews with children under the age of sixteen in the presence of a responsible adult (parent/carer, teacher etc.) known to the informant(s).

When visiting workshops or classes to gather data, the group leaders and I usually deemed it impractical to collect signed consent forms from all participants. In such instances, I provided and recorded a verbal explanation and players' spoken consent and made printed copies of the Participant Information Sheet available. However, some large gatherings – such

as the North American Taiko Conference – attract hundreds of participants. I thus acquired informed consent from the organisers instead.

Over the course of the project, I was extensively involved in the monitoring and evaluation of large-scale taiko events. I conducted the evaluation of the 2017 North American Taiko Conference, gathered survey responses from European Taiko Conference participants, and undertook evaluations to submit to the Arts Council England following the Humber Taiko Festivals. On all such occasions, data gathering instruments – principally comprised of online and printed forms – clearly advised respondents that their data would be used anonymously in my doctoral research project. Participant Information Sheets were also available in soft or hard copy, allowing individuals to understand the purpose of the research project and decide whether to participate.

While the scrutiny of my plans by the Research Ethics Committee in 2014 was certainly welcome, I subsequently experienced a profound incongruence between the University's standardised ethics procedure and my lived experience of the research process. As Truman (2003: para. 1.1) notes, institutionalised ethical review processes typically presuppose a function to "protect" dependent and "vulnerable" research subjects within the research process'. In my application to the REC, I did not identify any significant risk of harm to the participants; ultimately, I planned to understand how taiko players come together to form and further communities of practice. Yet some participants made deeply personal disclosures to me in relation to the research – revelations that were upsetting for us both and which I felt ill equipped to respond to. Examples include sexual assault, transphobic abuse, serious financial difficulties, experiences of living under the care of a local authority and the ongoing trauma of racialised violence. When preparing my application for ethical review, I did not foresee the discussion of injurious, higher-risk topics – a fault that lies squarely with me. Nevertheless, I felt acutely aware of my moral obligations and responsibilities to my informants throughout the project, particularly towards individuals who divulged much more than they likely intended.

While I advised all participants that they could withdraw from the project at any time with no consequences, the nature of some of the disclosures forced me to question the responsiveness of my informed consent procedures. As Miller and Boulton (2007: 2199) note, 'the production and signing of a consent form acts as a mechanism to "contain" what are often, in reality, complex social worlds and research encounters which do not fit neatly into boxes which can be ticked'. I was unsatisfied by the one-off, static nature of the consent process, and particularly concerned by the prospect of participants reading my interpretation of their experiences for the first time in the open access thesis. I thus initiated a modified 'process consent' model (Smythe and Murray 2000: 320). For participants who provided additional, project-specific data (e.g. by taking part in a semi-structured interview), I undertook an iterative informed consent model. In other words, further to the data gathering, I shared which datum would be used and how with the understanding that I would remove any content that the participant did not agree to. I undertook this ongoing exercise fully expecting to discard significant data and/or writing. Ultimately, however, the opposite proved to be true: no informants requested that I jettison a datum and changes to my writing were limited to minor clarifications. Moreover, after reviewing how their accounts would be used, two participants asked me to use their names rather than remain anonymous.

The use of social media by taiko players serves as a second unanticipated ethical issue that I had to respond to during the project. Players established two public Facebook groups while I was gathering data: Taiko Europe (June 9, 2015) and European Taiko Conference (May

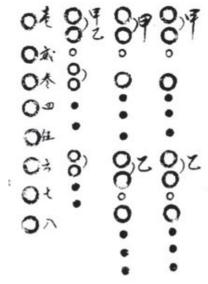
24, 2016). Moreover, I joined UK Taiko Scene (established on August 7, 2012) and Taiko Community, a global group created on August 27, 2011, after becoming a member of Tsuchigumo Daiko. While I did not expressly design the research project with a social media focus, I nevertheless discuss posts by groups and players throughout the thesis, including responses to a Facebook campaign that I delivered on International Women's Day. My rationale for including and analysing social media data is its direct connection to social and musical worlds. As Quan-Haase and Sloan (2017: 3) highlight, 'it is myopic to think that social media data emerge in a vacuum. Interactions and engagement on social media are often directly linked, or even result from, events taking place outside of it'. The ready availability of data that refers to players' experiences of taiko gatherings does not mean, however, that it should necessarily be used. Nor can I simply assume that users consent to its use in a research project because it is shared in online public forums. I thus borrow the key question posed by Beninger (2017) when considering an ethical framework for the inclusion of social media data: how do participants feel about their social media data being used for the purposes of research?

Although most social media commentators agreed to participate in the project through another form of involvement (e.g. by participating in a semi-structured interview), I was acutely aware that the informed consent process had not openly encompassed social media data – information that players might reasonably assume to be private. As part of the iterative process consent approach, I sought express permission from named individuals to include social media data in the project. Before doing so, however, I examined the data and the host site/group, and only included it when it was posted in a public group, devoid of sensitive information or controversial ideas, and written by an adult. I did not contribute to and thus influence any of the conversations. The sole exception in the thesis is conversations pertaining to the development of 'Never Again is Now' (an arrangement performed at the second European Taiko Conference) which took place privately via Facebook Messenger. At the outset, all players were aware of my research project and agreed to take part in the digital ethnography. Participants subsequently reviewed my use of the data generated on social media and undertook a final check of the material extracted for citation in the context of the case study (see section 5.4).

By acting as transparently as possible with my participants, I hope to mitigate the risk of harm. I also account for a peculiarity of my project: the length of the data-gathering period. Given I applied for institutional approval once and employ data spanning six full calendar years (2015-2020), the process consent model allows participants to remain actively engaged in and aware of the research process, and significantly minimises the risk of any distress upon publication of the thesis.

1.4 Taiko Notation

In the early 1950s, the *kumi-daiko* genre was catalysed by an obscure discovery in Okaya, a small city in Nagano Prefecture. Kiyohito Oguchi, a local businessman, found a Meiji-era (1868- 1912) journal written by Tōtaro Oguchi which discussed the author's attempts to reestablish a form of *kagura-daiko* (*kagura* drumming) (Pachter 2015b). *Kagura* groups travelled the countryside at the end of the year, performing Shinto rituals and dances in each place (Yasuji 1974: 193). While the accompanying music differed depending on the region, the instrumentation remained consistent, namely 'transverse bamboo flute, drum of medium size, and often a big barrel drum' (Kishibe 1982: 82). Tōtaro Oguchi's journal was accompanied by a score that Kiyohito Oguchi passed to his cousin. Daihachi Oguchi – subsequently 'widely credited with inventing the modern style of taiko performance' (Bender 2012: 49) – agreed to interpret it with the support of local musicians so that the piece it represented might be performed at a local festival. He later reflected that his background as a jazz drummer meant it were as if 'a Western-style cook took in an order for sushi' (Oguchi 1987: 19-20). A fragment of the discovered score – the only part ever published – is presented in Musical Example 1.1.



Musical Example 1.1. A fragment of the score interpreted by Daihachi Oguchi. Source: Oguchi 1994: 50.

Daihachi Oguchi determined that the score represented a single drum part, ultimately concluding that a short strike was marked with a small circle, a long strike by a large circle, while small dots referred to a tap on the drum's edge (Bender 2012: 50). In addition to performing the festival piece as prescribed in the (larger) notation, Oguchi augmented its instrumentation and incorporated 'methods from Western music onto a base of tradition' (Oguchi 1987: 30). The resultant piece precipitated Oguchi's performance at the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo and the subsequent dissemination of the ensemble taiko drumming format around the world.

Notably, taiko players have not adopted the notation system used in the score accompanying Tōtaro Oguchi's journal; indeed, there is no standardised approach to notating taiko compositions or performances. Consequently, this section is dedicated to identifying contemporary methods of notation used by taiko players in the UK and analysing the role of notation in teaching and learning practices. More broadly, I critique current scholarly approaches to the transcription of taiko and argue for the development of a taiko-specific notation system. Thereafter, I present the sonic and somatic components of taiko practice and conclude this section by proposing a notational framework. In calling for a bespoke notational solution, I envisage three interconnected benefits: first, the opportunity to archive compositions and performances for use by both practitioners and researchers; second, the development of contemporary taiko compositions that can be made more accessible to players in the UK and beyond; and third, an artistically enhanced taiko community. I also, however, acknowledge a self-evident drawback, namely that users will be required to learn a new system that – at least at present – is limited to ensemble taiko drumming.

1.4.1 The Use of Notation by Taiko Practitioners in the United Kingdom

Observations of taiko classes, workshops and conferences in the UK suggest that written notation – in any form – is rarely used in group settings. Instead, teaching and learning practices reflect contemporary media norms. Ofcom, the UK's communication regulator, reports that 81% of adults in the UK personally own a smartphone (2020: 8). Notably, participants at every taiko event I attended during the research project used smartphones to document the process and/or output(s) of learning events, including commonplace weekly classes or rehearsals. Within my group, audio-visual recordings are routinely used to support members' development. For instance, videos of motifs, exercises and pieces are made available online to enable members to review material independently, and video critique (whereby the group leaders comment on individuals' execution of pieces during rehearsals and public performances) is routinely used. In stark contrast, only one group used written material during face-to-face instruction throughout the fieldwork phase. In short, video is the primary medium for capturing, disseminating and accessing learning materials.

Pedagogic practice observed among community and professional groups across the UK suggests that the recitation of *kuchi-shōga* (口唱歌) is integral when learning new rhythms and associated movement patterns. Much like *bol* in Hindustani music, *kuchi-shōga* (literally 'mouth singing') offers 'onomatopoeic references to drummed sounds' by distinguishing among the various sound qualities that can be produced on taiko (Kippen 1999: 137). Drum strikes are assigned to sounds that can be formed using the mouth, in turn connecting the verbal, corporeal and musical.

The instructional methods observed during classes and workshops across the UK were remarkably similar. Following demonstrations led by the teacher or group leader, students would first learn a phrase or motif in *kuchi-shōga*; second, students would 'air *bachi*' the associated choreography used to produce the sound, striking the air with imaginary drumsticks while sometimes simultaneously chanting the associated *kuchi-shōga*; and finally, students would combine the preceding elements and play the newly-learnt pattern on the drum. As previously highlighted, only one group observed used written material to support this process; among all others, in-class teaching and learning was an oral-aural-sensorimotor affair.

The ubiquity of audio-visual recordings serves to circumvent the ephemeral nature of learning by ear in a face-to-face setting. Adam Weiner, a former performing member of San Jose Taiko, explains that 'for video, our expectation is a person new to a piece is to watch the video(s) and learn the gist of it, the sequence, basic shapes and patterns. Then actual teaching comes on top of that' (email to author, February 28, 2018). In other words, videos can supplement all stages of the learning process. The seemingly aural nature of taiko instruction does not preclude, however, the use of written notation in the learning process. Some UK groups (including my own) provide members with *kuchi-shōga* transcriptions as an aide-memoire and self-study support. Furthermore, I observed individual players notating *kuchi-shōga* (or personalised variations) during workshops led by visiting teachers (e.g. at the UK Taiko Festival in 2017 and 2019), particularly when the instructor only permitted audio-visual recordings at the end of the session.

Musical Example 1.2 provides a comparative notation of the main theme in 'Kuru-Kuru', a piece composed and taught across the UK by Martin Doyle – the artistic director of Tsuchigumo Daiko (Glasgow). Doyle, a University of the Highlands and Islands Music graduate, is exceptional among the UK taiko instructors encountered during this research project as he provides group members with access to both *kuchi-shōga* and Western staff transcriptions for his compositions. Notably, the two forms are presented separately despite the potential to align the *kuchi-shōga* syllables with the staff notes.

Kuchi-shōga can appear meaningless at first glance. Furthermore, there is no universally standardised means of transcribing *kuchi-shōga*, resulting in untold variations in how certain elements (such as accents) are represented in any orthography. Broadly speaking, however, the syllables can be interpreted based upon the meanings presented in Table 1.1.

Kuchi-shōga Transcription	Western staff notation
$\frac{DON}{R} - \frac{DON}{P} - \frac{DON}{P} - \frac{DON}{R} - DO$	
DON doko DON DON DON DON DON HA! (CRESCENDO)	
Su <u>DON</u> Su <u>DON</u> Su <u>DON</u> R L R L	* <mark>} * </mark>* * } * + } -
DON KARA KA KA SU <u>DON DON</u> R R L R L R L	
DO - KON su Ko DO - KON su Ko (Right arm swings to right and R L L R L L	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
DO KA SU KA DO KA SU KA - (right hand goes forward and up gently R L L R L L	┤ <mark>╸╷┑╷╸╸╷┑</mark>
DO - KON su Ko DO - KON su Ko R L L R L L	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
DO KA su KA DON - CHA - (Go back to beginning) R L L R B	

Musical Example 1.2. Comparative notation of the main theme of 'Kuru-Kuru'. *Source*: Doyle 2016.

Syllable	Interpretation	
Don	A strike on the centre of the drum.	
Doko	Two alternating strikes on the centre of the drumhead starting with the lead	
	hand (typically right). Played twice as quickly as a <i>don</i> .	
Dokon	Two strikes on the centre of the drumhead of equal duration to <i>doko</i>	
	emphasising the second beat.	
Su	A rest that is half the duration of a <i>don</i> .	
Ка	A strike on the edge of the drum of equal duration to a <i>don</i> .	
Kara	Two alternating strikes on the edge of the drum of equal duration to <i>doko</i> .	
Cha	A strike on the edge of the drum with both <i>bachi</i> simultaneously and of equal	
	duration to a <i>don</i> .	

Table 1.1. A non-exhaustive summary of *kuchi-shōga* syllables and interpretations.

When read using the key in Table 1.1, Doyle's *kuchi-shōga* transcription indicates basic rhythm, timbre, sticking, dynamics, accents (underlined) and some basic choreographic elements. Sticking and choreography, however, are not represented on the accompanying Western score. As a performer of Doyle's compositions, I have found that *kuchi-shōga* transcriptions allow me to remember pieces I have already learnt because of face-to-face instruction. Indeed, while Doyle's notation would enable me to play the *sounds* of an unknown piece, I would not be able to create the (sound-producing) movements. In other

words, I could not sight-read the piece in its entirety. My observation, however, very much reflects my Western art music training; while I have tried sight-reading the sounds contained within Doyle's transcriptions out of interest, I have never observed taiko players learning or practicing by reading sheet music. While my own sight-reading may well improve as a result of practice, the limited use of written documentation suggests audio-visual recordings or demonstrations may be tools that are more appropriate.

Members of every group I worked with used audio-visual recordings to support the teaching and learning process. It is therefore unsurprising that videos are pervasive at events designed to bring together players from different groups and geographical areas. Prior to the inaugural European Taiko Conference in 2016, Jonathan Kirby (the organiser) wrote to the 64 delegates from ten European countries, Japan and the United States. He stated that he 'would like every Conference participant to be able to join in at least one of the following songs that we will perform with as many players as possible. It'll be up to you to learn them beforehand' (email to author, December 6, 2015). Delegates were provided with web links to either instructional videos or performances of three basic pieces: 'Ready Set kaDON', 'Shimabayashi', and 'Stepping Stones'. No written support materials were provided or sign-posted – an indication of players' reliance upon audio-visual learning materials. As Tenzer (2006: 4) suggests, 'ubiquitous recording media and computer technology ... destabilize not just Western music's centrality but also the notational literacy associated with it'.

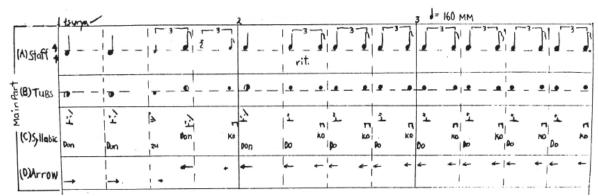
1.4.2 The Use of Notation for Taiko among Researchers

The development of a taiko-specific notation system presupposes a need to improve standards of physico-musical literacy among scholars with a view to aiding analysis. A review of taiko scholarship published in English reveals limited notational foundations for any theoretical inquiry. To date, 21 scholars from a broad range of disciplinary perspectives have published 11 MA theses, 11 PhD theses and three monographs in English.¹⁰ Five authors transcribe pieces (or 'songs') to support their analysis: Carle (2008) notates two pieces using Western notation and a third in TUBS; Kobayashi (2006b) presents pieces and excerpts using hand-written Western notation; and Endo (1999) combines a range of systems to provide a graphical representation of a performance, namely staff notation, TUBS, *kuchi-shōga* and arrows depicting bodily movements. More recently, scholars have supported arguments with audio-visual recordings; Wong (2019), for instance, uploads video footage and audio clips to the book's accompanying website.

Musical Example 1.3 shows an excerpt from a descriptive notation of 'Yodan Uchi', a signature piece by one of the oldest taiko groups in Japan. Kenny Endo, Co-Founder and Artistic Director of the Taiko Center of the Pacific in Hawaii, devised the system to transcribe a recorded performance in his MA thesis. Three elements – namely staff notation, TUBS and *kuchi-shōga* – describe the sonic outputs of the piece whereas the arrow system graphically

¹⁰ Masters and PhD theses focused upon taiko have hitherto emerged from Architecture (Panalaks 2001), Area Studies (Jürges 2015; Otsuka 1997), Comparative Human Development (Williams 2013), Education (Powell 2003), Family and Consumer Sciences (Sameshima 2005) and Psychology (Lounsberry 2001; Itoh 1999). In addition, scholars operating in Anthropology (Bender 2003; Schnell 1993), Folklore (Konagaya 2007), Theatre and Dance (Ahlgren 2011; Small 2014) and Music (Carle 2008; Carter 2013; Endo 1999; Kobayashi 2006b; Pachter 2009, 2013; Tusler 1995, 2003; Viviano 2013; Vogel 2009) have produced theses. These analyse taiko in a range of social, cultural and professional context(s), resulting in varied methodological approaches. In addition, Ahlgren (2018), Bender (2012) and Wong (2019) – based in Theatre and Film, East Asian Studies and Music departments respectively – have published monographs on taiko.

depicts the arm movements used to produce the sounds. A key provided by Endo provides readers with an overview of minor graphical amendments used to depict elements such as dynamic range.



Musical Example 1.3. Excerpt from notation of 'Yodan Uchi'. Source: Endo 1999: 39.

At first glance, Endo's system appears to offer three discrete means of interpreting the sonic outputs. An assessment of the musical elements presented in the three systems, however, reveals variations: the staff notation indicates instrumentation (based on the position of notes in relation to the dotted horizontal line) and dynamics (note size); TUBS depicts sticking (shading of notes), dynamics (note size) and instrumentation (relation to the dotted line); and *kuchi-shōga* – presented in both katakana (a Japanese syllabary) and its Romanised version – also provides sticking (position of the note in the column), dynamics, and instrumentation (based on syllables). In other words, modified Western staff notation provides the least information about the sound produced (assuming one can interpret TUBS and *kuchi-shōga*). Only one line of the notation presents unique information, namely the arm movements indicated by arrows. As a result, readers must interpret at least two separate lines of notation based upon quite different graphical (re-)presentations.

One might question why Endo duplicated musical elements (such as instrumentation) across systems rather than develop a single, bespoke notational solution. I suggest that his framework offers one major advantage: it draws upon systems that can easily be interpreted by those operating within the academy (Western staff) while remaining accessible to taiko practitioners (*kuchi-shōga*). However, I propose the same benefit could be achieved more efficiently by aligning the *kuchi-shōga* syllables with the notes on the staff (in the same manner as song lyrics are presented). Ultimately, as the number of scholars using any form of notation indicates, writing down taiko is an atypical act; reciting *kuchi-shōga* is the 'traditional method of notation in Japan ... [and] is inherent in this oral tradition' (Endo 1999: 37).

Given the conspicuous lack of notation-derived musical analysis within much existing taiko scholarship, one might reasonably ask how a genre-specific notation system might benefit the academy and others. Beyond enabling musicological analysis of practice and furthering our understanding of a globalised art form, I suggest that there is a notable opportunity for taiko players to contribute to databases of valuable material. For instance, deposits of open-source repertoire might partly address European players' reported difficulties in accessing high-quality resources and instruction (Walker 2016a). By developing and utilising a notation system during my analysis, I seek to encourage the growth of taiko literature by ensuring reference materials can be preserved, discussed and disseminated.

1.4.3 The Need for Taiko Notation

I have hitherto suggested that the development of a notation system for taiko would facilitate detailed musical analysis and enable engagement with reference materials by scholars and practitioners alike. I also posit, however, that any analysis of taiko practice needs to investigate and accord equal status to the use of the body; utilising a system that is limited to graphically representing sonic outputs (e.g. Western staff notation) serves to privilege the aural despite the somatic nature of taiko practice.

By developing a notation system that acknowledges connections between embodied experience and (musical) knowledge, I seek to recognise European players' practice as psychophysical musicians. When questioned about their motivations for playing taiko, participants at the inaugural European Taiko Conference in 2016 expressed 'the body [as] an experiencing, relational and actively transforming body' (Juntunen and Westerlund 2000: 208). For instance, one participant stated 'It [taiko] is holistic. Mind, Body and Spirit are engaged. Music and Movement make me happy'. Another noted the broader (mental) health benefits of taiko practice:

I feel powerful and full of energy but also accepted and supported. It is my mini therapy! I think about taiko and I immediately feel less gloomy: it allows me to find my inner strength when I get overwhelmed by emotions and difficulties.

Both examples were typical responses and suggest that the body serves as a source of agency and empowerment in taiko practice; indeed, engagement of and with the body and associated health benefits was the most commonly cited motivational factor for playing taiko among participants (Walker 2016c: online). As a result, it seems imperative to avoid polarity – whereby the mind (and associated cognitive processes) and body are separate – in the notational system. Instead, I seek to acknowledge the essential unity of what John Dewey (1958) termed the 'body-mind' and acknowledge as indivisible the corporeal and noncorporeal practices necessary to the production of music making through and with taiko.

Motion and actions are central to taiko practice. Humber Taiko, an organisation committed to developing taiko practice in North Lincolnshire, describes taiko as incorporative of 'drumming patterns, choreographed movements and energy shouts to create powerful and exciting performances' (2018: online). While certain performance components may be somewhat atypical in other genres, one point seems to unite the practice of all musical instruments (whether idiophones, membranophones, chordophones, aerophones or electrophones): the moving (musical) body produces sound. As John Blacking highlighted in the 1970s, 'by studying cross-culturally the somatic states involved in human behaviour and action, we may be able to describe better the latent repertoire of the human body from which cultural transformations are ultimately derived' (1977: 2). Blacking calls for close corporeal reading to identify 'how culture is done in the body' (Jones 2002: 7) and, more broadly, how the body functions as a site of social, political and cultural intervention. This has profound implications for ethnomusicological study – researchers can consider how moving bodies inhibit, generate and signify sociality in the course of music making.

Notably, only two taiko scholars expressly analyse the use of the moving body despite the inherent physicality of taiko practice; neither draws upon notation of any kind. Bender (2012) considers the decidedly masculine visual aesthetic on display in Japan as a result of positioning overtly strong, male bodies centre-stage. Wong (2000) argues that the bodies of taiko players are both racialised and gendered in the context of (Asian) American identity politics following a dramaturgical close reading of a scene from *Rising Sun*, a 1993 American action film.

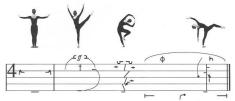
As highlighted in the literature review, most scholarly inquiry has focused on musical practice beyond Japan, principally in North America. Race and gender are recurrent themes in the literature, particularly in relation to diasporic taiko practice (Ahlgren 2011; Johnson 2008, 2012; Izumi 2001; Kobayashi 2006a; Konagaya 2001; Powell 2008; Sybert 2014; Williams 2013; Yoon 2001, 2009). Broadly speaking, analysis is predicated on the immediacy of race and gender rather than the multiple intelligences of the bodies' knowledge exhibited through sound-producing movement during taiko practice. For instance, Wong's latest monograph expressly addresses the shift from 'the particular to the collective body ... that is shaped by hierarchies of authority and control' (2019: 161). Thus, in order to analyse if and how bodily movements (as opposed to the presence of a body on stage) serve as a signifier, it is imperative that both movements and the sonic outcomes of such gestures are transcribed. This approach (or perhaps even philosophy) has discursive ramifications too. For instance, the editorial team for Ahlgren's monograph describes the art form as 'dynamic choreographies and booming drumbeats' (Ahlgren 2018). If we acknowledge the interdependency of the human body and artistic agency, whereby the production of sound is the goal but not the mechanism of the action (Schiavio et al 2017), one might instead suggest 'booming drumbeats caused by dynamic choreographies'. In doing so, we acknowledge what Judith Butler (1993) characterised as the materiality of the body, in turn enabling us to identify how bodies are symbolically recognised and how actions create meanings.

1.4.4 Somatic and Sonic (Re-)Presentations

As already intimated, the somatic and sonic elements of taiko practice cannot effectively be transcribed using what Hood (1982: 90) describes as 'this ethnocentric crutch ... [namely] "doctored" Western notation'. Killick (2021: 241) proposes a global notation system and process that starts with 'the particular features to be specified', in turn avoiding normalised assumptions about how sound is organised. In the case of taiko, I argue that such a proposition must include movement. Hutchinson Guest (1984) identifies more than 90 existing choreology systems to allow movement to be recorded on paper. Chief among these are Labanotation, a system devised in the 1920s by Rudolf Laban, and Benesh Movement Notation that – like a Western musical score – adopts a five-line staff. Christopher Hampson, Artistic Director of Scottish Ballet, states that:

I have had most of my works notated in Benesh Movement Notation. It's such a fantastic and precise way to document work. Far better than a recording where mistakes in performance are captured forever. A Benesh score is impartial, and close to "word perfect." For me, it's essential that work is notated (n.d.: online).

Hampson is effusive about the benefits of movement notation but intimates that the act of transcribing is a highly skilled task. Musical Example 1.4 presents an excerpt from a Benesh notation along with added human figures depicting the movements transcribed. While the level of detail available to the experienced user is clearly advantageous, the knowledge and skills required to interpret such choreological systems serves as a barrier to adapting it for the purposes of taiko.



Musical Example 1.4. Example of Benesh notation with added graphical representation. *Source*: Royal Academy of Dance n.d.: online.

As previously highlighted, it is not my intention to develop a complex system that will place significant demands upon users. Instead, I seek to achieve equilibrium by producing a system simple enough to enable access among a broad range of users yet robust enough to facilitate scholarly analysis. In identifying what should be included, it is helpful to adopt Killick's (2021) approach and begin by questioning whether elements are significant. Table 1.2 sets out the various components that are foundational to the practice and performance of taiko. While separated into sonic and movement elements, it should be acknowledged that the system is premised on the inherent interconnectedness of sound-producing movements.

Sonic elements	Movement elements	
Instrumentation	• Placement of the players' feet	
Relative pitch	• Start position and subsequent	
• Timbre	movement of the arms	
Beginning and end	Movements around the drum	
Pulse, meter and tempo	• Jumps	
Dynamics and accents		
• <i>Kiai</i> – shouts used during performances		

Table 1.2. Sonic and musical elements included in taiko notation.

In order to represent embodied elements graphically, I created a database of stick figures depicting choreographed taiko movements. I used animation tools shared on Scratch (n.d.), an online initiative from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Lab that allows young people to learn programming skills. The creation of computer-generated images of specific bodily positions and movements on the Slack website is both free and simple; I can then type them into applications such as MuseScore and Microsoft Word. The stick figure approach also enables transcribers to add the movement notation by hand if so desired.

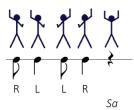
A simple *beta* example is presented in Musical Example 1.5. The body is presented from the drummer's point of view, rather than the audience's perspective. From this simple image, we can determine the position of the drummer's feet; the start position of the arms (i.e. the pose from which the sound is subsequently produced) and – by extension – the *bachi*; and the placement of each independent arm.

Musical Example 1.5. Notation depicting use of the body.

When placed in sequence (as in Musical Example 1.6), readers are provided with an accessible overview of the bodily movements used to produce sound.



By placing these notated movements in a rhythmic context, we begin to see the emergence of a holistic system. In line with my vision of ensuring accessibility and Killick's (2021) core principle of economy, I present notated movements aligned with Western staff notation (including sticking and *kiai*) and *kuchi-shōga*, thus providing the necessary information for interpretation and analysis in an economical manner. A short exemplar phrase is shown in Musical Example 1.7.



KODON KODON su Musical Example 1.7. Short exemplar phrase presented using taiko notation.

The combination of elements means that the system has applications for practitioners and scholars alike: Western staff notation enables interpretation by music scholars and users, as well as comparison to other forms of music; the incorporation of *kuchi-shōga* reflects its status as a widespread teaching and learning tool among players in the UK and beyond, in turn allowing practitioners to interpret scores; and the presentation of simple stick figures facilitates understanding of the choreography and – in turn – how the sounds are produced.

Throughout the thesis, I present notation in order to support analysis of the ways in which social dynamics are enacted musically. In short, my study of taiko is unapologetically musical. By developing a taiko-specific notation system, I support Hutchinson Guest's declaration that 'video records an individual performance; notation records the work itself, not the performance of it... The *concept* of the work is best recorded in notation' (2005: 6, emphasis mine).

My proposed taiko notation system is not a *fait accompli* but rather a prototype which scholars and practitioners are encouraged to develop further. Indeed, it is hoped that transcriptions in subsequent chapters of this thesis serve as a diagnostic tool for its advancement. Its efficacy can only be determined by application in a wide range of settings.

1.5 Chapter Outline

The final section of this introductory chapter outlines the organising principle for the thesis structure and provides a brief overview of the main arguments I shall go on to make. In each chapter, I consider at least one event designed to bring together taiko players and examine how the resulting activities – both social and musical – serve to contribute towards the development of both the community and landscape of practice. While the five substantive chapters function as semi-autonomous case studies of different phenomena at play, they share a common focus: the intersection of taiko *and* the UK as well as the resultant impact on the development of both CoTPs and the wider landscape.

In chapter two, I provide a brief history of the art form's development in the United Kingdom, a demographic profile of UK-based CoTP members and an overview of key

organisations and events in the wider landscape. I argue that taiko is inherently global yet suggest that UK players privilege opportunities to train in Japan and/or with Japanese instructors.

Chapter three explores the wide-ranging social change applications of taiko in a range of geographies. I present four discrete case studies in the UK, USA and Japan and explore how taiko is used as a tool to bring about change for marginalised groups in society and within the taiko landscape. Varied actors are at play in the chapter, ranging from a social practice artist in Boston to British diplomats in Tokyo. I nevertheless conclude with a recommendation for players working in niche areas (e.g. therapeutic applications of taiko) to learn from others based in different regions of the landscape.

The fourth chapter examines leadership *within* communities of taiko practice, specifically in response to challenges faced by members due to particular characteristics, including gender. I introduce and apply a novel theoretical framework – the nascent model of taiko leadership – to explain the steps that leaders and players take to address such issues. Ultimately, I argue that the overarching objective of taiko leadership is to change the creative and/or social conditions for playing taiko. I suggest modifications and considerations for ethnomusicologists who wish to apply the framework to other musical settings.

In chapter five, I consider the evolution of the European Taiko Conference, an event instigated by UK player Jonathan Kirby. I put forward and employ musical cosmopolitan sociability (MCS), an original theoretical framework, in order to determine how musical interactions are practiced at short-lived, transnational community events. I argue that players demonstrate openness to common human feelings, hopes and/or experiences through musicking together, in turn creating an intimate musical world. I present discrete examples of the phenomenon at play at all four iterations of the conference, providing detailed musical analysis of four pieces in order to illustrate the manifestation of social processes in musical outputs.

Chapter six offers a portrait of Martin Doyle, the artistic director of Tsuchigumo Daiko and my former taiko teacher. I employ ethnography and analysis of a song to argue that Doyle makes a unique stylistic and compositional contribution to the art form by drawing from the international landscape of practice.

I present the conclusions of this research project in chapter seven. I argue that system convenors – principally comprised of full-time professional players and/or community organisers – are integral to the development of CoTPs and, in turn, the international landscape of taiko practice. Moreover, I suggest that despite proclamations of inclusion and diversity, practices within the community do not always reflect common values. Finally, I identify porous boundaries between highly mobile members of the UK CoTP and other communities within the landscape. Yet as digital interaction becomes more commonplace in response to limited face-to-face gatherings, I suggest a worrisome possibility, namely the disenfranchisement of members who are digitally illiterate and/or unable to practice due to government restrictions and/or health concerns.

Before turning to the second chapter, I wish to forewarn readers from the taiko community that I am critical of some activities within the UK CoTP and wider landscape. My critique, however, is not an end in itself; rather, I aim to address my research questions faithfully. Moreover, I seek to draw attention to issues that can be addressed collectively for the benefit of all members of our taiko community. Where possible, I have provided recommendations for next steps as well as clear models in an attempt to be of service to the art form and its practitioners. Secondly, while my thesis is focused squarely on taiko, I nevertheless hope to provide scholars and interested parties who do *not* practice the art form with new insights into pertinent ethnomusicological themes. In particular, I offer a profile of an 'adopted' music and its practitioners on an (inter-)national scale and advance two novel theoretical contributions to explain how players from disparate geographies experience musicking together. I also employ a bespoke notation and analysis system that incorporates choreography, thus offering an approach that connects sound, movement and social engagement for analytical purposes. Ultimately, however, I present and dissect the varied structures that underlie a community of musical practice and its role in the wider landscape, in turn offering evidence to support ethnomusicological inquiry on a global scale.

2. UK Taiko in Global Contexts

The UK Taiko Festival (UKTF) – staged annually from 2005-2015 and biennially from 2017 – is directed by Jonathan Kirby, Artistic Director of Kagemusha Taiko. The programmes offer participants the opportunity to engage in taiko through multiple modalities: for instance, over three days in July 2019, the thirteenth (and most recent) UKTF offered concerts, practical workshops, film screenings, presentations, social gatherings, street performances, and equipment and merchandise for sale (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.d). To borrow Benjamin Pachter's description of taiko events, the festival offers 'a celebration of all things *wadaiko*' in the United Kingdom (Pachter 2013: 1).

Although titled the 'UK Taiko Festival', the event attracts participants and engages performers from around the world. UKTF 2019 included performances and workshops by Kaoly Asano, a Tokyo-based artist whose group and school presents 'juicy grooves and unique poly-rhythms' (Gocoo n.d.: online); screenings of 'Taiko Film: Healing Beats', a documentary by Spanish director Iván Muñoz Ureta (2019); the sale of instruments and equipment by Miyamoto Unosuke Shoten Co. Ltd., a Japanese builder of taiko and festival instruments and kaDON, its California-based subsidiary; a raffle sponsored by Kaiser Drums, an artists' agency and taiko shop headquartered in Dusseldorf; and performances by Kion Dojo, a Hamburgbased ensemble. Meanwhile, players based in the United Kingdom performed in 'Taiko Beats', a concert in which 'six different taiko groups from across the UK each play for 10 minutes - a great way to sample an enjoyable variety of taiko styles' as well as 'A Feast of Taiko', a concert comprised of UK youth groups (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.d). In addition, UK players gave short verbal presentations and informal public performances over the course of Saturday, July 6, 2019. Finally, Tano Taiko (part of Devon-based Kagemusha Taiko) and Tsuchigumo Daiko (Glasgow), along with Kion Dojo and Kaoly Asano, performed in 'Taiko without Borders' - the festival's headline concert.

This brief overview of the thirteenth festival provides insights into the global contexts in which some players engage with the art form from the UK. Reflecting upon the conception and initiation of the event some fifteen years ago, Kirby (2018: 242) notes that 'for taiko to take root and grow in the UK, players needed to get together, to draw strength and inspiration from each other' – regardless of where they may come from. Indeed, Kirby suggests that 'Taiko [is] without Borders' in both the title of his monograph and the UKTF 2019 concert. However, as I shall go on to argue, taiko is also *of* the UK – the art form's adopters reflect and integrate local contexts when musicking. In this chapter, I position UK taiko within the global landscape of practice, highlighting the art form's history and migratory flows as well as key actors and events. In addition, I set out to offer the reader an understanding of the UK taiko population as well as the localities where players in the UK engage in the art form.

2.1 Taiko in the UK: Demography and Locality

In the introduction to the thesis, I went to lengths to emphasise that this research project cannot engage every player in the United Kingdom nor reflect their experiences of/with the art form. Moreover, I discussed the impracticalities of mapping UK taiko players and groups with any degree of accuracy, not least because taiko is principally pursued as a leisure activity, thus minimising the need for any formal or comprehensive membership body. I now suggest, however, that in addition to being infeasible, a count of players and their

experiences is unnecessary in the context of this project. As Ali notes, 'a population is often defined by demographers according to the specific needs of the research and researcher' (2019: online). In order to respond to my research questions, I focus upon a subgroup of players who elect to join a community of practice (CoP) that extends beyond membership of a single group (e.g. by travelling to meet and learn from other players). In other words, surveys of players – whether conducted for an organisation or to evaluate a specific event – should serve to support our understanding of *why* players join such CoPs in the first place. First, I briefly introduce the main data collection instruments that I employed before presenting and contextualising the relevant findings of the data.

2.1.1 Principal Quantitative Instruments

As noted in the first chapter, websites run by community members such as Taiko Source (n.d.) and Wadaiko Toshokan (n.d.) provide some insights into the scale and reach of the art form through the provision of maps and (albeit incomplete) global group directories. However, I have also gathered targeted data from members of communities of taiko practice (CoTP) for specific purposes. For instance, prior to the inaugural European Taiko Conference (ETC) in February 2016, I designed and implemented a survey of participants with the support of Jonathan Kirby (the organiser).¹¹ The conference's stated ambition was 'developing the community ... developing the art form', an objective that was to be realised by participants getting to know one another, learning from one another, participating in workshops with world-class players and teachers, and playing, learning, and eating together. As I note in the published report:

The format and ethos of the ETC set out to ask whether a European taiko community existed and it was acknowledged that any such community was undefined and informal. In support of the overarching objective of the conference, all delegates were invited to participate in a survey designed *to identify what further support would be required to develop a strong and vibrant European taiko community* (Walker 2016a: 1, emphasis mine).¹²

In this instance, I gathered data from individuals who elected to interact with other players in order to improve – the definition of a community of practice. However, my goal as a researcher was quite distinct: to identify the resources required to enable the CoP to flourish.

Taiko Community Alliance (TCA), a California-based membership body with a vision 'to empower the people and advance the art of taiko', adopted a similar approach to its 2016 Taiko Census (n.d.b: online). The survey collated demographic information as well as optional information about players' motivations, practices and spending behaviours from respondents in 22 countries.¹³ The TCA Board charged its Tech Committee (TC)¹⁴ with designing the census, managing data collection, and analysing the information ultimately provided by 2,466 taiko players from around the world. When I joined the TC in early 2016, the planned outcome of the exercise had already been identified: 'to measure the art form ... [and] to identify taiko community needs ... so that we can better shape our programming' (Taiko

¹¹ The survey questions are listed in full in Appendix A.

¹² While the citation refers to my original report published in English, it is worth noting that Michael Jürges, the creator of 'Wadaiko Toshokan' and 'BiblioTaiko' (a German-speaking taiko website) translated and published the report in German (Walker 2016b).

¹³ The TCA Taiko Census 2016 questions are listed in full in Appendix B.

¹⁴ TCA and Committee members solely refer to the 'Tech' (as opposed to the 'Technology') Committee, hence why I use this term.

Community Alliance 2016: online, emphasis mine). In other words, TCA – an organisation centred on a passion for taiko – sought to use member data to enhance the service it offers, in turn responding to the community of taiko practice's (CoTP) needs. This high-level objective is particularly striking given TCA is largely staffed by volunteers,¹⁵ demonstrating real commitment by members to the domain.

Some 85 players resident in the United Kingdom took part in the TCA Taiko Census 2016. While the TC designed and implemented a wide-ranging marketing campaign to encourage participation, the only real incentive for (potential) respondents was to support the development of the taiko community through the provision of data. In other words, we might reasonably assume that respondents who completed the census are passionate about taiko and self-identify as members of the CoTP. Yet what did these data collection exercises reveal about UK taiko players and their membership of a CoTP?

2.1.2 UK-Based Taiko Players: A Privileged Cohort

My analysis of the data submitted to the TCA Taiko Census by UK-based players reveals a headline finding: respondents are remarkably homogeneous and privileged. Herewith a brief profile of the 85 respondents:

- Women comprise a small majority (61.2%)
- Respondents are disproportionately White (92%) compared to the general UK population¹⁶
- The cohort is highly educated 99% of respondents have some higher education experience, while nearly one-third (32%) has been awarded a postgraduate qualification
- The average age is 44 (Walker 2016c).

I suggest that these four indicators – crude though they may be – draw attention to potentially uncomfortable issues for the CoTP in the United Kingdom. We can reasonably infer that social class, power and privilege are at play, particularly given the underrepresentation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic players and the prevalence of highly educated members. As Palmer (2018: 22) notes, 'equity within social spaces [comes about] by challenging injustices inflicted on disfranchised groups', yet players from marginalised and/or under-served communities appear to be largely absent from the profile. Indeed, in numerous photos that illustrate my thesis, the reader is confronted with the immediate and conspicuous absence of diversity.

The racial profile of UK-based players stands in stark contrast to that of the USA and Canada. Respondents identified with 33 races, including 26 mixed races, suggesting far greater racial diversity. Most players identified as either Asian (49%) or Asian mixed race (11.5%), in part accounting for scholars' sustained focus on 'Asian American' taiko and practitioners (Ahlgren 2018; Kobayashi 2006a; Konagaya 2001; Wong 2019; Yoon 2001). Indeed, only 30% of players self-identified as White, suggesting a markedly different music culture. However, Michael Jürges suggests that most players in Germany – 'the vast majority

¹⁵ In 2020, Taiko Community Alliance (n.d.e) recruited paid employees for three roles: Business Manager, Operations Manager and Programme Manager. Otherwise, volunteers staff the organisation.

¹⁶ 86% of the general population in England and Wales identified as White in 2011 (Office for National Statistics 2011: para. 1). Based on data gathered from 2014-2016, the Office for National Statistics (2019) estimates that 84.9% of the UK population identifies as White (78.8% White British and 6.2% All Other White).

[of whom] ... appear to be German nationals of Germany ancestry' (Jürges 2015: 72) – are also White. Thus, the dominance of White players may be a European trend as opposed to a specifically British characteristic.

By mentioning the privileged position of most respondents, I do not mean to suggest that taiko is more elitist or less inclusive than other musical forms practiced in the United Kingdom. Referring to instrumental learning and teaching across the UK, for instance, the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) notes that:

Children from lower socio-economic groups continue to be significantly disadvantaged compared with their peers from more affluent backgrounds. Sustained, progressive music education tends to be the preserve of children born to wealthier parents. ... Adults who had private lessons as children and sat a music exam were much more likely to still play an instrument – and the higher the grade achieved, the more likely they were to continue learning (Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music 2014: 10).

ABRSM's consideration of private lessons undoubtedly excludes many forms of music making across the United Kingdom (e.g. folk club sessions and community choirs). Moreover, the institution is largely concerned with the performance of solo Western art instruments as well as (Western) music theory. Nevertheless, the ABRSM report determines that some 60% of adult learners of musical instruments self-identify with managerial, administrative and professional occupations. However, as Table 2.1 highlights, a significant minority (24%) identify as unemployed or employed in semi-or unskilled manual labour or the lowest grade occupations, suggesting (but not concluding) somewhat greater socio-economic diversity among instrumentalists compared to taiko players.

Social Grade	Description	Percentage
AB	Higher and intermediate	28%
	managerial/administrative/professional occupations	
C1	Supervisory, clerical and junior	32%
	managerial/administrative/professional occupations	
C2	Skilled manual occupations	16%
DE	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations;	24%
	unemployed and lowest grade occupations	

Table 2.1. Social class of adult instrumental learners in the UK. *Source*: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music 2014: 8.

Taiko can undoubtedly be an expensive pursuit, particularly for hobbyists. For instance, a single 54cm *nagado-daiko* (including *bachi*) from a UK supplier of percussion instruments costs £1,013 (Percussion Plus n.d.) whereas an introductory weekend workshop at the Mugen Taiko Dojo in Lanarkshire costs £190, excluding transport and accommodation (Mugen Taiko n.d.e).¹⁷ Notably, however, the available data suggests that playing taiko is not necessarily an expensive undertaking for census respondents. One third of respondents do not pay for taiko instruction whereas a small minority (15%) spend £51 per month or more. While taiko is almost exclusively taught in group settings, the cost of face-to-face classes (where charges are applied) is low compared to some other forms of instrumental instruction. For instance, according to the Incorporated Society of Musicians (n.d.), private

¹⁷ The workshop includes eleven hours of instruction and lunch. All equipment is provided.

music teachers in the UK charge £32 per hour on average for tuition. However, samba – an art form typically taught in group settings – appears broadly commensurate: London-based Paraiso School of Samba (2020) charges £8 per session for *bateria* classes, whereas Samba Dance Birmingham (n.d.) charges £7 per session for weekly 60 minutes classes.

In terms of additional costs, a significant majority (70%) of respondents spend less than £100 per year on taiko products, although this reflects the tendency for groups (rather than individuals) to purchase drums and accessories. Interestingly, players seem to invest more readily in taiko events (spanning concerts, intensive courses, festivals and workshops): 44% spend £101-£500 per year and 13% spend more than £500 per year; the remainder spend less than £100 per year per annum. While variation clearly exists, the collective associated costs of participating in taiko appear strikingly low, particularly when compared to other leisure activities. For instance, according to the Department of Health's Policy Research Programme (England), the mean cost for individuals who spend money on sports and exercise is £176 per month (Anokye, Pokhrel, Doyle-Francis, and Fox-Rushby 2016: 20). Why, then, are UK-based respondents so seemingly homogeneous?

One factor that may partially account for the profile above is geographic location. Figure 2.1 presents a map of UK-based census respondents' locations based on home postcodes. Even a cursory examination reveals that participants are spread across mainland UK, although clusters can be found in the South West, North East and North West of England, and the central belt of Scotland.¹⁸ Notably, some of these areas are predominantly White. For instance, in the 2011 census, only 5.1% of the population in Devon identified as BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic), including 'White other' – a figure that dropped to 1.5% in Cumbria (Devon County Council n.d.; Cumbria Intelligence Observatory n.d.). Additionally, events spanning long weekends – thus demanding travel and accommodation costs in addition to registration or ticket fees – were prevalent prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Accordingly, participation may well be restricted depending upon location and financial disparities for low-income, middle-income and high-income players.

This high-level demographic profile of UK-based players and their spending habits draws attention to two concerns which I consider throughout the thesis: first, whether the CoTP inadvertently denies access to cohorts of players (e.g. due to cost and/or identity characteristics); and second, whether membership of the UK CoTP is premised on geographic mobility.

¹⁸ Taiko is also practiced in Northern Ireland. Ibuki Taiko offers classes, performances and festivals in County Londonderry.



Figure 2.1. Map of UK TCA Taiko Census 2016 respondents' locations (based on home postcode).

2.1.3 Deference to Japan

The data from which I built a profile of UK-based taiko players revealed a second highly relevant characteristic among respondents, namely deference to Japanese groups and instructors yet an absence of any motivation arising from a prior interest in Japan.

While forty respondents completed the inaugural European Taiko Conference (2016) participant survey, the number from the UK (13) is too small to derive any meaningful UK-specific conclusions. Nevertheless, the survey findings provide a complimentary European perspective on the CoTP, particularly concerning taiko training, as well as the distinguishing features of ETC attendees.¹⁹

The ETC participant survey suggests players undertake varied forms of training and development. In particular, the data indicates an internationally connected cohort – six in ten had participated in a workshop with an international (typically Japanese) teacher in their country of residence, and a full third had engaged in taiko activities in Japan over the course of the previous three years. Despite the tendency to seek additional training from Japanese players, only a minority of respondents (43%) had taken part in workshops, festivals and events organised by other groups in their countries of residence. For instance, 35% of survey participants had taken part in at least one UK Taiko Festival – an event also organised by ETC director Jonathan Kirby. Indeed, it is rather striking that most players had not engaged in

¹⁹ 55% of conference delegates (35) completed the ETC survey, and a further five individuals who did not attend the ETC also participated. Delegates and non-delegates resident in Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America completed the survey. The response rate was highest among participants based in the United Kingdom (13) followed by Germany (7) and Belgium (6).

activities organised by other groups, despite the relative prevalence of ensembles across the UK. $^{\rm 20}$

UK-based respondents to the TCA Taiko Census described common motivating factors for attending taiko gatherings, specifically: learning to play, watching other taiko groups perform, performance opportunities and networking with peers (as opposed to community leaders). Those who had participated in events reported valuing the people (i.e. attendees) as well as opportunities to learn (i.e. by taking part in workshops and attending performances by other groups). These data suggest preliminary evidence of the presence of a CoTP organised around taiko events – or at least a desire to engage with such a community. Indeed, the presence of a group of people, a shared passion for taiko, and a desire to improve through interaction with one another – the core components of a community of practice – emerge from UK-based respondents' census data.

Japan and/or East Asia more generally are conspicuously absent as motivating factors for engaging in taiko in the United Kingdom. For instance, respondents to the ETC participant survey listed health and wellbeing as the primary motivational factor. More generally, a love of playing/enjoyment, sense of community and exercise emerge as broadly common themes in the TCA Taiko Census and ETC participant survey data. In stark contrast, USA and Canadabased respondents also commonly cite Japanese and Japanese/Asian American culture, providing just one example of how practice manifests differently in the UK (Walker 2016a).

2.1.4 Significance of the UK-Based Taiko Player Profile

In my conclusion to the published summary report for the inaugural European Taiko Conference, I endeavour to respond to the survey's stated purpose, namely 'to identify what further support would be required to develop a strong and vibrant European taiko community' (Walker 2016a: 1). Drawing upon data that captures the attitudes and perspectives of a self-selecting group principally comprised of Europeans, I propose that:

players need to articulate clearly what they mean by a (European) taiko community, both in terms of what it might be able to offer but also what individuals could contribute towards it. At present, any such body does not have an explicit identity. It is neither possible nor desirable for a taiko community to be static or monolithic. Instead, I suggest it capitalises upon shared knowledge, practice and values to work towards common goals that are yet to be defined (ibid: 11).

In the following chapters, I examine players' engagement with the art form and community at events and activities spanning four years (2016-2019). In light of the key characteristics presented, I trace the establishment, pursuit and achievement of common goals among players who elect to participate in a CoTP and – in turn – the international landscape of taiko practice. In the meantime, however, I present the history and migratory flows of taiko in the United Kingdom. Moreover, I offer some suggestions as to how and why the profile of UK-based CoTP members developed, particularly concerning the 'adoption' of taiko by a homogeneous group of players and on-going deference to Japanese instructors and groups.

²⁰ During informal conversations, some players reported that their teachers actively discouraged attendance at classes taught by other teachers (except with their express permission). In other words, some taiko teachers in the UK deter their students from learning from others.

2.2. History and Migratory Flows

Kumi-daiko – the ensemble taiko drumming with which this research project is concerned – can be considered a relatively new phenomenon given its inception in Nagano Prefecture in the 1950s. As Church (2020: online) asserts, however, the 'current taiko craze [is] mushrooming on every continent' – a claim supported by the copious pinpoints on group maps marking the presence of ensembles all over the world (Taiko Source n.d.; Wadaiko Toshokan n.d.).

In Europe, taiko is often enjoyed by audiences and players who share little or no connection with Japan; for instance, only 7.5% of European Taiko Conference survey participants stated that an interest in Japan and/or East Asia partially motivated their engagement with the art form (Walker 2016a: 4). Moreover, UK-based participants are overwhelmingly and disproportionately White, suggesting minimal engagement from the Japanese diasporic community in the UK. Nevertheless, the ready transmission of taiko to settings where any link to a Japanese art form might be unexpected – including Aberystwyth, Derry-Londonderry, Glasgow, Leicester, Norwich, Scunthorpe and Windermere – raises an important question: how and why, to borrow Katharine Lee's (2018: 1) helpful term, has taiko 'gone global'?

In order to understand taiko's migratory flow to the United Kingdom, we first need to understand its wider transmission from Japan. As Angela Ahlgren points out in her doctoral thesis, however, this process is not straightforward:

For the taiko scholar, the form's history is elusive, since its early history (especially anything before the 1970s) is not written but passed down orally in classes and performances. Because the stories are often told as part of performances and workshops, they are highly condensed for brevity and to engage an audience. As such, these orally transmitted histories take on mythic attributes (Ahlgren 2011: 16).

While Ahlgren's research focuses upon taiko in the USA and Canada, the issues she describes are transatlantic. The scarcity of published material focused on taiko in the United Kingdom and Europe more widely means that the historical record is both limited and – on occasion – contested. Nevertheless, I attempt to chronicle the emergence of taiko in the UK in brief and underscore areas of dispute among players. First, however, I attend to Japan. Rather than narrating the development of taiko in its country of origin, I focus instead on the earliest performances by Japanese groups overseas that aided the subsequent transmission of the art form to a demographically uniform cohort of players in the UK and Europe.²¹

Prior to Daihachi Oguchi's post-war initiation of ensemble taiko drumming, the instrument typically occupied subsidiary roles in festival performances and religious ceremonies. Despite the jazz drummer's almost fabled role in the art form's history, 'no single person or group ... can lay claim to being the singular "origin" of Japanese taiko' (Bender 2012: 48). Instead, four principal ensembles – Osuwa Daiko, Sukeroku Daiko, Ondekoza and Kodō – developed respective repertoire, aesthetics and styles that helped to popularise ensemble drumming in Japan.²² However, one performance proved instrumental. In 1964, Osuwa Daiko – a group formed by Oguchi – performed at the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo, an event televised in both Japan and the United States. Known as the 'TV Olympics', broadcasters used satellites to provide live, in-colour, transcontinental broadcasting of the sporting event and associated ceremonies for the first time (NHK n.d.: online). Following the

²¹ *Taiko Boom* offers a detailed study of the development of ensemble taiko drumming in Japan (Bender 2012).

²² For detailed overviews of all four groups, see Bender 2012.

performance, Oguchi earned his income solely from taiko; indeed, according to Bender (2012: 52), 'the Tokyo Olympics, along with taiko performances at the Osaka World's Fair in 1970, was one of the most important events in encouraging the spread of ensemble taiko across Japan'.

In 1975, Ondekoza travelled to Europe for its first international tour. A Kodō enewsletter notes that their 'antecedent group Sado no Kuni Ondekoza made its own European debut in Paris in 1975 at the theatre at Espace Pierre Cardin. At that time, their never-before-seen playing style and intensity caused a sensation in Paris' (Kodō 2011: 2). By attributing the audience's reaction solely to the players' physicality and technique, one is left with a somewhat incomplete account of the tour's impact on the development of the genre – both in Japan and internationally. While the promotional poster for the concerts advertises 'rythmes et fureur d'un japon inconnu [rhythms and fury of an unknown Japan]', it also depicts a performer in a costume specifically designed to appeal to European audiences (Bender 2010: 861). As the image presented in Figure 2.2 shows, the young, male *o-daiko* player is wearing a fundoshi (Japanese loincloth), and thus appears almost nude as a result. According to Ondekoza's manager, 'this was Pierre Cardin's idea' – one that served to attract a 'long line of gay men waiting outside the theatre to see us' (Den 1994: 4-5).

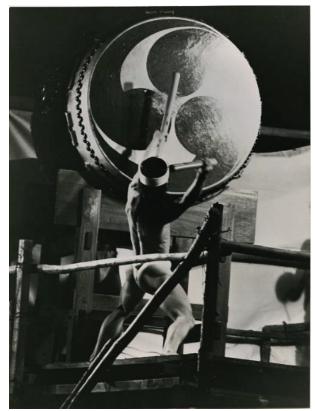


Figure 2.2. Photograph of an *o-daiko* player performing in *fundoshi* (used to promote Ondekoza concerts at the Espace Pierre Cardin in 1975). *Source*: Bender 2010: 861.

As Bender (2012: 93) notes, 'Cardin apparently imagined this to be the way that "ōdaiko" was commonly played in Japan.' This tension – one characterised by the performance of an image of Japan that is adapted to appeal to European sensibilities – emerged during the very first concerts by Japanese players in Europe. Indeed, the performance in *fundoshi* marked the genesis of a new, extremely popular performance practice with homoerotic undertones –in 1978, demand was such that the group toured

Japan, Europe and America for five straight months (Bender 2012: 96). Moreover, the motif persists today; among professional touring Japanese groups, the semi-naked, muscular, male \bar{o} -daiko player has become emblematic of contemporary taiko performance. Variations of the image can be found on promotional materials for concerts in Europe (see Figure 2.3), Australasia and the Americas; on DVDs; and even on the cover of Bender's 2012 monograph on taiko. As Schuckmann notes, 'they are constructed to be looked at, to attract, to seduce, to be consumed and to *incite consumption*: the male body has become a commodity' (1998: 671, emphasis mine).

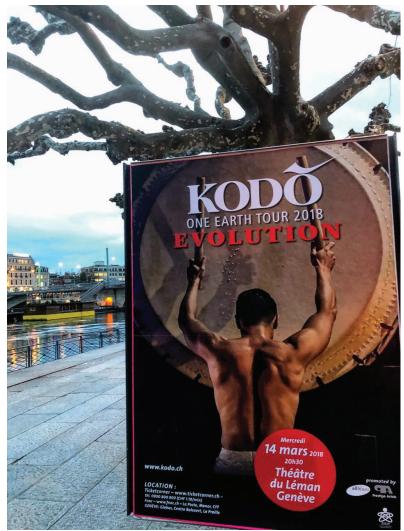


Figure 2.3. Promotional poster for a performance by Kodō in Geneva. Photo by Eri Uchida.

Notably, I have only come across one instance of a group based outside Japan performing in *fundoshi*. At the seventh UK Taiko Festival in 2011, Los Angeles-based TaikoProject performed a concert at the Northcott Theatre in Exeter. Bryan Yamami, the group's current managing director, opened the second half of the show by playing the *o*-*daiko* in *fundoshi* with his back to the audience. As Jonathan Kirby recalls, 'most of the audience, especially the younger ones, had no idea who Kodo were, and had never seen anyone playing in fundoshi before. ... Bryan's appearance was met by titters of nervous and embarrassed laughter from a lot of the younger ones in the audience, who had no idea what the heck it was all about ...' (email to author, December 10, 2020).

In short, I suggest that *fundoshi* is a costuming device associated with Japanese ensembles. While I can only speculate, I suggest that the choice reflects the profile of players: in the UK, they are typically middle-aged and play for leisure – a profile that stands in stark contrast to the often rigorous training and performance regimes followed by (typically younger) members of professional Japanese ensembles. Nevertheless, the art form's early history presents a hypothesis that I explore throughout the remaining four chapters: that the responsiveness of the art form to local conditions and tastes at least partially explains why so many UK-based players with little or no connection to Japan adopt it.

In 1981, former members of Ondekoza established Kodō – likely today's best-known Japanese ensemble. The group gave its debut performance in Europe at the 1981 Berlin Festival before subsequently touring Italy, San Marino, West Germany and Japan (Kodō n.d.a). Indeed, the group's name had its genesis in the United States when members performed as Ondekoza. Hayashi Eitetsu states:

at our first few performances in Los Angeles, our audiences were overwhelming[ly] Asian American. But over time we began to notice people of all ethnic varieties – white people, black people, Latinos – at our performances. What attracted them all, I figured, was that primordial sound that we've all heard but forgotten. I took these two images of "drum children" and "heartbeat" and came up with Kodo (quoted in Bender 2012: 97).

Put simply, Eitetsu reflects on the universality of the art form – one that transcends geographic boundaries and identity characteristics. Indeed, when Ondekoza first performed in the United States, local groups had already taken root. In 1968, Seiichi Tanaka, a student of Daihachi Oguchi, established the San Francisco Taiko Dojo, the first such training centre in the United States. Nevertheless, professional Japanese groups continued to tour regularly, attracting diverse audiences; since 1982, Kodō has performed in North America at least every other year and toured the United States for nine straight years from 1987. Sell-out runs in London, Paris and Lucerne characterise similar, sustained touring activities in Europe (Kodō n.d.a).

In presenting this brief, selective history, I wish to highlight a single important point: since the inception of the genre, professional Japanese groups have engaged internationally, developing and adapting the art form in response to international audiences. Put simply, ensemble taiko drumming is (and always has been) inherently cosmopolitan; for instance, over the course of 42-years, Ondekoza claim to have 'been influential in spreading and popularizing taiko, particularly outside of Japan. Many of pieces arranged by Ondekoza have been incorporated into the repertoire of taiko groups around the world' (Ondekoza n.d.: online). While Wenger-Trayner et al's (2015) 'landscape' metaphor seems apt to describe contemporary interactions among communities of practice formed of local groups, I also suggest that taiko has developed in a landscape from the outset as a result of pronounced internationalism – a state conducive to the art form's adoption by players in the UK.

As previously mentioned, Seiichi Tanaka – a Japanese emigrant – established the first taiko school in the United States in 1968. Twenty-one years later, Monika Baumgartl established Tentekko Taiko, the first taiko group in Germany as well as the first established by a European citizen in Europe. After attending a performance by Kodō in Dusseldorf in 1988, Baumgartl travelled to Japan to train briefly with the ensemble at its newly established centre on Sado Island. As Jürges (2015: 66) notes, Baumgartl was thus among the first taiko players from overseas to train at Kodō's village – a 13.2-hectare plot of land on the Ogi Peninsula where 'the lives of 60 Kodo members from throughout Japan are centred' (Kodō n.d.b:

online). Thereafter, she continued to travel regularly to undertake further training with ensembles in Japan while developing Tentekko Taiko (Jürges 2015: 66). While taiko has thus been practiced in Germany for over forty years, most ensembles formed during the twenty-first century (Jürges 2015: 1).

The origins of taiko in the United Kingdom follow a similar path, broadly characterised by training in Japan followed by the establishment of local groups. James Barrow, the founder and leader of Taiko West (based in the West Midlands) functioned as a vanguard of taiko in the United Kingdom. Writing on 'UK Taiko Scene', a public Facebook group, he recalls:

I started first because I was attracted to the raw power that I saw in the faces of the Hiroshima Taiko Hozonkai members I spotted through the crowd, when they were playing on the pavement outside Sogo Department Store in Hiroshima City Centre in November 1985. I'm a big rock music fan and for me there was something similarly primal about that taiko. Also, on a personal level, I really needed to do something physical cos at that time I was spending most of my free time meditating! (I got withdrawal symptoms when I came back to the UK and didn't play at all for 3 years) (James Barrow, August 18, 2012, 1:46p.m., comment on Kirby 2012).

James Barrow is the only taiko teacher in the UK with a *menkyo* (免許, permit/license) from a Japanese Taiko Preservation Society, which he obtained from 1986-1990 in Hiroshima (email to author, May 25, 2021). Upon his return to the United Kingdom in 1990, one other player practiced the art form; infrequent tours by professional Japanese ensembles served as the sole opportunity to engage with the art form in the UK.

After a three-year hiatus, Barrow established Akatsuki Daiko in Reading, Berkshire. In stark contrast to subsequent local groups, Akatsuki Daiko was hosted by a Japanese international school and was thus comprised of Japanese members. Thereafter, Barrow established the first taiko course for adults in the UK in conjunction with Mark Alcock in 1996.²³ More broadly, Barrow's biography describes community music projects and initiatives that employ taiko, including 'one of the largest taiko education projects in the UK' (Taiko West n.d.). In addition, he serves as co-founder and artistic director of the Wem Taiko Festival, an annual weekend in Shropshire comprised of workshops and performances, and the Midlands Taiko Day.

Two additional key actors within the UK taiko scene are Neil Mackie and Miyuki Williams.²⁴ The couple co-founded Mugenkyo in 1994 after returning to the United Kingdom following training in Japan with Masaaki Kurumaya. Four years after arriving back in London, the ensemble relocated to Lanarkshire and established the Mugen Taiko Dojo, the UK's first taiko centre and 'an educational organisation dedicated to the spread and development of the art form of Taiko Drumming in the UK' (Mugen Taiko n.d.d: online). On its website, the organisation writes that 'Mugenkyo have grown to become the most influential taiko organisation in the UK through their performances and teaching work, helping to establish the beginnings of a blossoming taiko community across the country' (Mugen Taiko n.d.a: online). While it is difficult – if not impossible – to accurately measure and compare the influence of groups, Mugenkyo is nevertheless a prime example of a UK group that has facilitated extensive local transmission. In other words, by providing introductory courses

 ²³ Alcock had trained with Tennon Daiko in Wakayama Prefecture and, after playing with Mugenkyo and London-based soloist Joji Hirota, subsequently established Taiko Meantime in 2001 (Taiko Meantime n.d.).
 ²⁴ Williams does not conform to the profile of UK players presented. Her mother is Japanese while her father is Welsh; she did not grow up in the United Kingdom, but rather moved among three continents (Mugen Taiko n.d.f).

followed by intensive training, local people with no connection to Japan can follow learning pathways to develop as professional taiko performers in Scotland. The biographies of Mugenkyo's touring artists attest to the success of this model (Mugen Taiko n.d.g).

UK groups routinely engage with the Dojo to undertake further training. For instance, in autumn 2019, York-based Kaminari UK Taiko Drummers travelled to the site 'for an intensive masterclass with Miyuki Williams. ... The focus of the weekend was Hokuriku style, including takebachi, new solo rhythms, "tsubame-kaeshi" cross-hands, chanchiki and soloing across two drums' (@Mugen Taiko Dojo, October 10, 2019). In addition, members and former members led public workshops at the Reverberations Festival in Glasgow, specifically 'Katsugi and Chappa with Mark Alcock, Hokuriku style with Liz Walters, Miyake with Teresa Brookes, Hachijo style with Miyuki Williams, Shakuhachi with Markus Guhe, and beginners workshop with Stella Chan' (@Mugen Taiko Dojo, September 23, 2019). Taiko players who performed and/or trained with Mugenkyo have subsequently gone on to establish independent ensembles, including Taiko Meantime (Mark Alcock) and Tamashii School of Taiko (Liz Walters), providing evidence of intra-UK transmission.

Among the first taiko players in the UK, two notable exceptions deviate from the model presented above: Jonathan Kirby and Joji Hirota. As a self-described 'white male, born and bred in England' (Kirby 2018: 11), Kirby serves as a prime example of a player with no pre-existing connections to Japan. Instead, he trained with San Jose Taiko, an ensemble established in 1973 'by young Asian Americans searching for an outlet to convey their experiences as third generation Japanese Americans, or Sansei' (San Jose Taiko n.d.b: online). Kirby recalls why his US-based training caused difficulties upon his return to the UK, writing that:

Another problem I would face would be prejudice. Firstly, like my fellow British taiko players, I was not Japanese. It's one thing to play something that is identified with your own cultural heritage, it's another to play something that is identified with someone else's. To this shortcoming of mine was added the fact that I hadn't even been to Japan and had trained in America. The fact that the excellent training I had received from San Jose Taiko had included a thorough study of the history of taiko in Japan was seen by some people as irrelevant (Kirby 2015: 29).

Kirby highlights the primacy placed on training in Japan in the 'European taiko desert of the late 1990s' (2018: 19). Nevertheless, his goal was simple: 'to get as many people as possible playing taiko in the UK, on the basis that taiko makes people happier' (Kirby 2018: 29). In the twenty-five years since Kirby became a full-time taiko professional, he has established groups, youth taiko projects, teacher training packages, corporate workshops, the UK Taiko Festival and European Taiko Conference in support of his objective. At the same time, a discernible shift towards localised interpretations of the art form has also taken place – a trend I discuss more fully in the following section.

The second exception to the rule is Joji Hirota, a Japanese musician who studied percussion and composition at Kyoto Arts University and subsequently took up residence in the United Kingdom. Hirota was in fact the first person to strike a taiko on UK soil. He recollects that 'my taiko drumming career in the UK started in the early '80s, when as far as I knew I was the only person playing the taiko in England. However, one by one, I have found new people to play with...' (@JojiHirota, October 29, 2018). In the 1980s, he established the Joji Hirota Taiko Ensemble, a group now known as Joji Hirota and the London Taiko Drummers. The group has had noticeable success, particularly reaching mainstream audiences. For instance, the ensemble served as the opening act for the 'Live Earth' concert

at Wembley Stadium in 2007 and has performed twice for BBC programmes, namely 'The One Show' on the broadcaster's main domestic television channel as well as a live session for BBC Radio 3. In addition, Hirota has served as a member of WOMAD since 1986.

In the programme for a 2013 fundraising concert in support of earthquake and tsunami victims in Japan, the London Taiko Drummers describe themselves as a 'highly regarded and well established *Japanese* traditional and contemporary taiko drumming group' (Hirota 2013, emphasis mine). Notably, in addition to Hirota's named role, the ensemble is almost solely comprised of Japanese and Japanese-British players. Indeed, the group routinely performs at the Japan Matsuri, an annual event held in London's Trafalgar Square which, according to His Excellency Mr. Koji Tsuruoka (Ambassador of Japan), 'really is Japan in the UK' (Japan Matsuri 2017: para. 1). Indeed, when I attended the event in 2017, Joji Hirota and the London Taiko Drummer occupied the prime slot on the main stage, promising 'intricate and fascinating rhythms and soundscapes [that] take us from traditional rhythms to melodic drumming' (ibid). As a result of his contributions to Japanese culture in the United Kingdom, Hirota received a commendation from the Japanese Ambassador in 2004.

Hirota maintains close ties with Japan. For instance, in 2012, he performed as part of a 'From London' concert in Tokyo as part of a line up comprised of Japanese emigrants to the UK. However, Hirota has also established further taiko groups in the United Kingdom including Thames Taiko, an ensemble 'consisting of members from truly multicultural and international backgrounds' (@Japan Matsuri, September 14, 2014). The Japanese Embassy in London nevertheless supports the group (ibid). In stark contrast, I have heard numerous anecdotal reports from White group leaders that they cannot secure support from Japanese cultural bodies in the United Kingdom for taiko activities. However, one might reasonably question why such organisations might fund activities that have no direct, clear-cut link to Japan (e.g. artist exchange), particularly in the context of constrained funding for cultural relations activities.

What does this brief overview of some of the UK's first taiko players tell us, particularly in relation to the subsequent widespread development of the art form across the UK? First, except for Kirby, the initial wave of players undertook training in Japan before establishing local groups. Connections to Japan are variously conceived among the vanguard: Hirota presents himself and his group as Japanese; Barrow, Williams and Mackie typically emphasise their Japanese training (e.g. Barrow's credentials); whereas Kirby vociferously argues that 'taiko is open to anybody and anything', including players who have never travelled to Japan (Kirby 2018: 18). Second, I suggest that the first few players established the UK taiko infrastructure that subsequently enabled the transmission of taiko within the UK. By offering taiko classes, establishing local groups and developing training centres, these players undertook the groundwork that ultimately enabled a player like me – a White, Scottish woman – to learn the art form from White, Scottish players who had been trained in the UK.

2.3 Contemporary Representations of Taiko in the United Kingdom

Despite the profile of taiko players in the United Kingdom and opportunities to learn from UK-trained teachers, taiko is variously promoted, particularly with regards to localisation and connections to Japan. As discussed in the introduction to the thesis, taiko is an invented tradition, namely 'a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past' (Hobsbawn 1983: 1). Some Japanese groups choose to capitalise upon this conception of taiko in order to

market concerts to UK audiences. In particular, the language employed often implies an ancient tradition, despite the emergence of the genre in the 1950s. At the 2015 Edinburgh Festival Fringe, for instance, Japan Marvelous Drummers [sic] promised to 'use the traditional instruments of Japan ... to change the way you think about Japan forever' (Edinburgh Festival Fringe n.d.a: online) while Tenrindaiko promoted 'ancient Japanese drumming techniques ... in this stunning performance of traditional taiko' (Edinburgh Festival Fringe n.d.b: online). Similarly, when advertising a concert at the Edinburgh Festival Theatre in the spring of 2015, Yamato offered 'authentic Japanese taiko drumming [that] awakens all five senses' (Edinburgh Theatres n.d.: online).

The promotion of live music events by touring Japanese ensembles offers two key insights into players' engagement with the art form. First, data from the European Taiko Conference participant survey reveals that more than two-thirds (68%) of respondents first encountered taiko at a performance by a touring Japanese group in their city or region (Walker 2016a: 4). While the survey captures experiences among a self-selecting group of players based in Europe, the trend is supported by anecdotal evidence from players in the United Kingdom. In 2012, Pippa Kirby, a member of Kagemusha Taiko in Devon, started an open discussion on the UK Taiko Scene Facebook page centred on why members play. In the thirty-one comments, players typically recounted their first encounter with the art form – often describing a transformative moment. William Parr of Kent-based Kensei Taiko recalls that:

I saw Yamato back in 2000-ish and was completely amazed by their power. Then [I] saw Mugenkyo and booked workshops with them. I'm a dedicated martial artist, and the two really complement each other. I don't consider myself expert or even good at taiko, but I love playing it and I love the effect it has on others when we play for them (William Parr, August 18, 2012, 6:01p.m., comment on Kirby 2012).

Similarly, Chris Chambers – a player who subsequently went on to perform with Mugenkyo – provides the following 'potted history':

I saw Tao playing at the Edinburgh Fringe [in] about 2004 and it blew me away. I used to play (mostly Senegalese) rhythms on djembe but this was something else. I saw them the following year and I saw Mugenkyo playing with Kurumaya Maasaki-Sensei as well. Other things happened and I next reconnected with taiko in 2007 when I saw Mugenkyo playing at of that year's 'Way of the Drum' show and felt the passion reignite. Through them I was put in touch with Miyamoto Taiko Studio in Tokyo where I trained for three months' (Chris Chambers, August 20, 2012, 3:05a.m., comment on Kirby 2012)

Notably, both players attended performances in the UK by Japanese ensembles and subsequently developed an association with Mugenkyo, Scotland's first ensemble. In other words, Parr and Chambers were first exposed to a Japanese ensemble but pursued their interest by connecting with a UK-based group.

Alas, I am unable to determine the impact of marketing strategies on the likelihood of concertgoers attending a taiko performance for this first time. In other words, it is unclear whether new audience members find the inferred notions of tradition, authenticity and longevity appealing in promotional materials for concerts. Notably, however, UK-based reviewers typically refer to the three elements as an inherently *Japanese* genre framework.

Writing in *Songlines*,²⁵ Michael Church – music and opera critic for *The Independent* – offers the following review of Kodō's 'Legacy' tour:

Beautifully lit, with the male performers in their trademark bandanas and *fundoshi* (loincloths), it's a feast for the eyes as well as a celebration of virtuosity. I was as entranced by the physical drama as by the music. The men attack the miya-daikos with quasi-murderous intent, the women's left hands flash faster than the eye can register as they pummel both ends of their double-headed drums, the line of Buddha-like shime-daiko players conjure up shimmering sonic worlds. These begin with a delicate susurration, the sticks propelled by nothing more than their own weight, then they bring the volume up to a boil that makes the hall shake before embarking on an antiphonal conversation where each drummer takes his or her turn in the limelight. The arrival of the odaiko – reverently prayed to, before it is played – marks the grand climax of an evening which, though often extremely loud, never once hurts the ears (Church 2020: online).

Church's review connects musical and Buddhist religious practice: he invokes a simile to compare Kodō players to the Buddha, and highlights devotion to the drum. Further references to 'trademark' costumes, virtuosity and conspicuously disparate gender roles further imply – if somewhat opaquely – notions of authenticity, longevity and tradition. Similarly, writing for *Theatre Weekly*, Elizaveta Kolesnikova (2019: online) suggests that 'Passion', a show by Japanese ensemble Yamato, is 'traditional and meditative at one moment and rock-star-like at the next... Expect to be immersed into Japanese culture with traditional music rhythms, blended with a modern take on drumming'.

While one might reasonably expect reviewers to focus on discernible elements from taiko's originating country, particularly when attending concerts staged by Japanese ensembles, the language used by UK groups to describe themselves and their musical outputs is starkly different. Put simply, many ensembles – whether community groups or professional outfits – seek to respond to their local context rather than invoke Japan. For instance, 'Mugenkyo's aim is to develop taiko drumming as a contemporary European performing art' (Mugen Taiko n.d.c: online, emphasis mine); Kagemusha Taiko 'create(s), perform(s) and teach(es) exciting, original repertoire, forging *a new style of taiko here in the* U.K.' (n.d.a: online, emphasis mine); whereas Ibuki Taiko notes that 'taiko here [Northern Ireland] is not associated with either tradition [Protestant or Catholic] nor does it come with any hidden or loaded meanings' (n.d.: online). The seeming disconnect does not, however, mean that groups necessarily seek to strip any association with Japan. On the contrary, transnational connections are both commonplace and celebrated. For instance, the Foyle O-Bon Festival Group (which includes Ibuki Taiko) 'facilitate[s] an outreach programme of Japanese cultural workshops in taiko drumming, Japanese dance, manga art and lantern dedication workshops' (Foyle O-Bon n.d.: online). Ongoing sessions culminate in an annual Japanese festival in Derry-Londonderry centred on a performance space called 'Little Tokyo' (see Figure 2.4). Similarly, Kaminari UK Taiko – a Yorkshire-based group which describes itself as 'a Japanese style drumming group' - had its theatre show included in the 2019-2020 Japan-UK Season of Culture (Kaminari UK Taiko n.d., emphasis mine).

One obvious reason for players to invoke their local settings is the racial profile of the UK CoTP. In contrast to the United States and Canada, most UK players are White, immediately contesting any ethnic associations. Indeed, only one UK-based census participant identified as Asian/Asian mixed race. Throughout the thesis, I attend to the ways

²⁵ Songlines describes itself as 'the magazine that looks at the world through its music' (Songlines n.d.: online). Although published in the United Kingdom, the magazine has some 20,000 readers worldwide (Cardew 2015).

in which players both adopt and adapt taiko for specific purposes in localised contexts, including – but not limited to – social activism, community building and public diplomacy.



Figure 2.4. Performance at the 2019 Foyle O-Bon in Derry-Londonderry. Photo by Gav Connolly.

2.4 Conclusion

In this overview of UK taiko in global contexts, I did not seek to equip the reader with a comprehensive history and detailed breakdown of the art form in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Rather, I aimed to draw attention to key characteristics. Based upon findings from quantitative data gathering exercises, we can reasonably attest that UK players are both disproportionately White and highly educated. Moreover, most practice taiko as a leisure activity, although a sizeable minority engage in national and international events designed to convene players. My thesis is largely concerned with the activities of this subgroup – those who travel to meet and learn from other players, in turn developing a community of taiko practice and engaging with the international landscape.

A second notable finding is differing connections to Japan. In this chapter, I argue that the art form is intrinsically global: from the outset, Japanese groups have performed internationally, deliberately adapting the art form in response to diverse audiences. Despite this, professional ensembles routinely invoke notions of (Japanese) tradition to market performances in Europe and North America. In the United Kingdom, some players suggest the art form is universal while others are referential to Japan. Based on the European Taiko Conference participant survey, players clearly privilege training opportunities in Japan and/or instruction from Japanese players.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the taiko vanguard established the infrastructure for the UK taiko scene, laying the groundwork for intra-UK transmission. As I have hitherto suggested, a sizeable minority of players engage (inter-)nationally with other groups and instructors in

order to improve, in turn establishing a community of practice. In the following four chapters, I provide concrete illustrations of this process at play.

3. Taiko as a Deliberate Social Change Mechanism

This chapter considers how and why taiko players seek to affect social change through musicking. By exploring the extrinsic applications of taiko by individuals, community groups and government, I identify the musical and extramusical means used by members of the international landscape of taiko practice to shape a range of social change processes that impact upon both individuals and wider society. Throughout, I apply Dunphy's (2018) typology of arts impacts to taiko activism in the UK, USA and Japan, presenting empirical analysis of taiko players 'at work' affecting transformation with and for marginalised groups.

Following a brief consideration of taiko players' responses to societal issues in the spring and summer of 2020, I present four case studies to illustrate the varied ways in which taiko can be operationalised for non-musical ends. Notably, only one – the briefest – is set in the United Kingdom. The first considers the role and contributions of players at the Women's March on Washington D.C. in 2017 in response to concerns about inequality in wider society. The second offers a reflexive consideration of my attempts to bring about change within the landscape of taiko practice through a social media campaign to mark International Women's Day 2018. Thereafter, I examine how two groups – San Jose Taiko in California and CCS Taiko in Gloucestershire, England – use taiko to achieve therapeutic effects with individuals. In the final case study, I investigate the ways in which the British Embassy Taiko Team uses the art form to promote British values in Japan as part of the UK's nation branding campaign. Although drawn from diverse geographies and contexts, I nevertheless suggest that these discrete ethnographies exemplify the multifaceted landscape of taiko practice. Ultimately, I suggest how different communities within the landscape – including the distinct UK taiko population that is the focus of this thesis – can learn from each other.

3.1 Taiko in Wider Contemporary Society

On June 3, 2020, the Taiko Community Alliance (TCA) published an open letter to the taiko community. Signed by its 11 board members and three staffers, the message both acknowledged and addressed the turbulent socio-political landscape in the United States and Canada: the multifaceted impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, the murder of African Americans by law enforcement officials and pervasive race-based prejudice. Members of the organisation received the letter via email, and the text was circulated widely on social media platforms. The text states:

The Taiko Community Alliance (TCA) stands on the shoulders of leaders who fought and struggled to make a better life for future generations. We are pained and saddened by the unlawful murders of Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, George Floyd, and the countless others, and we are reminded that our taiko community and its freedom of expression would not be possible without the Civil Rights movements and Black Liberation. We express our deepest sympathy to the families and communities affected by these awful, unlawful, and unjust tragedies. We stand in solidarity with the peaceful protests.

The lineage of TCA draws directly from the Japanese American and Asian immigrant experience. Community leaders sought representation and a voice after emerging from the shame and silence of America and Canada's World War II concentration camps. As our community continues to grow and embrace its diversity, we also reflect on our community's shared history with others. As we've seen an increase in racial violence towards Asian Americans amid the COVID-19 pandemic, we are reminded of how much we owe to our predecessors – not just Japanese and Asian, but all leaders

and activists – who endured, persisted, and fought peacefully to give our community a foundation. *Okage sama de* [I am who I am because of you].²⁶

The Taiko Community Alliance is fully committed to creating physically and emotionally safe spaces for our entire taiko community. We do not tolerate racism, harassment, or violence of any kind, and never will. We will engage in self-examination and continue to listen, learn, take action, and support our diverse community. Taiko is intertwined with the Black community and culture – our beats and our heartbeats. With history as our compass and the drum as our voice, we will continue to condemn racial violence, hate, and bigotry. When Black lives matter and are uplifted, we are all uplifted (Taiko Community Alliance 2020a: online).

A wide range of organisations, including major corporations such as Nike and Twitter, voiced their support to the Black Lives Matter movement amid social unrest across the United States and Canada during the spring of 2020 (Hsu 2020). The letter issued by TCA, however, expressly connects the genesis and development of a diverse musical community with activism by both Japanese immigrants and African Americans. Moreover, the message clearly demonstrates taiko community leaders' willingness to support contemporary activist movements through musicking with a view to affecting social change. The drum and the beats that resonate from it serve as 'our voice' – one that seeks to bring about upliftment for all.

The concept of using taiko as a tool to highlight and/or challenge wider societal issues, particularly racial inequality in the context of North America, is not unique to TCA or the period of social unrest in the spring of 2020. As referenced in the letter, activism serves as a cornerstone in the history of the North American taiko community. For instance, San Jose Taiko, one of the first groups established in the United States, developed amid the grassroots efforts of the Asian American movement in the 1970s. Many scholars have subsequently focused on the utility of taiko as a tool for self-expression, understanding and empowerment in North American settings (Kobayashi 2006a; Powell 2012; Yoon 2001, 2007; Wong 2004, 2019).

An example of a group focused expressly on *disrupting* the social structures in which members' lives play out is RAW (Raging Asian Women), a Toronto-based group made up of women who identify as East and Southeast Asian. The ensemble describes itself as:

a Japanese Taiko drumming group that exists as a critical response and challenge to both systemic and internalised oppressions. Through performance, education, and community outreach, we seek to challenge, redefine and represent ourselves, and to inspire ourselves and others in striving for racial and gender equality (Raging Asian Women n.d.: online).

In pursuit of its objective, RAW performs at a wide range of events for minority and/or marginalised groups in Canada, including pride parades, International Women's Day events, union conventions and social justice events (ibid).

Thus far, I have presented brief illustrations of how some players conceive of taiko as a pathway to disordering the socio-political landscape. I want to emphasise from the outset, however, that this is just one application of taiko as a social justice tool; social change and,

²⁶ The translation of 'Okage sama de' (お陰様で) is context-specific. It can be translated as: (I am fine) thank you; thanks to you; fortunately; under the gods' shadow (Jisho n.d.e: online). In Japanese American contexts, however, the term denotes 'I am who I am because of you', namely earlier generations who immigrated to the USA. Exhibitions (Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii n.d.), films (Takiyama-Chung 2008), and books (Hazama and Komeiji 2011) use the term to explore Japanese American histories. Its usage in the US context typically emphasises the hardships Japanese American ancestors overcame.

more specifically, social justice are nuanced, multi-faceted phenomena, particularly when pursued through extrinsic applications of an art form. Bell offers a much more gradated conception of social justice focused on both individual understanding and action – one that extends far beyond equality and diversity. She suggests that the achievement of social justice:

enable[s] people to develop the critical analytic tools necessary to understand oppression and their own socialisation within oppressive systems, and to develop a sense of agency and capacity to interrupt and change oppressive patterns and behaviours in themselves and in the institutions and communities of which they are a part (Bell 2007: 2).

The two contemporary examples offered thus far suggest social justice is at play within the landscape of taiko practice: Taiko Community Alliance promises self-examination and action in the aftermath of the unlawful killings of African Americans in the first half of 2020, whereas members of RAW continuously challenge unjust race and gender-based paradigms at both the individual and societal levels. As I shall go on to demonstrate, however, social justice projects intend to achieve change at various levels, from the individual, interpersonal, organisational and community (of practice) through to public policy. Actors – whether individuals, community groups or government organs – seek to affect change at varying points on the micro-macro spectrum through a range of extrinsic applications of taiko.

Groups in different communities within the landscape of taiko practice present varying interpretations of social justice in their statements of purpose. In the USA and Canada, an express focus on social justice – an approach characterised by critical analysis, reflexivity, agency and action – is somewhat atypical; instead, a brief examination reveals varying conceptions of diversity, inclusion and equality at play, particularly concerning race in the USA. Groups, especially those that developed in Buddhist churches/temples, typically base collective beliefs and objectives on notions of diversity and inclusion - even when groups are established for specific cohorts. For instance, in Vancouver, Sawagi Taiko members 'pool our common and unique experiences as East Asian women living in Canada and focus our creative energy and ideas into a powerful expression that is always heard and can't be ignored' (n.d.: online). Soh Daiko, the first taiko group established on the East Coast of the United States, lists among its principles 'the development of a spirit of togetherness, oneness and fellowship within our group' and 'a desire to promote and propagate an understanding and love for taiko music (n.d.: online). Meanwhile, TaikoArts MidWest (based in Minneapolis) sets out 'to provide access to taiko to our community, especially those with limited resources, limited visibility, or special needs' (n.d.: online). In the United Kingdom, Kagemusha Taiko 'endeavours to include everyone' while 'proceed[ing] on a basis of openness and uncompromising integrity, respecting ourselves and each other' (n.d.a: online). The ethos of Aber Taiko players in Swansea (Wales) is derived from 'enjoying the big drums and spreading the taiko spirit of enjoyment, personal achievement, inclusion and enthusiasm' (n.d.: online). Referencing sectarian divisions in Northern Ireland, Ibuki Taiko (n.d.: online) notes that 'taiko here is not associated with either tradition nor does it come with any hidden or loaded meanings. It is new, free and open to interpretation by everyone. It is an excellent vehicle for the new generation to use to express themselves and their vision of a new and joint future'.

Broad-based expressions of 'inclusion', 'diversity' and 'equality' abound in groups' statements of purpose, yet the aforementioned concepts and terms are used somewhat interchangeably in the examples presented above. Moreover, taiko groups inadvertently

highlight the plasticity and interconnectedness of the intrinsic and extrinsic benefits of music making: the examples above either claim or allude to benefits for individual musicians and groups of taiko players (intrinsic) while simultaneously affecting others (extrinsic). As Taylor (2008: 37) notes, the intrinsic rewards are 'the qualities that can't necessarily be displayed in a chart or studied in a laboratory' and are often deeply impactful for the individuals concerned. I turn to an in-depth consideration of the intrinsic outcomes of taiko practice for individuals and groups of players in chapter five.

3.2 Theoretical and Disciplinary Considerations

Before proceeding, I wish to untangle some of the disciplinary and conceptual issues at play concerning extrinsic applications of taiko. While I designed this research project from an ethnomusicological perspective, the idea of musical practice directed towards deliberate social change demands an expansive approach. The taiko players I go on to present share a common trait: they 'work with a commitment to musical expression as a crucible for social transformation, emancipation, empowerment, and cultural capital' (Higgins n.d.: online). Higgins describes 'community musicians' who, in this context, adopt proactive change processes which draw upon taiko to transform the lives of the marginalised – whether individuals, (taiko) communities or at large. Consequently, I suggest that this chapter offers an opportunity to explore the porous space between community music and (applied) ethnomusicology through ethnographic inquiry. As Cottrell and Impey (2018: 528) note, our 'institutional affiliations, disciplinary networks, and ideological preferences' can influence how we categorise our research within the broad field of music studies. In this chapter, I endeavour to act reflexively and holistically in order to consider the mobilisation of taiko as a social change tool.

In an exploration of the links between participation in the arts (broadly conceived) and intentional social change, Dunphy (2018: 301) identifies three models from existing literature, namely:

social/civic action, in which the major change strategy is influencing of public opinion and decisionmaking through arts activities; the community cultural development approach in which change occurs at a community level, as a result of creative social interaction between arts participants; and finally, the therapeutic paradigm, in which change is elicited in individuals through the healing process of arts used therapeutically.

If we consider each approach in the context of musicking, it seems apparent that none of the outcomes could occur without music itself; indeed, the art form is central to the extrinsic results. The purportedly symbiotic relationship between 'art' and 'activism' result in 'artivism', a concept centred around 'merging the boundless imagination of art and the radical engagement of politics' (Jordan 2016: online). In the ethnographic case studies that follow, I explore taiko-specific manifestations of Dunphy's three categories and the interactions between music and activism contained therein, before turning to analyse the efficacy of taiko as a social change tool in a British embassy tasked with setting bilateral policy and strategy.

3.3 Social/Civic Action Approach: (Women's) Marches

In this first approach to deliberate social change, artists focus squarely on the wider social structures in which they live their (musical) lives (Dunphy 2018). Within this framework, players make music together to achieve social change – a change, according to Silverman and

Elliott (2018: 369) that 'seeks to resist, ameliorate, and reverse a range of social ills, including appalling human oppression'. Notably, I present ethnographic illustrations that stem solely from the United States. This is simply because I am not aware of cases where taiko is used to achieve social change at the community or societal level in Europe; indeed, in one case where a player planned to use taiko in climate change marches, the families of students objected, resulting in non-participation. Examples from the United States are both more prevalent and widely publicised and offer a potential approach for players in other geographies within the landscape of practice.

On January 21, 2017 (the day after the inauguration of President Donald Trump), five million people attended Women's March(es) across the world to 'be counted as those who believe in a world that is equitable, tolerant, just and safe for all, one in which the human rights and dignity of each person is protected ...' (The March n.d.: online). Three prominent members of the taiko community sought to unite players at the Washington D.C. march and beyond: Karen Young, Director of the Genki Spark in Boston; Elise Fujimoto, a TCA Board member and Jun Daiko player resident in Mountain View, California; and Tiffany Tamaribuchi, a Sacramento-based player who serves as artistic director of three active taiko groups. On 13 January 2017, Young issued a call for general participation:

If you aren't already participating in a local Women's march, join Tiffany Tamaribuchi, Elise Fujimoto, and me for the Women's March on Washington on January 21st in DC! ... We are gathering taiko players like Young Park, Mary Ann Hibino, Alicia Hsu, Connie Chow, Kanoe Taka, and Galen Rogers and YOU! We'll bring portable katsugi, uchiwa, chappa, and kane and wear these great t-shirts designed by Elise Fujimoto with support from Yurika Chiba -- let's coordinate! (Want to support us? buy a t-shirt - limited numbers available) WE PLAY FOR UNITY - See US, Hear US, Join US! (Young 2017).

This brief announcement via social media highlights several pertinent themes. First, players' participation is fundamentally grounded in the practice of taiko. Portable *okedo-daiko*, fan drums, cymbals and bells can be played while marching and provide a rich sonic palette. Second, the artivists are focused upon an express social justice objective – one that is visually supported by wearing t-shirts. Indeed, the players' demand visual ('see us') and sonic ('hear us') recognition through the act of playing taiko. Finally, members of the taiko community are presented with participation options: they can engage creatively by playing music at the march and/or demonstrate support for the artivists by purchasing a t-shirt.

It is impossible to measure the impact of the musical and non-musical activities carried out at the Women's March in Washington D.C.; estimates suggest that players mobilised by Young, Tamaribuchi and Fujimoto were among 470,000 participants (Wallace and Parlapiano 2017). Nevertheless, musical activity was intended to support a wider challenge to systemic inequality. Notably, while the t-shirts designed by Fujimoto (see Figure 3.1) clearly express a message of unity, they also served to facilitate a collective (if visual) voice from players from disparate groups spanning the United States, Canada and Europe. Over the course of the six months following Trump's inauguration, the t-shirts were 'worn throughout the taiko community to promote the message and need for unity' (@Karen Young, August 23, 2017). Players at the Toronto Taiko Festival 2017, North American Taiko Conference 2017 (San Diego), East Coast Taiko Conference 2017 (Brown University, Rhode Island), Taikopalooza 2017 (Ulm, Germany) and European Taiko Conference 2017 (Newton Abbot, England) had the opportunity to purchase the t-shirts. As of September 2018, 160 had been sold globally, suggesting the message and accompanying activities garnered support among community members (Karen Young, Facebook message to author, September 13, 2018). Furthermore, since the initial inception of the t-shirts, they have also served an additional function of expressing support for 'Women and Taiko', an event series established by Tamaribuchi and Young that is examined in the following chapter.



Figure 3.1. Front and back of 'We Play for Unity' t-shirts. *Source*: Young 2017.

One month after the Women's March in 2017, Young travelled to England to lead workshops at the second European Taiko Conference. While there, she reflected that:

[The] Women's March in [the] United States initially was really criticised of being mostly a white feminist march and we didn't see it that way. We felt that we wanted to show that we are part of this movement and this march as well. We created this shirt and we wanted to create opportunities for taiko players from all different kinds of groups to come together to be able to support efforts to basically build unity and fight discrimination and fight prejudice and fight oppression (quoted in Jansson 2017: 7-8).

In this example of social/civic action, social justice is clearly at play. Young's consideration of the oppressive systems at play in the United States is rooted in intersectionality, namely 'a lens, a prism, for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality [gender, class, sexuality etc.] often operate together and exacerbate each other' (Steinmetz 2020). Specifically, she considers the interaction of race and gender and its potential to affect engagement negatively at the march, ultimately demonstrating individual agency by leading a response alongside other Asian American players. Young's observations suggest that ethnicity (rather than gender) serves as the exclusionary factor in the United States, a particularly noteworthy point given only 30% of players in the USA and Canada are White (Walker 2017b: online). Indeed, discrimination, prejudice and oppression are referred to generally (rather than as gender-specific) and thus seem to encompass all forms (such as racial and sexual); to that end, the call to 'see us, hear us, join us' could facilitate engagement from players who have experienced any form of marginalisation, ultimately enabling the artivists to interrupt oppressive norms for both themselves and the wider (taiko) community.

As with any research project, the data that informs my ideas is time-bound. However, in the immediate aftermath of George Floyd's death, there was a notable turn towards social justice action among individuals and groups based in the USA and Canada. For example, players fundraised for Black Lives Matter causes as part of taiko group activities, produced and uploaded collaborative compositions that call attention to and seek to disrupt oppressive systems, and offered training to enable members of the North American community of

practice and beyond to use taiko as a tool to pursue social justice objectives. As the advertisement in Figure 3.2 demonstrates, training offered by Kristin Block conceptualises taiko as a tool that can 'amplify and support rallies, marches, and other actions'. The timing of the event (June 14, 2020) and call for donations to Black Lives Matter causes suggests that the event was intended to support widespread activism in the United States, Canada and beyond during the spring and summer of 2020.



Figure 3.2. Advertisement for online rally drumming training led by Kristin Block. Source: Hamner 2020.

A brief analysis of the advert indicates a social justice framework is at play. First, taiko players 'show up' at events, suggesting both awareness of the issue(s) at hand and a developed sense of agency. The act of 'playing' taiko serves to call attention to and interrupt oppressive systems at play through both sonic and visual means. Finally, 'amplification' of the message through taiko contributes towards changing existing societal norms. In short, social change is activated by playing taiko at a planned intervention – in this case, hand percussion and lightweight drums at marches and rallies demanding equality.

The examples presented above reveal some issues for consideration. First, in Dunphy's social/civic action approach for deliberate social change, 'participatory arts activity is intended to stimulate change at the community or society level, by influencing public opinion and the actions of policy and decision makers' (2018: 308). While perhaps obvious, tracing the tripartite trajectory from social justice objectives to participatory musical action and resultant social change outcomes seems unfeasible, particularly in contexts where taiko players are one of many voices in a wider movement. Second, in both instances, activity was led by an individual or group with clear interests in social justice and/or community organising. For instance, Karen Young describes her passion as 'developing spaces where people can grow and find their voice. ... I care deeply about equity' (Genki Spark n.d.a: online). Meanwhile, Kristin Block is a 'queer disabled musician and ... an advocate for equity' (Hamner 2020: online). A 'skilled leader' is one element in Dunphy's (2018) meta-theory of

what facilitates intentional social change through participation in the arts – a factor that would seem to be present in the civic change approach in the landscape of taiko practice.

The potential for impact *within* the community of practice offers another reflective prompt. While players mobilise taiko both musically and extra-musically to bring about positive change to the socio-political systems in which they live their (musical) lives, I also suggest that such action has the potential to catalyse change at the community of practice level. Social justice is partly about equipping individuals with the skills to comprehend systems of oppression and how they have been socialised within them (Bell 2007: 2). By 'engag[ing] in self-examination and continu[ing] to listen, learn, take action, and support our diverse community', players can affect change within the community of practice through both musical and social engagement with each other (Taiko Community Alliance 2020a: online). Block's 'rally drumming' training session is one clear example where TCA's mandate is realised, affecting both the 'diverse [taiko] community' and ultimately wider society. As Crooke summarises:

musical participation offers opportunities to learn how to be with others and ourselves; it offers opportunities to practice expression and understanding; it offers opportunities to experience and recognise beauty, pain, love, and despair; and it has potential in helping students engage with learning in other areas (Crooke 2016: para. 36).

Put simply, I argue that players undertake intentional social/civic action in the hope of positively affecting wider society but also others, including themselves, other taiko players, and their creative communities. However, providing a robust evidence base of the impact is largely impractical, particularly in cases where taiko players constitute one actor among many.

3.4 Community Cultural Development Approach: International Women's Day

In the second approach to intentional social change through arts participation, Dunphy (2018) makes use of 'community cultural development' (CCD). The term describes a phenomenon that draws from each of the three terms. According to Higgins:

community acknowledges the work's participatory nature, emphasising collaborations between artist and other community members; *cultural* indicates a breadth of activity beyond just art and includes the elements of activism and community organisation typically seen as part of non-arts social change campaigns; and *development* suggests the dynamic nature of cultural action, with its ambition of conscientisation and empowerment (2012: 7, emphasis original)

In the community cultural development context, I consider 'community members' to belong to at least one community of taiko practice – whether regional, national, or international. In the preceding chapters, I highlight that community engagement is not limited to face-to-face interactions. As Figure 3.3 demonstrates, groups and ensembles in the Americas, Europe and Africa are geographically dispersed; consequently, members can and do come together in digital forums to advance their knowledge, understanding and practice of taiko.²⁷

²⁷ The COVID-19 pandemic prompted significant taiko-focused digital activity. Examples from the spring of 2020 include: the 'Taiko without Borders' project led by Jonathan Kirby, which resulted in the online teaching, learning and performance of a composition by geographically dispersed participants (Kagemusha Taiko 2020: online); the creation of a song and video by 'Taiko Bastards' that featured players from eight countries and four continents (Taiko Bastards n.d.: online); 'Tap-Along, Play-Along Community Taiko', a series of Zoom classes organised and taught by the South Bay Beat Institute (California) (South Bay Beat Institute n.d.: online); and



Figure 3.3. Map of known taiko groups in Africa, the Americas, Europe and the Persian Gulf. *Source*: Taiko Source n.d.: online.

In the following illustration of the CCD approach, I explore planned activism with the intended outcome of making members aware of social conditions *within* the landscape of practice. In this instance, I – the community member and ethnomusicologist – am the artist who collaborated with community members through a purposeful, dynamic intervention, namely an International Women's Day campaign targeted at members of the Taiko Community public Facebook group. Before turning to my advocacy work, however, we first need to understand its inception and my applied ethnomusicological role within it.

3.4.1 TCA Taiko Census 2016

In March 2016, I was co-opted onto the TCA Tech Committee. Its members are responsible for overseeing the infrastructure for the TCA website; outlining plans for TCA technical resources based on needs analysis; designing, developing and testing technical resources and determining scope; implementing plans; and co-ordinating with other relevant committees (e.g. fundraising) (Taiko Community Alliance n.d.a). It reports directly to the TCA Board which 'supports the work of Taiko Community Alliance and provides mission-based leadership and strategic governance' (Taiko Community Alliance 2020b: online). Linda Uyechi, the Committee Chair, had travelled to the inaugural European Taiko Conference in February 2016 to observe and took an interest in my fieldwork activities. Indeed, as the instructor of a

^{&#}x27;Taiko Tailored Workouts' taught by Emily Harada, an athletic trainer and taiko player, under the aegis of kaDON (kaDON n.d.b: online).

credit-bearing undergraduate course on taiko, she also had a research interest in the development of taiko in Europe.²⁸ I subsequently joined the Committee and remained an active member until 2019.

TCA received a grant from the California Arts Council (a state agency) to contribute towards the development of the TCA Taiko Census – the primary initiative of TCA in 2016. When I joined the Committee, the census objectives had already been articulated: 'to measure the art form ... [and] to identify taiko community needs ... so that we can better shape our programming' (Taiko Community Alliance 2016: online). While the Committee was well equipped to design and implement the technical processes of gathering such data from players, members requested my input on the development of appropriate questions so that its objectives could be met and the data efficiently analysed.

The TCA Taiko Census 2016 was comprised of two parts: a biography, which collected demographic information as well as details of players' current and previous group membership; and an optional supplement which gathered respondents' motivations, practices and spending behaviours.²⁹ In total, 2,466 taiko players submitted a taiko biography, including 54% of TCA's membership body, while 1,553 also completed the supplement. Respondents were resident in 22 countries in North and South America, Europe, East Asia and Australasia but overwhelming lived in the United States – just under three-quarters (74%) of supplement participants were based there.

I contributed to the work of the Committee by helping to form the census questions, analysing the data and producing written reports for both the Board of Directors and wider taiko community. Written outputs were focused on taiko in the USA and Canada as well as the United Kingdom respectively to account for significant variations in the social context. The reports were shared with the TCA Board as well as with the wider taiko community via the TCA website. Promotional channels such as Facebook and the TCA mailing list were used to draw attention to the resources. Available data suggests that the reports were widely used by both practitioners and researchers: for instance, the reports are cited in the latest English-language monographs on taiko (Ahlgren 2018; Wong 2019), appear on the curriculum for the undergraduate course on taiko at Stanford University (Linda Uyechi, email to author, March 11, 2019), provided evidence for grant applications on two continents (Yasmin Friedmann, email to author, August 4, 2017; Rome Hamner, email to author, January 23, 2017), and have been downloaded 39 (UK) and 228 (USA and Canada) times from the TCA website (Abena Oteng-Agipong, email to author, June 19, 2020).

While gender was collected as part of the biography, the development of practicederived and attitudinal questions in the supplement facilitated analysis of the interaction between gender and taiko behaviours. Crucially, this work anticipated an assessment of required interventions to affect positive change within the community of practice. In other words, I used my ethnomusicological knowledge to collaborate with members in the process of (taiko) community organising. In the supplement, participants were asked to report on their engagement with the taiko landscape of practice (motivation for playing, attendance at events, relevant topics [e.g. composition], communication tools, taiko-derived income and time spent on taiko per week); teaching practices (student groups accommodated [e.g. retired people], charges and delivery of one-off workshops or masterclasses); and spending on equipment, costuming and events. The analysis revealed (sometimes significant) gender

²⁸ Linda Uyechi co-teaches 'Behind the Big Drums: Exploring Taiko', a quarter-long (10 week) course targeted at first-year undergraduate students at Stanford University (California).

²⁹ The TCA Taiko Census 2016 questions are reproduced in Appendix B.

disparities; as Daniel Sheehy (1992: 324-345) writes about applied ethnomusicology, I could 'see opportunities for a better life for others through the use of music knowledge, and then immediately [started] to begin devising cultural strategies to achieve those ends'. The self-directed result was the International Women's Day campaign.

3.4.2 International Women's Day 2018 Campaign

In 2017, the World Economic Forum published *The Global Gender Gap Report 2017*. It assessed 144 countries based upon progress towards the attainment of gender equality across four themes: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. The report concludes that it will take more than two centuries to achieve gender parity globally; indeed, it highlights that the gender gap has widened of late – a trend subsequently exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic.³⁰ Notably, the United States scores particularly poorly among developed economies and is ranked 49th out of 144 countries (World Economic Forum 2017: 334).

In response to the World Economic Forum's findings, organisers of International Women's Day (IWD) developed '#PressforProgress', a campaign theme to direct activities in 2018. IWD is 'a global day celebrating the social, economic, cultural and political achievements of women. The day also marks a call to action for accelerating gender parity' (International Women's Day n.d.a: online).³¹ When communicating with fellow members of the TCA Tech Committee, I reflected that IWD presented an opportunity to 'inform the taiko community about gender trends in our community. ... [and] to start a discussion' (email from author, March 7, 2018). Indeed, IWD asked its supporters to consider 'how are you continuing to #PressforProgress?' (International Women's Day n.d.a: online). Celebrating contributions and highlighting disparities within the socio-musical community seemed an effective way to contribute as a member, an ethnomusicologist and advocate for equality.

International Women's Day takes place annually on March 8. Adopting a Community Cultural Development approach, I undertook an IWD-branded social media campaign targeted at members of the 'Taiko Community' public Facebook group. In addition, posts were shared to the 'UK Taiko Scene' and 'Taiko Europe' groups. By utilising some of the many freely available templates available from the IWD website, I created social media cards to share key findings from my research (International Women's Day n.d.b). As the example presented in Figure 3.4 shows, Facebook users were presented with a key gender statistic/finding, its source and an associated image. My objectives were three-fold: to highlight disparities in a community that often celebrates inclusion and diversity, to celebrate the manifold contributions made by players of different genders and to draw attention to variations in practice around the world. Using social media activism, I ultimately hoped to facilitate dynamic interaction with community members, including those whose participation resulted in the research findings, with the goal of conscientisation.

³⁰ The World Economic Forum (2017: 4) index focuses on 'access to resources and opportunities in countries ...'. The report pays heed to variable outcomes between genders with sub-indexes measuring ratios such as 'females at ministerial level over male value' (2017: 6).

³¹ 'Gender parity' is a widely used yet often undefined term. For the sake of clarity, I refer to The European Institute for Gender Equality's succinct definition: 'In the context of gender equality, gender parity refers to the equal contribution of women and men to every dimension of life, whether private or public' (n.d.: online).



Figure 3.4. Example of a social media card uploaded to Facebook groups as part of the International Women's Day campaign on March 8, 2018.

In total, I uploaded 13 social media cards – an introduction and 12 'facts' – followed by a reflective textual summary to the Taiko Community group as part of a planned transnational advocacy campaign (see Appendix C). When planning the community intervention, I drew upon effective practice from public relations scholarship. Barker et al (2017) set out so-called 'rules of engagement' for successful social media strategies, concluding that effectiveness is dependent upon the PARC principles for success: participatory, authentic, resourceful and credible. I endeavoured to adhere to these conventions by presenting calls to action for certain cards (participatory); writing in plain English and avoiding the use of commercial language or jargon (authentic); providing detailed information about the taiko community, often accompanied by humorous or compelling images of players or practice from a range of settings (resourceful); and utilising timely academic research as the evidence base (credible).

Table 3.1 presents the text of each card released on March 8, 2018; any accompanying text, emotion or call to action; and engagement by members in the Taiko Community group. Despite efforts to incite engagement, participation was surprisingly low: on average, 24 players (0.4 % of all Facebook group members) responded to each of the fourteen posts (i.e. like, love), thus falling short of average engagement levels among members. For instance, 63 posts were uploaded to the Taiko Community group in August 2018. On average, each post attracted 31 responses (i.e. from 0.5% from the membership). For the IWD campaign, engagement rates ranged from nine to 42, whereas responses to posts in August 2018 ranged from zero to 142, suggesting certain posts can generate wider engagement.

Image Text	Accompanying Text, Emotion or Call to Action	Reactions	Comments	Shares ³²
Today, I'll share gender-related findings from the TCA Taiko Census and other research to celebrate the inspiring contributions made by women in and for our community.	– Feeling energised.	Like: 23 Love: 10 Total: 33	None	2
Fact # 1: In the UK, 70% of costume-makers are female and 100% of drum-builders are male. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	Why not tag a taiko player in the comments in appreciation of the costumes they design, make and/or care for or the drums they build. – Feeling grateful.	Like: 24 Love: 2 Wow: 2 Total: 28	13	3
Fact # 2: 43% of self-identified group leaders at the first European Taiko Conference (2016) were women. Source: ETC Participant Survey	– Feeling proud.	Like: 31 Love: 4 Ha-ha: 1 Total: 36	1	2
Fact # 3: Women in Europe attend fewer events designed to bring together players from different groups and/or regions (e.g. festivals) compared to men. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	How can we support women to attend taiko gatherings? Share your thoughts in the comments box! – Feeling hopeful.	Like: 18 Wow: 2 Total: 20	3	2
Fact # 4: 47% of male teachers in Europe state that taiko instruction contributes significantly to their annual income. 18% of female teachers in Europe say the same Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	 Supporting International Women's Day 	Like: 11 Wow: 2 Sad: 2 Total: 15	None	2
Fact # 5: Female players in Europe are highly educated! More than 4 in 5 have attended university and nearly 4 in 10 hold a postgraduate degree. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	– Feeling motivated.	Like: 15 Love: 2 Total: 17	None	2
Fact # 6: In North America, the gender breakdown of players is 64% female, 34.5% male and 0.5% other*. In Canada, fewer than 3 in 10 players are male. *1% did not disclose their gender Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	What's the gender breakdown in your group? Perhaps you belong to an all- female, all-male or non- binary group? Share your stories in the comment box! – Feeling curious.	Like: 31 Love: 2 Total: 33	24	5

³² All posts were shared to the UK Taiko Scene and Taiko Europe public Facebook groups by the author. This accounts for two shares for each post.

Fact # 7: In North America and Europe, the average age of female taiko players is 45. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	– Feeling energised.	Like: 22 Love: 4 Wow: 2 Total: 28	None	2
Fact # 8: At North American Taiko Conference 2017, nearly 60% of workshops with the highest satisfaction scores were taught by women. Source: NATC 2017 Evaluation Report	– Feeling proud.	Like: 19 Love: 5 Total: 24	1	2
Fact # 9: When asked to rate their interest in taiko-related topics, women in North America found performance resources (how to play taiko), composition (how to write and arrange pieces) and curriculum (what and how to teach) to be most important. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	— Feeling joyful.	Like: 12 Love: 1 Total: 13	None	2
Fact # 10: In North America, 10% of female players and 13% of male players participate in online taiko learning (e.g. Skype lessons, kaDON etc.). Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016		Like: 8 Love: 1 Total: 9	None	2
Fact # 11: In North America, 25% of male players derive at least some of their income from taiko. For women, that figures drops to less than 18%. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	Another reason to #PressforProgress in all spheres of life. – Feeling determined.	Like: 12 Love: 1 Wow: 1 Total: 14	2	3
Fact # 12: 35% of male players and 21% of female players teach in North America. More than half of instructors of all genders receive no compensation. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016	Thank you to the hundreds of taiko teachers around the world who contribute so much to our community. – Feeling thankful.	Like: 21 Love: 2 Total: 23	None	4

Table 3.1. Textual summary of social media cards for International Women's Day campaign with summary of interactions by members of Facebook groups.

Notable commonalities exist among the posts that generated the greatest levels of engagement (in terms of responses, comments and shares): they invite group members to share their own experiences and/or celebrate the achievement of women in the taiko landscape of practice. For instance, 24 comments were uploaded in response to the gender breakdown of players (fact six). While some players simply responded to the prompt (i.e. submitted the gender make-up of their group), other players engaged in a conversation about gender participation in relation to the history of the performing arts in Japan as well as equality in taiko. Ilka Haase, a group leader resident in Heidelberg (Germany), stated that:

My group has 4 male, 10 female members. Thanks for raising the question about equality in our art form [through the IWD campaign]. I feel it is difficult to have this conversation in the community as many people think equality has already been achieved (@llka Burgdörfer, March 9, 2018).

In response, a group member queried what equality would look like in the context of taiko, to which Haase replied: 'it's primarily about the proportion of women in leading roles (very few) versus the number of women practicing taiko (many)' (@llka Burgdörfer, March 10, 2018). Thereafter, two members of professional groups noted the increasing number of men in prominent positions. For instance, Yurika Chiba, a member of the artistic staff at San Jose Taiko, reflected that:

For decades there have been more women than men in San Jose Taiko. Curiously, for the last few years, the balance has been tipping the other way – we are currently at 11 full time male performers and 8 women. (So I am calling for more women to audition!) (@Yurika Chiba, March 9, 2018).

More broadly, costume-makers and drum-builders were celebrated in response to the first fact by way of photographs and expressions of thanks. Moreover, female drum-builders in the UK were identified and players encouraged to participate in future data collection exercises so that the community's needs can be gathered and addressed.

The IWD campaign did not serve as a research or data collection exercise; instead, I intended to use research outputs to inform and celebrate by presenting (often surprising or shocking) gender statistics in relation to taiko practice. At the end of IWD, I posted the following reflective summary highlighting the desired action among members:

International Women's Day is drawing to a close in Europe. Today, I've highlighted just some of the many contributions made by women in and for our community. I've also shared some potentially uncomfortable truths around issues like pay. In doing so, I hope players of all genders will take time to reflect upon the posts in their local groups and communities and #PressforProgress.

The data I've shared is based on extensive data collection exercises (such as the TCA Taiko Census). Evidence supports the growth of our taiko community; I therefore encourage you to take part in future data collection exercises so your experiences are captured and honoured.

Finally, I haven't been able to provide statistics about non-binary taiko players as the number of respondents meant anonymity could not be guaranteed.

#PressforProgress (@Kate Walker, March 8, 2018).

Twelve community members in North America, Europe and Australasia commented, all of whom shared expressions of gratitude. For instance, MJ McKenty – Co-Secretary of the TCA Board and President of Hinode Taiko Inc. (Winnipeg, Canada) – reflected that 'we can only improve what we observe. Thanks for sharing what the research shows. Happy IWD all!' (@MJ McKenty, March 8, 2018). Sally Dempsey, a member of Tsuchigumo Daiko (Glasgow, UK), commented that 'these insights ... give us much to think about as we grow and develop our community' (@Sally Dempsey, March 8, 2018). Finally, Lisa Hwang, a New Zealand-based player, stated that she is 'loving the posts! Real thinking material' (@Xyphir Hwang, March 9, 2018).

This (auto)ethnographic illustration of the Community Cultural Development approach at work offers reflective prompts when thinking about intentional social change within communities of taiko practice. In CCD work, 'community artists, singly or in teams, use their artistic and organisational skills to serve the emancipation and development of a community...' (Adams and Goldbard 2002: 8). Reflecting upon my planned outcomes for the

IWD initiative – namely highlighting inequalities, celebrating contributions, and drawing upon differences among communities within the landscape by using a dynamic platform – it is clear my approach was solely instrumental. Put simply, the campaign served to raise awareness but did not offer musical (or even creative) activities to enable members to work out common understandings or solutions to inequality within the taiko community (Mills and Brown 2004: 8). Ultimately, there is no way to determine how many players hosted discussions in their local groups, yet the low levels of interaction with the posts suggest that the call to action was heeded by very few (if any) members.

As a community member and ethnomusicologist, I intended to undertake social justice work. I developed the analytical approaches and tools to gather, identify and understand data pertaining to inequality within the landscape, ultimately seeking to call attention to and interrupt gendered patterns through the IWD campaign. As individuals and taiko groups in the USA, Canada and beyond undertake critical self-examination at a moment of mass mobilisation, however, I call for conscious opportunities for iterative/generative contributions from the community – something the IWD campaign lacked. Jennifer Weir, the Executive Director of Minneapolis-based TaikoArts Midwest, stated that 'we believe that taiko can amplify, energise, empower, and heal' in the immediate aftermath of George Floyd's death in the city (2020: online). Based upon my limited experience of undertaking CCD work online, I strongly encourage taiko community leaders to pay attention to the 'development' component of CCD as both a process of conscientisation and empowerment as conceived by Higgins (2012: 7). This demands skilled guidance in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic – a public health concern that promises to impact upon community organising efforts for some time to come. For example, TCA's Vision 2020 event (scheduled for August 2020 at Stanford University) moved online, changing the mode through which community members can 'share and discuss the needs of the taiko community, identify ways to fulfil those needs, [and] create a Vision of TCA to serve today's community' (Derek Oye, email to author, January 12, 2020). As greater attention is paid to what Uyechi labels the 'off-stage'³³ impacts of taiko, facilitating equal opportunities for community members to participate in crafting solutions should be prioritised.

3.5 Therapeutic Approach

During an informal sharing evening at the second European Taiko Conference, Peter Hewitt and one of his group members performed a duet. Hewitt established CCS Taiko in Gloucestershire, England in 2010 after 'it occurred to me that this art form could work very well with both children and adults alike and, much more exciting, that it could hugely benefit children with special needs' (CCS Taiko n.d.a: online). The response to the duo's energetic, joyful and confident performance among audience members was such that a photograph capturing the final *kiai* (shout) was selected as the cover for the third European Taiko Conference programme (see Figure 3.5).

³³ Uyechi used this term during multiple informal conversations with me.

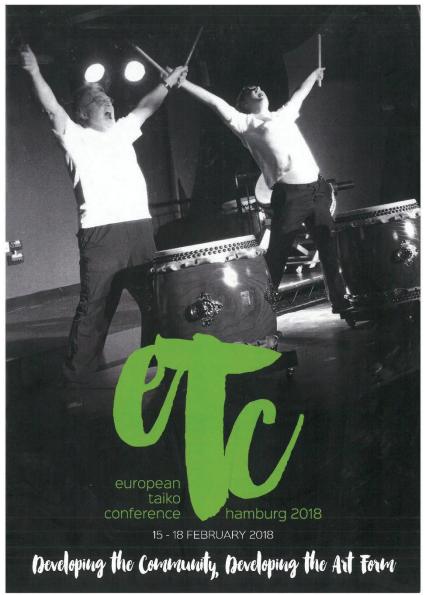


Figure 3.5. The third European Taiko Conference programme cover featuring CCS Taiko. *Source*: European Taiko Conference 2018.

This third consideration of taiko participation as a social change mechanism represents a subtle yet significant shift from the preceding case studies. Rather than focusing on the ways in which taiko practice can bring about change in the socio-political structures in which players live their lives, the focus instead turns inwards. As Dunphy summarises, arts as therapy places its 'focus on the experience of individuals *within* their world' as opposed to players' relationships with external forces, in turn enabling positive change at the individual level (Dunphy 2018: 310, emphasis mine). Through this model, taiko and other art forms have the potential to 'produce cognitive, emotional, behavioural, and physiological effects in individuals, including transformations in thinking, social skills, and character development over time' (ibid: 7).

In this brief case study, I consider how two groups – CCS Taiko and San Jose Taiko – use taiko therapeutically. The British Association for Music Therapy defines its field as 'an established psychological clinical intervention, which is delivered by HCPC [Health and Care Professions Council] registered music therapists to help people whose lives have been

affected by injury, illness or disability through supporting their psychological, emotional, cognitive, physical, communicative and social needs' (n.d.: online). In my assessment of both groups' work, I focus exclusively upon intent rather than outcome, as I am not trained to assess the efficacy of therapeutic interventions. Indeed, the taiko practitioners in question are not music therapists, yet I nevertheless go on to suggest that they draw upon the therapeutic applications of taiko in order to achieve individual change among participants.

Peter Hewitt is a trained percussionist who served in the Royal Marine Band. After establishing CCS Taiko in 2010, Hewitt worked with special needs schools in Gloucestershire, and now runs workshops on Saturday mornings for participants aged eight to 80. A noteworthy element of his approach is inclusivity; CCS Taiko's performing group is 'a mixed group consisting of special needs children and adults together with typical children and adults to demonstrate that taiko is truly suitable for all ages and abilities' (CCS Taiko n.d.c: online). In other words, full inclusivity serves as a cornerstone of the group's work through the integration of groups of students who might otherwise be taught separately.

In addition to the duet's performance at the second European Taiko Conference in 2017, CCS Taiko's larger performing group has played at several high-profile taiko events, including the UK Taiko Festival. As part of the thirteenth festival (2019), the group formed part of the line-up for 'Taiko Beats', a concert featuring six groups intended to offer a sample of the variety of taiko found across the UK. In addition, Hewitt gave one of four presentations included in the festival programme and spoke about the therapeutic benefits of taiko practice. Notably, the session was very well attended, with volunteers borrowing extra chairs from adjacent rooms. This may well be due to the relative prevalence of work with students with special educational needs and/or disabilities in the UK. The TCA Taiko Census 2016 reveals that taiko teachers in the UK are much more likely to work with players with special needs and/or disabilities (Walker 2016c) compared to the USA and Canada where only 13% do so (Walker 2017b). Indeed, as Figure 3.6 shows, a majority of UK-based taiko teachers (Walker 2016c) instructs special needs students. Crucially, however, we cannot assume that workshops or classes with special needs students are designed with therapeutic intent; indeed, the data gathered during the census simply asked teachers about student groups rather than the aims and objectives of working with named cohorts.

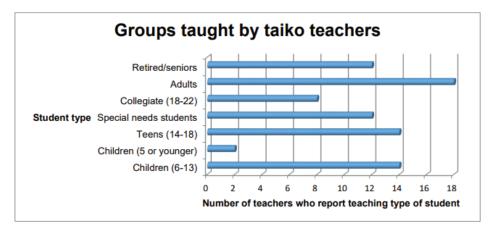


Figure 3.6. Student groups taught by taiko teachers in the UK. Source: Data from Walker 2016c.

According to CCS Taiko's outlook, 'taiko encourages a culture of respect, and players of all ages and abilities can work and grow together, developing self-confidence and strength of body and mind' (CCS Taiko n.d.b: online). Broadly speaking, this vision implies bringing about a change process in individuals by using taiko therapeutically – something which taiko players themselves describe. For instance, a CCS Taiko Player at Ruskin Mill Special Educational Needs College stated that 'my confidence has gone up more. I have made more friends and I'm talking more to people that I don't really know before [sic]. It is great for me to, like, interact with new people and make new friends. I really like doing it' (CCS Taiko 2015: online). Similarly, a child at The Milestone School, a special educational needs school for children aged two to 16, stated that 'it makes me feel happy when I play taiko. The sound that the drum makes. It's loud when we all play together' (CCS Taiko 2015: online). Reflecting upon his group's work with young people, Hewitt notes that 'the children were coming out of themselves, they found the freedom, the ability to be able to express themselves, and we even developed in some children that were non-vocal the ability to be able to shout "so-re" as one of the cues that we do in taiko' (CCS Taiko 2015: online). Finally, a teacher at The Milestone School stated that:

Some of them have now gone on forward and been able to perform, whereas before they were kind of really shy and would not have stood up in public. It's hugely their confidence and their self-esteem [sic]. They are able to do something, to shine at something and be really good at it. Then they blossom in all sorts of other areas (CCS Taiko 2015: online).

Crucially, the teacher describes a process in which the children's abilities are built up and transfer to other parts of their lives. In other words, the benefits are not limited to the practice of taiko, but rather are extrinsic. Increased confidence and self-esteem, and the ability to vocalise and form new friendships are examples of the ways in which taiko impacts the emotional, communicative and social needs of players.

I suggest three points emerge from this brief analysis. First, while CCS Taiko's work cannot be considered as formal therapy (i.e. under the direction of a qualified, licensed professional and the resultant expectations of confidentiality), it nevertheless allows for a therapeutic *experience* – something allowed for in Dunphy's taxonomy (Dunphy 2018: 310). Hewitt provides a framework for stimulating internal change through taiko practice, and participants clearly describe personal healing with implications for their lives that extend well beyond taiko. This leads on to a second question as well as an opportunity for interdisciplinary research: does taiko – with its physicality and social nature – facilitate this process, and if so why? While many players describe their love for the art form in such terms, no academic research to date connects taiko to the 'cognitive, emotional, behavioural, and physiological effects in individuals' described by Dunphy (2018: 307). I suggest that an applied research approach could support the growth of therapeutic taiko practice targeted at individuals with special educational needs and/or disabilities. Finally, while CCS Taiko is well known for its work in the UK community of taiko practice, I was somewhat surprised to learn that many teachers work with students with special educational needs/disabilities. It may be prudent to establish a sub-group of practitioners who work in this area to share and develop collective knowledge.

In this brief consideration of the therapeutic applications of taiko, I have thus far focused exclusively on work with young people in the United Kingdom. In the United States, however, San Jose Taiko (SJT) launched a 'Taiko for All' programme through which players and participants are 'exploring ways to increase the accessibility of taiko and use it to promote wellness' (n.d.d: online). The ensemble employed Sydney Shiroyama, a consulting Occupational Therapist, to support its programme development. In 2018, SJT developed a workshop for 'self-advocates with Down Syndrome', enabling young people and their family

members to use taiko drumming to 'help promote physical activity, group interaction, turntaking, mirroring of movements, vocalisation, and emotional expression through a fun cultural activity' (ibid). In 2019, the group designed and taught an eight-week course supported by a grant from the Parkinson's Foundation which focused on 'physical activity, cognitive engagement, and social support' for adults (ibid).

As highlighted in the literature review, a single MA thesis has considered the therapeutic applications of taiko drumming (Itoh 1999). Alongside the development of therapeutic programmes, San Jose Taiko planned to host a 'Taiko for All Gathering', a meeting 'of people using taiko as a tool for inclusivity and wellness' that seeks to 'share experiences and best practices for the meaningful work many of us are doing through taiko' using peer learning (San Jose Taiko n.d.c: online). Although postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the development of a gathering to discuss the therapeutic applications of taiko nevertheless suggests wider interest among members of the community of taiko practice in North America. As previously suggested, taiko-as-therapy offers a rich and emerging opportunity for applied research. For instance, when reflecting upon his experience of a 'Taiko for All' course, one participant stated:

I've been diagnosed with Parkinson's for about six years and been trying different exercise programmes to help with the control of the disease. Taiko that we just had is purely the best that I have experienced. ... I came in knowing that I had no natural rhythm and they promised that it wouldn't be held against me and it wasn't. But we have a lot of fun and it's very good for my brain (San Jose Taiko 2019: online)

The class member connects medical and social benefits to the practice of an ensemble instrument dependent on choreography. Given the physicality of taiko practice, further research grounded in medical ethnomusicology – a sub-discipline that 'explores world cultures and "musicmedicine" healing traditions as a means to address disease care and prevention' (Dirksen 2012) – offers rich avenues for exploration.

3.6 Challenging the System from within the System: The British Embassy Taiko Team

During the summer of 2016, I spent just under a month in Japan undertaking fieldwork. At the time, I was employed by the British Council – 'the United Kingdom's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities' (British Council n.d.: online). While in Tokyo, I visited the organisation's office in Chiyoda-ku, in part to express my gratitude. I had communicated with various colleagues, including British Council Japan's country director, prior to my visit who had in turn put me in contact with staff at the British Embassy. As a result, I ended up spending time within the embassy compound where I observed its taiko team's weekly practice session, talked with group members and organised follow-up interviews.

My fieldnotes from the day of my visit reflect a clash of professional identities and acute awareness of privilege. As I approached the embassy, an imposing building housed behind tall gates and security checkpoints, a recurring thought entered my mind: if I were 'just' a PhD student as opposed to a PhD student and staffer of a body sponsored by the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office,³⁴ would this visit be possible? My role at the British

³⁴ In September 2020, the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Department for International Development merged to form the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office.

Council meant I had visited various embassies and cultural forums around the world with a purpose and, to some extent, a shield provided by my job title. While my visit was certainly eased, if not enabled, by my role within the British Council and the contacts it afforded me, my motivation on this occasion was strictly ethnographic. As I would go on to learn, however, the diplomatic vernacular learnt in post at the British Council would prove invaluable when interpreting the team's role within the embassy.

Thus far in this chapter, I have explored how individuals and groups use taiko as a mechanism to achieve social justice. This fourth and final illustration offers a different perspective by examining how a taiko group comprised of locally appointed employees and staff on rotation in diplomatic designated roles use taiko under the aegis of the British Embassy Tokyo's public diplomacy strategy. In other words, I consider how the British Embassy Taiko Team (BETT) operates within and capitalises upon the UK Government's foreign policy frameworks, resulting in both the promotion of the United Kingdom and active support for marginalised groups in Tokyo and Japan more widely. While I focus exclusively on BETT, this case offers a unique contribution to the thesis by considering taiko practice in Japan.

3.6.1 UK Foreign Policy in Japan

Before turning to the activities of BETT, we first need to understand the specific foreign policy needs and goals of the UK Government in Japan. I visited the embassy towards the end of His Excellency Sir Timothy Mark Hitchens KCVO CMG's ambassadorship (2012-2016). Under his leadership, the British Embassy Tokyo articulated its objectives as follows:

The British Embassy in Japan maintains and develops relations between the UK and Japan through international cooperation in support of UK values and working to reduce conflict; building Britain's prosperity through increased trade and investment in open markets; and supporting British nationals who visit and live in Japan through modern and efficient consular services (British Embassy Tokyo n.d.a: online).³⁵

Two noteworthy points emerge from a brief examination of the above aims. First, joint action is presented in the context of advancing/promoting 'UK values' – principles which are not listed or defined by the British Embassy Tokyo or the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Indeed, there is no collective, cross-government agreement on UK or British values, a particularly noteworthy point given foreign policy remains a reserved matter in the UK governance system.³⁶ Indeed, the only public pronouncement of these values comes from the Department for Education (DfE), a ministerial department with responsibility for children's services and education in England. As part of its guidance on 'improving the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils', the DfE requires schools in England 'to "actively promote" the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law,

³⁵ The British Embassy in Japan sets out almost identical goals under the ambassadorship of His Excellency Paul Madden CMG (2017-present). The wording is slightly different in that it emphasises 'our values' as opposed to 'UK values': 'The British Embassy in Japan maintains and develops relations between the UK and Japan. Our work covers a range of issues including international cooperation in support of our values and working to reduce conflict; building Britain's prosperity through increased trade and investment in open markets; and supporting British nationals who visit and live in Japan through modern and efficient consular services' (British Embassy Tokyo n.d.b: online).

³⁶ The UK Parliament (Westminster) can make decisions on reserved matters that affect Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and regions of England with devolved powers. Alongside foreign policy, reserved matters include immigration, currency, data protection, and the constitution (The Scottish Parliament 2018).

individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (Department for Education 2014: online). The values that sit at the centre of the bilateral relationship between the UK and Japan, however, remain undefined.

A second subtle yet significant point emerges from the British Embassy's high-level objectives, specifically *how* the organisation might achieve these goals. Broadly speaking, the use of hard power – coercion or inducement through military or economic means to influence the behaviour of states and political agents (Nye 2011: 42, 91) – is not implied. Instead, the UK Government's field of influence is pursued through 'softer' means, with success dependent on 'the degree to which a political actor's cultural assets, political ideals and policies inspire respect or affinity on the part of others' (USC Centre on Public Diplomacy n.d.: online). I shall now turn to consider the operationalisation of the British Embassy Taiko Team as a soft power tool – one that serves as a means of generating rapport and good will with the Japanese public.

3.6.2 British Embassy Taiko Team: The 'Face' of the Embassy

On July 26, 2017, the British Embassy Tokyo uploaded a video to its official social media platforms. It begins with footage of eight costumed employees performing in the spacious gardens of the embassy. In addition to the formal performance, the video includes film of team practices and the group's storage space, as well as interwoven textual statements and spoken information provided by various team members – all of which is subtitled in both English and Japanese. The text of the video is as follows:³⁷

Did you know the British Embassy has a Taiko Team?

"Hello, we are the British Embassy Taiko Team. And we are practicing at the moment at lunch time."

"The Embassy's Taiko Team was formed in 1994, and since then we have colleagues from cross-sections, and this is one of the most active club work [sic] in the embassy."

"We practice about twice in a week on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and sometimes we have weekend practice once in a month for people who don't work here."

"[The] Taiko Team plays at local summer festivals and that includes Hibiya Park Obon Festival. Also we participated at the Tokyo Rainbow Pride, and last year we played at Fuji Rock as well."

"There is about 15 staff who are regular players, and we have some staff from outside of the embassy as well, so almost 20 players in total if we all come together."

The Taiko Team is fast becoming the new face of the embassy through music and culture. Look out for the team at one of their upcoming performances (British Embassy Tokyo 2017: online).

The filmed introduction to the British Embassy Taiko Team – 'the new face of the embassy' – makes clear that the group serves as a public diplomacy tool for the UK in Japan. Naren Chitty positions public diplomacy as:

engagement variously between governments and publics (noting their diasporic nature), whether between countries or within one country, through use of media (including social media), mobility or cultural production (including by prosumers), for purposes of building sustainable and mutually beneficial relationships and generating mutual goodwill (Chitty 2017: 18-19).

Based upon the British Embassy's description of its team, group members perform music that is promoted through the embassy's social media channels with the express intention of

³⁷ Speech marks denote spoken commentary by a member of the taiko team. Text is indented to indicate a new speaker. Otherwise, the text appears on screen in the video.

engaging the Japanese public at future performances. Put simply, the taiko group (as an instrument of public diplomacy) functions as a soft power tool – one that seeks to generate attraction and understanding among the Japanese public. It is, of course, particularly striking that the British Embassy Tokyo uses *wadaiko*, an instrument indigenous to Japan, to connect with the Japanese public rather than a musical (or other artistic) form more widely associated with the United Kingdom. Indeed, the presence of an 'in house' music group comprised of embassy staffers is novel; while embassies and consulates regularly fund and/or host concerts by professional musicians from the UK, I am unable to identify any other embassy with a public-facing music group made up of staffers.

Given the embassy's use of an indigenous musical instrument, the question becomes how the UK is promoted through its performance and how UK values (however ill defined) are celebrated. The commentary uploaded along with the introductory video in July 2017 provides some insights. Writing in Japanese and English, the British Embassy Tokyo announced that:

【出演決定!】

今週末に開催されるフジロック2017に今年も英国大使館太鼓チームが出演!各日13時半〜ストーンド・サークルにて。太鼓チームの演奏の写真を撮って #MusicisGREATと #fujirock をつけてSNSで投稿してくれた方10名様に英国大使館特製Tシャツをプレゼントします。ぜひ観に来て下さいね。

The British Embassy Taiko Team will perform on all 3 days of Fuji Rock 2017 this weekend. Don't miss your chance to get a limited Music is GREAT t-shirt by taking a photo of the performance and posting on SNS including #MusicisGREAT and #fujirock. We have 10 t-shirts to give away each day, performance starts at 13:30 on the Stoned Circle stage! (British Embassy Tokyo 2017: online).

The post and accompanying video received significant engagement from social media users – on Facebook alone, the video was viewed some 8,700 times, whereas the post (video and text) received 382 reactions and 75 shares. This may in part be due to the significance of 'Fuji Rock' in the Japanese festival calendar; held over three days in Niigata Prefecture, the event featured more than 200 Japanese and international musicians, including Björk, Gorillaz and Rag'n'Bone Man in 2017 (Fuji Rock Festival n.d.: online).

Alongside the volume of engagement, I suggest two noteworthy points emerge from the embassy's post: first, the repeated use of 'Music is GREAT' branding; and second, desired audience engagement with a UK Government social media platform (#MusicisGREAT). The GREAT Britain campaign was launched in 2012 to capitalise on the excitement and interest generated by the Diamond Jubilee and London Olympic and Paralympic Games. It sets out to present a unified brand for the UK abroad and uses 'the application of corporate marketing concepts and techniques to countries, in the interests of enhancing their reputation in international relations' (Kerr and Wiseman 2013: 354). The GREAT campaign's vision is clear: 'to inspire the world to *think and feel differently* about the UK now and in the future, demonstrating that it is the best nation to visit, invest in, trade with and study in' (National Audit Office 2015: 5, emphasis mine). As the vision implies, the campaign is centred on economic targets, specifically a return of £1.7 to £1.9 billion to the UK economy by 2019-20 (ibid: 6).

Figure 3.7 presents a photograph of the British Embassy Taiko Team performing at Fuji Rock 2017. Players are dressed in red and black *happi* – straight-sleeved coats typically worn during summer festivals – which are embroidered with '英国 大使館 太鼓會' (*Eikoku taishikan Taiko Kai*, British Embassy Taiko Team). Along with the costumes, the conspicuous placement of 'Music is GREAT' branding in the foreground is striking, particularly in the

context of the group's status within the embassy. As a speaker in the introductory video mentions, BETT is a 'work club', an informal association of employees who share a common interest and pursue it in their leisure time (e.g. lunch breaks and weekends). Moreover, the group generates its own funding from performances. While in-kind support (e.g. storage space) is clearly offered by the British Embassy Tokyo, team members emphasised that they receive no financial support from the embassy or the GREAT campaign, meaning members are personally responsible for all the necessary equipment.



Figure 3.7. British Embassy Taiko Team performing at Fuji Rock in 2017. Source: Kirtley 2017.

Given the team's position within the embassy, one might reasonably question why members promoted a nation-branding campaign – one focused on generating economic returns for the UK – during their performance at Fuji Rock. David Mulholland, the embassy's marketing officer and BETT member, explained that:

I saw it [Fuji Rock] was a good occasion to brand our team and get more promotion of the GREAT campaign, just because it is such a high-profile festival and there was the opportunity to do it. ... We don't really brand ourselves for the more traditional Japanese-style festivals. What we are trying to do is change perceptions and raise awareness of GREAT to Japanese audiences primarily in Japan.

Mulholland describes a mode of cultural diplomacy – a subset of public diplomacy – at play. In this instance, government employees 'draw on their heritage or contemporary culture ... for purposes of building sustainable mutually beneficial relationships and generating mutual goodwill in groups with which they wish to partner' (Chitty 2017: 19). This definition of cultural diplomacy, however, presents us with something of a conundrum: precisely *whose* heritage and/or contemporary culture incorporates taiko? In the case of Fuji Rock, a mixed group of British and Japanese players performed a musical form indigenous to Japan – and now widespread in the United Kingdom and beyond – with the intention of changing how

Japanese people feel about the UK and drawing attention to the nation brand used globally by the UK. I do not offer an answer to my question, but instead suggest an intriguing possibility for more widespread cultural diplomacy practices that capitalise upon the popularity and widespread transmission of *kumi-daiko* to generate relationships. More generally, I suggest further research to examine how governments pursue specific foreign policy objectives through musical practice.

3.6.3 LGBT Activism in Japan

In the first three case studies of this chapter, I focus expressly on how taiko is operationalised to bring about social change. Having outlined BETT's role as an instrument of the UK Government, I now turn to consider the social justice applications of the group's work, specifically around lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) activism. Before doing so, however, we first need to understand the Japanese policy context. As the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) notes, no national data collection exercises (e.g. censuses) in Japan present questions about sexual self-identification or transgenderism. Consequently, LGBT people and the specific challenges they face in other areas of life (e.g. education and employment) are obscured in official data. Moreover, Japan has not expressly outlawed discrimination based on sexual orientation in the workplace, nor is same-sex marriage legal. As the OECD (2019: online) summarises, 'there remains substantial room for progress' in terms of LGBT issues in Japan.

During my visit to the embassy and subsequent interview with Mulholland, team members listed a range of performance settings with/for a wide range of constituents. The team typically plays for various internal embassy events, including staff parties (e.g. Christmas), the Queen's birthday party, a reception for participants of the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) from the UK, and 'Embaski', an annual staff ski trip. External events include local community *matsuri*, including a children's festival; Hibiya Park *matsuri*, one of Tokyo's largest *bon-odori* (*bon* dance) festivals; an old people's home; Fuji Rock; and Summer Sonic, a rock festival simultaneously held in Osaka and Chiba. In our conversations, however, one event stood out as particularly meaningful to players: Tokyo Rainbow Pride.

Tokyo Pride Parade first took place in 1994 and has since expanded significantly. In 2019, more than 10,000 marchers took part, and some 200,000 people attended the two-day pride festival (Fahey 2019). Along with other artists, the British Embassy Taiko Team performs at the annual event, entertaining crowds from the main stage of the outdoor event space that marks the march's start and endpoint. Visitors can also interact with sponsors, including embassies and charities, at booths.

As previously mentioned, the 'UK values' promoted by the British Embassy are not fully articulated. It is clear, however, that the British Embassy places great emphasis on supporting the LGBT community in Japan and uses two tools to amplify its message: the GREAT campaign and its Taiko Team. For the 2016 Tokyo Rainbow Pride, for instance, the embassy's Diversity Committee partnered with the British Chamber of Commerce in Japan (BCCJ) to organise a booth. The call for support states that:

The campaign theme for this year is Love is GREAT! Join us to promote the UK as an attractive and welcoming tourist destination, and to show that leading companies – and government departments – take an enlightened approach to diversity. ...

Since April 2012, we have been running [a] D&I [Diversity and Inclusion] programme designed to promote greater understanding of, and develop support mechanisms for, the growth of diverse groups in the workplace in Japan, including:

- Women
- People with Disabilities
- LGBTQ community
- Generation Y / "Millennials"

We believe diversity to be vital for the future growth and sustainability of the Japanese and global economy (British Chamber of Commerce in Japan 2016: online).

In this instance, social change work – specifically promoting an 'enlightened approach to diversity' in Japanese workplaces based upon perceived effective practice in the United Kingdom – is placed within the wider economic framework of the GREAT campaign. Its ultimate objective is 'to inspire the world to *think and feel differently* about the UK now and in the future, demonstrating that it is the best nation to visit, invest in, trade with and study in' (National Audit Office 2015: 5, emphasis mine). By promoting the UK as an LGBT-friendly tourist destination, highlighting common approaches to diversity in UK workplaces, and offering diversity and inclusion training to Japanese companies, the partnership seeks both to change visitors' perspectives and their behaviour – whether through additional tourism to the UK or changing workplace norms in Japan.

While the activity of the embassy and BCCJ is clearly embedded in the wider GREAT campaign, there is nevertheless a clear social justice lens at Tokyo Rainbow Pride. Bell identifies two key elements of social justice work: understanding one's role within oppressive systems through the development of analytical skills; and the ability to bring about personal, institutional and community change by growing and applying agency and capacity (2007: 2). By highlighting norms for LGBT people in the United Kingdom, promoting the idea that '[all] Love is GREAT' and offering training to reshape local workplace attitudes towards diversity and inclusion, the embassy pursues social justice for members of the LBGT community in Japan. At the same time, however, the UK also exercises its soft power by calling attention to and deploying the UK's policies and political ideals to generate rapport. For instance, when addressing the assembled crowd at Tokyo Rainbow Pride 2014, Ambassador Hitchens stated:

At the end of last month gay marriage became legal in England and Wales. It shows that we are a country that will continue to honour its proud traditions of respect, tolerance and equal worth. Several of our great cities in the UK have so thoroughly embraced diversity as to become LGBT travel destinations in their own right. Manchester, Cardiff, Birmingham, Brighton and of course London are all welcoming destinations for LGBT travellers and host their own parades or similar events (British Embassy Tokyo 2014: online).

Hitchens' speech interweaves soft power and social justice by celebrating the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act and drawing attention to the legal and social norms under which LGBT people live in the UK. In contrast, same sex marriage remains illegal in Japan and 'sunglasses and paper masks – the standard attire of people wishing to retain anonymity in public in Japan – remained commonplace among [Tokyo Rainbow Pride] participants right up until the late 2000s' (Fahey 2019: online). The British Embassy celebrates UK values – in this instance 'respect, tolerance and equal worth [of LGBT people]' – under the aegis of the GREAT campaign. I now turn to consider the role of taiko in the process.

3.6.4 The Role of Taiko in LGBT Activism

The British Embassy Taiko Team forms part of the line-up for the annual Tokyo Rainbow Pride event. BETT's performance on the main stage is a significant element of the embassy's presence; for instance, prior to the team's performance in 2016, Ambassador Hitchens wore

BETT's costume while on the main stage alongside the US and Irish ambassadors as well as the event's Co-Chairs (see Figure 3.8). Given the scale of the event as well as the embassy's varied activities (e.g. its booth), I suggest it is impossible to identify if/how Japanese audience members 'think and feel differently about the UK' as a result of the performance. Indeed, there is a real lack of systematic study in this area, and I argue that researchers working at the intersections of music, soft power and social justice first need to resolve issues which extend far beyond the scope of this case study: first, identifying how *audiences* are implicated in the process of meaning-making; and second, monitoring and evaluating behavioural change as a result of planned soft power musical interventions, particularly in a rapidly evolving geopolitical landscape. Given the obvious challenges of tracing the impact of BETT's performance upon Japanese audience members, I shall instead pursue the workings of soft power through the available stable artefact: the music.



Figure 3.8. The US, Irish and British Ambassadors, and Co-Chairs of the Tokyo Rainbow Pride Board of Directors before a performance by the British Embassy Taiko Team on May 8, 2016. *Source*: Japan Times 2016.

On the day of my visit to the embassy, the temperature exceeded 30°C with high humidity. Given the local conditions and my prior knowledge of the group's performance contexts, I was somewhat surprised to learn that players practice outdoors in a space in front of the embassy's metal-fronted garages. To reduce noise levels for colleagues in the immediate vicinity, the team plays on tyres strapped into Asahi Beer $(\mathcal{T} \oplus \mathcal{L} \cup \mathcal{V})$ crates, thus allowing members to practice in the *naname* style (see Figures 3.9 and 3.10).

During the lunchtime practice session, I learned that the team performs *matsuri* repertoire and/or original compositions and arrangements depending on the performance context. Towards the end of my visit, BETT offered to perform their 'party piece' for me – an original arrangement by team members that typically serves as an encore or piece in the set list (including Tokyo Rainbow Pride). During my research project, I have been fortunate

enough to visit and/or work with taiko groups from five continents. The British Embassy Taiko Team, however, did something I have not seen elsewhere for their chosen piece: they played along to recorded music.



Figure 3.9. Tyre drum used during practice sessions at the British Embassy Tokyo.



Figure 3.10. A player practicing in the *naname* style. Line drawing by Morag Kewell.

As the fieldwork recording in the accompanying media folder shows, BETT members drum to 'Yellow Submarine Ondō' (イエロー・サブマリン音頭). Released in 1982, the arrangement is performed by Akiko Kanazawa (金沢 明子), a *min'yō* (folk song)³⁸ singer. I argue that the taiko arrangement of 'Yellow Submarine Ondō' is a direct reflection of BETT's staff make-up and wider public diplomacy practices underway at the British Embassy Tokyo. I first consider the musical and lyrical structure of the 1982 commercial recording before turning to consider the integration of a taiko part by BETT members.³⁹

The title of the recorded track immediately suggests symbiosis between Japan and the UK; 'Yellow Submarine' connotes The Beatles, a cornerstone of British pop and rock music history, whereas 'Ondō' indicates a Japanese musical form. Mitsui (2001: 781) notes that while 'originally a [Japanese] folk dance and song with indigenous rhythms, ondo was reinvigorated with a new melody and lyrics in traditional style set to an orchestration that was basically Western but featured traditional drums and syamisen [shamisen]'. From a melodic perspective, Kanazawa's arrangement largely fulfils this brief: the orchestration is comprised of voice, piccolo, bassoon, trumpet, trombone, tuba, electric guitar, bass guitar, drum set, shamisen as well as a brief solo on shakuhachi. The use of a (relatively) small ensemble of Western instruments alongside shamisen, shakuhachi and voice is broadly

³⁸ As David Hughes (1990: 1) outlines, 'folk song' is a problematic translation of $min'y\bar{o}$. Although it serves as a direct translation (min'/folk', $y\bar{o}$ /'song') of the term, there is little scholarly agreement on the form's parameters. Asano defines '[$Min'y\bar{o}$ as] songs which were originally born naturally within local folk communities and, while being transmitted aurally, [have continued to] reflect naively the sentiments of daily life' (1966: 41).

³⁹ The track can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JmU_yclT6G0.

typical of *shin-min'y* \bar{o} (new folk songs), a form which emerged in the 1920s-30s and gained popular and commercial traction throughout the twentieth century (Hughes 1990: 17).

Kanazawa's use of the voice and lyrics in the arrangement is particularly intriguing. As the transcript presented in Table 3.2 indicates, the well-known chorus is principally sung in English while the verses are sung in Japanese. By switching between languages, the arrangement indicates English (UK)-Japanese interchange – both literal (in the song) and metaphorical (more broadly). Notably, however, the verse lyrics are not a faithful translation of those performed in The Beatles' 1966 recording (provided in Appendix D). While thematically similar, the English translation is much more concise when compared to the original. One explanation is the need to retain and accommodate the original melody: while the English translation seems somewhat sparse, the sung Japanese contains roughly the same number of syllables as The Beatles' original version in English.⁴⁰

Lyrics	Romaji (where applicable)	English translation (where applicable)
街の外れに	Machi no hazure ni	On the outskirts of town
船乗りがひとり	Funenori ga hitori	There's a lone sailor
酒を片手の	Sake wo katate no	With a drink in one hand
冒険話	Bouken banashi	[Telling] tales of adventure
行こう ぼくらも 七つの海へ	Yukou bokura mo nanatsu no umi e	Let's all go to the seven seas
波に潜れば	Nami ni mogureba	If you dive under the waves
不思議な旅さ	Fushigi na tabi sa	It's a strange journey
We all live in a yellow submarine		
Yellow submarine, yellow submarine		
We all live in a yellow submarine		
Yellow submarine 潜水艦	sensuikan	submarine
みんな集まれ	Minna atsumare	Gather everyone
深海パーティー	shinkai pa-ti-	[for a] deep sea party
バンドも歌う	Bando mo utau	The band sings too
We all live in a yellow submarine		
Yellow submarine, yellow submarine		
We all live in a yellow submarine		
Yellow submarine 潜水艦	sensuikan	submarine
楽な暮らしさ	Rakuna kurashi sa	It's an easy life
笑顔で生きて	egao de ikite	living with a smile
空は青いし	sora wa aoi shi	[because] the sky is blue
渚は緑	nagisa wa midori	the shores are green
We all live in a yellow submarine		
Yellow submarine, yellow submarine		
We all live in a yellow submarine		

⁴⁰ For instance, each line of the first verse in The Beatles' original version contains 14 syllables whereas the Japanese contains between 13 and 15.

Yellow submarine 潜水艦	sensuikan	submarine
We all live in a yellow submarine		
Yellow submarine, yellow submarine		
We all live in a yellow submarine		
Yellow submarine 潜水艦	sensuikan	submarine
(はざまけんじ)	Hazamakenji	Father McKenzie
(目標左400 魚雷発射用意)	Mokuhyou hidari 400 gyorai hassha youi	Target left, [range] 400, prepare to fire torpedoes
(Father McKenzie)		
(All Together Now)		

Table 3.2. Lyrics and translation of 'Yellow Submarine Ondo' performed by Akiko Kanazawa.

One notable difference in the lyrics is the reference paid to Father McKenzie. In The Beatles' original version, a 'Mr. Parker' is referred to instead. However, Father McKenzie appears on the same double A-side single as 'Yellow Submarine' but forms part of 'Eleanor Rigby' – a song concerned with loneliness. Moreover, both songs form part of 'Revolver', The Beatles celebrated 1966 album. Although one can speculate on possible connections, no credible source sets out the reason for Father McKenzie's inclusion in the *ondō* lyrics. However, it is worth noting that refrains in *shin-min'yō* pieces often contain 'lexically meaningless elements' (Hughes 1990: 9).

As reflected in the partial notation presented in Appendix E, Kanazawa makes extensive use of *min'yō* ornamentation, particularly *kobushi*. These intricate 'little melodies' – a form of melisma in which the singer fluctuates pitch irregularly – are typical of Japanese songs (Hughes 2008: 289). In addition, two or three backing singers perform *kakegoe* (non-melodic yet rhythmic shouts) in each chorus that serve to contribute to the song's feeling.⁴¹ In short, by singing the verses of 'Yellow Submarine' in Japanese and the chorus (mostly) in English, employing a distinctive Japanese vocal style and incorporating both Western instruments, the *shamisen* and *shakuhachi*, the listener is left with a distinctly Japanese-British sonic palette.

The nagado-daiko part arranged by members of the British Embassy Taiko Team makes full use of the naname style: the drumhead, top and bottom rims of the instrument and bachi⁴² are all used to produce different timbres. Moreover, the players move during the piece, jumping from the standard playing position to one perpendicular to the drum and back again. While all instruments are notated in Appendix E, I present the vocal and nagado-daiko parts for the first verse and chorus in Musical Example 3.1.⁴³ Even a cursory examination reveals some noteworthy points. First, while the taiko part is largely comprised of simple rhythms, the tempo (120 beats per minute), occasional sense of syncopation (e.g. bar 4) and use of both drumheads and movement mean the part is somewhat challenging to perform, particularly when one bears in mind that the performers practice on tyre drums (which offer

⁴¹ The *kakegoe* is not transcribed in Table 3.2 as the words are meaningless. They are, however, recognisably Japanese.

⁴² The sounds produced are notated as follows: a normal note head indicates a strike on the top drumhead; a cross note head with an upwards stem indicates a strike on the top rim of the drum whereas a downwards stem indicates the bottom rim; a cross note head positioned above the single staff line indicates a *bachi* click.
⁴³ Given my focus upon analysing interactions between the melodic (a feature largely absent in taiko)

compositions) and the rhythmic in a verse and chorus, I solely employ Western staff notation.

far less bounce than a *nagado-daiko*). Second, the drum part seems to serve a different function in the verse and chorus. In the former, the players use four different sounds along with movement and *bachi* throws. In other words, audience members' attention is drawn to the drumming as opposed to the song, particularly when Kanazawa makes use of ornamentation (e.g. bars 4 and 5). In stark contrast, the *nagado-daiko* part is significantly less complicated in the (English language) chorus and clearly follows and supports the structure of the vocal part rather than overshadowing it. For instance, in bars 18 and 22, BETT players perform simple crotchet beats in support of 'we all' – the opening phrase of the chorus. Moreover, in the crotchet rest after 'yellow submarine' (i.e. bars 19-21 and 23-25), the top rim of the drum is used to provide a timbral contrast and a sense of call and response.



Musical Example 3.1. Notated excerpt of 'Yellow Submarine Ondo' (voice and nagado-daiko).

In short, the listener – whether British or Japanese – is presented with the recognisable melody of 'Yellow Submarine', a blend of Japanese and Western instrumentation and a broadly equal mix of Japanese and English with distinctive Japanese vocal ornamentation. Moreover, the taiko follow and support the rhythmic structure of the English-language chorus while presenting sound and choreography that is much more complex during the (Japanese) verses. The combination is further tangled by the visual; at events such as Tokyo Rainbow Pride, players from different backgrounds perform dressed in *happi* coats embroidered with 英国大使館太鼓會 (*Eikoku taishikan Taiko Kai*/British Embassy Taiko Team).

One outstanding point remains, namely the group's choice of a piece by The Beatles as opposed to another well-known (and perhaps more modern) group from the United Kingdom. As Furmanovsky notes, 'The Beatles have a unique status in Japanese popular culture and their music and image can be found in almost every area of commercial life and entertainment' (2010: 52). By integrating an element of British culture that is hugely popular in Japan with an indigenous musical form, the British Embassy Taiko Team would appear to fulfil a public diplomacy objective. According to Mulholland, the 'party piece' sparks curiosity and friendliness from Japanese observers in a wide range of performance contexts, thus forming part of a 'process whereby a country seeks to build trust and understanding by engaging with a broader foreign public' (European Union 2014: 136). By sonically and visually projecting the fusion and cooperation of UK and Japanese musical forms through performances by locally appointed and diplomatic-assigned embassy staffers, the UK potentially gains both influence and credibility when present at outreach events such as Tokyo Rainbow Pride. As previously highlighted, however, it is exceptionally challenging to determine the extent to which public (and, in this case, cultural) diplomacy objectives are achieved.

In the introduction to this case study, I highlight its unique contributions to the chapter and wider thesis, namely consideration of the extrinsic applications of taiko by a government organ (as opposed to individuals) and the fieldwork setting (Japan). Despite BETT's status as a work club without government funding, the British Embassy deploys its Taiko Team as part of an institutional strategy to achieve cultural, political and diplomatic aims in Japan, particularly in relation to economic development (GREAT) and mutual understanding of values. Based upon my observations, the group's social and musical practices are dependent on the key principle of reciprocity: the team is comprised of both locally appointed (Japanese) and diplomatic designated (British) staff who draw from *matsuri* repertoire yet compose/arrange pieces that share popular British and Japanese cultural diplomacy affect the cultural, social and aesthetic characteristics of taiko practice.

While the British Embassy Taiko Team clearly operates within government frameworks, it also actively supports the pursuit of social justice for LGBT communities in Japan. Team members volunteer to perform on the main stage of Tokyo Rainbow Pride festival, in turn supporting 'UK values' shared by the ambassador and 'Love is GREAT' promotional materials. I suggest, however, that the primary difference between this fourth case study and the preceding three is responsiveness: while actors in case studies one, two and three *initiate* and develop taiko activities in light of a perceived social justice issues, the British Embassy Taiko Team *supports* the higher-level messaging and activity of a government organ focused (in part) on generating economic returns for the UK.

3.7 Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter set out to consider how players use taiko to influence social change processes – whether intended to impact upon individuals, taiko communities or wider society. The application of Dunphy's (2018) typology of arts impacts to sustained ethnographic inquiry in a range of geographies highlighted the manifold desired effects of deliberate social change through musicking. It is clear that players operationalised taiko in quite different ways in pursuit of social change objectives, in turn exemplifying the diversity of practice within the landscape. For instance, I discussed the use of portable taiko and associated instruments in support of mass movements, as well as extra-musical activities (e.g. the design and production of t-shirts) intended to generate further support. In the second case study, I reviewed my own attempts to draw attention to disparities within the landscape of taiko practice. In stark contrast to a one-day social media campaign, the third case study highlighted sustained engagement with individuals with special educational needs and/or disabilities in order to provide a therapeutic experience. Beyond Dunphy's typology, I considered the British Embassy Taiko Team's performances in support of the UK's nation branding campaign and support for the LGBT community in Japan.

While the four case studies may seem somewhat dissociated given the range of settings and intended outcomes, they share one theme: the players involved seek to bring about social change by operationalising taiko. Based upon this common thread as well as specificities from each case study, I propose a series of recommendations targeted at three audiences: taiko players, ethnomusicologists and public diplomacy practitioners. In doing so, I address the objective I set at the outset of the chapter by exploring the intersection of applied ethnomusicology and community music, in turn highlighting the ways in which they overlap. My proposals seek to support the provision of 'opportunities to construct personal and communal expressions of artistic, social, political, and cultural concerns' (ISME Community Music Activity Commission n.d.: online). At the same time, I 'advocate the use of ethnomusicological knowledge in influencing social interaction and [the] course of cultural change' (ICTM Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology n.d.: online).

Drawing from the first, second and third case studies, I recommend that players across the international landscape of taiko practice capitalise upon the rich and varied experiences in other CoTPs and programme activities accordingly. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, players from different geographies have demonstrated the capacity to exchange using digital tools in order to bring about social change. This chapter, however, illustrates the differing ways in which players deploy taiko. In North America, it is typically used in support of wider movements (e.g. gender equality, Black Lives Matter), an approach largely absent in the UK. Taiko teachers in the UK, however, are much more likely to work with players with special educational needs and/or disabilities. Rather than solely relying upon local/national practices, I suggest players engage strategically with members from other communities within the landscape, in turn learning, sharing and ultimately adapting knowledge and skills to develop local, situated social change through musicking.

By recommending planned global exchanges among players, I do not mean to suggest that they are currently absent; indeed, the case studies illustrate grassroots examples of inter-community exchange using digital means. Instead, I advocate for a much more calculated approach in which the ability to learn is actively considered in order to bring about social change through taiko. In practice, this would mean (potential) system convenors – 'people who work at the landscape level to enable new forms of social learning capability' (Team BE 2014: online) – facilitate events expressly designed to foster dialogue and

interchange among disparate landscape members on relevant topics and themes. For instance, San Jose Taiko leads work on *kumi-daiko* as a tool for wellness through its 'Taiko for All' programme, including the planned 'Taiko for All Gathering' (a face-to-face weekend event cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic). Learning could be deepened by facilitating the full participation of UK-based players who work with students with special educational needs and disabilities, ultimately resulting in fruitful exchange and the (potential) sharing and development of effective practice.⁴⁴

More broadly, the California-based Taiko Community Alliance – an organisation that seeks 'to empower the people and advance the art of taiko' (Taiko Community Alliance n.d.b: online) – might further develop its international outreach and engagement. At present, TCA offers a wide range of programming, including the North American Taiko Conference and an accompanying digital repository, a Women and Taiko mentorship scheme, and a song commission to celebrate 'taiko pioneers' – all of which is targeted at (although not exclusive to) taiko communities in the USA and Canada (Taiko Community Alliance n.d.d: online). While TCA claims to 'reach our diverse constituency with unique programs that promote collaboration' (ibid), I suggest that facilitating opportunities to exchange knowledge and experience *across* the landscape of taiko practice is precisely what is required for empowerment and advancement – whether in the North American context or more broadly. Regardless, both Dunphy's (2018) metatheory on change through arts participation and Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner's (n.d.) concept of the 'system convenor' necessitate skilled leadership. Thus, my second recommendation is that taiko organisations address community leadership development directly – something I consider in the following chapter.

In the second case study, I presented my experience of sharing data pertaining to gender (in-)equality across the English-speaking landscape of taiko practice and my surprise at the lack of engagement from members. This insight highlights the importance of actively involving participants in constructing solutions, not just sharing information or making suggestions. Notably, this third and final recommendation for taiko players is wholly reliant on the skilled leadership described above; rather than offering finalised solutions to perceived local, national and/or international social issues, it seems essential that participants have the opportunity to learn from diverse experiences and then engage in a reflexive process to develop local, situated responses.

As well as offering recommendations to taiko players, I suggest that the four case studies provide valuable lessons for ethnomusicologists (and music scholars more broadly) too. The second and third case studies draw upon the TCA Taiko Census and other large-scale data collection exercises in order to understand differences among communities in the global landscape of taiko practice. Despite various scholarly considerations of how musical genres become global (e.g. Lee 2018, Hutchinson 2014, Charry 2012 and Aoyama 2007), I have not identified research projects that gather and make comparable use of extensive quantitative data. I therefore wish to make the case for a quantitative lens in ethnomusicology, particularly when considering an art form on an international scale. By gathering quantitative data, observing the patterns it contains, and thus better understanding the landscape and how the communities within it operate differently, researchers can yield greater insights than qualitative data alone. For instance, because of the TCA Taiko Census, we know that respondents are typically highly educated: 89% of respondents born in 1997 or before in the

⁴⁴ The selection process for the face-to-face 'Taiko for All Gathering' sought 'to ensure diversity of participants' geographic representation and fields of work' (San Jose Taiko n.d.c: online). Players based in the UK, however, are unlikely to participate due to the cost (both in terms of time and travel expenses).

USA had experience of higher education (Walker 2017b: online) whereas 99% of participants in the UK had some higher education experience (Walker 2016c). Consequently, one can reasonably question whether the desire for social change and the capacity to develop approaches through taiko is a result of players' educational attainment. I present this reflection as a fruitful avenue for future research.

As noted in the conclusion to the third case study, the intersection of therapy and taiko offers an exciting area for future research. Various scholars have investigated the therapeutic effects of drumming (with membranophones other than *wadaiko*) among diverse cohorts, including drug addicts (Winkelman 2003; Dickerson et al 2012), post-traumatic soldiers (Bensimon, Amir and Wolf 2008), sex workers (Venkit, Godse and Godse 2013) and adults with mood disorders (Plastow et al 2018). Just one scholarly output, however, explores the therapeutic applications of taiko (Itoh 1999), despite its growing popularity. An applied ethnomusicological approach – one 'guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends ... toward solving concrete problems' (ICTM Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology n.d.: online) – might allow us to understand if and why taiko (and its particular characteristics) serves as a useful therapeutic tool. Relevant findings could enable evidence-based advocacy for wider provision and training, in turn advancing the art form and its applications.

The final recommendation applies to a niche readership, namely public diplomacy practitioners. In the fourth case study, I analyse how the British Embassy Tokyo deploys its taiko team in order to achieve foreign policy objectives. I also make note of the group's unique approach – to date, I have been unable to identify another embassy music group comprised solely of staffers. However, Kanji Yamanouchi – Ambassador and Consul General of Japan in New York – adopts a similar approach as a solo instrumentalist. In a Facebook post titled 'Gratitude, Respect and Rock & Roll', Ambassador Yamanouchi 'expressed his appreciation for the resilient American people [during the COVID-19 pandemic] and the long relationship between the US, NY & Japan'. Uploaded on July 1, 2020, the Ambassador performs 'The Star-Spangled Banner' on electric guitar in a '4th of July performance inspired by music legend Jimi Hendrix'. Performing between the Japanese and US flags, Yamanouchi celebrates relations between the two countries by playing a piece immediately associated with the USA, in turn generating 2,800 reactions (e.g. 'like'), 2,700 shares and widespread coverage in both traditional media (e.g. The New York Post) and social media (Consulate General of Japan in New York 2020: online). He also fulfils his stated objective to 'be active in strengthening people-to-people relationships between the Japanese and American people' (Consulate General of Japan in New York n.d.: online).

I suggest that the brief example of Ambassador Yamanouchi supports the findings from the fourth case study, namely that embassy staffers can operationalise music associated with the host country in order to achieve foreign policy objectives. I thus propose that the intersection of music making by embassy staffers/diplomats, the pursuit of foreign relations objectives and the use of indigenous musical instruments or forms appears promising – both for foreign ministry officials and researchers. The approach, however, is not without risk. For instance, Jimi Hendrix's performances of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' are strongly associated with protests against the Vietnam War. While public comments in response to Ambassador Yamanouchi's rendition were overwhelmingly positive, I nevertheless suggest that performing music associated with a particular country can place public diplomacy objectives in jeopardy if the user is not aware of the music's resonances within the host culture. More broadly, such an approach by diplomacy practitioners is open to charges of appropriation and thus needs to be managed with great care.

The multiplex ties of taiko and deliberate social change for individuals, members of taiko communities and society at large highlight the wide-ranging extrinsic applications of the art form. In the following chapter, I narrow my focus and examine leadership processes within the landscape of taiko practice in response to challenges faced by particular cohorts of players.

4. Taiko Leadership

This chapter explores taiko leadership, a phenomenon that I first recognised at a side event ahead of the 2017 North American Taiko Conference (NATC). I observed taiko players leading members of a community of taiko practice (CoTP) to generate positive advancements within the international landscape for a cohort of players, namely women. Thereafter, I detected the same process in support of different groups of players in the United Kingdom and digital forums, suggesting it recurs in markedly disparate geographies and settings and is thus worthy of consideration.

I offer two discrete case studies: the Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute and the Humber Taiko Festival in 2017 and 2018. By introducing and applying a nascent model of taiko leadership as a novel analytical tool, I interpret the social, musical, and socio-musical processes that occur at both events, in turn illustrating how leadership practices shape CoTPs as well as the global landscape.

4.1 Introduction to the Nascent Model of Taiko Leadership

In August 2017, I travelled to San Diego to participate in the North American Taiko Conference and associated events. The Japanese American Cultural and Community Centre first hosted NATC in Los Angeles in 1997; since its formation in October 2012, Taiko Community Alliance (TCA) has organised and delivered the biennial event (Taiko Community Alliance n.d.c: online). The three or four-day programme includes workshops, discussion sessions, plenaries and performances for players at different levels. As professional player Kaoru Watanabe (2019: online) acknowledges, 'NATC has become a central element of the taiko community' and typically attracts more than 500 players.

TCA commissioned me to evaluate NATC 2017 in my capacity as a TCA Tech Committee member – a task I undertook alongside the rest of the technical team. I thus arrived at the conference in the role of a paid staff member with a list of tasks and observations to undertake that would ultimately enable me to write a report for the conference funders and TCA Board of Directors (Walker 2017a). Moreover, I planned to gather additional data for my research project and had the full support of TCA to do so. My experience at NATC 2017, however, was profoundly affected by my participation in a peripheral event – an occasion that prompted me to investigate leadership practices in the context of taiko.

In March 2017, Taiko Community Alliance issued a call for preliminary expressions of interest for two Summer Taiko Institutes (STI): 'Women and Taiko: Past, Present and Future', and 'Edo Kotobuki Jishi: Traditional Shishimai of Old Toyko'.⁴⁵ The TCA Board of Directors wanted to ensure both programmes – planned to run immediately before and after NATC 2017 respectively – would generate sufficient interest and, in turn, registrations (TCA, email to author, March 30, 2017). Ultimately, I was one of 45 participants who engaged in a programme of activities from August 8-10, 2017 as part of the Women and Taiko STI. The event set out to:

highlight and celebrate the women pioneers in the North American Taiko Community and beyond; identify the strengths, challenges, and needs of women in the taiko community; discuss what leadership looks like both on and off the stage; and provide tips, strategies, and mentorship on a wide

⁴⁵ Taiko Community Alliance used the terms 'Intensive' and 'Institute' interchangeably in promotional materials.

range of taiko pathways (including performance, touring, activism, workshop leading, teaching, and production and more) (TCA 2017: online).

The STI explored these themes through a three-day programme of wide-ranging facilitated discussions, composing, and ensemble playing. Throughout, I observed a phenomenon I had not encountered during my interactions with groups, festivals and conferences on three continents. Put simply, leaders responded to a social issue that emerged *because of* engagement in taiko and affected their musical practice as well as that of CoTP members.

While scholars have explored how and why players take up taiko in response to wider societal issues such as racism (Ahlgren 2011; Izumi 2001; Konagaya 2001; Powell 2012; Wong 2005, 2019), no research addresses if and how players react to social issues that result *directly* from participation in taiko. This process demands explanation in terms of leadership: how do issues that emerge from taiko practice – such as the widespread association of the *o-daiko* with young, fit, male players, resulting in limited opportunities for performances by women – produce a particular leadership dynamic? Moreover, what does it look like?

The field of research on leadership is vast – a JSTOR search returns nearly 900,000 entries when 'leadership' is used as the search term. Indeed, a range of theories has emerged concerning leadership since 1900. Northouse sets out six evolutionary phases of approaches to leadership: the 'trait approach' (or 'Great Man' theories), which considers inherent characteristics of well-known leaders such as Gandhi; the 'behaviour approach', which analyses how leaders act in relation to tasks and relationships; the 'situational approach', which presupposes different forms of leadership in response to specific contexts; the 'relational approach', which examines relationships between leaders and their subordinates; the '"New Leadership" approach', which considers the role of vision and charisma among leaders; and, most recently, 'emerging leadership approaches', which span adaptability, authenticity, spirituality, gender and hierarchy in 21st century leadership contexts (2018: 3-4). While scholars may consider who leaders are, what they achieve, how they get things done and where they operate (Grint 2010: 4), I suggest that we need to consider how musicking is affected when such factors interconnect.

Leadership practice and theory focused specifically on music afford little further clarity. For instance, The Guildhall School of Music and Drama is currently redeveloping 'a pioneering postgraduate programme for musicians' in leadership 'to develop fundamental skills that are essential for working as an artistic leader in a variety of cultural, community and education settings' (2018: online). Beyond higher education, the Royal Opera House delivered conducting courses for women in 2018 and 2019 which sought to 'support talented women wishing to develop their professional skills and capacity for creative leadership in the operatic world' (Royal Opera House n.d.: online). Both programmes set out to develop the leadership capacity of musicians yet highlight a fundamental challenge: musical leadership is enacted in wholly divergent settings, resulting in little or no shared understanding of what leadership looks like in amateur or professional musical settings. Moreover, researchers have paid scant attention to leadership within musical practices; outputs that do principally address musical authority (i.e. hierarchy), including its absence, as opposed to how leadership is enacted more broadly (Brinner 1995; Gilboa and Tal-Shmotkin 2012; Kingsbury 1988; Ladkin and Bathurst 2012; Lim 2014; MacKinnon 1993; Neuman 1990; Pennill 2019; Stock 2004).

Leadership in music incorporates several dimensions, spanning the creative act of music making to collaboration with peers, teachers, students, community members and institutions. In professional contexts, Bennett, Rowley and Schmidt (2019: xiii) suggest that leadership is intrinsic to being a musician and necessary to forge and maintain a musical career. More broadly, leadership is undoubtedly required to establish new musical activities and maintain ongoing practices in diverse settings. In this chapter, I attend to a particular facet of musical leadership, namely the purposeful improvement of creative and/or social conditions within an existing musical community. In response to the lack of any existing appropriate frameworks, I have developed a nascent model of taiko leadership – one that accommodates activity in diverse socio-musical settings where the common factor is taiko. In doing so, I explain an approach to leadership in which players acknowledge an array of issues resulting from taiko practice.

Figure 4.1 sets out the nascent model of taiko leadership in diagrammatic format. I present four discrete phases that comprise the process in its entirety. In the first stage, an issue emerges as a direct result of participating in taiko and is recognised; this can be social (e.g. low income affects participation), musical (e.g. a lack of access to high-quality instruction), or socio-musical (e.g. an identity characteristic affects the instrument played). In the second phase, taiko practitioners respond to the identified issue by adopting a self-directed leadership role. This can take several forms, including – but not limited to – convening events, establishing support groups, securing funding, or drawing attention to the issue in public forums (including online spaces). In the third stage, taiko players and/or their supporters respond to the opportunity organised by the leader(s) with the express intention of improving the circumstances for playing taiko – whether for themselves or more generally. For example, players might offer to act as a mentor, support an event (in person and/or financially) or contribute a skill such as composition. Finally, an output is produced in the process of responding to the identified issue. Notably, this output can be ephemeral and undocumented; conversations and workshops are two such examples.

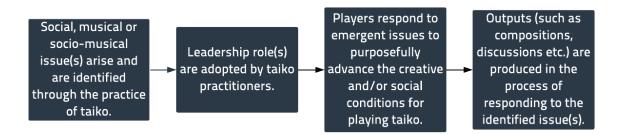


Figure 4.1. The nascent model of taiko leadership.

The richness of taiko leadership lies in the ethnographic examples that follow. I use the STI case study to present the model in depth and explore its wider utility in a UK context by analysing leadership practices at the Humber Taiko Festival. Both case studies serve to illuminate the *how*: how issues are identified; how players adopt leadership roles (as well as who gets to take on these roles), and their accompanying behaviours; and how players respond both socially and musically. I also offer critical reflection on how this emerging approach might be applied in a wider range of taiko settings. Moreover, I situate the taiko leadership practices of UK players in a global landscape of practice, thus allowing me to identify their unique contributions. By applying my new model to diverse examples of practice, I can review its efficacy and potential for further theorisation.

4.2 Case Study One: The Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute

On Tuesday August 8, 2017, I travelled with a fellow participant to the Women and Taiko STI. The environment began to change radically as we left our hotel in the Gaslamp Quarter, a downtown district of San Diego with a 19th century historic quarter and range of amenities. We seemed to move through different worlds while travelling the 1.5 miles that separated our accommodation and the STI venue. As we drove along Market Street, deprivation and fear of crime were evident in unoccupied business premises, barred windows, vandalism and gated homes; indeed, upon arrival at the Buddhist Temple of San Diego, an organiser had to unlock a gate to allow us to enter the premises. Even before entering the main building, however, it was clear that the STI leaders aimed to establish a welcoming environment: large, hand-painted signs proclaiming 'taiko community here' and 'taiko family here' were affixed to the outside of the temple building as well as its main hall. The detailed schedule (see Figure 4.2) on the wall included several shared meal breaks catered by local volunteers and the organisers; long trestle tables covered in white linen tablecloths had been set up for this purpose. Moreover, a local participant had strung brightly coloured paper lanterns from the ceiling, creating a relaxed and festive feeling. In other words, the leaders sought to generate an environment where community members from across the North American and European CoTPs could interact and purposefully learn from one another in order to address a shared concern.

TUESDAY	WEDNER DAY	THURSDAY
8:30 AM REGISTERATION / REFRESSIMENTS 9:00 AM WELCOME/INTRODUCTIONS PROVEERS PANEL 12:30 PM LUNCH 1:45PM IDENTIFY DECUSSION TOPICS 3PM TAKO WORKSTOP: TEACOING / BEST 4:30 PM BREAK :00 PM TAIKO WORKSTOP: CREMINITY, INTRODUCTION :30 PM WELCOME TAINOR Hasted by LOCAL SAM DIEGO TAILO CAMPUNITY PM END / OPTIONAL ACTIVITIES	4:00 pm TAIKO WOOKSHOP : SKIUS ALWISHTON 5:45 pm DINNER	8:30 AM LIGHT REFRESHMENTS 9:00 AM OPENING SESSION International / General PANER 11:00 AM CLOSING SESSION / NEXT STEP: 12:00000 FAREWELLS

Figure 4.2. Hand-painted Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute schedule on display in the main hall of the Buddhist Temple of San Diego.

In this first case study, I explore the Women and Taiko STI through the lens of taiko leadership, in turn enabling a more detailed understanding of the model. By adopting a holistic perspective, I look beyond the individual programme components to consider how and why the leaders identified gender as an issue and adopted leadership roles, the musical responses by both organisers and participants, and the ways in which the output reflects the socio-musical issue at hand.

4.2.1 Stage One: Identifying the Issue

In June 2015, some 800 taiko players gathered in an auditorium at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas for the opening ceremony of NATC. Alan Okada – Board Member of TCA and a

highly respected player and community leader – delivered a lengthy lecture on the history of taiko in North America, tracking its development since the late 1960s. There was, however, a very notable omission: women were wholly absent from the historical record. Instead, Okada shared only images and details of contributions made by men until he recognised and articulated his lapse, noting that 'there are a lot of strong, powerful women with *bachi* out there'. Ahlgren characterises this oversight as an 'apologetic moment' yet it seemingly resonated with audience members. As she recalls, 'the crowd murmured. ... [It] demonstrate[d] a need to craft histories that do not depend on a narrow definition of what constitutes leadership' (Ahlgren 2018: 16).

The wider data on gender and taiko paints a somewhat unremarkable picture. As highlighted in chapters two and three, I formed part of the TCA Tech Committee that carried out the Taiko Census the previous year. The focus on the needs of TCA members meant we needed to understand who they were and how they practice and/or support taiko. By including practice-derived and attitudinal questions, I was able to analyse how gender and taiko behaviours (e.g. teaching and time spent practicing) interact. In the report focused on North America, I highlight key findings, namely:

- 63% of players resident in the USA identify as female, 35% as male, 1% as other and 1% did not disclose their gender
- Of those who identify as teachers in the USA, 50% were male, 49% were female and 1% either identified as other or did not disclose their gender
- Asian women disproportionately teach in the USA there is a higher percentage (+6%) of Asian female teachers than Asian female players in general
- 64% of female teachers in the USA are unpaid, compared to 58% of men
- 12% of male taiko players in the USA derive a significant proportion of their income from taiko whereas only 8% of female players say the same (Walker 2017b: online).

I suggest that the data does not reveal particularly noteworthy differences in the behaviours of the genders, other than women make up a relatively slim majority of the community and men disproportionately teach. In presenting these findings, however, I do not mean to suggest that gender is a topic of little or no importance in the landscape; indeed, as I go on to illustrate, the leaders devised the STI precisely because of the interplay between gender and taiko.

The first step in any sequence of taiko leadership is an awareness and acknowledgement of a particular social, musical or socio-musical issue among taiko participants that results from engagement with the art form. In this case, Okada's speech indicated that women's contributions might be under-represented or under-acknowledged by the wider taiko community. It is, however, worth highlighting that Okada delivered his speech to a tiny minority of taiko players (around 800); TCA has since introduced live streaming of opening and closing ceremonies and some performances at subsequent iterations of NATC. Nevertheless, key actors in the taiko community – including ensemble leaders, full-time professional artists and drum builders – attended NATC 2015 as workshop/session leaders, delegates or volunteers and subsequently returned to their respective groups. Broadly speaking, the speech encouraged more focused attention on the issue of gender, including an assessment of the connections between gender and behaviours by me as part of the census, and panels focused on gender at NATC 2017 and 2019.

4.2.2 Stage Two: Adopting Leadership Roles

Once an issue has been recognised and acknowledged, some players take on leadership roles to address it locally, nationally and/or internationally. This response forms the second stage of the nascent model of taiko leadership. In the case of the Women and Taiko STI, four individuals drove the development of the event: Karen Young, Director of the Genki Spark in Boston; Tiffany Tamaribuchi, a Sacramento-based player who serves as artistic director of three active taiko groups; Sascha Molina, Assistant Director of Sacramento Taiko Dan (Califo); and Sarah Ayako, a taiko player who exclusively dedicates her time to production.

Ayako highlights the lengthy germination of the Women and Taiko event on a website that resulted from activities catalysed at the STI. She recalls that:

Late at night, in front of the fireplace, the staff of the first TaikoBaka⁴⁶ Odaiko and Fue Intensive [2012] gathered to celebrate our program's successful completion and to explore next steps. Was it the beer? The sleep deprivation? The euphoria from a wildly successful first program? Hopes and dreams for ourselves, the program, our community, and the world flowed easily, building on one another and branching out in a million different directions. Our ideas seemed to hang in the smoke, and we all stared into the fire, as if the future were hidden in the dancing flames. This is where I first took note of Tiffany Tamaribuchi's long-held desire for a Women and Taiko event. It wouldn't be until years later in 2017 that this dream would come to life.

Meanwhile, the topic of Women and Taiko built momentum with events such as the North American Taiko Conference panel sessions conceived by Wisa Uemura. We also gained valuable insight about non-skills-based intensives from the 2016 TaikoBaka Leaders' Conference, which we used to build a team and create a framework for a Women and Taiko event. On a trip to the east coast, Tiffany brought Karen Young on board. Karen's work in social justice and community building is imbued with her infectious enthusiasm and positivity, as well she founded the pan Asian women's group, The Genki Spark and put the call out for taiko players to march in the 2017 DC Women's March which made her a strong addition to the team. Together, Tiffany and Karen developed a curriculum for the Women and Taiko program that focused on promoting and developing women taiko artists and exploring how women have shaped taiko culture both on and off stage. We agreed that the TaikoBaka core staff -- Sascha Molina and I – would team up again to power the logistics. We sent a proposal to the Taiko Community Alliance (TCA) offering a Women and Taiko Conference. NATC co-coordinator Mark Rooney agreed and pitched our plan to the TCA.

However, there had never been a Summer Taiko Institute proposal quite like ours. Most have focused on repertoire or technique rather than issues. The TCA was unsure how to navigate this unfamiliar territory. The logistics were new, different, and complicated. We believed that this topic was long overdue for examination, and that NOW was the time to tackle it head-on... so we kept planning. In the end, the TCA worked hard to accommodate us, and we were able to sort out the details. The Summer Taiko Institute *Women and Taiko: Past, Present, and Future* was offered August 8–10, 2017, co-sponsored by the TCA (n.d.: online).

Ayako articulates the first phase of taiko leadership clearly, namely recognition of the issue within the musical community. Yet her reflective commentary raises a significant question: who gets to take on a leadership role, particularly when it intends to impact upon members across the global landscape of practice?

Among other objectives, the Summer Taiko Institute set out to 'identify the strengths, challenges, and needs of women in the taiko community [at large]' (TCA 2017: online). As Ayako (n.d.: online) notes, the STI focused on a specific issue in 'unfamiliar territory' – a process that requires social learning across a multiplex landscape of taiko practice. Wenger-

⁴⁶ TaikoBaka is an intensive residential taiko workshop focused on *o-daiko* and *fue* held in Sacramento, California. Tamaribuchi is the instructor.

Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (n.d.: online) conceive of this leadership modality as 'systems convening' whereby an individual or team 'sets up spaces for new types of conversations between people who often live on different sides of a boundary', including geographical. While I shall unpick *how* the systems convening team did this later in the case study, for now I wish to draw attention to one key point: taiko leaders are self-directed and self-motivated to bring about change. Indeed, Ayako's commentary references both Tamaribuchi's 'long-held desire for a Women and Taiko event' and the wider team's 'hopes and dreams for ourselves, the program, our community, and the world' (Ayako n.d.: online), in turn highlighting members' own enthusiasm and interest as well as the absence of any pressure from external forces. Moreover, she sets out how the leaders – focused on 'social justice and community building' and 'promoting and developing women taiko artists' – established a framework for such an event. As I shall go on to demonstrate, the programme would ultimately enable participants to respond to gender-specific issues in order to advance the creative and social conditions for playing taiko.

Prior to the event, Young, Tamaribuchi, Ayako and Molina sought to understand more fully the background, goals, and needs of those attending the STI. Participants formed a multi-generational group of players from six countries (including 13 distinct US states and three Canadian provinces). They attended with vastly differing levels of experience ranging from less than a year to more than 40 years of playing taiko. The students, solo artists, practitioners, group leaders, group founders, teachers, academics and researchers, event organisers and producers in attendance represented 44 taiko groups in Europe and North America and overwhelmingly identified as female (92%). While no men formed part of the STI leadership team, it is nevertheless noteworthy that a handful of male and gendernonconforming players participated in the event.

Linda Uyechi, a fellow TCA Tech Committee member, and I contributed to the development of a pre-event survey. This gathered participants' aspirations, challenges, questions and expectations for the STI in order to provide the organisers with a more indepth understanding of the cohort.⁴⁷ More than 90% of participants responded and, despite the significant variations in backgrounds, consistent themes emerged from the data: they wanted to network, bond, meet, talk and hold meaningful discussions. Moreover, attendees hoped that the 'talking would be rigorous,' resulting in 'a strong sisterhood among participants where we could connect and continue to do so after STI'.

As Figure 4.2 shows, the three-day curriculum developed by the STI leaders set out to achieve the participants' objectives through talks, panel discussions, structured discussion sessions among attendees and practical taiko workshops. For instance, following a welcome session, Tamaribuchi delivered a talk titled 'Twenty Three Women I Would Like You to Know Better'. In doing so, she highlighted the contributions and legacies of women who contributed to her artistic development and that of the taiko community at large.⁴⁸ The role and (lack of) visibility of women in the oral history of taiko, particularly in North America, repeatedly emerged as a central theme during subsequent panel discussions and conversations among participants.

⁴⁷ The pre-event survey is reproduced in Appendix F.

⁴⁸ Tamaribuchi focused primarily on female players in North America but included Monika Baumgartl, the player who first introduced taiko to Europe.

4.2.3 Stage Three: Responses by Players

Thus far, I have demonstrated how and why event organisers took on leadership roles in response to gender differences in the taiko community. I now turn to considering how participants capitalised upon the STI.

I set out a clear correlation between players' responses to directed activities and a desire to affect the socio-musical contexts in which people play taiko. In other words, the nascent model indicates that individuals act to influence (positively) the wider taiko community once a) an issue is brought to light, and b) leaders have instigated a means of responding. While women form more than 60% of the communities in North America and the UK, the evidence I have presented in this chapter and sections 3.3 and 3.4 suggests women's secondary status in the landscape of taiko practice. In some cases, women and their supporters respond by exhibiting group solidarity as a result (e.g. the Women's March on Washington D.C.). Notably, the STI and Humber Taiko Festivals both aimed to include subordinate groups – those with reduced or narrowed opportunities in the wider society/community (Schaefer 2015) – on an equal basis.

The Taiko Community Alliance offered the STI participants a slot at the opening plenary of NATC 2017. This took place immediately after the conclusion of the institute. The only condition imposed upon the group by TCA was a time limit of ten minutes. Considering the recurring concern about women's visibility, one brought to the fore by Okada's lecture at the 2015 opening ceremony, the group collectively agreed to compose and perform a piece addressing the issue.

The composition developed and performed by the STI participants directly reflected their experiences as female players. Under the guidance of Tamaribuchi, the group divided into three subgroups focused on taiko, dance and spoken word. Using their respective art forms, the participants generated concepts and ideas that reflected the discussion sessions. For instance, Chizuko Endo, a player and performer in her 60s, had earlier shared her experience of performing taiko in Japan in her twenties and thirties. Pregnancy and motherhood meant she was no longer expected to play in public and opportunities to perform ceased. She noted that a male taiko player stated that women were viewed as *kazarimono* (飾り物), a decorative object and a term more widely invoked to dehumanise women as mere attractive ornaments. Uyechi et al highlight that:

Chizuko's story underscored demoralizing experiences that others had shared with the group earlier in the day. The composition that emerged during Taiko Workshop 2 was a juxtaposition of both implicit and explicit negative messages with the collective sense of power through taiko, with the latter providing the strength to combat the former (2017: online).

Collective opposition to women as *kazarimono* became a prevailing theme of the piece, one that alluded to common issues shared by other participants. As Ayako notes, the piece 'expressed key points generated in our discussions: feelings of isolation, the tendency to hold back, visibility issues, and the common (Japanese) perception of women on the taiko stage as *kazarimono*, or mere decoration' (n.d.: online).

While North America-based participants shared personal stories of blatant discrimination based on gender, race, sexuality, age and intersections thereof, informal conversations with the other European participants revealed that we struggled to relate.⁴⁹ None of us could identify instances when we had felt subordinated due to gender or any

⁴⁹ The five European participants were resident in the UK and Germany at the time of the event.

other identifying factor. Nevertheless, I undertook a small act of leadership by identifying and responding to the need for data as a means of framing conversations. I presented a brief session titled 'What the Data Tells Us'⁵⁰ in order to contextualise the scale of gender inequality within the taiko community – something the data sets I possessed could indicate. I presented gender discrepancies in the TCA Taiko Census 2016 as well as gender roles at the upcoming NATC 2017.

As Table 4.1 outlines, the ratio of NATC participants by gender broadly aligned with the wider taiko population in North America.⁵¹ Male workshop leaders, however, were significantly over-represented. In response to this evidence, STI participants suggested women would only apply to lead a workshop in the first place if they felt fully equipped to do so. Interestingly, the subsequent NATC evaluation suggests this hypothesis had some merit; 58% of the highest-scoring leaders (n12) at NATC were women, despite their underrepresentation (Walker 2017a).

Category	Female	Male	Other
Participants	63%	36%	1%
Workshop Leaders	32%	68%	
Discussion Session	55%	45%	
Leaders			

Table 4.1. Breakdown of participants, workshop leaders and discussion session leaders by gender at NATC 2017. *Source*: Data from Walker 2017a.

My contribution to the STI was spontaneous and reflected my ability to provide specialised input. Notably, three STI participants highlighted that the data had affected their experience in the anonymous programme evaluation. For instance, one noted that:

Women in taiko was not something I was that interested in. I have taught at many women's drum events and although I find the experience positive it wasn't my home so to speak. But taiko is my home. The data about women in taiko that was shared was the most profound to me. In numbers I could see the imbalance that needs to be corrected.

As previously highlighted, large-scale quantitative datasets are uncommon in musical communities. Feedback from this participant suggests, however, that contextualised data can affect musical experiences.

Thus far, I have described how players were intent on highlighting both the systemic and anecdotal gender inequality present in the taiko community. Discussion sessions curated by the organisers enabled participants to speak freely about often distressing issues such as sexual assault, in turn generating compositional themes. Indeed, my field notes reflect the personal and professional challenge of processing candid discussions about intimate and traumatic events in a closed yet relatively large forum. Participants used the themes as catalysts to compose and perform the piece at the opening ceremony of NATC, a space where the 'community gathers again to share the power and joy of the taiko' (Taiko Community Alliance 2019: online).

⁵⁰ This programme component does not appear in Figure 4.2 as it was scheduled in response to recurring questions during group discussions.

⁵¹ The wider taiko population in North America is 64% female, 34.5% male, and 0.5% other (Walker 2017b).

4.2.4 Stage Four: Output

'Kazarimono No More' serves as the major output of the Women and Taiko STI and represents the final stage of the taiko leadership process. I now examine how the piece musically reflects the wider issues highlighted by participants during discussion-based STI activities.⁵²

Thus far in the thesis, I have presented and analysed an unconventional taiko piece, namely the British Embassy Taiko Team's arrangement of 'Yellow Submarine Ondō'. 'Kazarimono No More' is a second divergent piece – one that differs from typical songs characterised by taiko and deliberate, choreographed, sound-producing movement, associated percussion (e.g. *atarigane* and *chappa*) and, on occasion, *shinobue* performed in common time. Instead, the STI members' composition contains an unorthodox range of musical and movement components, namely: taiko (*o-daiko, nagado-daiko, shime-daiko*) with no prescriptive choreography, *atarigane, shinobue*, spoken word, singing, interpretative dance, and a Japanese dance commonly performed at O-Bon festivals. As Musical Example 4.1 shows, the instruments and choreography for which the composition was scored appear in different configurations throughout the four-part progressive form.

Part	Instrumentation				
Part A	• o-daiko				
Part B	shime-daikoo-daiko	spoken word	interpretative dance		
Part C	• shinobue	interpretative dance			
Part D	 o-daiko atarigane 'Tanko Bushi' (a popular O-Bon song) 	nagado-daikoshinobue	shime-daikosinging		

Musical Example 4.1. Structure and instrumentation of 'Kazarimono No More'.

Chizuko Endo opened the piece by playing a short *o-daiko* solo culminating in an accelerando roll (part A). This act expressly contrasts with the ubiquitous image of the young, fit, male *o-daiko* player discussed in section 2.2 - a concern raised repeatedly by STI participants. Instead, the performers collectively positioned an older, female player at the forefront of the performance.

In part B, the participants introduced a semantic element through spoken word and the dancers' depictions of emotions and experiences. As presented in Musical Example 4.2, they repeated the lyrics of the first verse – 'you are not strong, you are not a soloist, you are not a teacher' – three times before reaching a crescendo on the final declaration: 'you are *kazarimono*'. They were accompanied solely by straight quavers on the *shime-daiko* and accents provided by the *o-daiko*, drawing attention to the core message of the lyrics and its on-going 'drone' in the landscape of taiko practice. In other words, the opening verse rhythmically and lyrically highlighted the sustained, subliminal messages absorbed by female players: their lack of strength, their inability to perform a solo, and their hesitance as teachers – a factor that emerged from NATC and Taiko Census data.

⁵² A recording of the performance of 'Kazarimono No More' at the opening plenary of NATC can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nF0SUNxGEGs&t=215s.

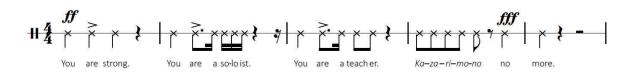


Musical Example 4.2. Notation of part B of 'Kazarimono No More' (excluding interpretative dance).

After articulating the perceived role of women in the taiko community, the spoken word performers named the support structures or tools required to address inequality: 'reflection, identity, culture, family'. These motifs were generated by discussions among players from age-specific groups who responded to three prompts: what are the challenges that you face that will be helpful for us to understand (both inside and outside taiko); examples of practices that would address these challenges; and participants' relationship to the term 'feminist'. In my group (comprised of participants aged 30-39), we principally discussed family – both the need to recognise that some women have families and associated caring responsibilities, and the assistance needed from a 'taiko family'. Other cohorts

discussed wide-ranging challenges, including caring for the body, planning retirement, finding a supportive partner, and balancing a demanding career with a love of taiko.

As composers and performers, we musically conveyed the urgent need for support through repetition, crescendo, and interpretative dance; concurrently, three other dancers and I touched our toes, folding our bodies to indicate the constrictive power of the absence of such resources. Thereafter, the spoken word artists repeated an empowering dialogue – 'no obstacles, no boundaries, no limits, big voice, big noise, big power' – accompanied by the dancers' portrayals of supporting one another (e.g. catching each other when one falls) and interconnectivity. The spoken word performers concluded part B with a *fortissimo* coda:



Musical Example 4.3. Part B coda of 'Kazarimono No More'.

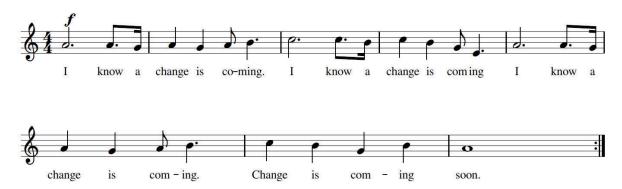
In short, the STI troupe fundamentally rejected the secondary status of women in the taiko community using unambiguous language.

In part C, the solo *shinobue* player introduced a repeating refrain – the first melodic contribution to the piece – which was subsequently adopted by singers in part D (see Musical Example 4.4). Three new dancers accompanied the *shinobue*. As Figure 4.3 depicts, they enacted uplifting female players in the assembled audience and more generally, thus connecting performers and spectators.



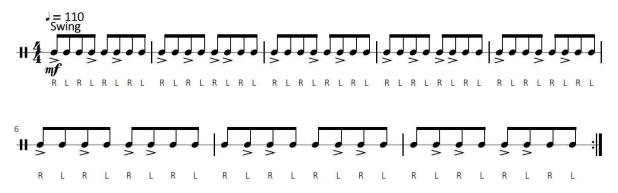
Figure 4.3. Three participants from the Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute performing an interpretive dance in which they lift others up. Photo by Benjamin Pachter.

Part D – the only part of the composition in which all musicians play, sing, and/or dance – is an arrangement of 'Joy Bubble', an open source piece composed by Tamaribuchi following the announcement of Donald Trump's electoral victory in 2016. In the immediate aftermath, political commentators accused Americans of occupying 'bubble'-like echo chambers, in turn proffering explanations for 'why Trump won and [we] didn't see it coming' (Baer 2016: online). Tamaribuchi subsequently explained that 'if there's going to be a bubble [that] I'm in, I'm going to make it a joy bubble' (Ahlgren 2018: 138). The lyrics performed in part D invoke a sense of hope and optimism. Indeed, both the melody and lyrics (shown in Musical Example 4.4) clearly reference Sam Cooke's 'A Change is Gonna Come', the 1964 hit associated with the African American Civil Rights Movement. In doing so, the performers reference wider racial inequality in the United States, an issue that many Asian American participants had experienced, yet also look forward to a much-anticipated change in the status quo.



Musical Example 4.4. Prescriptive notation of the sung refrain from 'Kazarimono No More'.

While the intentions behind 'Kazarimono No More' were sophisticated, I suggest that the piece is quite musically simplistic despite its various parts and the skill level of some participants. For instance, in addition to the straight quaver beats performed on the *shime-daiko* in part B, the supporting *nagado-daiko* rhythm in part D is a relatively simple *ju-ichi* (base rhythm). Indeed, while I produced a specialised three-part notation system for taiko which I introduced in section 1.4, I have chosen not to apply it to 'Kazarimono No More' for two reasons: first, apart from the short *o-daiko* introductory solo, taiko plays no melodic role in the composition and simply provides repeating base rhythms for other music and dance elements; and second, the taiko parts contain no choreography whatsoever – an extremely unusual feature that removes the need to represent movement.



Musical Example 4.5. Nagado-daiko ju-ichi in part D of 'Kazarimono No More'.

What, then, can we conclude about the arrangement and performance of 'Kazarimono No More'? I argue that the song serves primarily as a vehicle for the expression of popular feeling among STI participants; the performers clearly voiced their oppression as both members of the CoTP and wider society using the spoken word, perhaps at the expense of greater musical complexity. In other words, it was a protest song in response to the shared themes identified during the symposium. Repetition of the simple melody and the lyrics of the sung refrain served as a magnetic protest song – it easily catches the attention of the assembled listeners and conveys a direct political message (Denisoff 1983). This relative simplicity extended to all musical parts: while the *shime-daiko, nagado-daiko* and *o-daiko* interlocked, they were remarkably repetitive and contained no choreographed movement whatsoever.

4.2.5 Lessons in System-Level Leadership

Since the publication of data from the Taiko Census, the symposium and subsequent performance at NATC 2017, community members have further addressed gender inequality. Some players formed a Women and Taiko Committee that advises NATC organisers, offers a mentoring scheme for female players and maintains a comprehensive list of women workshop leaders. STI participants have established a project to document the role of women in the history of North American taiko and organised 'stay connected' calls and webinars to facilitate exchange. Moreover, the STI organisers convened Step Up/Step Out, a two-day gathering immediately following NATC 2019. It focused on 'developing and elevating the voice and experience of women in the taiko community ... [by] building skills needed to enhance and bolster your leadership' (Sarah Ayako, email message to the author, March 12, 2019). In other words, this protest song – among other actions – ultimately affected change, catalysing action to achieve parity in North American taiko in direct response to the themes identified during the symposium. Yet what did we learn about leadership in this process?

I argue that Young, Tamaribuchi, Molina and Ayako formed a systems convening team following the collective recognition that female players face inequality in the course of their taiko practice. Notably, however, all four actors took on self-directed and self-motivated leadership roles; no higher authority prompted or demanded such action, although the Taiko Community Alliance did offer support. By convening the symposium ahead of a large biennial taiko gathering, they brought together players from different geographies in order to address the issue. Moreover, the team established an environment designed to allow participants to be communicative and confiding. Over three days, attendees openly shared their concerns and experiences, in turn seeking to improve conditions for female players within the taiko community. As previously highlighted, however, White Europeans struggled to identify with some of the challenges presented by players based in the USA and Canada. Moreover, the subsequent activities outlined above are largely targeted at North American players, leading me to question the ability of such events to bring about *landscape*-level change. I suggest that systems convening is particularly demanding when gathering players to address a social issue - one that manifests differently for individuals and in disparate societies - as opposed to strictly musical topics (e.g. technique). Ultimately, however, by composing and performing a piece in front of an assembled crowd of community members, STI participants – including the event instigators and organisers – shone a spotlight on the impact of social inequality within taiko. As a direct result of taiko leadership, gender disparities were brought to the forefront, in turn affording opportunities for social and musical change.

4.3 Case Study Two: The Humber Taiko Festival

In my second case study, I examine two iterations of the Humber Taiko Festival, a four-day event held in Scunthorpe, North Lincolnshire. In 2017 and 2018, the festival programmes consisted of workshops for new and experienced taiko players; performances by local school, youth and adult groups; and theatre shows by professional ensembles and artists from Germany, Switzerland, the United States of America and the United Kingdom.⁵³ In this section, I explore the execution of leadership strategies by the festival directors and associated positive outcomes. As a result, I identify how a different social concern – namely socio-economic deprivation – is identified and addressed through taiko practice, illustrating the application of the nascent model of taiko leadership in a sharply contrasting socio-musical environment. In contrast to the first case study, I consider how taiko practitioners respond to a localised issue in the United Kingdom – one that players identified heuristically and independently of my research process.

4.3.1 Taiko and the Humber: A Profile

The 2017 and 2018 Humber Taiko Festivals took place in Scunthorpe, North Lincolnshire, and celebrated taiko activity across the wider Humber region. Figure 4.4 locates Scunthorpe and Grimsby – the largest towns in North Lincolnshire and North East Lincolnshire respectively – on a map. It is an area of England marked by socio-economic challenges. The Office for National Statistics reports that the Humber Region has a higher proportion of people who are unemployed (5.4%) compared with the rest of the United Kingdom (4.6%). For instance, 16% of children in the Humber region lived in workless households in 2016, compared with 11% of children nationally. Furthermore, average gross income was significantly lower than the national average in 2017 - £487.50 per week for full-time employees in Humber compared to £552.70 nationally. Humber residents are also less likely to have qualifications with 31% holding a Higher National Diploma or higher qualification compared with the profile of UK taiko players who are typically highly educated, with 99% having some Higher Education experience (Walker 2016c).



Figure 4.4. Partial map of the UK with Grimsby (east) and Scunthorpe (west) highlighted.

⁵³ Detailed programmes can be found in appendices G and H.

The directors of the Humber Taiko Festival (HTF) have varied backgrounds. Lisa Oliver is a percussionist and trained at the Royal College of Music. She teaches adult and youth taiko groups across North and North East Lincolnshire as part of Humber Taiko's activities. She also ran additional ensembles in the area, including the local steel pan band, until July 2019 when she left the North East Lincolnshire Music Hub after nearly twenty years of service to train as a classroom teacher. She has used gamelan, djembe and samba in a range of music projects and offers private percussion instruction. Lisa undertook initial training at the Mugen Taiko Dojo in Lanarkshire in 2008 before initiating a series of taiko projects in the south of the Humber region. Thereafter, she undertook further training with Kagemusha Taiko in Devon before travelling to California in 2014 to complete a residency with San Jose Taiko and the LA Taiko Institute (Humber Taiko n.d.b: online). The St. Hugh's Foundation for the Arts – a charity committed to 'supporting [the] highest standards of arts practice in our area through [the] provision of an annual award programme and development workshops' (2019: online) – funded Oliver's international training.

Emma Middleton is a puppeteer and theatre director who specialises in youth theatre as well as storytelling for and with children and young adults. She trained at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art before undertaking specialised training at the London School of Puppetry. Middleton has led youth theatre projects in Ghana, Japan and the USA and directed work at a range of festivals, including the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. Oliver introduced Middleton to taiko when they worked together on a musical production in 2008. She subsequently trained in Japan and the USA as a recipient of the St. Hugh's Arts Award (Humber Taiko n.d.b: online).

In 2014, Middleton and Oliver co-founded Humber Taiko, an umbrella organisation for taiko activities in schools and the local community. Since then, they have established a taiko ecosystem across the region: school and community groups participate in on-going instruction and local performances, engage in HTF, and connect with the wider taiko landscape in the United Kingdom (e.g. by attending and performing at the UK Taiko Festival). Moreover, Middleton and Oliver – both of whom are from the region – localise activities by working with players to produce collaborative compositions reflective of the local area.⁵⁴

In 2017 and 2018, Middleton commissioned me to evaluate HTF. Moreover, the directors accorded full approval to undertake my own research agenda alongside my paid work. Much like my experience at the Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute, my dual role afforded me exceptional access to the processes at play. In Scunthorpe, I entered a localised taiko nexus; as Middleton acknowledged in a funding application form, 'there is a passion for taiko across North Lincolnshire, proven with over 3,000 people taking part in taiko in the last 12 months [2016-2017]' (Humber Taiko 2017: 21). From the outset, however, it was clear that far more than organisational capacity was required to engage hundreds of people at HTF. I argue that the leadership enacted by Middleton and Oliver to secure successful festival outcomes ultimately furthered socio-musical development in the region.

⁵⁴ In 2014, Gyoko (an adult community group under the umbrella of Humber Taiko) premiered 'Follow the Fishing'. The piece features taiko, O-Bon-style dancing, voice and additional instruments and celebrated the local fishing industry in Grimsby and the surrounding area. In 2016, 'Steel Town Song' – a community-devised piece – was composed to reflect the steel industry in Scunthorpe. Taiko players and local folk musicians performed a collaborative arrangement at HTF 2017.

4.3.2 The Socio-Musical Context in the Humber

The first step in the taiko leadership sequence is the recognition of a social, musical or sociomusical concern identified through the practice of taiko. In this section, I begin by providing a brief overview of the local conditions for musicking in Scunthorpe and Grimsby – circumstances that both leaders have been fully aware of throughout their careers. I then turn to presenting the ways in which Middleton and Oliver recognise and respond to the *impact* of socio-economic deprivation upon taiko practice specifically.

HTF is just one activity led by Humber Taiko and marks the annual culmination of ongoing musical interaction with local people. Indeed, the overarching objective of Humber Taiko is to 'support and promote the development of taiko across the Humber region' more broadly (Humber Taiko n.d.b: online). Since setting up the organisation in 2014, Middleton and Oliver have established or further developed a range of community-based youth and adult groups across the region. North Lincolnshire Music Education Hub and/or Arts Development Unit in North Lincolnshire Council heavily subsidise these ensembles.⁵⁵ Moreover, Humber Taiko either runs or supports groups in primary, secondary and special educational needs schools across the county.⁵⁶ The provision offered by Humber Taiko is unusual in the UK context both in terms of the number of groups it runs/supports and the progressive instruction on offer – classes accommodate players from the age of four and target absolute beginners through to advanced level. In other words, the organisation offers 'music education from the cradle to the grave' in both school and community settings (Sagrillo and Ferring 2014).

The Humber Taiko directors interact regularly with cohorts of schoolchildren and community members. From the outset, Middleton and Oliver wanted to understand patterns of engagement at HTF and expressly asked me to identify these during the evaluation process. In other words, they wanted to know who was joining in so that barriers for potential participants could be pinpointed. Obtaining an evidence-based understanding of festival engagement with a view to enhancing provision is an act of leadership in its own right. Nevertheless, developing such 'deep engagement' – namely a willingness to interrogate 'a range of interrelated factors internal and external to the learner, in place and in time, which shape his or her engagement with learning opportunities' (Crick 2012: 675) – suggests that particular issues emerged during the practice of taiko to encourage such an approach.

As previously highlighted, some Humber Taiko activities are subsidised by the local authority; as a result, participants pay reduced rates. The subvention reflects the local operating environment and pronounced concerns about child poverty. According to the Centre for Research in Social Policy, 31% of children in Scunthorpe and 35% of children in Great Grimsby lived in poverty in the summer of 2017 (End Child Poverty 2018: online).⁵⁷ Costs are therefore minimised to encourage widespread participation; in January 2019, a child paid approximately £2.30 per class whereas an adult paid just over £3 per session.⁵⁸ At present, only one other group offers on-going instruction for children in the UK. At Taiko

⁵⁵ North Lincolnshire Music Education Hub is a partnership that brings together key music organisations (such as schools and community groups) with local, regional and national arts organisations.

⁵⁶ The teachers at the schools requested to remain anonymous, hence why individual schools are not identified.

⁵⁷ Great Grimsby is a parliamentary constituency that includes the town of Grimsby within its boundaries.

⁵⁸ Classes take place during school term time (i.e. 39 weeks of the year). Participation in community-based groups cost £30 per term for children's groups and £40 per term for adult groups with concessions available (Humber Taiko n.d.a).

Centre East (n.d.) in Norwich, children pay £30 per half term for weekly 45-minute classes (i.e. approximately £4.30 per class). Notably, it seems some participants are aware of the reliance on public funding. Following a workshop led by Taiko Zürich at HTF 2018, one participant reflected on the 'great instruction and enthusiasm. [A] unique opportunity to study from other groups. [I] guess this sort of thing would not be possible without external funding'.

In addition to community ensembles, Humber Taiko delivers and/or supports a range of taiko groups in schools across the region. Taiko is delivered as both an integrated part of the music curriculum and an extra-curricular activity in North Lincolnshire. Moreover, Middleton and Oliver offer teaching training programmes to equip schoolteachers with the necessary taiko skills to run an in-school group (Humber Taiko n.d.c). In conversations with me, both directors expressed significant concern about changes to the national curriculum, namely the reduced provision for music and the potential impact in areas of socio-economic deprivation. Access to continuous taiko instruction forms a central tenet of Humber Taiko's ethos and, as I shall go on to demonstrate, is reflected in festival-related acts of leadership.

By analysing the postcodes of participating schools using publicly available interpretative tools, I demonstrate that Humber Taiko works in areas of pronounced deprivation. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2015 is the official measure of relative deprivation in England and ranks every small area from one (most deprived area) to 32,844 (least deprived area). Some 37 indicators are used to compile the index across seven domains of deprivation: income; employment; health and disability; education, skills and training; crime; barriers to housing and services; and living environment. These are combined and weighted to produce the IMD that, in turn, is used to divide small areas (typically neighbourhoods) into deciles according to levels of deprivation (Department for Communities and Local Government 2015). The obvious shortcoming of the IMD is that it examines areas (which can cover many kilometres in rural regions) rather than individuals. In other words, a person living in a deprived area may not be deprivation.

The 2017 HTF programme included introductory taiko workshops in three schools. According to the IMD 2015, two schools' postcodes fall within the 20% most deprived small areas nationally; indeed, for both schools, their postcodes fall within the 10% most deprived small areas nationally for health and disability. This suggests that the schools serve areas of notable disadvantage. The IMD places the third school's postcode in the 10% most deprived small areas nationally. The employment rank is particularly notable (304 out of 32,844). This indicates that the school serves an area of profound disadvantage (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government 2015: online).

Data from Ofsted reports provides a more nuanced insight into the pupil populations.⁵⁹ The first Ofsted report (2016) indicates a slightly higher proportion of pupils who come from a BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) background, speak English as an additional language, and/or have special educational needs and/or disabilities when compared to the national average. However, fewer pupils receive additional school funding due to disadvantage compared to the national average. The Ofsted report (2017) for the second school states that the proportion of disadvantaged pupils supported by additional funding is double the national average. Moreover, the school runs a breakfast club for pupils. The proportion of pupils with special educational needs and/or disabilities and from minority

⁵⁹ Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) is responsible for inspecting and regulating services that provide education and skills for learners of all ages across England.

ethnic groups is, however, below the national average. The third school's Ofsted report (2013) suggests that there were significantly fewer pupils receiving additional funding due to disadvantage in 2013 as well as fewer pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds compared with the national average.⁶⁰ It is, however, worth highlighting that the BAME population of North Lincolnshire is significantly smaller (7.2%) than the national average (19.3%) (North Lincolnshire Council 2015: online). While I collected no data about individual young people who took part in the workshops, it is evident that the three schools serve mixed cohorts.

More broadly, Humber Taiko operates in a region where local people have limited access to varied musical performances, the cost of tickets is relatively high, and older people dominate audiences. The 2019 Scunthorpe Theatres' programme contains no non-Western concerts or events at its venues (the Plowright Theatre and the Baths Hall). In a 30-day period spanning February and March 2019, the programme contained tribute bands, comedians, 'Super Slam Wrestling', professional dance troupes, (sing-along) musicals, a guitar workshop and performances by local amateur ensembles (Scunthorpe Theatres n.d.). In other words, the 2019 Humber Taiko Festival offers uncommon access to musical diversity. Moreover, while HTF is heavily subsidised, tickets for other events are typically costly. Audience insight data for Yorkshire and the Humber reveals a number of noteworthy trends: first, average ticket yield (i.e. the amount spent on a single ticket) is in excess of £22 across Yorkshire and the Humber; second, the dominant age category of attendees is 65+ across the region; and third, music performances are the fourth most popular performance type in the region, attracting fewer bookings than Christmas shows (Audience Finder n.d.: online). Finally, participatory music events are uncommon: the 'Guitar Play Day' on March 6, 2019 - a massed event for school-aged acoustic guitarists – was the only scheduled event of its kind at Scunthorpe Theatres in 2019 with the exception of a sing-along musical (Scunthorpe Theatres n.d.). Across the region, workshops are unusual – only 0.6% of bookings for performances across all art forms (e.g. literature, dance) in Yorkshire and the Humber were for workshops in 2015-16 (Audience Finder n.d.: online).

The North Lincolnshire Music Education Hub and individual schools across the region have invested heavily in drums and associated equipment, meaning participants do not have to provide it for themselves. As Figure 4.5 shows, children of different ages play pipe drums of various sizes. These are built from plastic pipes with tarpaulin skins. The supplier (Kagemusha Taiko) describes them as 'lightweight and robust – drums that also sound good and are affordable' (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.c: online). More advanced youth players and members of adult community groups perform on *nagado-daiko*, *o-daiko* and *okedo-daiko*. Regardless of skill level, however, all players have free and ready access to the necessary equipment in order to participate fully.

Thus far, I have presented an overview of Humber Taiko's operating environment and its key characteristics, namely: socio-economic deprivation, child poverty, concerns about access to music making, reliance on public funding, limited access to non-Western music concerts/events, and very few opportunities to engage in participatory music making. Crucially, all these concerns manifest *through* the practice of taiko in terms of cost of classes in the community setting, parental/carer support to enable participation, access to highquality performances in the region, and opportunities to learn from guest instructors. In other words, the local context profoundly affects individuals' engagement and progress in taiko – points acknowledged by both HTF directors. I now turn to exploring Middleton and

⁶⁰ I do not cite the three OFSTED reports in order to comply with the teachers' requests to remain anonymous.

Oliver's responses to the interrelated factors experienced by students of all ages. Moreover, I examine how festival programmes acknowledged these, in turn enabling the success of HTF 2017 and 2018.



Figure 4.5. Members of Tiny Taiko performing at 'Taiko Night' at the Baths Hall on November 3, 2018. Photo by Ian Pickles.

4.3.3 Leadership Behaviours

As noted in the introduction to the case study, Middleton and Oliver established Humber Taiko in 2014 and subsequently developed new groups in both schools and community settings. In other words, they were already 'leaders' of the local community of taiko practice. In terms of the nascent model of taiko leadership, however, I suggest that they took on new leadership roles in response to the issues: first, they applied for and subsequently secured public funding; second, they managed the festivals both creatively and organisationally; and third, they commissioned research in order to understand more fully the reach and impact of the events.

In the following analysis of the leaders' three steps, I draw upon what Northouse describes as the 'behavioural approach' to leadership. In doing so, I focus solely on what Middleton and Oliver do, and specifically how they act. I identify examples of two behavioural modes: task behaviours, which facilitate the accomplishment of goals and objectives by group members; and relationship behaviours that support members to feel comfortable, both with others and themselves as well as the environment/context (Northouse 2016). In turn, I locate the 'annual celebration of taiko featuring local youth and community groups from across Northern Lincolnshire, and guests from further afield' firmly in the nascent model of taiko leadership, identifying both the utility and potential weaknesses of the framework (Humber Taiko n.d.d: online).

In September 2017, Middleton submitted a 69-page application to the Arts Council England 'Grants for the Arts' scheme.⁶¹ The pro forma document required applicants to set out basic details (project information, dates), artistic quality (project leads' backgrounds and planned artistic activity), participants (artists, beneficiaries, audience and targeted

⁶¹ The Grants for the Arts funding stream was replaced by the Arts Council National Lottery Project Grants in March 2018.

participants), public engagement, finance (income and expenditure), partners, location, an activity plan, and proposed monitoring and evaluation. Prior to its closure in March 2018, Grants for the Arts dispersed funding based on its mission of 'great art and culture for everyone' – a theme conspicuously referenced in Middleton's application (Arts Council England 2013). She highlights that 'bringing high-quality professional artists to an area of high social deprivation and low arts engagement is a key factor for our organisation' (Humber Taiko 2017: 12). The same bid to the Arts Council England sets out broader thematic ambitions, including access to high-quality music education opportunities, exposure to professional performances, and aspiration-raising experiences for young people in the area. For instance, Middleton set out to 'provide an opportunity for people to engage in performances from Tsuchigumo Daiko and Kion Dojo as well as Coritani who demonstrate the high level of success being achieved locally' (ibid). By carrying out this task behaviour and securing £15,000 of public funding as a result, Humber Taiko were able to heavily subsidise festival activities for participants and secure widespread participation.

The 2017 and 2018 Humber Taiko Festival programmes offered six and five taiko workshops respectively. All participants, irrespective of income or age, paid a nominal fee of £3-£4 for each workshop. This contrasts with workshop fees elsewhere; for instance, a two-hour workshop at the 13th UK Taiko Festival (which did not receive public funding) cost £20 (Lucy Thomas, email to the author, June 13, 2019). Adult participants who elected to attend every HTF 2018 component spent £27 for a total of six hours of taiko instruction and two full-length concerts over four days. Individuals entitled to reduced rates (e.g. students, pensioners etc.) spent £23.

Grants from the Arts Council England and the local authority allowed the directors to implement further cost-reduction measures. For instance, Humber Taiko provided complimentary concert tickets for children and staff in partner schools as well as subsidised transport for community group members based in Grimsby. In doing so, the directors removed/minimised the cost barrier to attending live professional performances. In short, Middleton and Oliver enacted a relationship behaviour by proactively reducing costs, in turn encouraging participants to enter the festival ecosystem with reduced concerns about charges.

Professional taiko artists from across Europe and North America performed full-length concerts as part of HTF 2017 and 2018. In 2017, three ensembles staged a concert titled 'Tomoe'⁶²: Tsuchigumo Daiko, the Glasgow-based group with which I performed; Coritani, a trio comprised of Middleton, Oliver and Amy Naylor named after an Iron Age tribe that lived in Lincolnshire; and Kion Dojo, a Hamburg-based group established in 2006. The ensembles performed pieces from their respective repertoires before coming together to play collaborative pieces. At HTF 2018, 'Rhythm Soul' featured players from Taiko Journey (England), Taiko Zurich (Switzerland), Tsuchigumo Daiko (Scotland) and Taiko Together (USA). In addition, Tetsu Taiko played – the first instance of a local youth group performing in the same line-up as visiting professional artists. The groups and soloists displayed a wide range of styles, including well-known pieces in the international taiko community (e.g. 'Raku') and original compositions. Moreover, while ensemble taiko dominated, performers played other instruments (such as handpan) in combination with solo taiko, indicating to audience members the diversity of contemporary taiko practice.

⁶² The *tomoe* is more widely known as the *yin-yang* symbol in which two comma-shaped figures intertwine. While it is found throughout East Asia, the term *tomoe* is specific to Japan.

From the outset, Middleton and Oliver sought to develop the case for future funding by gathering evidence of the festival's impact. In correspondence with me, Middleton highlighted a desire 'to introduce new practices and changes to what we currently do' in relation to monitoring and evaluation ahead of the 2017 festival (email to author, October 4, 2017). By understanding the social reach of the festival and participants' motivations for taking part, the directors hoped to enhance taiko provision for local young people and adults. In 2017, the evaluation sought to identify whether learners (irrespective of age and musical experience) achieved through participation in the Humber Taiko Festival. At the 2018 festival, we set out to identify whether taiko serves as an effective intervention in North Lincolnshire - with 'success' measured in relation to the North Lincolnshire Music Education Hub's stated objectives for all its activities.⁶³ These actions functioned as both task and relationship behaviours. On the one hand, Humber Taiko gathered data to boost the likelihood of gaining financial support for future projects in the context of what the Arts Council England's Chief Executive Officer describes as a 'very tough funding environment' (Henley 2018: online). On the other hand, by offering subsidised access to local music making opportunities, Middleton and Oliver increase the likelihood of engaging participants facing financial hardship who might otherwise stay away.



Figure 4.6. Yeeman 'ManMan' Mui (Mujō Creative/Taiko Together/Los Angeles Taiko Institute) performing solo *o-daiko* and Amy Naylor (Coritani) playing handpan and singing during 'Rhythm Soul' at Humber Taiko Festival 2018. Photo by Ian Pickles.

⁶³ The Hub is 'committed to providing the highest quality music education and standards of musical excellence. Our aim is to inspire all children and young people (regardless of race, gender, background, educational need or disability) to develop artistic talent and achieve personal goals both within and beyond the classroom' (North Lincolnshire Music Hub 2018: online).

By setting out and analysing the behaviours of the Humber Taiko leaders, I have determined that access to the conference programme depended upon the public funding secured by Middleton. Both directors adopted leadership roles and established an environment in which the taiko leadership sequence could move forward. I now turn my attention to participants' responses to the opportunities presented, and whether they advance the socio-musical conditions for playing taiko in turn.

4.3.4 Advancing Socio-Musical Conditions for Playing Taiko

The 2017 and 2018 festivals garnered widespread support from both local players and those based beyond the region. Figure 4.7 plots ticket buyers' postcodes for the 2017 HTF concerts.⁶⁴ Individuals travelled from Devon, Scotland, Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire to attend, although most audience members were residents of Yorkshire and the Humber. Notably, Jonathan Kirby and Micah Wilhelm – the directors of the UK Taiko Festival and European Taiko Conference, and Taiko Spirit Festival respectively – attended, suggesting strong support for the event among European taiko leaders. The professional artists who travelled to take part in the festival as performers/workshop leaders ultimately contributed to the success of the event by removing the need for local people to travel to access high-quality performances and instruction.



Figure 4.7. Postcodes of Humber Taiko Festival 2017 concert ticket-purchasers plotted on a partial map of the UK.

⁶⁴ The theatres' box offices collected the postcodes of individuals who purchased concert tickets. 180 tickets were sold for 'Tomoe' whereas 294 were sold for 'Taiko Night'; audience numbers were higher due to the distribution of complimentary tickets to schools and local taiko groups. It is highly likely that individuals resident in other postcode areas attended but did not directly purchase a ticket (e.g. accompanied a friend or family member).

I conducted semi-structured interviews with the workshop leaders, all of whom are experienced taiko professionals. Our discussions suggested that the participants were not the only beneficiaries; after the 2017 festival, the leaders of both Kion Dojo and Tsuchigumo Daiko made clear and unequivocal reference to the festival as a site of professional learning and inspiration. For instance, Shonagh Walker, Co-Leader of Tsuchigumo Daiko, stated:

I have definitely benefitted. ... Seeing how the guys down here handle the kids, co-ordinate the kids, interact with them, that's been very useful for me. I found it incredibly inspiring watching that concert last night. I am now hoping to get some kids' stuff off the ground at home.

Similarly, Ingmar Kikat, leader of Kion Dojo, explained that he found the HTF to be:

A really great experience. It was really interesting to see how far they are here with teaching taiko, schools especially. I wish... we had just like a small bit of this state of development in Germany with kids. That is my goal for the next few years – to start offering taiko into schools a little bit. If I have the logistics kind of settled.

Both statements suggest that the impact of HTF is not just regional; indeed, the festival clearly has the potential to influence taiko practice both nationally and internationally.

In a promotional video for the 2017 HTF, a member of Gyoko Taiko (a Humber Taiko adult community group) said that the festival 'is really good as it promotes what the area has to offer. A lot of people say "nothing goes on," "there's nothing for children" and there is so much going on with taiko' (Focus7ltd 2018: online). Participants from the immediate area and beyond responded to the local activity and government funding in a range of ways. Parents/carers outlined the support and encouragement they offered to their children in both evaluation processes. For instance, the mother of a youth player commented on the repercussions of taiko upon the family:

I must admit it is the one thing [child's name] has stuck at. You know, if we are going to go away for the weekend, "no mum, we've got taiko. No mum, we have got taiko. We can't go anywhere until taiko is done." It is the one thing that will not be... They will not let go of that.

Other parents highlighted the impact of taiko on their children as well as themselves. Following the 2017 'Taiko Night' concert, a self-confessed 'taiko dad' said he thought it was 'brilliant', noting with pride that his child 'was one of those who played at the Royal Albert [Hall]. They love it. Absolutely love it. When we were sat up there [in the audience] before, you feel it. Feel it in there [the heart]'. Other family members were also enthusiastic about the children's performances; one mother stated it was 'fricking awesome'. The great-aunt of a nursery-aged pupil simply stated 'Great. I think it is brilliant. No question about it'.

Middleton and Oliver built upon parents and carers' universal enthusiasm and included a community taiko workshop as part of the 2018 HTF programme. Led by Yeeman 'ManMan' Mui, an Orff-trained taiko pedagogue and performer based in California, the one-hour session attracted 13 primary school-aged children, four high school-aged children, and nine adults – almost all of whom were related to a young participant. Mui focused on the core elements of taiko, including stance and grip, and received universally positive feedback from participants in the anonymous evaluation. Notably, adults referenced participating alongside their children and grandchildren. For instance, one mother reflected that 'I really enjoyed it. It was great to do it as a family and it was nice that us adults got [to] have a go after watching our children for so long'. Another parent/carer noted that s/he 'enjoyed being

able to participate with my 8-year-old'. Lastly, one adult highlighted that 'we need more like this'. By participating in the festival programme alongside young family members, the parents/carers demonstrated their support for both Humber Taiko activities and local opportunities for music making. The grandfather of one young player further reflected that taiko 'brings [up] the level in Scunthorpe which is fairly low. ... I do not think there are a great deal of social amenities. It is something completely different. The kids obviously thoroughly enjoy it'.

Young people clearly articulated the benefits of taiko as well as HTF during the evaluation process. Members of both in-school and community groups repeatedly referenced the ability to attend concerts by professional artists. Moreover, young interviewees suggested their approach to taiko would evolve as a direct result of participation in HTF. For instance, a high school pupil stated that 'it's quite funny because you get to see all these other amazing groups play and then you try to live up to that. Yeah, you get inspired by that'. Similarly, a primary school pupil reflected that s/he 'can watch them and get tips from them. If you watch them, you can get tips on if you go wrong, you can do this'. Lastly, one member of a school-based group noted that 'it inspires you seeing so many groups and their techniques'. These statements offer clear examples of improved creative conditions for playing taiko referenced in the nascent model of taiko leadership.

'Taiko Night' performers of all ages referenced socio-musical development due to participation. In the course of semi-structured interviews, they referenced: teamwork (e.g. 'we all did it together and that was amazing'); opportunity (e.g. 'I can do stuff I've never done before'); focus (e.g. 'when you get into it you really start to concentrate and start to have a lot of fun'); and admiration (e.g. 'the older ones looked really impressive – they were in synch and seemed to have a swell time'). Moreover, a handful of players made clear that participation had enabled them to set or achieve goals. For instance, one player stated that 'my whole family is here for a change and I wanted to perform well for them. [Now] I feel accomplished'. A music teacher at a participating school reflected on the wider benefits of the festival during a semi-structured interview:

I think they are completely inspired by what they are seeing. I think sometimes when you are in a school setting, I think it is hard for kids to realise what else is going on outside. It is a case of broadening their horizons and saying this is what is possible. ... The stuff that is going on here is obviously immense and I think it has opened their eyes to what [they are] capable [of] and what they might be capable of if they get involved in the Saturday groups. I am hoping some of them will. I think it has opened their eyes and made them realise [that] it is good what we do in school but there is a really high standard that can be achieved.

The teacher highlights the importance of exposure to an array of taiko practice – an objective fulfilled by festival programming.

Support from ensembles on two continents as well as engagement from youth and adult players, families, and schools ultimately facilitated the success of the festival. The holistic approach adopted by the directors ultimately enabled local participants to engage intensely with the programme. One participant observed that s/he:

really enjoyed seeing the taiko performance last night where Kion played, and then having the opportunity to play with them [during a workshop]. It is great also to have collaboration between local and international musicians. The experience felt very enriching.

In short, players can locate themselves within the wider landscape of taiko practice by engaging with new styles, compositions and teachers/performers without the need for travel.

Thus far, I have presented evidence that both iterations of the event were successful. While respondents did not expressly reference 'leadership' in the data that they provided, I argue that favourable outcomes were achieved through specific leadership practices: securing public funding and establishing an environment in which participants felt comfortable practicing taiko. For instance, a look-after teenager (i.e. a young person in the care of the local authority) reflected that:

the first time I did Taiko it was amazing.

[I really enjoyed because I never did taiko but the first time I did taiko it was amazing].

Following workshops at HTF 2018, 95% of respondents strongly agreed that they felt motivated to do more creative things in the future; the remaining five percent agreed with the statement.⁶⁵ In other words, those who took part in HTF purposefully advanced the conditions for playing taiko. Participants made clear that they want to undertake more creative practice and compelling evidence was gathered to demonstrate why future iterations should receive public funding.

4.3.5 Outputs

Three key outputs emerged at HTF 2017 and 2018 because of the taiko leadership sequence. First, public concerts by visiting professional ensembles from the UK, Germany and the United States served to illustrate diverse stylistic and compositional approaches. No recordings of the concerts exist as all filming was prohibited to comply with Humber Taiko's stringent child protection regulations. Consequently, no detailed analysis is possible. However, the inclusion, arrangement and performance of well-known and widely shared pieces in the international landscape of taiko practice served to illustrate commonalities among players to audience members. Second, heavily subsidised workshops led by visiting instructors offered local players (as well as visiting members of the UK CoTP) an opportunity to learn new repertoire, styles and skills. The third – and only fixed – type of output is the evaluation reports that I prepared for funding agencies. These, however, responded to the requirements of specific funding schemes and contain confidential information, including detailed feedback on individual workshop instructors. Consequently, the commissioning bodies have published neither report.

The nascent model of taiko leadership directly connects outputs to responses to the emergent issue, in this case socio-economic deprivation. Thus, as previously discussed, the well-attended and well-received concerts and workshops – conceived to enable local access to high-quality music (making) without the requirement to travel – addressed this need. Moreover, as Amy Naylor acknowledges, the HTF concept requires multi-party inputs:

Organised by Humber Taiko with the help and support of so many taiko community members, musicians, staff and crew, this event could not have been made possible without funding from Arts Council England and Arts Development at North Lincolnshire Council (Naylor 2017: online).

⁶⁵ The response rate was 96%, thus mitigating any risk of non-completion bias.

Middleton and Oliver offered a unique opportunity to local audiences by bringing together multiple ensembles from different countries to perform joint professional stage shows. This is yet another example of how the creative conditions for musicking are purposefully advanced yet in a manner wholly reliant on public funding.

4.3.6 Lessons in Localised Leadership

In stark contrast to the first case study, Middleton and Oliver sought to bring about positive *localised* change by offering varied opportunities under the umbrella of the Humber Taiko Festival. While some players travelled from other parts of the UK to teach, observe or participate in workshops, target beneficiaries resided in Lincolnshire. How does this impact upon the leadership processes at play?

In Figure 4.8, I present the nascent model of taiko leadership aligned with the 2017 and 2018 Humber Taiko Festivals. The flowchart highlights the linear process of the model that must be worked through in order to respond to the identified issue. Notably, Middleton and Oliver's sustained engagement with local community members in schools and taiko groups highlighted the impact of socio-economic deprivation on musicking. Recognition of the effect upon local taiko practice prompted applications that made note of the local context in order to secure funding to deliver a four-day festival with multiple objectives. By offering opportunities to engage with players from other regions of the taiko landscape, Middleton and Oliver facilitated extensive engagement in the programme – both from targeted participants and supporters (e.g. guest instructors). In seeking to understand the process and impact from the outset, they strengthened their evidence base for securing future funding and gained a more holistic understanding of festival participants.

Rather than serve as system convenors, the HTF directors instead led the development of a distinctly local community of taiko practice under the auspices of Humber Taiko. The organisation's status meant the leaders could apply to various funding streams, including the local authority, for publicly funded support. While Middleton and Oliver initiated and ran the events, undoubtedly undertaking many hours of unpaid labour in the process, the festivals fell within a formal framework of sustained activity. In other words, HTF was not the result of individual enthusiasm or interest. Moreover, funding bodies required detailed monitoring and evaluation of activities. 'Local' however, is not coterminous with isolation: players from across the landscape contributed by teaching and performing, reporting planned changes to their own activities as a result.

The second case study provides clear evidence that Middleton and Oliver's leadership profoundly influenced HTF participants. Yet it also highlights the obvious challenge of the nascent model as it stands: how to connect leaders' behaviours to outcomes. While the identification of task behaviours – such as organisational activities and assignment of roles and responsibilities – is relatively straightforward, I suggest that providing an evidence base of relationship behaviours is somewhat more challenging. For instance, identifying how nebulous concepts such as trust, respect and camaraderie contribute to a two-part model of leadership (task/relationship) remains a methodological test – one that can be considered further in future case study settings.

Social, musical or socio-Recognition that taiko players, in particular young people, musical issue(s) arise and may not be able to access continuous and/or additional are identified through the instruction (e.g. from guest teachers) without subsidy practice of taiko. Recognition that players, particularly young people, may not be able to attend concerts offered by professional ensembles due to cost and/or regional travel. Leadership role(s) are Humber Taiko directors successfully apply for public adopted by taiko funding from the Arts Council England and the local practitioners authority Directors oversee an annual four-day festival, including a collaboration with a local folk group, professional and community concerts, public workshops and in-school introductory sessions The Humber Taiko directors actively seek to understand the reach of the festival with a view to better serving the community. Players respond to emergent Youth and adult players, as well as their supporters, issues to purposefully engage extensively in the festival programmes advance the creative and/or ٠ Professional taiko ensembles and leading instructors travel social conditions for playing to the local area in support of the festival to minimise or taiko remove the need for travel. Outputs (such as Concerts by visiting professional ensembles - 'Tomoe' (2017) and 'Rhythm Soul' (2018) compositions and discussions) are produced in 'Taiko Night' concerts by local youth and community the process of responding to groups, including a collaboration with a folk group the identified issue(s) Workshops led by professional taiko artists Evaluation reports for funding bodies.

Figure 4.8. Nascent model of taiko leadership aligned with acts of leadership performed for the Humber Taiko Festivals in November 2017 and November 2018.

4.4 Wider Applications of the Model

'Taiko' occupies a prominent position in what I have termed the 'nascent model of taiko leadership'. As outlined in the first chapter, however, I hope that my contributions can be of use to ethnomusicologists working in different musical environments. What, then, needs to be considered beforehand and how can the model be further developed and theorised?

Both the Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute and the Humber Taiko Festivals examined events with clear start and end dates. As the STI case study made clear, however, such events can catalyse other behaviours and activities; indeed, taiko leadership is expressly intended to change the creative and/or social conditions for playing taiko. Thus, a key consideration is how to indicate and connect impact beyond time-based parameters. How, for example, can we demonstrate that leadership of an event causes the launch of a new activity to empower a subgroup of the taiko community, in turn generating a sense of inclusion? This challenge to the future development of the model extends beyond the domain of taiko as it tries to connect leadership, an area of social science research focused on outcomes, with ethnomusicology, a discipline focused on social and musical forms.

More broadly, my two ethnographic case studies overlook a more general question: why does taiko (as a specific musical form) encourage the leadership process described to take place? No consistent data emerges from the case studies to respond to this question, particularly regarding its musical form. Nevertheless, as I argue in chapter three, discourses around equality and diversity are prevalent throughout the European and North American taiko communities. Given both case studies present examples of players responding to perceived inequalities, I suggest that this may be an influencing factor.

Finally, as previously highlighted, the four stages of the model occur in a linear fashion in both taiko settings. I propose that any application of the model to a wider range of case study settings may reveal how and why components can occur in a different order and/or overlap. In that regard, the utilisation of the model to trace leadership processes in communities of practice centred on other art forms might prove particularly insightful, although the model would have to be renamed as a result. In short, the full utility of the nascent model of taiko leadership (or the absence thereof) can only be realised by applying it to new musicking contexts and presents an exciting avenue for future research.

5. Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability at the European Taiko Conference

This chapter analyses the European Taiko Conference (ETC), an event instigated and directed by Jonathan Kirby – the artistic director of Kagemusha Taiko in Devon. I explore the ways in which the conference responds to a specific issue set out in previous chapters – namely relatively limited access to high-quality instruction for Europe-based players – and how the event shapes the international landscape of taiko practice. Principally, however, I present and employ musical cosmopolitan sociability (MCS), a three-factor model that enables analysis of various social and artistic processes on display across all four iterations of the conference. In doing so, I seek to apply complementary conceptual frameworks – cosmopolitanism, sociability and musicking – to grasp how musical interactions are practiced in an ephemeral transnational environment. Thereafter, I present empirical analyses of the phenomenon at play with a focus on the manifestation of social processes in musical outputs. Ultimately, I emphasise the adaptability of MCS and its central role in shaping UK players' interactions with members of the wider taiko landscape.

5.1 The Need for a New Model

On Thursday 21st February 2019, 101 taiko players⁶⁶ gathered in the conference hall of the CVJM Sunderhof near Hamburg.⁶⁷ To end the first evening of the fourth European Taiko Conference, four musicians – an accordionist and three taiko players – presented a piece which responded to the theme of the conference: 'finding your own voice through taiko'. Performing under the group name Otominato, Goran Lazarevic (accordion), Andrej Leban, Jennifer Manzer and Svetta Smarsch (taiko) prepared a brief introduction to their arrangement that – as emcee for the evening – I shared with those assembled. Herewith their description:

We were inspired by the song "Zumbul" by the Balkan punk band, "KulturShock." The band's leader, Gino Jevdevic, had to leave his home country of Yugoslavia during the Balkan war and emigrated to the US. The original song is about Gino's hometown of Sarajevo. He sings about the streets, buildings, his grandma, and his generation. The song is about roots, homesickness, neighbours fighting one another, forced displacement, and having to leave a hometown changed and destroyed by war. The song is full of melancholy, beauty, pride, gratitude but also anger.

At first, we found ourselves charmed by the typical Balkan rhythm of septuple meter; later, we became deeply moved by the story behind the piece. This resulted in our own "Zumbul" arrangement, melodically adapted and composed by Goran and rhythmically composed mainly by Andrej.

As for us, the fact that there are two Germans, one Croatian and one Serb playing a piece inspired by a Bosnian who actually knows and is happy we're performing it here today, gives our project special meaning.

The audience – comprised of taiko players from 16 countries and 55 taiko groups – gave Lazarevic, Leban, Manzer and Smarsch a standing ovation for their subsequent performance, with some moved to tears. Their introduction describes the ensemble's social and musical ability to come to terms with conjunctural elements – melancholy, national identity, and rhythmic structure. Indeed, as conference director Jonathan Kirby anticipated, 'the idea behind these [musical] presentations is that they all demonstrate people doing "their own

⁶⁶ Conference delegates (83), workshop leaders (6), staff (4), volunteers (4), and observers (4) participated in the conference.

⁶⁷ CVJM stands for Christlicher Verein junger Menschen (Christian Association of Young People).

thing" with taiko' (email to author, January 31, 2019). Along with performances by Franck Glowacz (France) and Isabel Romeo Biedma (Spain) – who constructed a new idiophone from seashells and incorporated poetry and contemporary dance into performances respectively – Otominato presented a musical output that highlights individual consciousness alongside shared human emotions such as empathy.

The juxtaposition of individuals and their attendant identity characteristics (e.g. nationality) with global issues faced by others (e.g. migration) recurred musically at all four iterations of the European Taiko Conference. The four-day residential event first took place in February 2016 with scheduled plenaries, informal group performances, workshops, shared meals, discussion sessions, yoga practice and joint performances. It brought together 64 delegates (including the organisers) from ten European countries,⁶⁸ Japan and the United States, most of whom were unknown to one another. As Kirby highlights in the printed programme, 'by playing together, by talking, eating and drinking together we can all learn from each other. ... In doing so, we will understand better why we are playing taiko ...' (European Taiko Conference 2016: para. 3). Since then, three further conferences have taken place, each with a different theme.

Before turning to detailed empirical analysis of the MCS phenomenon and its musical manifestations, I first want to establish what needs to be explained by a new model. In other words, what set of principles is the European Taiko Conference based upon that ultimately enabled Lazarevic, Leban, Manzer and Smarsch's musical reconciliation of profoundly personal yet global issues?

Promotional material clearly set out the aims and objectives of the conference yet alluded to the perceived challenges facing players in Europe. Prior to the inaugural event, the conference webpage announced that:

Over 3 days, we will: get to know each other – European taiko is currently very fragmented; be inspired by and learn from each other, sharing challenges and successes; have workshops with world class taiko professionals; have some fun playing together, learning together, and eating and drinking together (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.b: online).

The goals suggest an event that is fundamentally social *and* creative to overcome the disjointed nature of taiko in Europe. Indeed, the conference demands the development of social relationships among participants for musical expansion – whether individual or collective – to take place. Conference director Jonathan Kirby instituted its organising principle, namely 'developing the community ... developing the art form'.⁶⁹ He notes:

the ellipsis and the ambiguity were intentional. In the first place, "developing the community" referred to the idea of getting people together, people who were not yet part of a real community. ... "Developing the art form" ... could also be interpreted as one of the aims of the conference, in other words that the art form would be advanced by events at the conference (Kirby 2018: 286-287).

In short, the conference is designed to achieve two mutually dependent objectives and, in turn, positively influence the wider development of the art form in Europe.

⁶⁸ Participants resident in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom (including individuals from England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales) took part in the inaugural ETC.

⁶⁹ The printed programme for the first ETC presents the tag line using a comma ('developing the community, developing the art form') rather than ellipsis; in all other documentation, ellipsis is used.

While I argue that the phenomenon I detected at the European Taiko Conference requires a new model, extant approaches to the creation and development of sound communities certainly respond to some of the aforementioned themes. For instance, Caroline Bithell analyses the performance of songs from around the world by members of natural voice choirs in the UK. Moreover, she explores the position of singers in international networks, identifying 'a group of practitioners who exemplify diverse musical and professional backgrounds but are united in their adherence to a set of fundamental principles' (2014: 7). Bithell, however, focuses on 'the potential of music making to sustain community and to contribute to intercultural understanding' (2014: 2, emphasis mine). In contrast, my exploration of the European Taiko Conference explores its capacity to generate community among alien players from diverse geographies in an ephemeral setting. Similarly, in his study of the social and musical world of collegiate a cappella choirs in the USA, Joshua Duchan (2012) analyses how individual ensembles – that is to say communities of practice – develop their musical styles and identities following the negotiation of social and political values in rehearsals. Ultimately, he argues that 'music and socialisation foster trust, which enables musical and social risk taking, the demonstration of musical skills, the mastery of a habitus of singing, and the accumulation of social capital' (Duchan 2012: 180) – all processes mirrored at the conferences. Fundamentally, however, Duchan derives his findings from ongoing musical practice in a particular, relatively stable and geographically bound setting: the US college campus. Jeff Todd Titon offers a third approach to differentiate the ETC phenomenon from our existing understanding of sound communities. Specifically, he argues that:

in a sound community, music is communicative and as natural as breathing. In a sound community, music is participatory and exchanged freely, strengthening and sustaining individuals and communities. A sound community exhibits a sound economy ... [that] is just, participatory and egalitarian (Titon 2015: 38).

Titon offers a vision that is profoundly relational and encompasses all living things. While affording opportunities for acoustic communication by all creatures, Titon's framework does not outline the steps necessary to form such egalitarian groupings. Thus, while the values expressed by the European Taiko Conference broadly reflect a 'sound community', the concept does not allow for the brief yet rapid generation of such intimacy and connection.

I suggest that the introductory ethnographic vignette and Kirby's reflections on the overarching objectives of the conference point to a unique constellation of factors at play: the development of intimacy among strangers in the form of short, residential gatherings; the geographic dispersal of participants from three or four continents and more than fifty taiko organisations; the adoption, internalisation and development of a Japanese musical form by diverse conference attendees; and the conscious acknowledgement through music of challenges and hardships faced by individuals and humanity more widely. As I shall go on to demonstrate, this complex compound results in musical outputs that merit modelling. Meanwhile, I examine why current theories from the field of ethnomusicology do not suffice in this context. Thereafter, I present an initial introduction to what I term 'musical cosmopolitan sociability' – one that is elucidated through and by subsequent ethnographic examples.

Musical cosmopolitan sociability is comprised of three elements operating in concert: musicking, cosmopolitanism and sociability. All three components have previously been utilised in ethnomusicological enquiry with musicking serving as a common theme.

Otherwise, Turino (2000, 2008) and Stokes (2007) present frameworks of musical cosmopolitanism, and Dueck (2007) has examined forms of musical sociability that enable specific modes of practice in indigenous fiddling in western Canada. To date, scholars have employed the three elements in pairs but not conjointly. I suggest that my cohort of research informants enact musicking, cosmopolitanism and sociability simultaneously in the short-lived conference setting, resulting in the distinctive phenomenon of MCS. In other words, players from many countries across the international landscape of practice use taiko to explore or enact common human feelings or experiences in the residential conference setting, in turn producing an intimate musical world. I now turn to a brief review of the existing ethnomusicological scholarship on each element, in part to further identify and articulate the need for a new model.

In academia, wide-ranging cosmopolitan possibilities – 'cosmopolitan patriotism, rooted cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan ethnicity, working-class cosmopolitanism, discrepant cosmopolitanism' (Werbner 2012: 154) – have been examined from moral, political, ethical and lifestyle perspectives. Indeed, the 'intellectual baggage of past discussions' on cosmopolitanism prompted research centres dedicated to its understanding, including the Centre for Cosmopolitan Studies at the University of St. Andrews and the now disbanded Research Institute for Cosmopolitan Cultures at the University of Manchester (ibid: 12). Yet despite the depth and breadth of critique in the social sciences, relatively little attention has been paid to cosmopolitanism in ethnomusicology.

At the turn of the millennium, Thomas Turino offered the first definition of cosmopolitanism developed from musical practice. Analysing the socio-political and representational function of music as part of the nation-building project in Zimbabwe, he posits that cosmopolitanism is:

a specific type of cultural formation and constitution of habitus that is translocal in purview. Because cosmopolitanism involves practices, material technologies and conceptual frameworks ... it has to be realised in specific locations and in the lives of actual people. It is thus always localised and will be shaped by and somewhat distinct in each locale. Cosmopolitan cultural formations are therefore always simultaneously local and translocal (2000: 7).

Turino suggests an approach to musical cosmopolitanism that is fundamentally lived (i.e. experienced and specific to circumstances); those involved absorb, reconfigure, and internalise musical styles and sounds from elsewhere. In other words, he suggests it occurs in a network of action rather than representation; indeed, the presence of the *—ism* reinforces the notion of a practice that is active and evolving. This concept resonates strongly with 'musicking', a second element of musical cosmopolitan sociability, in which 'music is first and foremost action' (Small 1998: 9). Yet as a site-specific, ongoing practice in which habitus can be formed, this mode of musical cosmopolitanism does not readily afford the possibility for spontaneous realisations that arise over the course of a short-lived event attended by participants from different cities, regions and countries. Any such enactments of cosmopolitanism take place in an established locale, in turn serving to exclude communities of practice comprised of geographically dispersed participants.

In *Music as Social Life*, Turino takes steps to incorporate individuals connected by a shared domain as opposed to location. More specifically, he argues that:

cosmopolitan cultural formations involve prominent constellations of habits that are shared among widely dispersed groups in countries around the world; but unlike diasporas, cosmopolitan formations

are not traced to any particular homeland. ... Cosmopolitans are defined not by immigrant status by rather by the major adoption of cosmopolitan lifeways and habits of thought (2008: 18).

In this revised view, cosmopolitanism is dissociated from any specific geographies and conceptualised as a common lifestyle enacted by diffuse individuals. Such a formulation would seem to include participants from multiple locations who gather to practice a common art form – one that might be an adopted 'alien musical style' for all concerned (Eisentraut 2001: 85). It suggests, however, that those same participants share a common set of (undefined) behaviours or experiences (such as travel abroad) that influence their participation in a musical event in unspecified ways. For example, it is unclear if or how cosmopolitans and non-cosmopolitans (assuming the existence of an antipode) might music alongside one another and whether the habits and attributes of either/both are reflected in the music produced. In short, uncertainty exists regarding the practice-based implications of cosmopolitanism.

In 2007, Martin Stokes further conceived of musical cosmopolitanism as a human practice yet one that takes place within global operating systems. Suggesting that musical cosmopolitanism is coterminous with musical globalisation, he posits that:

musical cosmopolitans create musical worlds and new musical languages, but they do so within systems of circulation that determine to a large extent what is available to them and how (and in which direction) musical elements move (Stokes 2007: 15).

The power derived from the circulation and consumption of music (i.e. the ways in which the globalisation of music and global capitalism are interlinked) sits at the centre of Stokes' vision of musical cosmopolitanism. Musicking, however, remains a fundamentally human and creative process, one that 'allows us to think of music as a process in the making of "worlds," rather than a passive reaction to global "systems"' (Stokes 2007: 6). While Stokes' vision allows us to consider how people have adopted music from other places, in turn facilitating the global circulation of people, ideas, and styles, we are nevertheless left grasping for a definition that might be applied or recognised in the process of musicking. Put simply, we are left asking: *what is musical cosmopolitanism in practice? Would I know it if I saw or experienced it?*

I have thus far suggested that musical cosmopolitanism (or cosmopolitanism in musical settings) is somewhat poorly defined and challenging to recognise. Any critical vocabulary remains limited, in part due to its narrow application in the wider literature. For instance, when Ó Briain (2018: 267) claims that 'cosmopolitan musical styles have received a great deal of attention from ethnomusicologists', he refers to hybrid musical forms conceived as a result of connections between 'people and cultural trends'. By invoking Turino's (2000: 8) 'cosmopolitan loops' – whereby local actors internalise musical forms from different places, in turn enabling recontextualisation in a new site – Ó Briain references a trend in ethnomusicological enquiry to which this research project subscribes. Analysis of taiko in Europe is just one example of such a 'loop'; other examples include Andean music in Japan (Bigenho 2012), tango in Japan (Asaba 2019) and step dancing in Cape Breton (Gibson 2017). Notably, however, such studies focus on the transmission of a form from one specific geography to another (as opposed to its adoption by dispersed participants). Yet again, transient events seem somewhat excluded.

Temporary participatory musical events targeted at transnational audiences are not uncommon. Aside from the European Taiko Conference, other examples include the World Shakuhachi Festival, a four day programme of concerts and workshops held most recently at SOAS, University of London in July 2018; and the annual *Orientalische Musik-Sommerakademie* (Oriental Music Summer Academy) held in Sulzburg, Germany, in which participants undertake joint instrumental classes in *oud*, *nay*, *kanun*, *djoze* and voice, and attend concerts. I suggest that the impact of cosmopolitanism on the transmission of (social) information among musicking participants at such events has thus far been overlooked, in part due to a lack of any clear, empirically verifiable definition of what encompasses cosmopolitan attributes within ethnomusicology, but also due to a focus to date on hybrid musical outputs. In developing a model of musical cosmopolitan sociability, I propose hitherto latent connections among these elements as well as sociability.

In 1949, the American Journal of Sociology published a translation of Georg Simmel's 'The Sociology of Sociability'. In doing so, the work of the German philosopher and sociologist was made more widely accessible, and the term 'sociability' entered the lexicon of sociology. In the source text, Simmel distinguishes sociability from other forms of social interaction by proposing that it occurs purely for its own sake. He writes that:

Within this constellation, called society, or out of it, there develops a special sociological structure corresponding to those of art and play, which draw their form from these realities but nevertheless leave their reality behind them (Simmel 1949: 254).

In referencing art, Simmel proposes an aesthetic component of social exchange – an approach that lends itself to musicking. He further argues that individual characteristics (i.e. 'their [the participants'] reality') should not affect the interaction; he cites social class and wealth as two examples. In other words, sociability – in its distilled form – is characterised by the temporary suspension of selfhood to enable reciprocal interactions. This concept may initially seem irreconcilable with the theme of the fourth conference ('finding your own voice through taiko'). However, as the ETC4 case study later illustrates, more than 100 players from four continents learned and joyfully carried out a dance that embodies Japanese immigrant labourers' experiences in California. In other words, musickers – the vast majority of whom had no connection to Japanese American history or experiences – temporarily put individual identity characteristics to one side to enable a shared experience. The 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' (Isn't It Good?) dance at ETC4 illustrates why some enactments of sociability 'have the form of purposefulness without serving any external purpose' beyond the immediate experience of the participants (Gronow 2011: 3).

Two music scholars – an eighteenth-century specialist and an ethnomusicologist – apply sociability as an analytical framework in their research. In doing so, they suggest its potential utility for examining the social and musical processes that occur when otherwise dispersed participants come together to practice a shared domain. Through analysis of works by Pleyel, J. C. Bach and Haydn, Dean Sutcliffe (2013: 45) argues that 'music ... arguably forms the most powerful expression of sociability ... – not merely reflecting wider practices but actively providing models for human behaviour'. By drawing upon Schwartz's (2001: 74) definition of art that 'communicate[s] by means of pattern rather than momentary passion', Sutcliffe proposes a 'syntax' that is – to borrow Paul Gilroy's (1993) helpful term – both rooted and routed in action. He proposes that:

Musical sociability in practice ... require[s] a particular kind of performativity that is all about being receptive to difference. One must acknowledge, of course, that any form of music-making involving

two or more players entails interaction that can be described as sociable. It will require cooperation, attentiveness and the ability to respond to others (2013: 14).

Sutcliffe proposes a model that acknowledges individual sensibilities with conscious regard for other human beings in the music making group. Much like the dualities expressed in the work of Simmel, Sutcliffe acknowledges a juxtaposition in a process that 'quickens mental activity, while ... putting listeners at their ease; it is at once approachable and demanding' (2013: 45). Such dynamic interplay seems to encompass (spontaneous) musicking among strangers while acknowledging the complexity of the process.

A notable feature of Sutcliffe's approach is the identification of sociable musical styles through specific compositional and performance strategies, rendering musical sociability a 'technical category' (2013: 5). Examples of syntactical devices employed include phrase rhythm – which Sutcliffe argues can be manipulated to render music accessible to listeners – and call and response as a mode of reciprocity. While Sutcliffe examines eighteenth century music, such a methodology and view on musical sociability seems helpful in the context of contemporary global music(s).

In his research among First Nations and Métis in western Canada, Byron Dueck (2007) identifies the presence of intimacy among former strangers. Examining the performance of a fiddle group comprised of geographically dispersed students previously unknown to one another, he suggests that 'public performances often represent or celebrate intimacy, musical or otherwise, for an audience of strangers' (2007: 38). Like Sutcliffe, Dueck traces sociability in the music itself, recognising intimacy and publicness in metrical style. For example, he suggests that 'musical irregularity points to intimate forms of musical acquaintanceship quite distinct from the stranger sociability characteristic of musical publics' (2007: 44). In other words, he argues that long-term musical partnerships enable accompanists to respond to the specificities of an individual's playing, in turn affecting rhythmic characteristics, while music performed together by and/or for (relative) strangers displays quite different properties. Dueck acknowledges and accommodates face-to-face musicking among strangers, summarising that 'stranger sociability enables forms of musical intimacy; it prepares strangers to engage one another musically' (2007: 46).

In reviewing the existing work on musical cosmopolitanism, I argue that exclusions exist in the context of transnational events. In terms of sociability, I acknowledge the potential for group musicking that accommodates both individuals' feelings and awareness of others. However, a notable point overlooked in both fields is ephemerality: existing frameworks encompassing cosmopolitanism and sociability do not acknowledge the possibility of accelerated, short-lived variations of either. In the remainder of this chapter, I suggest that latent connections among the components appear to be present, in turn resulting in a potential new phenomenon. I acknowledge that the utility of any modelling may be restricted for other scholars given it emerges from a specific ethnographic context. Nevertheless, any future studies examining brief interactions among practitioners from different geographies who share the same practice might benefit from comparison.

5.2 Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability: A Model

Musical cosmopolitan sociability conspicuously links the three component parts – musicking, cosmopolitanism and sociability – to describe a phenomenon at play at all four iterations of the European Taiko Conference. In doing so, MCS reflects the specificity of the context, namely: 1) the adoption of a Japanese musical form by European players; 2) the transnational

profile of participants, instructors and organisers; 3) the profoundly interactive nature of performing or learning taiko as part of an ensemble or group; 4) the likelihood that participants do not know each other well or are strangers; and 5) the ephemeral nature of the event.

In developing a new model specific to the context of music making, I draw on a framework of cosmopolitan sociability posited by Glick Schiller, Darieva and Gruner-Domic (2011). As editors of a special issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, they curated a series of articles focused on diasporic and religious networks that connect cosmopolitanism with longterm mobility activities such as missionary work and economic migration. Despite obvious contrasts with ETC, certain core concepts translate to the conference setting. For instance, a sociability that 'builds on certain shared human competencies to relate to multiple other persons as well as a desire for human relationships that are not framed around specific utilitarian goals' facilitates ensemble work as well as fleeting musicking among participants previously unknown to one another (Glick Schiller, Darieva and Gruner-Domic 2011: 414-415). Cosmopolitanism is similarly couched in terms of attitude and capacity and is characterised by an 'openness to shared human emotions, experiences and aspirations' (ibid: 399). What is notable about this approach is its disassociation from any kind of citizenship; the Greek κοσμοπολίτης (kosmopolites, 'a citizen of the world') from which 'cosmopolitan' is derived seems largely absent. In its place, I suggest that intimacy – a warm, mutual familiarity and/or rapport – is implicitly encouraged and can co-exist alongside affiliations to nation states, societies, or other groupings.

Musical cosmopolitan sociability is a significant expansion of Glick Schiller, Darieva and Gruner-Domic's theorisation as it is founded on and enabled by a shared domain of *musical* practice via a non-indigenous art form. As such, I posit that ETC – a temporary gathering designed to catalyse relationships and encourage the exchange of ideas and experiences – promotes a shared humanity through the practice of a common domain with resultant musical manifestations. Moreover, as demonstrated in the subsequent ethnographies, the ETC format operationalises the presence of diverse regional/national identities to construct a social and musical identity of openness. However, I have more nuanced ambitions for this bricolage model which seeks to illuminate the conference in a more holistic manner than 'musical cosmopolitanism' or 'musical sociability' alone might allow.

I propose the following definition of musical cosmopolitan sociability: an empirically verifiable demonstration of openness to common human feelings, hopes, and/or experiences articulated through musicking. Settings and contexts may be transient, and participants may be alien to each other, yet an intimate musical world is created.

I now turn to elucidating and illustrating MCS through four ethnographic case studies drawn from each iteration of the conference. Specifically, I consider the shared performance of 'Shimabayashi', a piece targeted at beginners (2016); 'Never Again Is Now', a small group performance arranged through Facebook (2017); 'Worldwide Matsuri', an open source composition to enable members of different groups and independent players to perform together (2018); and the aforementioned teaching and learning of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka', a dance typically associated with *O-bon* festivals at Buddhist temples in the United States. In selecting these four examples, I explore the limits of MCS through consideration of conference programming, digital mediation and the impact of pre-existing relationships, the conscious development and dissemination of shared repertoire, and spontaneity respectively. Thereafter, I consider the implications of MCS for the international landscape of taiko

practice, the potential utility of the model for other musical forms and communities, and the implications for the discipline of ethnomusicology.

5.3 Case Study One (2016): Conference Programming and the Shared Performance of 'Shimabayashi'

On February 18, 2016, I travelled from Edinburgh to South Devon to participate in the inaugural European Taiko Conference. During the ninety-minute flight, I wrote brief fieldnotes reflecting my anticipation and apprehension about taking part. While I had communicated with the organisers regarding my role as a researcher, I had yet to meet them or any members of the host group in person; indeed, my interactions with other taiko players had been restricted to those based in Scotland. Moreover, I felt some unease as the conference aimed 'to gather together leaders and key members from as many different European taiko groups as possible' (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.b: online). Could I consider myself a significant figure sixteen months into a part-time doctoral programme and as a new member of a taiko apprenticeship programme? With hindsight, the timing was perfect: I would go on to attend and contribute to the four iterations of the conference as an evaluator and latterly as co-host. Moreover, I would identify musical cosmopolitan sociability from the data gathered, in turn offering a new ethnomusicological model to the academy.

This first case study serves to illustrate musical cosmopolitan sociability through an ethnography of the inaugural European Taiko Conference. I consider the design of the conference programme, specifically how its components enable musical cosmopolitan sociability to occur. Moreover, I suggest how the event responded directly to the social and musical concerns and aspirations of delegates, in turn optimising musical cosmopolitan sociability over the course of four days. Lastly, I analyse 'Shimabayashi', a piece performed en masse at the conference, to provide musical evidence of the phenomenon at play.

5.3.1 Conference Programming

In the introduction to this chapter, I suggested that musical cosmopolitan sociability is a form of cosmopolitan sociability facilitated by music making. In other words, mobile individuals – irrespective of nationality or ethnicity – can form intense, long-lasting bonds at a short-lived event due to common human experiences and emotions promoted by music making. Isabel Romeo Biedma, a delegate from Spain, reflected on this process in the immediate aftermath of the first ETC:

Fabuloso, inspirador, emocionante, emotivo Encuentro Europeo de Taiko!!! Tanta diversidad y al tiempo tanto en común, de lo que realmente importa. ... Esto es un sueño hecho realidad! Ganas de ir viendo su día a día. Estamos construyendo!!

Amazing, inspiring, exciting, emotional European Taiko Conference!! So much diversity and at the same time so much in common, of the real important things [sic]. ... This is a dream come true!! Looking forward to its daily progress. Time to build!! (@Isabel Romeo Biedma, February 22, 2016).

Romeo Biedma suggests that ETC was a deeply affective event. Participants' commonalities and differences were reconciled, resulting in dream-like state of connection. Moreover, she assumes impact beyond the timeframe of the conference through 'daily progress' and building. Yet such an interpretation raises key questions: how and why does musical cosmopolitan sociability manifest at the conference? Why does musical sociability or musical cosmopolitanism alone fail to encompass the phenomenon at play? Why does the practice of taiko enable musical cosmopolitan sociability to occur?

My fieldnotes from the first day of the conference reflect disconnection among players. During registration, I met some of my 61 fellow delegates and the six workshop leaders who had travelled from ten European countries,⁷⁰ Japan and the United States. Based on my observations, existing relationships among members from the 36 groups represented seemed uncommon; some exceptions existed among players from different groups who had previously attended the UK Taiko Festival and/or the Three Counties Weekend.⁷¹ For the most part, however, conversations on the first evening were marked by introductions.

My observations are supported in part by quantitative data. One week prior to the conference, the organisers issued an invitation to all delegates on my behalf to complete a survey I had designed. Its purpose was to identify the support required to build a strong and vibrant European taiko community. Some 55% of ETC delegates submitted a response, providing initial insights into the makeup of the cohort and their taiko practice. On the one hand, the cohort appears to reflect Turino's early views on musical cosmopolitanism. The cultural formation of taiko is clearly translocal in nature by 'being identified with more than one location' (Oakes and Schein 2006: xiii). One third of respondents had undertaken taiko activity in Japan within the past three years, suggesting both the financial resources and time to develop their musical practice in the genre's country of origin. Given most respondents (68%) were first exposed to taiko through a performance by a touring Japanese group in their city or region, it seems Japanese and European translocality is imagined and experienced by delegates. Yet on the other hand, cosmopolitanism is brought into question given the seeming isolation of some players. Less than half (43%) of respondents had participated in activities organised and delivered by other groups in their countries of residence (such as workshops and festivals). In other words, a slim majority of respondents musicked with players from other taiko groups in Europe for the first time at ETC.

The 'world class taiko professionals' invited to teach and perform further represented the contemporary transnationalism of taiko (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.b: online). Three taiko players from the United States led workshops at the conference: Franco Imperial, artistic director, performer, composer and instructor at San Jose Taiko; Shoji Kameda, a Grammy-nominated performer, composer and instructor based in Los Angeles; and Karen Young, the founding director of The Genki Spark and self-described 'community builder, performer, and social practice artist' from Boston (Genki Spark n.d.b: online). Miyamoto Unosuke Shoten Co., Ltd. – a Japanese company that has produced taiko and festival instruments since 1861 – sponsored the conference. Yoshihiko Miyamoto, the corporation's president, brought former Kodō member and multi-instrumentalist Shogo Yoshii to teach and perform. In addition, Frank Dubberke from Dusseldorf-based group Wadokyo and Oliver Kirby from Kagemusha Taiko would 'add a European dimension to the teaching' (Kirby 2018: 288). As Tilly (1997: 74) suggests, 'the world becomes an array of localities' – in this instance a taiko world with expertise drawn from California, England, Germany, Japan and Massachusetts.

⁷⁰ Players resident in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom (including individuals from England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales) participated in the inaugural ETC.

⁷¹ The Three Counties Weekend is organised by Mary Murata, the founding member of Kaminari UK Taiko (Yorkshire). The event brings together members of Yan Tan Taiko (Cumbria), Cumbria Thunder Drummers and Kaminari UK Taiko, plus guests from other groups. Initially, members from a now disbanded group based in a third English county joined, hence the event's name.

Given participants are connected by a shared practice as opposed to national borders, I suggest that taiko is conceived as a 'diaspora of form' at ETC. Vertovec identifies a feature of any mode of diaspora, noting that it is:

often used to describe practically any population which is considered "deterritorialised" or "transnational" – that is, which has originated in a land other than the one in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe (Vertovec 1999: 277).

The population of practitioners, teachers and performers at ETC is scattered across geographic locales yet convenes around a shared domain – one originating in Japan. In his opening address to the assembled delegates, Miyamoto reflected this viewpoint, stating that 'the power of taiko is now worldwide. So, let's create a global taiko community together'. While a subgroup of ETC delegates had previously turned to Japan for learning opportunities, the presence of American and European instructors as well as delegates from ten European nation states and the USA speaks to a form of cosmopolitanism. In short, despite its Japanese origins, taiko does not belong to any group of participants; instead, it is an 'alien musical style' adopted by all concerned (Eisentraut 2001: 85), offering potential for cohesion among diverse conference participants.

Thus far, I have introduced the cosmopolitan nature of the inaugural European Taiko Conference. I now turn to consider how diverse individuals formed close bonds based on common emotions and experiences promoted by taiko practice over the course of four days. I suggest, however, that in order to consider intersubjectivity at ETC, we first need to understand why delegates engage in taiko in the first place.

Prior to the delegate survey, no researchers or practitioners had systematically gathered data about the practices of taiko players based in Europe. The findings, however, highlight the manifold applications of taiko among delegates. When asked why they play taiko, ETC survey respondents typically listed multiple factors that motivate them in their free-text responses. Coded responses are summarised in Figure 5.1. The most cited factor – use of the body and/or health benefits⁷² – brings into question what taiko *is* as a form. I suggest that taiko is a variant of sport, defined by the Council of Europe as 'all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organised participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels' (2001: online). While all musical genres require kinaesthesia to produce sound, I suggest that the fundamentally embodied nature of taiko contributes significantly to the realisation of musical cosmopolitan sociability – an idea I explore more fully in my discussion of 'Shimabayashi'. For now, however, I wish to focus on the development of social relations – a motivating factor for respondents and a key component of the Council of Europe's conceptualisation of sport.

The conference programme for the inaugural ETC is presented in full in Appendix I. I suggest that the order of events – namely scheduled plenaries, informal group performances, workshops, shared meals, discussion sessions, yoga practice and joint performances – reflects the objective of 'developing the community ... developing the art form'. Moreover, I argue the programme generates rapid relationship building by attending to three broad interdependent areas that reflect participants' primary motivations for playing taiko:

⁷² I categorised the most common themes – use of the body and health benefits – together as survey participants noted either that the use of the body resulted in health benefits or described them conterminously.

sociability, musicking and health. In other words, players arrive with diverse backgrounds and experiences and yet can forge meaningful connections with strangers through programmed activities that respond to one, two or all three areas.

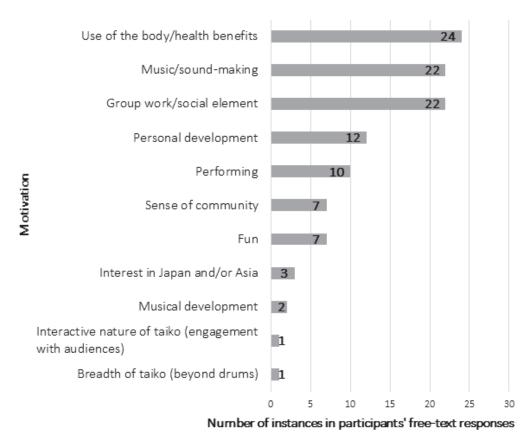


Figure 5.1. European Taiko Conference survey participants' motivation for playing taiko. *Source*: Data from Walker 2016a.

Although omnipresent, one key manifestation of musicking at the conference was performances by both delegates and workshop leaders. Prior to ETC, Kirby extended invitations to groups with two or more members in attendance to give casual performances on the Friday and Saturday evenings. He emphasised that 'these performances are informal – they are a kind of sharing of what you do with other taiko players. The performances do not have to be polished and professional' (Jonathan Kirby, email to author, December 6, 2016). Nine acts – including two individuals – agreed to perform following encouragement. Notably, however, additional acts came forward once the conference was underway, including groups of former strangers who wanted to perform together. For example, the two soloists – Piero Nota (Italy) and Ed Pickering (England) – who offered to perform in advance were ultimately supported by players previously unknown to them. Figure 5.2 shows Martin Doyle, artistic director of Glasgow-based Tsuchigumo Daiko, performing alongside Nota less than twentyfour hours after first meeting him. This collaboration is particularly notable given the lack of a common language between the two men. Similarly, Pickering performed miyake-daiko alongside Shogo Yoshii – one of the conference workshop leaders. Following a rush of newly formed collaborative acts, Kirby ultimately had to announce that there was no capacity to accommodate additional performances.



Figure 5.2. Piero Nota (left) and Martin Doyle (right) performing together at the European Taiko Conference on February 19, 2016. Photo by Benjamin Pachter.

In my definition of musical cosmopolitan sociability, I argue that settings for the phenomenon may be transient yet capable of producing intimate musical worlds. While I did not gather data that directly addressed delegates' viewpoints about the venue, I nevertheless suggest that the desire to perform both with and to strangers was in part due to the conference setting and the sense of seclusion it afforded. Hannah's at Seale Hayne – the site of the inaugural and second ETC – is a multi-purpose campus that houses Kagemusha Taiko's purpose-built Taiko Centre. The 90-acre campus is located 12 miles from Exeter and was home to around 50 tenants including artists, charitable organisations and therapeutic services prior to its sale in June 2019. One cannot access the site by public transport; Hannah's sits atop a hill on the outskirts of Newton Abbot, a small market town in South Devon. As the campus map presented in Figure 5.3 details, the site hosts accommodation, dining options, multiple workshop spaces, performance areas, breakout rooms, and plenary options. Participants repeatedly labelled the space a 'bubble': it allows for a residential taiko conference undisturbed by the outside world yet can be reconfigured for a wide range of purposes.

A second element that I suggest contributed to the sense of intimacy was Kirby's insistence on engagement. Filming of the performances was prohibited, and audience members were encouraged to be 'present' as other delegates performed. Ben Pachter – the manager of the Taiko Source⁷³ website – documented the conference in its entirety; this

⁷³ Taiko Source provides a wide range of resources in English about taiko performance and history, including a database of pieces, interviews with practitioners, a group map and a comprehensive bibliography. See: https://taikosource.com/.

included recording sessions, including performances, and taking photographs. Thus, while the inaugural ETC was professionally chronicled, full absorption and immersion in the activity was encouraged among delegates, resulting in the psychological state of engagement (Forgeard et al 2011).



Figure 5.3. Map of the Hannah's at Seale Hayne campus configured for the inaugural European Taiko Conference. *Source*: European Taiko Conference 2016.

The programme shaped by Kirby promoted sociability through a range of activities. During the welcome session on February 19, 2016, Shoji Kameda – a leading figure in the North American taiko community – reflected that 'being a community is much more than just having a share of interest in taiko. It is about having a share of a value system. It is about having shared values that we learn from being involved in this art form – that we learn from playing taiko'. In short, he describes the process of establishing 'legitimate peripheral participation' in which members move towards more in-depth engagement in the community's socio-cultural practices (Lave and Wenger 1991). The first European Taiko Conference, however, demanded that those same socio-cultural practices be established and articulated. I suggest that deliberate efforts to forge sociability among participants constituted the first step in that process yet also enabled musical cosmopolitan sociability to take place.

The conference programme contained four workshop slots with a maximum of 15 delegates in each session. All participants experienced the same workshop from Franco Imperial, Shoji Kameda and Karen Young, yet were split between Shogo Yoshii, Oliver Kirby and Frank Dubberke for their fourth workshop slot. While five of the six workshop leaders offered practical taiko instruction, Karen Young ran sessions expressly designed to introduce

delegates to each other. Following a non-verbal icebreaker exercise designed to ensure all participants interacted with each other, Young tasked delegates with discussing taiko-related problems or challenges with another participant – in my case an orchestral percussionist from south Italy. In doing so, she sought to forge a sense of connection between two individuals. My fieldnotes reflect my own sense of interrelatedness with my partner, despite our different social and musical operating environments, as well as the in-depth conversations that seemed to take place between participants during the session.

In the printed programme, Kirby suggests 'by playing together, by talking, eating and drinking together we can all learn from each other. ... In doing so, we will understand better why we are playing taiko...' (European Taiko Conference 2016: para. 3). Shared mealtimes formed part of the conference programme and served as another means by which delegates could forge relationships. The conference team allotted almost eleven hours for breakfast, lunch and dinner over the course of four days. As Figure 5.4 shows, delegates were seated at long tables with no seating plan, allowing conversations to continue and develop in a much less structured fashion following workshops and directed activities. In addition, many participants continued to socialise well after the bar closed at 11pm or 1am, with Taiko Uno – a drinking game based on $kuchi-sh\bar{o}ga$ – proving particularly popular.



Figure 5.4. Veronique Martin (England) (left) and Aeko Yoshikawa (USA) (right) eating together at the European Taiko Conference on February 18, 2016. Photo by Benjamin Pachter.

As previously highlighted, professional taiko artists facilitated workshops for delegates. Sessions introduced new styles and techniques; for instance, Franco Imperial taught *naname*, a form particularly popular in North America, whereas Shoji Kameda focused specifically on striking the drum. It is worth highlighting that while the conference was targeted at 'leaders and key members from as many different European taiko groups as possible', musical skill/ability was in no way used as a determining factor for attendance

(Kagemusha Taiko n.d.b: online). Indeed, among survey respondents, a full one-third had played taiko for less than four years. Moreover, fewer than one in five respondents (17.5%) identified as a professional player. In other words, the cohort was comprised of players with varying levels of experience.

While taiko workshops were unmistakably musical, I suggest they additionally served to facilitate sociability. My fieldnotes reflect that learning a new approach together provided a common denominator despite the differences between players in terms of experience. Indeed, Franco Imperial encouraged participants to approach taiko with a 'beginner's mind' during his workshops – a cornerstone of San Jose Taiko's approach. In this mindset, players approach a drill, piece or exercise with the belief that one can learn something from playing it again, regardless of how familiar they are with it. This ethos was partly reflected in the delegate survey in which participants were asked to identify as a professional player, semi-professional player, amateur player or learner of taiko. Some players highlighted the continuous learning required as a taiko player, regardless of how they categorised themselves. For instance, one survey participant who had played taiko for more than ten years and identified as a semi-professional player stated that 'if I could have selected two options though, I would have also selected learner as I am always striving to improve my playing and believe that good taiko players are lifelong learners'.

At the outset of this case study, I suggested that taiko could be conceived as a sport given the physical exertion required to produce sound as well as the prevalence of health and wellbeing as a motivating factor for playing among survey respondents. In addition to taiko workshops, all participants could undertake additional embodied practice in the form of early morning yoga sessions. Heather Murray, a licensed music therapist, British Wheel of Yoga instructor and member of Taiko Mynydd Du (Wales) led the classes. Participants were invited to attend irrespective of fitness level or prior yoga experience with various adaptations offered to ensure inclusion. Moreover, Murray taught postures that address parts of the body often subject to injury or strain because of playing taiko (e.g. the hips). Much like the taiko workshops, participants arrived with varying levels of experience: one player mentioned she had been practicing yoga for more than twenty years, whereas I was a complete beginner. Timed to coincide with sunrise, the sessions took place in the Taiko Centre with drums for workshops moved aside. My fieldnotes reflect that the express focus on 'yoga for taiko players' as well as 'opening up' the body served to create a sense of intimacy; indeed, the participants remained constant on both days, enabling the creation of a distinct subgroup among conference delegates.



Figure 5.5. Steven Cools (Belgium) participating in a yoga session facilitated by Heather Murray at the European Taiko Conference on February 20, 2016. Photo by Benjamin Pachter.

In addition to professionally facilitated sessions, delegates were also invited to share their knowledge and experience with others. During a warm-up session on the morning of February 20, 2016, participants shared approaches they found effective in their own group settings. For instance, a player resident in Germany led callisthenics exercises whereas Oliver Kirby (England) led multi-lingual warm-ups. During ten rounds, delegates counted in their respective languages (Dutch, English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, Swedish and Welsh) while the assembled group did star jumps and arm circles, reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of the conference cohort. Such exchanges form the foundations of a community of practice – an entity that did not exist prior to the conference. As Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015a: online) note, in a community of practice, 'members engage in joint activities and discussions, help each other, and share information. They build relationships that enable them to learn from each other; they care about their standing with each other'. Notably, although not designed to capture views about the conference, respondents who completed the survey after the conclusion of ETC expressly referenced the benefits of belonging to the conference community. For instance, one respondent reflected that:

[I gained] a sense of how large the community actually is, and how other people are struggling with the same issues across the taiko world. I gained a greater understanding of how important communication and sharing is if the community is to continue to grow, and that there is a wealth of resources and experience we can draw on. I was also able to make many connections with various groups and people and introduce myself and the group I play with to the wider community.

By responding to participants' key motivating factors, namely health, sociability, and musicking, the conference programme enabled strangers to convene around the shared

pursuit of taiko. Crucially, delegates forged relationships that afforded the exchange of knowledge, skills and performances within the four-day timeframe yet catalysed longer-term reciprocity.

Discussion sessions offered delegates a further opportunity to share their knowledge and experience. The programme contained two hour-long sessions focused on four discrete topics: working with special groups, training outside Europe, managing a taiko group and organising a taiko event in Europe. Three or four panellists addressed each theme and provided PowerPoint slides in advance to aid comprehension among the multi-lingual audience. Following the presentations, a nominated chairperson managed a question and answer session. Shoji Kameda acted as a panellist for the 'taiko training outside Europe' session and subsequently reflected on the connections made possible by the ETC programme. Two days after its conclusion, he remarked that:

I know this experience is the beginning of something profound. I know that the trajectory of my own life will be changed because of this experience. I know that I leave the European Taiko Conference a richer person whose world of personal connections has grown beyond measure. Thank You, Danke, Merci, Gracias, Diolch, Thank Ye, Tusen Tack, Cnacu60!, Gratzie and Arigato (@Shoji Kameda, February 22, 2016).

Kameda discusses the intense feelings generated through interpersonal connections, including the impact on his personal identity. I suggest that musical cosmopolitan sociability – openness to common human feelings, hopes, and/or experiences in an ephemeral setting articulated through musicking – was fundamentally achieved at the inaugural ETC because of three interdependent strands of the programme. As Figure 5.6 illustrates, health (broadly conceived), sociability and musicking interrelate to generate the phenomenon among cosmopolitan participants, in turn enabling the realisation of Kirby's ambition of 'developing the community ... developing the art form'.

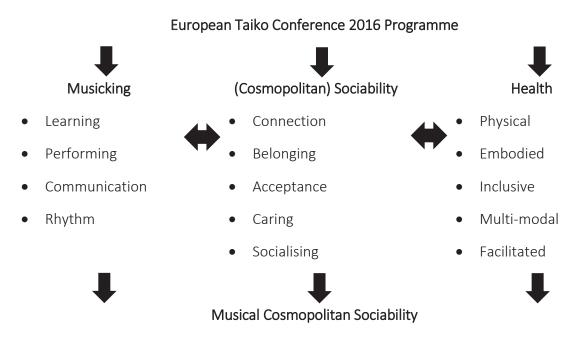


Figure 5.6. Elements of musical cosmopolitan sociability in the European Taiko Conference 2016 programme design.

Multiple participants described what I have labelled musical cosmopolitan sociability in dream-like terms. For instance, Shogo Yoshii – who taught workshops and performed – reflected that:

「ヨーロピアン太鼓カンファレンス」 目は覚めているのに目が覚めるような体験で 目は覚めているのに夢を見ているような魔法の体験をしました. [European Taiko Conference] I think I had already woke up, but the magical experience was like a dream and awoke me. I might drink too much. I asked to my Taiko what that was. Taiko said to me "Don" [sic] (@吉井盛悟 [Shogo Yoshii], February 23, 2016).

While Yoshii wrote both the Japanese and English above, it is notable that the English is in no way a faithful translation. In Japanese, Yoshii writes 'even though I was awake, I had an experience that felt like waking up – like having a magical dream'. In other words, Yoshii reflected further in English, in turn constructing a cosmopolitan world through the highly subjective use of language. To further complicate matters, 目が覚める (*megasameru*) has multiple meanings, namely to wake up, to perk up, to snap out of something (such as a daydream), to awaken to something (e.g. the truth), to come to a realisation, or to come to one's senses (Jisho n.d.d).

Writing two days after the conclusion of the conference, Yoshii described ETC as an awakening. I later approached him to clarify his meaning. Writing in Japanese, Yoshii replied that:

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ヨーロピアン太鼓カンファレンスでの体験は何だったのかと私の太鼓に尋ねたら、太鼓は「ドン」と答えました.
```

それだけなんですけど、私が深く意図しているのは

「ドン」という音自体も、[目が覚めているのに目が覚めるような体験で、目は覚めているのに夢を見ているような魔法の体験]であるということ.

「ドン」一発の中に宇宙があり、僕らはその中を旅しているということ.

ヨーロピアン太鼓カンファレンスという「ドン」から生まれた宇宙を僕らは遊びながら旅をしてい

る.

ということ.

[When asking my taiko drum how the European Taiko Conference was, it answered "Don."

While that much is obvious, what I'm deeply intending to say is that the "Don" sound itself also gives me a feeling like "Even though I was awake, I had an experience that felt like waking up – like having a magical dream."

Within the boom of a single "Don" exists the universe, and we are all travelling within it. While playing, we are all travelling through the universe born from the "Don" of the European Taiko Conference.

This is what I mean] (Shogo Yoshii, Facebook message to author, September 2, 2019).

Using deeply esoteric language, Yoshii personifies the drum by using the *kuchi-shōga* ('don') to describe a beat on the centre of the drum skin – one that produces a sustained sound. Yoshii describes both personal and universal transformation achieved through playing taiko together. Indeed, the 'don' played at the European Taiko Conference is conceived as the big bang, enabling the very creation of the taiko community.

Yoshihiko Miyamoto, the sponsor of the conference, also framed the event as magical by referencing the Harry Potter series. After returning to Japan, he wrote that 'I still cannot believe it actually happened. Just like Shoji [Kameda] said it was like a taiko Hogwarts. I feel I have wondered [sic] into the magical world of taiko from the platform 9 3/4 of London Paddington' (@Yoshihiko Miyamoto, February 24, 2016). Miyamoto locates the conference firmly in the UK context, positioning it as a unique school of taiko magic isolated from the wider world. In social media posts following the event, participants also repeatedly reflected on the concept of the mysterious or supernatural. For example, Zsolt Botfa, a member of Taiko Hungary, asked 'Is it real or am I still dreaming? All of these [events] really happened within these days? I still can't believe it'. (Zsolt Botfa, February 24, 2016, 5.33pm, comment on Karen Young 2016).

Botfa, Miyamoto and Yoshii, as well as other participants referenced earlier in this case study, describe the conference as a potent experience. I attribute ETC's transformative power to musical cosmopolitan sociability and have thus far described how programme elements and approaches catalysed rapid relationship building, thus producing the effects described by participants. I now turn to considering a musical manifestation of the phenomenon – a juncture that represented the climax of both MCS and the conference itself.

5.3.2 'Shimabayashi'

On the morning of Sunday, February 21, the inaugural ETC concluded with shared performances followed by the conference photograph. The opportunity for delegates to perform en masse was planned well in advance. Two months before the event, Kirby wrote to all participants to highlight that:

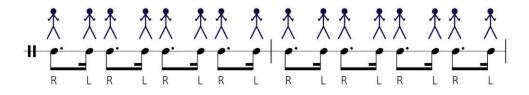
Everyone has a chance to play together as part of the international taiko community. ... On Sunday morning, I would like every Conference participant to be able to join in at least one of the following songs that we will perform with as many players as possible. It will be up to you to learn them beforehand, though there will (subject to final confirmation) be a workshop available for the third of these [Stepping Stones] (email to author, December 6, 2015).

Kirby facilitated shared performances at ETC by circulating links to instructional videos for three pieces. 'Ready Set kaDON', a composition by workshop leader Shoji Kameda, could be accessed via the kaDON online subscription service for taiko and *fue* (flute) lessons. Delegates could access tutorials for 'Shimabayashi' and 'Stepping Stones', both of which form part of the Kagemusha Taiko repertoire, free of charge via YouTube.

To assess the extent to which MCS can manifest through performance, I now turn to analysis of 'Shimabayashi'. I selected this piece for examination largely due to its provenance: unlike 'Stepping Stones' and 'Ready Set kaDON' which were conceived and composed by an Englishman and American respectively, 'Shimabayashi' is inherently cosmopolitan in its origins. In the introduction to the online tutorial, Kirby highlights that Mr. Shimazaki from Tokyo initially shared the composition with him (Kagemusha Taiko 2001: online). In the late 1990s, Kirby wrote a new, significantly different arrangement of the piece for pupils at St. Sidwell's School in Exeter, Devon. Nevertheless, I argue that it is transnational for two reasons: first, a Japanese player who lived in Exeter prompted Kirby's development of the piece; and second, 'Shimabayashi' subsequently circulated widely as part of Kagemusha Taiko's repertory. In short, it is an expression of taiko as a 'diaspora of form'. Moreover, 'Shimabayashi' was the only shared performance piece equally available to all delegates: a small minority of workshop participants were able to learn 'Stepping Stones' in a face-to-face workshop taught by its composer at ETC, and 'Ready Set kaDON' could only be accessed by those with a subscription to the kaDON platform and its services.

Given the intended outcome of the shared pieces, namely for everyone to have 'a chance to play together as part of the international taiko community', I suggest 'Shimabayashi' needs to be examined to determine if and how the piece further generates MCS. As part of Benjamin Pachter's efforts to document the conference, all three shared performances were filmed and can be viewed via the Taiko Source (2016) YouTube channel. Moreover, a full prescriptive notation for 'Shimabayashi' detailing the movement, rhythm (in Western staff and *kuchi-shōga*), sticking and *kakegoe* (orchestrated or spontaneous shouts) is provided in Appendix J.

'Shimabayashi' is characterised by simplicity, both in terms of rhythm and choreography. Moreover, the specified instrumentation of *nagado-daiko* 1, *nagado-daiko* 2, *shime-daiko* and *o-daiko* eases the teaching and learning of the piece, whether in the intended primary school classroom setting or with adults. The role of the *shime-daiko* and *o-daiko* is to maintain the *ju-ichi* (base rhythm) – in this case a simple, repetitive rhythm only complicated by some dynamic variation and straightforward crotchet beats on the *o-daiko*. The base rhythm in question is 'dongo' (see Musical Example 5.1). The ease of the *shime-daiko* and *o-daiko* and *o-daiko* parts serves to encourage participation irrespective of skill level and affords inclusion among a diverse cohort of players.

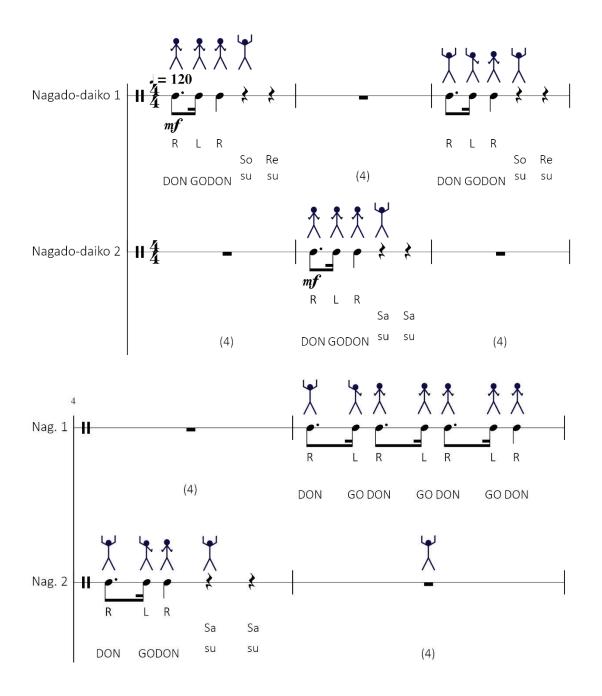


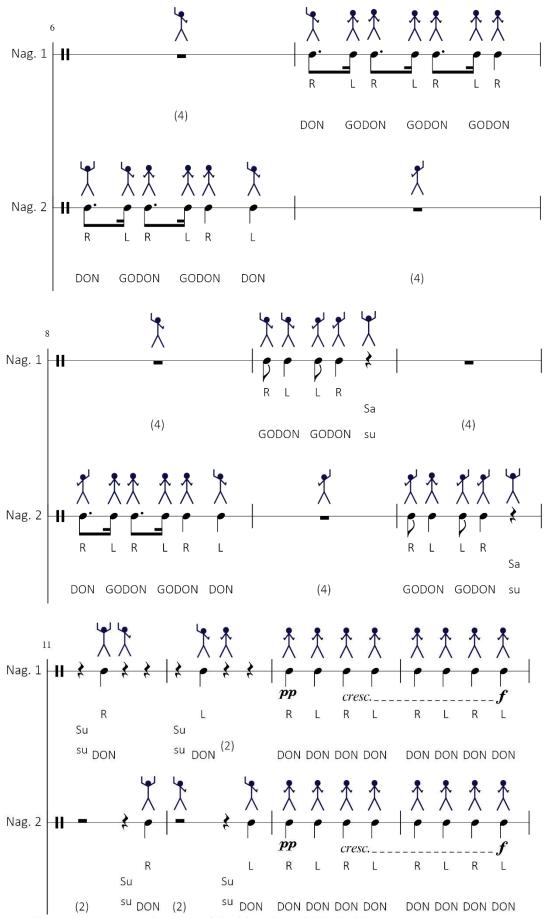
DON GODON GODON GODON GO DON GODON GODON GODON GO Musical Example 5.1. 'Dongo' notation.

The *nagado-daiko* parts reflect the 'melody' of 'Shimabayashi'. In the context of *kumi-daiko*, Matsue (2016: 197) notes that players can use 'this relatively simply configuration to create ... especially "melodic" pieces, absolutely creating rhythmic melody through the taiko, and typically weaving two contrasting sections (that is, alternating A and B) over a driving groove (*ji*) on the *shime-daiko*'. Matsue's observations align with the structure of 'Shimabayashi': the *shime-daiko* and *o-daiko* provide the 'dongo' groove as the rhythmic foundation, while *nagado-daiko* 1 and *nagado-daiko* 2 work in sequence to provide rhythmic melody. Indeed, I suggest that the way in which sounds are organised in the *nagado-daiko* parts reflects the social phenomenon at play.

Nagado-daiko 1 and *nagado-daiko* 2 are comprised of the same five parts. Lasting 14 bars in simple time, the five-part sequence is simple and repetitive yet organised in such a way that two groups of players can interact through call and response. While I have thus far argued that the song is uncomplicated, 'Shimabayashi' is nevertheless a fun composition to perform – in part because of the interplay among players that it affords. The excerpt in Musical Example 5.2 provides an immediate visual illustration of the interplay between *nagado-daiko* 1 and *nagado-daiko* 2 at the outset of the piece, in large part due to the provision of notated choreography.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ In musical example 5.2, part 1 is presented in bars 1-4, part 2 in bars 5-8, part 3 in bars 9-10, part 4 in bars 11-12, and part 5 in bars 13-14





The excerpt in Musical Example 5.2 notates the unsupported exchange (i.e. without the *ji*) between *nagado-daiko* 1 and *nagado-daiko* 2 when the piece opens: the first group plays a four-beat phrase and is answered by a slight variation of the phrase by the second group (i.e. call and response). As the recording⁷⁵ and complete notation in Appendix J illustrate, the result is the presentation of two distinct groups of players, particularly because of the choreography; during four beats of rest, players' arms are stretched upwards in the rest position while the other group plays a four-beat phrase on the drum.

The visual and auditory separation of the two groups continues as *nagado-daiko* 1 and *nagado-daiko* 2 play the five-part sequence individually in its entirety and in succession. The melodic five-part sequence is played four times and connected by two bridges in which *nagado-daiko* 1, *nagado-daiko* 2, *shime-daiko* and *o-daiko* play the *mitsu-uchi* base rhythm. I suggest that the separate performance of the sequence by each group serves to create two distinct 'teams' – an idea supported by dynamics. The range displayed in bars 21-34 (*nagado-daiko* 1) and 35-48 (*nagado-daiko* 2) facilitates some degree of competition, one element of the Council of Europe's definition of sport. For example, at the beginning of the sequence (bar 35), *nagado-daiko* 2 plays *forte* in stark contrast to the *mezzo piano* of *nagado-daiko* 1's preceding phrase. Ultimately, however, the two teams come together and play in unison from bar 55 while supported by the 'dongo' base rhythm, providing a visual and sonic reconciliation between the two parts.

In my fieldnotes, I recorded the impression of a 'wall of sound' when the *nagado-daiko* parts resolved (bar 55). This may in part be due to the number of delegates who played 'Shimabayashi' together as part of the scheduled joint performances. As Figure 5.7 highlights, some had to share drums to be able to play, suggesting that participants both wanted to perform together and had heeded Kirby's call to learn the piece independently prior to travelling to the event.

This chapter thus far argues that musical cosmopolitan sociability enables mobile individuals to form intense, long-lasting bonds at ETC due to common human experiences and emotions promoted by playing taiko and achieved through programming. In the case of 'Shimabayashi', I have suggested the presence of seemingly antithetical components within its musical structure, namely competition and division. While the performance itself was fleeting, it nevertheless generated long-lasting results: by creating something fun and easily repeatable in a range of taiko settings, including rehearsal studios and village halls across Europe, 'Shimabayashi' generates not only musical interplay but social engagement beyond the timeframe of the conference. For instance, since the inaugural conference, I have performed 'Shimabayashi' on Sado Island in Japan, as well as at the Humber Taiko Festival (Scunthorpe, North Lincolnshire), Three Counties Weekend (Laycock, West Yorkshire), UK Taiko Festival (Exeter, Devon) and subsequent iterations of ETC in Newton Abbot and Hamburg. The simplicity of the piece – one initially arranged for primary school-age children - ultimately allows engagement by a wide range of players as well as replication in other settings, potentially facilitating (re-)connection among players at future transient taiko events. I examine the intentional dissemination of a common repertoire to facilitate shared musical and social experiences among members of the European taiko 'diaspora of form' in the third case study. I now, however, turn to 'Never Again Is Now', a piece performed at ETC2 by players who had met at the inaugural conference in 2016.

⁷⁵ Benjamin Pachter's recording of the shared performance of 'Shimabayashi' can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b9j31bb92KU.



Figure 5.7. Participants' shared performance of 'Shimabayashi' at the European Taiko Conference on February 21, 2016. Photo by Benjamin Pachter.

5.4 Case Study Two (2017): Digital Mediation of 'Never Again Is Now'

At first sight, the second European Taiko Conference programme appears strikingly similar to the first: Kagemusha Taiko hosted the event at Hannah's at Seale Hayne; Jonathan Kirby continued to serve as conference director with organisational support from Lucy Thomas; and the programme included plenary sessions, performances, yoga sessions, shared meals, workshops, discussion sessions and joint performances.⁷⁶ In the context of musical cosmopolitan sociability, however, I suggest a distinguishing factor merits a discrete case study, namely the prevalence of pre-existing relationships among delegates at the second conference.

The majority of ETC2 participants (59%) attended the inaugural conference in 2016, resulting in established social connections ahead of the conference. This second case study examines the collaborative, digitally mediated arrangement and performance of a piece by players who had met each other at ETC1. I consider the impact of pre-existing relationships upon digital and face-to-face musicking, specifically how this results in a markedly different manifestation of musical cosmopolitan sociability within the timeframe of the four-day ETC2.

⁷⁶ 102 taiko players from 49 taiko groups and organisations in nine countries, including the USA and Japan, took part in ETC2 from February 9-12, 2017. Practical taiko workshops focused expressly on skills development.

5.4.1 Responding to War through Taiko: A Distinct Manifestation of Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability

In January 2017, Rannoch (Razz) Purcell⁷⁷ assembled a team of 11 taiko players from Belgium, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom to arrange and perform a collaborative piece at the second ETC the following month. The intended outcome of the fleeting partnership was to generate awareness of an album that Purcell contributed to by composing, performing and recording the title track. 'Never Again Is Now' was released on April 13, 2017 with the intention of raising funds for Aleppo's refugee population, specifically by building a hospital in the city. Purcell composed and recorded his track – comprised of piano, voice, and synthesised strings and taiko – while the conflict peaked; in December 2016, Syria's largest city was recaptured by government troops, resulting in further loss of civilian life and suffering (BBC News 2019: online). Purcell was not the only taiko player to contribute to the compilation: Kenny Endo, a Hawaii-based taiko artist, and On Ensemble, a taiko group led by ETC workshop leader Shoji Kameda, contributed recordings, while a further eight composers contributed additional studio soundtracks using other musical forms.

While I set up the stage along with my fellow performers on February 11, 2017, Purcell provided context to the assembled conference participants. Referring to the original studio recording of 'Never Again Is Now', he noted that:

we put together a taiko version of it. I put out the word to some of my very good friends from last year here at ETC and everyone just jumped in and said, "Yeah, we want to be a part of this." We kind of threw it together over Facebook and we are going to give you the premiere. ... Thank you to you guys for being this great group of people I know I can reach out to.

Purcell describes musicking alongside the 'very good friends' he made at ETC1 to highlight and respond to a pressing humanitarian crisis affecting strangers some 2,800 miles away. In other words, a cosmopolitan group of musicians convened and produced a musical output for presentation at a short-lived event with the intention of promoting an album in support of others. I suggest MCS – 'an empirically verifiable demonstration of openness to common human feelings, hopes, and/or experiences articulated through musicking' – manifests somewhat differently at ETC2 by addressing individuals unconnected to taiko (i.e. civilians in Aleppo). In contrast, connections among participants in the first case study principally benefitted conference delegates (i.e. taiko players). Thus, I suggest ETC2 offers a distinct instance of MCS and warrants analysis due to two factors: first, the fact that musical collaboration takes place in support of individuals beyond the taiko 'bubble'; and second, the role of Facebook in a cooperative arrangement process by players already known to one another.

5.4.2. Social Capital at the Second European Taiko Conference

While musical cosmopolitan sociability remains the overarching framework through which I examine 'Never Again Is Now', the added dimension of supporting individuals unconnected to taiko or ETC2 demands an additional analytical lens. To provide such focus, I draw upon Putnam's (2000) notion of social capital to examine both the compositional process and the piece itself given its utility when considering group cohesion and inclusion.

⁷⁷ Purcell is the founder of Taiko Zentrum Deutschland, a 'private school of American taiko' based in Ulm (southern Germany) that teaches and celebrates a 'newer evolution of the art form with the main focus being on self-enjoyment' (Taiko Zentrum Deutschland n.d.: online).

Putnam (2000) constructs social capital as a fundamentally communitarian concept grounded in equality, inclusion and engaged citizenship – all of which are themes I examined in earlier chapters on taiko as a deliberate social change mechanism and taiko leadership. Social capital highlights the benefits generated in social networks, including contacts and the generation of shared values, trust and understanding. Adopting a macro perspective, Putnam (1995: 67) suggests that social capital considers '... features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' and suggests the arts are particularly effective at bringing people together. Moreover, he advocates that participation in structured or unstructured activities (such as weekly taiko lessons or an informal jam session) generates social capital that in turn indexes social cohesion (Putnam 2000).

Scholars have identified potential shortcomings with Putnam's model, specifically a lack of contextual sensitivity (Koniordos 2008; Wallis, Killerby and Dollery 2004) and an excessive focus on positive outcomes (Mouritsen 2003). In addition, Thompson (2009) questions the application of the term 'capital' when discussing social inclusion. Nevertheless, I wish to use two helpful concepts – namely bonding capital and bridging capital (Putnam 2000) – in order to analyse the processes at play in the development of 'Never Again Is Now'. Figure 5.8 presents the terms in diagrammatic format. Put simply, bonding capital highlights connections among people with similar socio-economic characteristics, in turn encouraging homogeneity. In contrast, bridging capital facilitates diversity through connections among people from different backgrounds. As we shall see in the next section, both concepts provide analytical tools when considering how ETC2 delegates (comprised almost exclusively of white taiko players based in Europe with the financial means to participate in the conference) support Aleppo residents surrounded by conflict through musicking.

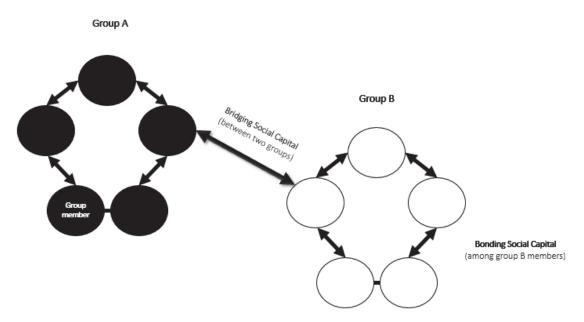


Figure 5.8. Diagrammatic representation of bonding and bridging social capital. *Source*: Adapted from Aldrich 2012.

5.4.3. Social Media as an Arrangement Tool

I have already drawn upon data mined from social media in this chapter and elsewhere in the thesis. As Purcell's earlier introduction highlights, however, that act of 'throwing it ['Never Again Is Now'] together over Facebook' serves to integrate the digital (Facebook), the

material (the ideas/information required for taiko arrangement) and the sensory (the audiovisual nature of the compositional output and the sociability it engenders). As a result, I suggest we need to understand two things: first, whether Facebook serves simply as a tool to execute the arrangement process or whether it determines the creative process of arranging the piece; and second, the impact of pre-established social connections upon the arrangement process.

The ultimate outcome of the arrangement process is a 'taiko version' comprised of nine parts: voice (tenor and alto), western flute, handpan, *o-daiko, shime-daiko, nagado-daiko (naname* and *beta*) and *chappa*. The piece is organised around three sung verses, a chorus and codas. The *naname* and *beta nagado-daiko* parts are based upon recurring *ji-uchi* rhythms with three variations in each style's choreography. The *shime-daiko* part performs the same *ji-uchi* rhythms and all taiko parts share three codas (referred to as 'tags' by participants). In addition to a short call and response from the *o-daiko* and performance of a base rhythm on the *chappa*, these basic taiko parts support the melodic contributions by the voices, hand pan and flute to form the arrangement.

In order to analyse how taiko players and technologies interact to produce a musical output, I undertook a six-week digital ethnography spanning the arrangement process. In short, I employed 'data-gathering methods [that] are mediated by computer-mediated communication' (Murthy 2011: 159). Participants arranged the piece exclusively via social media; most communication occurred in a joint Facebook Messenger chat containing 11 members, although some personal communication (i.e. messages between individuals) also took place using the same platform. Participants came together for a single run-through during the lunch break on the day of the performance with drummers playing on the backs of chairs rather than instruments. The public performance during the sharing evening at ETC2 was thus a first and final run-through of the arrangement.

Six weeks prior to the performance, Purcell had secured four players to work alongside him on the project: Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker, co-directors of Tsuchigumo Daiko (Scotland); Renate Gerke, member of Taiko Zentrum Deutschland (Germany); and Amy Naylor, a performer and teacher from Humber Taiko (England). He approached two additional group leaders on January 9, 2017: Isabel Romeo Biedma (Spain) and Steven Cools (Belgium). All six musicians had participated in the inaugural conference. In outlining the goal, Purcell stated that:

I'm involved in an Aleppo benefit project. My brother and I are putting together a CD from many composers that we will be selling to raise money for Aleppo victims. ... I wrote ... a vocal track with a lot of taiko. Renate had the idea to play it live at ETC. So I asked Shonagh and Martin if they would like to help out, and Amy Naylor as well and they have all agreed. I would like to ask ... if you would like to be involved! It's pretty easy. I'm attaching the skeleton track with just the taiko and piano and strings and voice. But it would be amazing to have you all play this with us! Let me know what you think and I'll give you more info in the coming days! (Facebook message, January 9, 2017).

Purcell provided a recorded version of the track to which he added piano, taiko and strings to his voice using a synthesiser. Both players responded enthusiastically to the request; indeed, Cools encouraged the group to 'unite and support through music and taiko' (Facebook message, January 9, 2017), suggesting preliminary evidence of in-group bonding among taiko players ('uniting') while bridging with those in Aleppo ('supporting').

As previously highlighted, Facebook served as the exclusive medium through which the geographically dispersed collaborators composed the arrangement. I thus suggest the group members formed an online community, specifically 'a collective group of entities, individuals or organisations that come together either temporarily or permanently through an electronic medium to interact in a common problem or interest space' (Plant 2004: 54). The process of 'coming together' was, however, invitation based. Purcell acted as musical director at the outset by taking full responsibility for the arrangement, performance, production and organisation, including the recruitment of musicians for the project and the allocation of parts. While Purcell offered some parts to all members (e.g. 'does anyone want to volunteer for the *shime*'?), he targeted other players: 'Martin and Shonagh: I was hoping one of you might take the *o-daiko* solo?' (Facebook message, January 13, 2017).

While it is unsurprising that Purcell recruited players that he had met and played alongside at ETC1, it nevertheless suggests the presence of bonding capital. Indeed, as later discussions turned to identifying additional parts and potential team members, players also nominated individuals from their own taiko groups to fill gaps. A call to suggest a flautist resulted in me joining the group on January 15, 2017. The later addition of Andrew Abercrombie and Barry Jack (Scotland), the only member who did not attend the inaugural conference, as well as Silvia Liberto (Germany) resulted in a full complement of musicians. Notably, despite the cosmopolitanism on display in terms of including people from various countries, the group was otherwise strikingly homogenous: all players were either professional or semi-professional musicians, with most playing additional instruments or practicing dance to a high standard; and all participants except one were in their twenties or thirties. In other words, connections among participants with similar socio-musical backgrounds from diverse geographic settings facilitated the development of the performance.

The process of sharing information and determining how to proceed with creative work resulted in the appointment of Martin Doyle (Tsuchigumo Daiko, Scotland) as codirector. As Purcell noted, 'I just wrote it. Executing it live is another story. So I can use the help' (Facebook message, January 13, 2017). Meanwhile, Purcell shared the proposed base rhythms (using *kuchi-shōga*) aligned with the lyrics on January 17 (see Appendix K). On January 24, he provided the group of 11 participants with the soundtrack less the taiko parts in order to facilitate independent practice. Two weeks ahead of the performance, Purcell, Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker continued to direct the project and present ideas. For instance, Purcell wrote:

They [Doyle and Walker] have some killer ideas. Don't worry, nothing complex! ... So Martin's idea is to split the chus [*nagado-daiko*] into two groups. We will have one side in beta playing the ji, and the other side in naname doing the ji accents and some simple kata, then joining with the beta drums on the tags (Facebook message, January 26, 2017).

It is clear from the exchange of messages that players were committed to the project and undertook independent review of the updated materials when provided. For instance, Cools shared that he was 'confused on what to play when on the chu in the o-daiko section, and I want to make sure I play what you intended and honour the song' (Facebook message, January 28, 2017). His comment suggests a desire to respect the wider objective of the song (i.e. highlighting the humanitarian crisis), in turn producing the musical world and experience envisioned by Purcell. In response to Cools' comment, Purcell provided a video tutorial containing the *kata* for the *naname ju-ichi* via the Taiko Zentrum Deutschland's YouTube

account.⁷⁸ Moreover, Purcell provided an updated *kuchi-shōga* sheet with simplified rhythms to enable focus on the *kata* variations. Leadership of the arrangement focused on enabling the taiko players to learn and perform their parts independently.

Participants undertook various processes to determine whether they could implement the ideas generated by the directors. For instance, Cools edited the notation sheet provided by Purcell at the outset of the project, in turn producing an idiosyncratic notation – one that is 'more readable to me now, so it just might help others too ...' (Facebook message, January 30, 2017). Cools updated the layout and typography yet used the exercise to raise two questions, highlighting where Purcell's original notation differed from the audio recordings provided and suggesting a variation to the arrangement. In short, Cools demonstrated autonomous learning – he took responsibility for his own learning of the piece, participated in the decision-making process and viewed the process as iterative (Little 1991).

During the ten-day period before the conference, new ideas were generated and validated symbiotically. For instance, on February 1, Doyle uploaded a video demonstrating the *nagado-daiko* parts, highlighting:

The idea is that there are two sides, one is more militaristic (naname side) representing an army, and has more precise and powerful movements, and the other is more relaxed and constantly moving. Over the course of the piece, they become more similar, with the o-daiko section acting as an "argument" which is resolved and both sides become more alike whilst retaining their own distinctive voice (Facebook message, February 1, 2017).

Doyle clearly articulates the (musical) development of two discrete groups from bonding (i.e. interacting within one's own group) to bridging (connecting with diverse others). In section 5.4.4, I conduct detailed musical analysis of this theme and its effectiveness. Nevertheless, during the conception of the taiko arrangement, building bridges between two groups (namely Europe-based taiko players and civilians in Aleppo) was clearly a central theme. Doyle continued to generate new musical ideas, providing information (video tutorials) to enable the five *nagado-daiko* players to undertake independent learning and interpretation prior to arrival at the conference. In response to Doyle's conceptualisation, Romeo Biedma commented 'I'm pretty sure it'll be goose bumps. I'm already moved just preparing it' (Facebook message, February 1, 2017). Despite the geographical distance among players, the exchange of ideas and resources via the digital realm allowed individuals 'to make meaning for themselves, based on their understanding of why and how new knowledge is related to their own experiences, interests and needs' before playing together in corporeal reality (Saskatchewan Education 1988: 50). The participants' openness to such experiences through musicking results in MCS.

While Purcell, Walker and Doyle developed the taiko parts,⁷⁹ Amy Naylor and I worked independently to develop additional melodic parts. As the screenshot in Figure 5.9 shows, Naylor presented her arrangement of the piano part on hand pan by sharing an audio recording. Feedback from group members suggests it contributes towards a core element of MCS: the creation of an intimate musical world. Described as an 'earthy feel' and 'otherworldly' without the piano and strings widening the sound behind it', the limited melodic parts (hand pan, flute, tenor and alto) afford a sense of closeness (Facebook messages,

⁷⁸ See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZgmCGew9eA.

⁷⁹ Steven Cools (Belgium) provided suggestions to develop the taiko parts further. The musical directors, however, deemed the parts too complex for implementation at ETC2.

February 6, 2017). This was the final digital interaction among members pertaining to the arrangement; thereafter, the group came together for a single practice without drums before performing on stage.

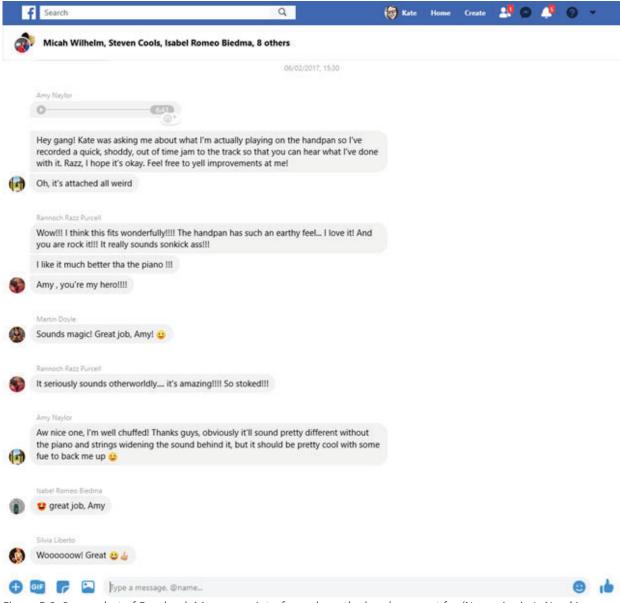


Figure 5.9. Screenshot of Facebook Messenger interface where the hand pan part for 'Never Again Is Now' is presented and responded to.

Before turning to analysis of the performance output at ETC2, I wish to return to the two issues I raised at the outset of this case study, namely the role of Facebook in the arrangement process and the impact of pre-existing social connections from ETC1.

For 'Never Again is Now', cosmopolitan musicians based in four European countries performed a bespoke arrangement developed though a contemporary social configuration, namely an asynchronous, online, user-generated community. Notably, however, only six of the 11 performers on stage undertook arrangement work, meaning 45% of players exclusively fulfilled the role of learner. I suggest that while the group formed an online community via social media, it was specifically a task-based learning community focused upon producing and executing an output (Riel and Polin 2004) – namely the performance at

ETC2. Alongside Shonagh Walker, Purcell and Doyle – who hold MA and BA-level qualifications in Music respectively – provided expert scaffolding as musical directors by guiding the process and offering feedback and clarification. As a result, I argue the participants adopted a blended learning pedagogical approach, allowing the small team to co-create content and utilise online learning (Scardamalia and Bereiter 2003). Facebook Messenger thus served as a Virtual Learning Environment (VLE) and provided a web-based platform to deliver learning materials to participants. Much like a VLE in a formal education setting, messenger enabled (informal) assessment, tracking, communication, collaboration and access to materials regardless of time zone or location.

As Allsup (2003) highlights, joint composing and arranging can democratise learning. While formally trained musicians led the arrangement process for the 'taiko version' of 'Never Again Is Now', the unofficial VLE afforded opportunities for all participants to propose and comment on ideas. Members strongly identified with both their collaborators and the project objective of raising awareness. For instance, Renate Gerke reflected that she was 'sooo proud to be a part of this and soooo excited. Soooooooo proud to know you all' (Facebook message, February 7, 2017). Similarly, Doyle commented that 'I think it's going to be amazing, such a great track, and to play with each of you is so exciting' (Facebook message, February 1, 2017). My findings from this brief digital ethnography align closely with Allsup's conclusions vis-à-vis collaborative creativity in a face-to-face setting: relationships among participants, peer learning and feedback, and caring for one another affect the process. All four elements were clearly on display over the six-week arrangement period in early 2017. In the digital context, however, I suggest the musicianship exhibited by the participants – namely domain-specific musical understanding achieved through extensive creative practice (Elliott 1995) – enabled players to learn the piece independently and come together to perform. In other words, Facebook served as a tool to allow skilled musicians to develop and perform a new piece of work. As I shall go on to demonstrate, the piece itself is characterised by bridging capital. I suggest, however, that the arrangement process further developed bonding capital among members of a network instigated at ETC1.

5.4.4. Musical Analysis of 'Never Again Is Now'

In the previous section, I argue that arranging 'Never Again Is Now' via social media served as bonding capital for a small sub-group of taiko players. I now turn to analysing the output of the arrangement process, specifically the musical characteristics of the piece and the express presence of bridging capital in the song lyrics, choreography and rhythms.⁸⁰

Appendix L contains a partial annotated Western prescriptive score of the 'Never Again Is Now' arrangement for ETC2. All four drum parts (*o-daiko, shime-daiko,* and *naname* and *beta nagado-daiko*) are notated in full; the inclusion of the tenor and alto parts (with lyrics) and annotated rhythms is designed to allow readers to orient themselves easily within the somewhat repetitive score. The hand pan, flute and *chappa*⁸¹ parts are omitted for the sake of brevity, and taiko notation is used in the prose text to illustrate rhythmic and choreographic excerpts where necessary.

The inclusion of melodic instruments not usually found in taiko compositions – specifically alto and tenor voice, western flute and hand pan – produces an atypical melodic

⁸⁰ An audio-visual recording of the performance at ETC2 can be found in the accompanying media files. For the purposes of analysis, however, I refer solely to the partial transcription provided in Appendix L.

⁸¹ *Chappa* did not form part of the instrumentation for the planned piece. *Chappa* can, however, be heard on the recording of the performance as it was included on that day.

palette. As highlighted in the previous section, Naylor (the hand pan player) noted the absence of strings and piano, a factor that I suggest contributes towards a sense of intimacy. In terms of detecting the express presence of MCS, however, the songwriter delivers a message directly through lyrics – something rarely seen in taiko compositions

During a semi-structured interview with me, Purcell explained the genesis of the composition and its component parts. His brother Randon, a professional composer, approached him to collaborate on the CD project to raise funds for a hospital in Aleppo. At the time, their mutual friend was undertaking humanitarian work in Syria and they kept in touch via social media. Purcell acknowledges that he was 'pretty uneducated about the situation' and knew little about the conflict. After agreeing to contribute, he 'decided to get myself educated' and spent two months reviewing videos, photographs and stories online. Moreover, he talked to others who had been to Aleppo. During our interview, he reflected on the upsetting nature of the personal and online accounts of life in the city, particularly the impact on local children.

The basic structure of the piece and its lyrics (written solely by Purcell) are presented in Musical Example 5.3. While the first part of the case study examines the presence of MCS as a dynamic process among a sub-group of ETC2 participants, this second part considers the piece as a static output. I argue that the lyrics contain two forms of evidence of the presence of musical cosmopolitan sociability: first, the presence of discrete outsider (tenor) and insider (alto) subject positions on the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo; and second, a clear description of two seemingly discrete communities uniting in a form of bridging sociability.

From the outset, Purcell's lyrics for the tenor voice suggest an outsider's perspective. For instance, in bar five, he asks listeners to 'look into *their* eyes' (i.e. those of Aleppo residents) while charging observers with 'wringing our hands and closing our eyes' (bar 24) to the humanitarian crisis. The use of the first-person plural suggests the presence of two discrete groups – one that looks on while the other suffers. The distress and bewilderment of the latter group is voiced from the perspective of a child in Aleppo in the alto part; although sung by Naylor at the ETC2 performance, a child sings the part in the studio recording. She highlights that 'we never wanted any of this' (bar 48) while questioning 'the meaning of this' (bar 50) for the people directly affected. Both parts call for expressions of empathy and compassion for the individuals affected, both of which are common human emotions expressed through the composition.

The presence of bonding and bridging capital is also readily apparent in the song lyrics. Purcell directly and repeatedly invokes a global interconnected humankind (i.e. bridging capital). By calling for listeners to 'stop believing the world is us versus you' (bar 52), the songwriter acknowledges the presence of homogeneous groups. Noting that 'we are humanity my friends ... standing as one' (bar 60), Purcell binds together all people – regardless of race, citizenship or other identifying characteristics – in his vision of a shared humanity empowered to bring about 'love', 'change' and to be 'one' and 'beautiful'.

Section	Lyrics
Intro	
Verse 1	Look into their eyes and you'll see.
	A world on fire is their reality.
	"I did it 'cause they did"
	won't fly.
	Wringing our hands and closing our eyes.
	Never again.
	l swear.
	Never again.
Verse 2	From the mouths of babes how the words ring true.
	(We never wanted any of this.
	What could be the meaning of this?)
	Stop believing the world is us versus you.
	(We never wanted any of this. What could be the meaning of this?)
	We are humanity my friends.
	Standing as one, standing as one.
	We'll reach the end of this.
	There must be an end.
	To this.
Chorus	Never Again is now.
	Never Again is how.
	We can be one,
	we can be change,
	we can be beautiful.
	Taking the world
	from the deranged.
Call and response	
Tag	Realise what we've become.
	We're living blind and deaf and dumb.
	Never again.
	But I swear.
	Never again.
	(We never wanted any of this.
	What could be the meaning of this?)
Verse 3	The city's ghost speaks of what once was.
	And the skies above burn bright with new stars.
	Can we forgive but not forget?
	Choosing to love
	over regret.
Chorus	Never again is now.
	Never again is how.
	We can be one,
	we can be change,
	we can be beautiful.
	Changing the world
	into a place for all.

Chorus

Never again is now. Never again is how. We can be love, we can be change, we can be beautiful. Claiming the world for the estranged.

Musical Example 5.3. Basic structure and lyrics of 'Never Again Is Now'.

In addition to presenting a vision of a common humanity, Purcell performs a refrain containing a call to action for listeners. 'Never again' appears ten times as a discursive hook in the first verse, chorus and tag, and implies working together to prevent further humanitarian crisis. More broadly, the lyrics reflect bridging social capital as both inclusion and difference characterise the relationship between two distinct groups (Aleppo residents and Europe-based musicians). For example, Purcell sings of 'claiming the world for the estranged', reflecting an open network that connects different and potentially marginalised communities through music making.

Both *ji-uchi* and choreography are used to supplement the discourse (i.e. the lyrics) of 'Never Again Is Now' and provide sonic and visual realisations of MCS. Particularly noteworthy is the use of *kata* in both the *naname* and *beta* parts. Both share the same core base rhythm throughout, although *naname* players only strike the drum on the accents. However, each performs three variations in choreography: version 1 (bar 29), version 2 (bar 85) and version 3 (bar 199). All variants for both forms are presented using taiko notation in Musical Example 5.4.

	Naname	Beta
Variation 1	R dontsutsu don tsu	P P P P P P P P P P P P R <l< td=""> R L R D0ko do ko do koDON dokoDONDON</l<>
Variation 2	R L R L dontsutsu don tsu	Implementation Implementatio
Variation 3	R R R L dontsutsu don tsu	RLRLRLR RLR RLRLRLR RLR DOko do ko do koDON dokoDONDON DOko do koDON dokoDONDON

Musical Example 5.4. Comparison of *naname* and *beta* choreography variations in 'Never Again Is Now'.

The presence of two discrete yet interconnected groups is visually immediate due to the different styles of taiko and choreography as well as the placement of the drums on the stage; *beta* players performed to the left of the tenor (centre-stage) whereas *naname* players played to the right. The first iteration (played during the first and second verses) contains minimal movement: stances are fixed and the arms move minimally to produce the required *piano* and *mezzo-piano* dynamics. Notably, the *ji-uchi* enters on the first utterance of 'never again' (i.e. the refrain), providing an additional accent. Players perform the second variation, characterised by greater movement and a *mezzo-forte* dynamic, during the chorus. *Naname* players add a *bachi* twirl (rotating the stick 360 degrees as it moves across the body) whereas *beta* players move the left arm in a small circle while hitting the drum twice with the right *bachi*. This directly coincides with repeated utterances of 'never again' at the outset of the chorus as well as a call for unity ('we can be one ...').

Prior to the performance of the third variation, two *o-daiko* players perform a call and response using both drumheads (bar 109).⁸² As Doyle notes, it acts as 'an "argument" which is resolved', ultimately allowing the two sides to come together. The shift from dissonance (or instability) to consonance is partly achieved by interactions with the *nagado-daiko* and *shime-daiko* parts. The players accompany the six-bar *o-daiko* solos with the second variation of the *ji-uchi* before interrupting the argument by playing the tag shown in Musical Example 5.5 in unison. Ultimately, the players no longer call and respond but rather play as a single continuous voice. The collaborative arrangement led by Doyle, Purcell and Walker ultimately enhances Purcell's lyrical vision of bridging.



Musical Example 5.5. Tag from 'Never Again Is Now'.

Players perform the third variation of the *ji-uchi* during the final chorus (played twice) and use significantly greater movement (bar 199). As Doyle summarises neatly for the *beta* players, 'the arm swing just get[s] bigger as the volume increases' (Facebook message, February 1, 2017). Despite the fact the players are performing different styles of taiko, ultimately the choreography resolves as all *nagado-daiko* players perform large, swooping arm circles – a feature that is introduced to coincide with the vocalisation of the repetitive motif 'never again'. During our interview, Purcell noted that the *naname* part's focus on *kata* and *beta* part's relative simplicity was 'a matter of what needed to be played and what would work well'. Ultimately, however, 'both sides become more alike whilst retaining their own distinctive voice' (Martin Doyle, Facebook message, February 1, 2019), demonstrating the ability of taiko to bridge both different stylistic forms through choreography as well as different cohorts of people (Syrian citizens and musicians in Europe).

5.4.5. Case Study Findings

Musically and lyrically, 'Never Again Is Now' presents a resolution between two initially discrete groups and a vision for a shared humanity that comes together to prevent future humanitarian disaster. It achieves this through the lyrical presentation of outsider and insider voices, the visual and sonic presentation of two discrete groups, and a choreographed union that depicts bridging capital. In a brief performance at an ephemeral event, musicians

⁸² The notation differentiates between drumheads by using upwards and downward stems.

identify and act upon a common humanity that extends far beyond the taiko 'bubble' of the European Taiko Conference, rendering the arrangement process and the musical output a distinctive manifestation of musical cosmopolitan sociability.

I suggest this second case study ultimately draws attention to two new facets of musical cosmopolitan sociability. First, pre-existing relationships allow musical work to be undertaken prior to the conference *in anticipation of* the ephemeral event, as demonstrated by the collaborative arrangement process conducted using Facebook Messenger. The resultant performance, however, ultimately engenders MCS given the closed, transient setting in which the first and final performance of the 'taiko version' was delivered, generating an intimate musical world among performers and viewers alike. Second, lyrics and choreography can be used as tools to depict bonding and bridging social capital, ultimately making differences between two or more groups – in this case Europe-based musicians and Aleppo residents – much less significant or redundant.

5.5 Case Study Three (2018): Creating a 'Worldwide Matsuri' through Shared Repertoire

At the closing plenary of the second European Taiko Conference, Jonathan Kirby made a surprise announcement: the next iteration of the event would take place in Hamburg, Germany. The public disclosure was the result of nearly twelve months of conversations with the leaders of four Hamburg-based taiko groups with whom Kirby would collaborate.⁸³ Some twelve months later, in February 2018, more than one hundred taiko players from Europe, Japan, North America and Australia converged upon the Sunderhof – a self-contained event venue in the middle of a forest outside Hamburg – for ETC3.

In addition to its relocation to mainland Europe, the third conference was marked by a further innovation: the intended transmission of a pan-European taiko repertoire via ETC3 delegates. In the introduction to the printed programme, Kirby writes that '[Workshop leaders] bring not only their talent and love of taiko, but a slice of repertoire to share with you, to take away and share with groups at home' (European Taiko Conference 2018: para. 3). Put simply, players were expected to learn two of the four pieces offered at the conference and transmit them to their respective groups, in turn enabling different ensembles to play together at European taiko events. Consequently, delegates learned one piece from an instructor in the space of four hours on 16 February, and a second piece from another instructor on 17 February 2018.

In this third case study, I consider the organisers and composers' intentions to manifest what I have labelled musical cosmopolitan sociability in the wider taiko community through the provision of a shared repertoire. I begin by considering the high-level theme of the conference and its intended impact upon the development of the art form in Europe. Thereafter, I undertake analysis of 'Worldwide Matsuri', one of the four pieces of repertoire taught at the conference, and connect the composer's intentions for the piece with MCS. Lastly, I assess the efficacy of transmitting a common repertoire via the conference by drawing upon extensive quantitative data gathered by me as part of the evaluation process. In doing so, I argue that while the transmission of a shared European repertoire was not wholly successful, the process nevertheless adds to our understanding by demonstrating the value ascribed to musical cosmopolitan sociability by leaders of the taiko community.

⁸³ The four Hamburg-based groups are Tengu Daiko, Yo! Bachi Daiko, Kion Dojo and Tama Dojo.

5.5.1 The Intended Impact of a Shared Continental Repertoire

At the opening plenary of the third European Taiko Conference, Jonathan Kirby noted that delegates at ETC 2016 and 2017 had requested 'take-aways', namely material they could use beyond the timeframe of the event. As a result, 'shared repertoire' was introduced as the ETC3 theme and its major benefits were highlighted by the conference director: first, delegates could take the repertoire back to their groups where it could be shared; and second, players from different groups could play the repertoire together at European taiko events.

The overarching objective of the third European Taiko Conference was manifestly different to previous iterations. While the first and second conferences sought to build a community among attendees and develop their individual musical skills respectively, ETC3 sought to impact upon taiko players in Europe who were *not* in attendance. As the slide from Jonathan Kirby's opening remarks in Figure 5.10 demonstrates, the aim of the conference was to transmit repertoire from ETC3 to players in European countries, thus creating a common continental repertoire that members of different groups could perform together. In the latter part of his presentation, Kirby proposed Taiko Spirit, a biennial festival held in Switzerland, Taikopalooza, an annual community gathering hosted by Taiko Zentrum Deutschland, and the Humber Taiko Festival as possible outlets for such joint performances.

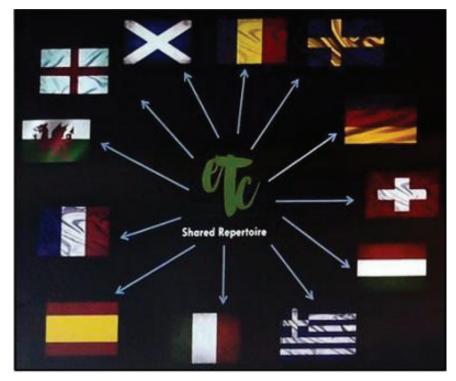


Figure 5.10. Slide from Jonathan Kirby's European Taiko Conference 2018 opening remarks indicating the intended impact of the conference.

Under Kirby's model, a player might learn a piece from a group member who attended ETC3, practice it, and travel to a three-day event like Taiko Spirit with the intention of performing it alongside previously unknown players. The ETC2 case study illuminated a somewhat similar process in which musical work was carried out in advance yet still facilitated MCS at the conference itself. This example differs, however, since it targets individuals who did not engage in the second European Taiko Conference yet experience its

intended outcome at another event – at least in theory. It thus challenges the limits of musical cosmopolitan sociability, a point I consider throughout the analysis.

While I shall turn to the efficacy of Kirby's approach in a later section of this case study, I now simply wish to highlight the event organiser's *intention* to facilitate musical cosmopolitan sociability in the European taiko community. By equipping players with a common repertoire, individuals are potentially able to connect ephemerally beyond the timeframe of ETC3 through musicking at transient taiko events, in turn sharing common experiences.

At previous iterations of the conference, each player undertook four two-hour workshops with four different instructors. In contrast, ETC3 participants signed up for two four-hour workshops with two different leaders. Prior to the event, delegates submitted workshop preferences and were informed of the outcome. While the organisers ensured representatives from the same group were allocated to different workshops, meaning two members from one group could theoretically return home in a position to share all four pieces, some 19 delegates (24%) were the sole representatives of their groups or independent players. In other words, almost a quarter of participants had only partial access to the shared repertoire based upon the adopted approach.

The repertoire in question was comprised of the following pieces: 'Wa No Ichi' composed by Kaoly Asano; 'Swinging Slow and Fast', a *naname*-style piece written by Masato Baba; 'Worldwide Matsuri' by Shoji Kameda; and 'Narushima' by Katsuji Kondo, the former leader of Kodō. Apart from 'Narushima', the two Japanese and two American composers – all of whom are professional taiko performers and teachers – taught their own pieces in the conference workshops.⁸⁴ 'Worldwide Matsuri', a piece composed and taught by California-based Kameda, offers unambiguous evidence of connections between compositional intent and MCS. I now turn to analysis of Kameda's intentions, musical expressions of intent in the composition, and how both demonstrate musical cosmopolitan sociability.

5.5.2 Musical Expressions of Intent in 'Worldwide Matsuri'

Titled 'Worldwide Matsuri', Shoji Kameda's composition immediately alludes to a form of cosmopolitanism by suggesting global (musical) participation in a Japanese festival or holiday. Yet what did Kameda seek to achieve by highlighting the universal nature of an art form indigenous to Japan in the title of the piece? Philosopher Neil Sinhababu (2017: 100) argues that 'intentions are desires combined with means-end beliefs'. When describing both his wishes and thoughts about what the piece can achieve, Kameda explains that:

The idea behind this piece ['Worldwide Matsuri'] is based on the theme of a lot of these conferences. At the East Coast Taiko Conference [which] we just had last weekend, the theme [was] 'Unity Through Diversity'. 'Taiko Without Borders' is going to be the title of Jonathan Kirby's newest book, and I think that sort of sentiment is what this European Taiko Conference is all about. So, I wrote this piece with that idea in mind. The idea is that we can take this community feeling that we have, that we have built in the taiko community, and if we all participate in it and we all take ownership of it, and we all put our energy towards this theme, we can create a worldwide matsuri (quoted in Jansson 2018b: 5).

Kameda's purpose is both musical *and* social: by playing taiko – specifically 'Worldwide Matsuri' – together, individuals can further develop, celebrate, and feel part of the global taiko community.

⁸⁴ Katsuji Kondo was forced to pull out of teaching his composition due to injury. Eiichi Saito, a senior member of Kodō who had acted as a workshop leader at ETC2, taught the piece in his place.

To articulate his intention, Kameda draws upon the Japanese concept of 'matsuri', a 'religious and/or civic festival, usually rooted in Japan's indigenous Shinto-nature worship' (Roy 2005: 267). While increasing numbers of matsuri in Japan are secular, commercially driven events (ibid), I suggest the use of the term is derived from the North American diasporic context where it carries a somewhat different meaning. For example, the Sakura Matsuri in Washington D.C. is described as 'the largest one-day celebration of Japanese culture in the United States' (Sakura Matsuri n.d.: online). In Kameda's home state of California, the 2020 Oshogatsu Matsuri (Japanese New Year's Festival) organised by the Japanese Cultural and Community Center of Northern California (2020: online) featured 'cultural arts and crafts' as well as food and entertainment. In other words, rather than featuring the two elements of a typical matsuri in Japan – specifically ritualistic worship and a joyful celebration (Encyclopedia Britannica n.d.) – matsuri in the North American context seek to bring people together and facilitate celebration of Japanese and Japanese diasporic culture through shared domains.

The intention of developing relationships among players by performing 'Worldwide Matsuri' together is further articulated by Kameda in his online lessons for the piece. On the kaDON platform, he writes that 'the piece focuses on learning to play with another person and developing a good sense of connection with your fellow players' (kaDON n.d.d: online). Kameda's description broadly aligns with Turino's concept of participatory music in which 'one's primary attention is on the activity, on the *doing*, and on the other participants' (Turino 2008: 28, emphasis original). Although clearly conceived as a participatory piece, 'Worldwide Matsuri' – and taiko performance more broadly – is also played in presentational contexts. For example, 'Worldwide Matsuri' formed part of Taikopalooza's public concert programme in 2018. Indeed, for Rannoch Purcell, the principal organiser of the event that gathers together players from Europe and North America, 'this was one of my main goals of Taikopalooza – to share taiko [with] people who have never heard or seen it before' (Taikopalooza n.d.: online). For compositions intended for presentational contexts, awarding primacy to the effect upon the performer (as opposed to the listener) is somewhat atypical. For instance, Dipert (1980) offers a helpful classification of composers' intentions: low level, such as instrumentation and fingering; middle-level intentions pertaining to the sound produced, including pitch, temperament, timbre and vibrato; and high-level, specifically the effect the composer seeks to bring about in the listener. While the reactions of the performers are absent from Dipert's taxonomy, generating a sense of engagement with others is a central objective of Kameda's 'Worldwide Matsuri' - a piece played in both participatory and presentational settings.

Thus far, I have suggested that Kameda's compositional intent is to facilitate relationship building among taiko players as well as a global celebration of the transnational taiko community. Kameda openly provides insights into his intentions through a range of media. For instance, in sharing the piece with players, he clearly states his expectations:

... this piece will be available for people to learn and for people to play and teach, but it is going to come with some responsibility. One of the responsibilities is that, at least once a year, you perform this piece in a way that it's open, that invites other people to come in and play with your group or at this performance that you have or festival or taiko conference or something like this. The idea is that, if we all sort of contribute to this inviting and generous sort of feeling, we can really create a generous and open culture in the taiko community, which is something l'm really passionate about. Then the idea is, that we will have a whole sort of list... Something like, "Oh, Issho Daiko is going to play it there, and you can come and play in Los Angeles in June, and we're going to play in Taikopalooza in July, and Taiko Spirit in August, and East Coast Taiko Conference..." and you will have this whole list, so anybody in the

taiko world can look at this and they could travel the world playing taiko with new friends that they haven't met yet (quoted in Jansson 2018b: 6).

Kameda's intentions for 'Worldwide Matsuri' reflect each component of musical cosmopolitan sociability. First, he seeks to build relationships among strangers through the shared domain of taiko by expanding and capitalising upon an 'inviting and generous sort of feeling' among community members. In other words, Kameda seeks to generate common human feelings by providing a piece of taiko music to play together. In addition, the composer envisages players convening to perform the piece in ephemeral settings, including festivals and conferences. Notably, Kameda anticipates this happening on a regular, preplanned basis, although the performance itself would inevitably be fleeting. Finally, a sense of intimacy is implied through the creation of 'new friends' through musicking. Put simply, Kameda's 'performance intentions' – a composer's intentions about how a piece should be played but which are not explicitly indicated in the score (Dipert 1980: 218) – are profoundly social in nature. By sharing a piece that intends to generate and multiply experiences of musical cosmopolitan sociability across Europe through music making, I suggest Kameda himself personifies MCS.

Given Kameda's intended social impact on taiko players, it is reasonable to question if and how the piece facilitates his objective in musical terms. The audio-visual lessons presented by Kameda on the kaDON platform were only made available in June 2019, a full 16 months after he taught the piece at ETC3. However, the composer produced notation that was shared with workshop participants in Hamburg and subsequently formed part of the kaDON learning materials. Moreover, a recording of the output of Kameda's workshops at ETC3 – namely participants playing the piece together informally as part of the Sunday morning session – is freely available online.⁸⁵

The structure of 'Worldwide Matsuri' as presented by the composer is shown in Musical Example 5.6. Targeted at beginning to intermediate-level players, the piece only features five parts for most players, with two solo parts also available. At the informal performance at ETC3, the piece lasted just under eight minutes, allowing players to perform together for a substantial amount of time after a relatively short period of instruction (four hours). In other words, relative simplicity facilitates inclusion among taiko players of most skill levels, in turn involving 'the maximum number of people in some performance role' – a characteristic of participatory performance (Turino 2008: 26). Moreover, the free and ready provision of notation on the kaDON platform allows players to revise the piece or teach others as both the composer and ETC3 event organiser intended.

1 Cue 2 Cue 700 E	Intro	Ax4	B1x2	Ax2	B2x2	Ax2	Cx8	Solo 1		2	B2 Cue	A/C	B2X
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Musical Example 5.6. Structure of 'Worldwide Matsuri'. Source: kaDON n.d.d.

What is particularly noteworthy about Kameda's composition is how his social intention of forging relationships through taiko is reflected musically. As previously highlighted, the musical focus of the piece is on 'learning to play with another person and developing a good sense of connection with your fellow players' (kaDON n.d.d: online). Musical Example 5.7 presents the notation provided by Kameda on the kaDON platform for

⁸⁵ Jonathan Kirby's recording of the performance can be viewed at https://vimeo.com/259582436.

section A. Even a cursory inspection reveals two marked features: first, the melody (i.e. the principal drum pattern) is performed by both 'don' players who hit the skin of the drum and 'ka' players who strike the rim; and second, the 'don' and 'ka' parts play in hocket, resulting in a fluid taiko melody even though the players never hit the drum simultaneously. As a result, both the players and any listeners experience hocketing, musically and socially indicating a relationship between both parts. This feature is widely replicated throughout the piece, resulting in a clear need for a high standard of ensemble playing among participants, particularly synchrony with others. In short, Kameda's composition demands openness to connections with others when playing, in turn producing an intimate musical experience – an essential feature of musical cosmopolitan sociability.

	A	-	*	2	*	ω	*	4	*	5	*	9	*	~	*	∞	*
	Don Player	Don			DoKo	Don			Do	Don			DoKo	Don			Do
₩ T		Я			RL	R			_	Я			RL	Я			
	Ka Player		KaRa	KaRa			KaRa	Ka			KaRa	KaRa			KaRa	Ka	
			RL	RL			RL	R			RL	RL			RL	R	
		1	*	2	*	3	*	4	*	5	*	9	*	7	*	8	*
	Don Player	Don			DoKo	Don			Do		Don		Don		Don		Don
		Ж			RГ	8					8				۲		
	Ka Player		KaRa	KaRa			KaRa	Ka		Ka		Ka		Ka		Ka	
			RL	RL			RL	æ		RL		RL		RL		RL	
	A	1	*	2	*	3	*	4	*	5	*	9	*	7	*	8	*
	Don Player		KaRa	KaRa			KaRa	Ka			KaRa	KaRa			KaRa	Ka	
#2			RL	RL			RL	R			RL	RL			RL	R	
	Ka Player	Don			DoKo	Don			Do	Don			DoKo	Don			Do
		Я			RL	R			_	Я			RL	Я			
		1	*	2	*	3	*	4	*	5	*	9	*	7	*	8	*
	Don Player		KaRa	KaRa			KaRa	Ka		Ka		Ka		Ka		Ka	
			RL	RL			RL	Я		RL		RL		RL		RL	
	Ka Player	Don			DoKo	Don			Do		Don		Don		Don		Don
		Ж			R	£					۲				2		

*	Do				*	Don					*			Do	_	*
8			Ka	R	∞			Ka	RL		∞	Ka	Ж			∞
*			KaRa	RL	*	Don	2				*	KaRa	RГ			*
7	Don	R	Ka	Ľ.	7			Ka	RL		7	Ka	Œ	uo	Я	2
*	DoKo D				*	Don		~			*			DoKo Don	RL	*
	Do	RL	٤a			Ď	_					۶a		Do	R	-
9			KaRa KaRa	RL	9	_		Ka	RL		9	KaRa KaRa	RL			9
*	_		KaR	RL	*	Don	2				*	KaR	RL	_		*
5	Don	Я			Ъ			Ka	RL		പ			Don	Ж	сл
*	Do				*	Do					*			Do	_	*
4			Ka	R	4			Ka	£		4	Ka	£			4
*			KaRa	RL	*			KaRa	RL		*	KaRa	RГ			*
3	Don	Я			С	Don	£				С			Don	Я	ĉ
*	DoKo	RL			*	DoKo	RL				*			DoKo Don	RL	*
2			KaRa	RL	2			KaRa	RГ		2	KaRa	RГ			0
*			KaRa I	RL	*			KaRa I	RГ		*	KaRa I	RГ			*
1	Don	R	Ť		-	Don	8				-	-		Don	Я	-
	<mark>Don Player</mark> Don		Ka Player			<mark>Don Player</mark> Don		Ka Player		I		ayer		<mark>Ka Player</mark> Don		
A	Don P		Ka Pl			Don P		Ka Pl			A	Don Player		Ka Pl		
		#3											#4			

		rl rl	RL			RL	Я		RL	
Ka Player Don	Don			DoKo Don	Don			Do		Don
	Ж			RL	£					۲2
Musical Example 5.7. Notation for section A of 'Worldwide Matsuri'. Source: kaDON n.d.d.	Notation	for se	ction A	of 'Worl	dwide N	Aatsuri'.	Source	: kaDON	۱ n.d.d.	

Don

Don R

Don L

Ka RL

Ka RL

Ka RL

Ka RL

KaRa Ka R L R

KaRa KaRa RL RL

Don Player

160

5.5.3 The Efficacy of Transmission via a Conference

Thus far, I have argued that both Kirby and Kameda sought to generate further instances of musical cosmopolitan sociability among taiko players by providing a common European repertoire. In this final section of the case study, I assess the effectiveness of using ETC3 as a medium through which to transmit repertoire by drawing upon quantitative data submitted by participants.

In the immediate aftermath of ETC3, 82% of delegates completed a post-conference evaluation form in which they anticipated various changes to their taiko practice because of participation.⁸⁶ Among the self-selecting respondents:

- 9 in 10 (89%) survey respondents planned to share at least one piece of repertoire with members of their group (a full 81% strongly agreed with the statement)
- 94% of players planned to actively connect with other players they had met at the conference
- 64% of survey respondents reported that they plan to do at least one additional thing differently (e.g. discuss shared values with group members) (Walker 2018)

The first round of feedback suggested that the learning and sharing of repertoire at the conference had the potential to impact widely upon European taiko practice and, in turn, generate instances of musical cosmopolitan sociability.

With the support of Andrew Campbell (Kion Dojo) and Chiara Codetta (Associazione Taiko Lecco), a second survey was made available in German and Italian as well as English. Issued six weeks after the conclusion of the conference, I set out to gather data to assess the effectiveness of Kirby's approach.⁸⁷ Put simply, the findings suggest that the conference was not a fruitful means through which to transmit repertoire; the majority (61%) of participants had not yet started to share the first piece they had learned with fellow group members. Across all four workshops taught on the first full day of the conference, the most commonly cited barrier to sharing was a lack of time (53%), followed by misalignment with the group's curriculum (29%), a preference for the piece learned on the second day (16%), a non-teaching role within the group (16%), an inappropriate level (i.e. too simple or difficult) (16%), and an inability to remember the piece/lack of access to aide-memoires (13%). All other barriers were cited by one or two respondents. Material from workshops on the second full day was only marginally more likely to be shared – 41% of participants had started to teach the second piece learned six weeks after the conference (Walker 2018).

While data gathered shortly after the conference indicated that the pieces had not been widely shared, further anecdotal evidence suggests the pieces are now played (and in some cases transmitted) by ETC3 delegates. For example, I was invited to support the teaching of 'Worldwide Matsuri' at the 2018 Three Counties Weekend in Yorkshire. Furthermore, 'Narushima' appeared on the 2020 public concert set list for Taikopalooza until the COVID-19 pandemic forced the cancellation of the event (Taikopalooza 2020: online). While it is impossible to gather comprehensive evidence to assess the effectiveness of the approach, some transmission of pieces has taken place, and some players are equipped to play together at joint ephemeral events. In time, the attempt to create a common

⁸⁶ The evaluation form is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix M.

⁸⁷ The multilingual form is available in Appendix N.

continental repertoire may prove to be successful and its development certainly merits both monitoring and further research.

5.5.4 Conclusion

As indicated throughout this chapter thus far, musical cosmopolitan sociability is an intangible sensation for those who experience it, yet one I suggest can be empirically verified. In this third case study, I present evidence that taiko players intend to generate MCS beyond the European Taiko Conference. Jonathan Kirby does so by selecting a theme intended to enable strangers to connect at future short-term events through the domain of taiko, whereas Kameda composes and teaches a piece which achieves that social goal. In short, this third case study highlights the *intention* to create MCS beyond the conference itself; delegates seek to replicate the phenomenon among a wider pool of taiko players.

This third case study draws attention to two facets of musical cosmopolitan sociability. First, although available evidence from the immediate aftermath of the conference suggests transmission from delegates to groups was not wholly effective, the intention to generate MCS suggests leaders of the taiko community value its role in musicking. Moreover, anecdotal evidence suggests that a shared continental repertoire - one that includes 'Worldwide Matsuri', 'Wa No Ichi', 'Swinging Slow and Fast', and 'Narushima' may simply require more time to develop. Second, this case study offers a clear example of a piece of music reflecting and supporting the attainment of a composer's social objective. In 'Worldwide Matsuri', hocketing is used to develop ensemble playing and connectivity among cosmopolitan players, supporting Kameda's vision of individuals 'travel[ling] the world playing taiko with new friends that they haven't met yet' (quoted in Jansson 2018b: 6). Moreover, the composer requests that players actively teach and share 'Worldwide Matsuri', further promoting opportunities for individuals to come together at short-lived events and connect through musicking. Ultimately, 'Worldwide Matsuri' and its intended transmission to European taiko players is a clear example of openness articulated through musicking that is inherent in musical cosmopolitan sociability.

5.6 Case Study Four (2019): Spontaneous Teaching, Learning and Dancing

In the introduction to this chapter, I presented four musicians' reflections on a piece they performed during the opening plenary of the fourth European Taiko Conference. In their commentary, Goran Lazarevic, Andrej Leban, Jennifer Manzer and Svetta Smarsch connected their arrangement of 'Zumbul' – a piece 'about roots, homesickness, neighbours fighting one another...' – to the theme of the conference, namely 'finding your own voice' through taiko. Their arrangement – one that was 'melodically adapted and composed by Goran and rhythmically composed mainly by Andrej' – suggests that they undertook a series of actions individually and collectively to produce both the arrangement and subsequent performance at ETC4. Indeed, all the examples of musical cosmopolitan sociability presented thus far – conference programming efforts to build community, 'Never Again is Now', and the dissemination of a shared continental repertoire – demanded forethought, planning and organisation before musicking could occur.

In this fourth and final case study, I further explore the boundaries of musical cosmopolitan sociability by examining a *spontaneous* manifestation that resulted in all ETC4 participants dancing together. I consider the teaching, learning and performance of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka', a piece composed in 1994 by one of the workshop leaders, in the context of wider programmatic attempts to encourage cosmopolitanism at the conference. Moreover, I draw

upon theories of participatory dance from ethnochoreology to explore the relevance of MCS to 'dances of participation' and the potential wider application of MCS to other music and dance forms (Kaeppler 1978: 46).

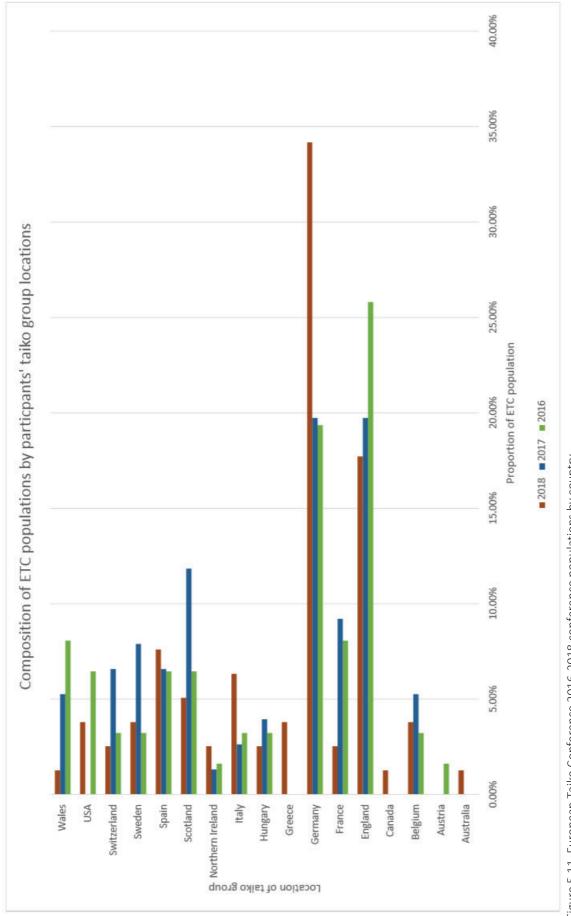
5.6.1 Programme Innovations at the Fourth European Taiko Conference

The fourth European Taiko Conference took place at the same venue outside Hamburg and retained many existing programme elements. However, Jonathan Kirby introduced various innovations to promote cosmopolitanism by facilitating the participation of players from different countries and continents. These new measures included a multi-lingual communications team, delegate allocation based upon geography, and workshop leaders from three continents.

In the immediate aftermath of the third European Taiko Conference, Jonathan Kirby began planning programmatic elements for the fourth iteration. Noting areas for development, Kirby wrote that 'I have always been concerned about language. ... For ETC4, I would like to see a significant breakthrough on this issue' (Jonathan Kirby, email to author, May 6, 2018). Kirby's disquiet was well founded: as a result of relocating to Hamburg in 2018, the demographic composition of conference attendees changed markedly. While I acknowledge that country of residence cannot serve as an accurate proxy for participants' additional language skills, it remains noteworthy that the proportion of players normally resident in Anglophone countries had dropped significantly since 2016. As detailed in Figure 5.11, just under 50% of players at the first conference were resident in countries where English is an/the official language. This dropped to just under 40% of players in 2017 and to 33% in 2018. Instead, ETC3 attracted a far higher proportion of players resident in Germany, presumably in part due to geographical proximity. For instance, while 29 delegates resident in the British Isles participated in the first conference in the southwest of England, only eight travelled to Hamburg to take part in the fourth.

To ensure 'that people who ought to attend (whoever they are) feel that they can', Kirby introduced a communications team for the fourth conference (Jonathan Kirby, email to author, May 6, 2018). Comprised of Chiara Codetta (Italian), Ariane Hendrich (German), Jean Marie Pascal (French), Isabel Romeo Biedma (Spanish) and me (English),⁸⁸ the group translated written communication in advance of the conference, handled standard queries from (potential) delegates in the respective languages, but also convened language groups at the conference. The lingua franca of the conference was English; accordingly, all plenary events and workshops were conducted in English. However, as the conference programme in Appendix O indicates, four language group check-ins were scheduled to facilitate introductions among speakers of the same language and ensure comprehension of the main ideas exchanged in plenary sessions. While I did not undertake a systematic evaluation of the fourth conference, my anecdotal observations and conversations with other language leads suggest that this was a welcome feature among some speakers of English as an additional language; indeed, I conversed with a handful of German and Italian speakers who told me it was crucial for their comprehension. While the conference programme focused on 'finding your own voice through taiko' in English, players with beginner or intermediate-level English seemingly welcomed the additional efforts on the part of Kirby and the language team to foster inclusion.

⁸⁸ As the English language lead, my group contained speakers of other languages including Dutch, Greek, Hungarian, and Swedish, all of whom operated in English.





To promote cosmopolitanism further at ETC4, Jonathan Kirby and Lucy Thomas allocated places based on geographic location and prior attendance at the conference. Writing to players who had subscribed to a mailing list for potential participants, Kirby and Thomas wrote that:

We believe that it's good for European taiko players to meet others with very different experiences, so 4 places will be set aside for applications specifically from North American taiko players. ...

4 places will be set aside for taiko players from Japan. ... Besides enriching the Conference for others, these places will provide experience that will help the planning of the World Taiko Conference in Japan in November 2020.

This leaves 62 places available for other European taiko players.

A total of 180 people have signed up to the ETC4 email list. 50% have not been to a European Taiko Conference before. We will therefore allocate 31 places for people who have attended before, and 31 places specifically for people who have not (Jonathan Kirby, email to author, September 22, 2018).

By reserving eight places (11%) for participants from Japan and North America, Kirby and Thomas encourage a cosmopolitan cohort of participants. By permitting a maximum of three players from any one group and reserving half of the remaining 62 places for newcomers, the policy promotes a diverse cohort of participants. Ultimately, delegates, workshops leaders, staff and volunteers travelled from sixteen countries⁸⁹ and represented 55 taiko groups and organisations – the most diverse of the four conferences based upon both metrics.

Kirby and Thomas applied three criteria to select participants: membership of the mailing list (mandatory), geographic location, and prior attendance at the conference. Otherwise, they allocated places on a first-come, first-serve basis. In the multi-lingual communications, the conference team set out clear expectations of participants, noting that:

the Conference is a welcoming environment, enriched by contributions from those who attend. We all have a lot to learn from each other, whether we are highly experienced or just starting out. We therefore want delegates to be people who are not afraid to share (Jonathan Kirby, email to author, September 22, 2018).

While players' musical ability did not determine whether they could take part, Kirby and Thomas nevertheless articulated expectations of an open, participatory conference ethos. Moreover, by setting out to orchestrate a cosmopolitan cohort of players 'with very different experiences', the conference team responded to the overarching objective of the conference series: 'developing the community, developing the art form'. By offering a framework for participants to pursue their shared interest in taiko, attendees from Asia, Australasia, Europe, and North America 'engage in joint activities and discussions, help each other, and share information', suggesting a truly global and cosmopolitan landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015a: online).

The third notable innovation was the selection of diverse workshop leaders, both in terms of location and approach. Penning a letter for inclusion in the printed conference programme, conference sponsor Yoshii Miyamoto notes that 'we have selected workshop

⁸⁹ Delegates travelled from Germany (30), Switzerland (10), France (7), England (6), Sweden (5), Belgium (4), Hungary (4), Italy (4), Spain (4), Australia/Germany (1), Canada (1), Greece (1), Northern Ireland (1), USA (1), and Wales (1). These figures include 10 additional places reserved for groups in Hamburg that provided drums for the conference and other logistical support. Members of the World Taiko Conference Organising Committee travelled from Japan to observe and were thus not listed as delegates in the programme.

leaders of very different backgrounds. And each one of them has their own unique notion, perspective, and expression. I hope you enjoy discovering what they have to offer, and in turn, find your own voice through taiko' (European Taiko Conference 2019: para. 8). The four leaders' biographies give some insight into their varied backgrounds. PJ Hirabayashi, the Artistic Director Emeritus of San Jose Taiko (California), describes herself as 'a taiko artist/teacher, composer/choreographer, collaborator, mentor, activator/activist, holistic innovator, community-builder, and energy practitioner' (ibid). Jonathan Kirby notes that he 'creates and performs new taiko that is true to his cultural roots [in England] and consistent with his approach to the world at large' (ibid). Fumi Tanakadate writes that she is 'a taiko artist and pianist based in New York, who has a unique combination of expertise in European classical music and a background in traditional folk dance and music from Japan'. Finally, Shogo Yoshii, the only returning workshop leader, states that 'as a musician and composer, he works with Japanese folk music, which he has travelled the length and breadth of Japan to study and collect' (ibid). While all four professional musicians share taiko as a domain, the melange of musical, social, and geographical influences that impact upon their taiko practice is striking.

In addition to bringing workshop leaders from three continents, Kirby acted to enhance awareness of the global diversity of taiko practice among ETC4 participants by scheduling a video session. Short documentary films introduced Osuwa Daiko and Oedo Sukeroku Daiko (the first two *kumi-daiko* ensembles in Japan), and Kinnara Taiko, the San Francisco Taiko Dojo, and San Jose Taiko (the first groups in the USA).

Thus far, I have introduced the novel measures implemented by Kirby to promote social and musical cosmopolitanism at the fourth European Taiko Conference. I now turn to examining how three players, including a new workshop leader, gave birth to a spontaneous manifestation of musical cosmopolitan sociability, in turn creating a profoundly intimate musical world among diverse participants.

5.6.2 'Ei Ja Nai Ka'

Four players travelled more than 5,500 miles from California to Hamburg to play different roles at the fourth European Taiko Conference. PJ Hirabayashi served as a workshop leader, teaching four two-hour workshops. Shoji Kameda – who taught workshops at the first three conferences – acted as co-host alongside Ilka Haase and me. Wisa Uemura, a TCA board member and Executive Director of San Jose Taiko, travelled to observe and share information about TCA and its initiatives. Finally, Franco Imperial, Artistic Director of San Jose Taiko and a workshop leader at the inaugural European Taiko Conference, travelled to meet taiko players and observe how the conference had developed.

On the evening of Saturday, February 23, 2019, established groups, soloists, and short-term collaborative acts performed informally for attendees. Thereafter, Kirby and Kameda (the evening's hosts) invited Franco, PJ and Wisa of San Jose Taiko to address the participants. As the programme in Appendix O highlights, this was not a scheduled part of the evening. What followed, however, was an activity that swiftly manifested musical cosmopolitan sociability. Wisa Uemura recalls that:

the teaching of EJNK ["Ei Ja Nai Ka"] was a spontaneous activity. ... We spoke about community and gratitude and how EJNK has come to symbolise both for us. We then went quickly through the dance motions and sequence along with some accompanying kakegoe and danced in the hall (Wisa Uemura, email to author, April 7, 2020).

Almost all ETC4 participants danced together in the Sunderhof's conference hall after brief instruction from Hirabayashi, Imperial and Uemura. The photograph presented in Figure 5.12 indicates the rather cramped environment as well as the elation experienced by dancers. Based upon Adrienne Kaeppler's typology of dance, this execution of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' was participatory; dancers do 'not aim at simultaneous flawless execution of intricate movements, but rather are intended to create a mass rhythmic environment' (1993: 62). Looking beyond ethnochoreology, one can also draw upon Turino's conception of participatory performance in which 'the *real* music comes only when everyone is sonically, kinesically, and socially engaged' (2008: 133, emphasis original). Yet why did *this* dance give rise to the joyful yet ephemeral intimate musical world indicative of musical cosmopolitan sociability? First, we need to turn to the intended purpose of the composition.



Figure 5.12. Participants spontaneously dancing 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' in the conference hall of the Sunderhof on February 23, 2019. Photo by Ingmar Kikat.

In the preceding section of this case study, I outline how and why Kirby introduced measures to promote a cosmopolitan cohort at the conference – including bringing PJ Hirabayashi to Hamburg to teach as one of four workshop leaders. As a founding member of San Jose Taiko, she was one of the 'young Asian Americans searching for an outlet to convey their experiences as third generation Japanese Americans, or Sansei' (San Jose Taiko n.d.b: online). Since 1973, the organisation has focused on 'empowering diverse voices and educating across cultures to build a more accepting and engaged world' (San Jose Taiko n.d.a: online). In short, the ensemble's origins and aspirations are fundamentally rooted in supporting and encouraging a plurality of voices. Indeed, 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' – a piece composed by Hirabayashi – can be described as cosmopolitan in its outlook, yet also seeks to achieve sociability. She reflects that:

"Ei Ja Nai Ka" is a piece that I had written in 1994, of bringing together the components of dance, song, movement and drum, and chant. I wanted to reassemble all these components because in most indigenous cultures of the world, they are played together as one entity and not separated. With *kumi-daiko* – ensemble playing – there is a tendency to go right into just playing the drum and creating music on the drum. But what about all that brings it together? The dance, the chant, the community building? This is what "Ei Ja Nai Ka" is all about (kaDON n.d.a: online).

Despite drawing upon 'components of ... indigenous cultures' for inspiration, 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' nevertheless remains rooted in Hirabayashi's experience – one unique to her among conference participants. Reflecting upon the composition process, she states:

I created "Ei Ja Nai Ka" to commemorate the first immigrants from Japan [to the USA], such as my grandparents. I am third generation, and I am looking towards my cultural connection to Japanese culture, and also what my grandparents – as immigrants – were able to bring here to America and establish a community of which I could be a part of [sic]. I am able to understand more about myself as I explore this art movement and also realise this connection (kaDON n.d.a: online).

Hirabayashi's descriptions of the piece's origins and intended function focus expressly on the theme of community building among Japanese Americans and more widely. When addressing the assembled participants, a group principally comprised of white Europeans, Uemura and Imperial – who serve as directors of San Jose Taiko – reflected upon the role of the art form in generating communities that are more cohesive. As I shall go on to argue, 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' – with its Japanese language title meaning 'isn't it good?' and choreography rooted in issei experience – nevertheless allows diverse participants to access shared human feelings and experiences through dance, in turn generating musical cosmopolitan sociability.

Whether played on a concert hall stage or outdoors as part of a Buddhist temple's *Obon*, 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' is typically comprised of four parts: a procession, drum part, dance movements, and a chant. In a series of online instructional videos, Hirabayashi spends over two and a half hours leading learners through all the component parts (kaDON n.d.a). At the fourth European Taiko Conference, Hirabayashi, Imperial and Uemura spent around 15 minutes teaching the component parts of the dance. Given the instruction, one could reasonably question why I consider the performance of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' at ETC4 to be spontaneous. In response, I suggest that the sequence of events – the teaching, learning and participatory performances that followed – form a whole, one that occurred unexpectedly and because of Hirabayashi, Uemura and Imperial's inclination to share. In other words, preplanning and rehearsal were conspicuously absent; instead, a minimal amount of time was dedicated to enabling collective, impromptu movement, in turn reflecting 'dances of participation [which] have a character of spontaneity and do not require long and arduous training' (Kaeppler 1993: 62).

The dance is comprised of the following five actions: dig dig, pick pick; gather, gather, gather; sweat; sweat; big wheel; and toss the net. As Hirabayashi's names for the movements indicate, 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' is based on stylised physical work undertaken by her grandfather's generation (issei). For example, Hirabayashi notes that:

The big wheel symbolises work on the Southern Pacific Railroad. ... When I grew up, I know [sic] my grandfather to be a hunchback. I didn't know that that was from the work that he did. This is considered menial labour.⁹⁰ However, I wanted this motion to be a big wheel, as if it is a big wheel of a

⁹⁰ In face-to-face workshops, Hirabayashi always places air quotes around the term 'menial'. She describes this work as 'essential labour' instead (PJ Hirabayashi, email to author, June 6, 2021).

train that is steering the economy of our nation. Menial work is something that is much bigger than meets the eye (kaDON n.d.a).

Figures 5.13 and 5.14 show Hirabayashi performing the simple digging and picking movements respectively.⁹¹ It is striking that a work song that enacts the issei's unskilled labour was taught to scientists, linguists, teachers, and other professionals – all of whom were in a financial position to pay at least \in 360 for registration and accommodation in addition to travel and incidental costs. Yet whether depicting farming (digging), mining (picking), fishing (gathering up or casting nets), working on the railroad, or sweating as a result of any of these activities, I suggest the simple, repeating bodily movements made the piece easy to learn and the vital presence of a shared, ephemeral, dancing community difficult to ignore. Indeed, these features align closely with participatory dances for which 'a very simple prescription ... serves as a basic framework to facilitate the dancers' interactions' (Nahachewsky 1995: 1).



Figure 5.13. PJ Hirabayashi performing the 'dig dig' in 'Ei Ja Nai Ka'. *Source*: kaDON n.d.a.



Figure 5.14. PJ Hirabayashi performing the 'pick pick' in 'Ei Ja Nai Ka'. *Source*: kaDON n.d.a.

Following the brief period of instruction, dancers repeated 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' without interval for approximately 15 minutes on the Saturday evening. As Figure 5.15 shows, players spontaneously moved to the grass outside the main hall at the end of the closing plenary on Sunday, February 24, to perform the piece again for about 15 minutes. On both occasions, Hirabayashi, Imperial and Uemura supported the dancers by performing the *ju-ichi* (base rhythm) on a single drum, shouting the name of the next dance move, and performing the dance in the middle of the circle for participants to refer to – all of which are visible and/or

⁹¹ The images are drawn from the suite of online lessons available on the kaDON subscription service. The use of *bachi* to accentuate the actions was absent in the spontaneous participatory performance at ETC4.

audible in the recording provided in the accompanying media files. In doing so, the San Josebased players facilitated the spontaneous learning and performance of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka'.



Figure 5.15. Participants spontaneously dancing 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' at the conclusion of the fourth European Taiko Conference on Sunday, February 24, 2019. Photo by Ingmar Kikat.

This occurrence raises two questions: first, why did a large group of taiko drummers – characterised by linguistic and geographic diversity – continue to dance a work song which reflects issei labour; and second, bearing in mind my focus on *musical* cosmopolitan sociability, how does the rhythmic structure of the dance facilitate or reflect openness to common human feelings, hopes, and/or experiences, in turn supporting the development of an intimate musical world?

The dance is based on a 48-beat cycle that is presented in Musical Example 5.8. One can immediately identify the regular rhythm of both the music (which is based upon the 'dongo' *ji-uchi*) and the dance. Rhythmic or movement-based syncopation is wholly absent from the cycle, thus supporting participation among dancers of varying skills levels. This point is particularly noteworthy in the context of ETC: while taiko players are inherently focused on rhythm and movement, this does not necessarily translate into a capacity for dance. Why, then, did a group of drummers dance twice, ultimately performing 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' together to mark the end of the fourth conference and possible conclusion of the ETC series?

Nahachewsky (1995: 1) notes that 'the process of dancing is important. A good dance differs from a less successful performance based on how it feels'. I suggest that the immediate participation afforded by the simplicity of both the rhythm and choreography generated a jubilant feeling among dancers – one that comes across in the photographs presented in Figures 5.12 and 5.15 and the accompanying recording. This is in part due to dancing in synchronisation with scores of others, in turn producing the 'mass rhythmic environment' conceived in Kaeppler's dances of participation (1993: 62). The common

human feeling, hope, or experience of belonging to a community where members act together is ultimately realised. As Caroline Potter (2012: 215) notes, 'the ephemeral nature of dancing, combined with its bodily immediacy, make it difficult to ignore in the short term. In being there, in witnessing and/or participating in the dancing, one recognises the living, vital presence of others'.

Count	1	&	2	&	3	&	4	&
Line 1	Dig (R)		Dig (R)		Pick (L)		Pick (L)	
Line 2	Dig (R)		Dig (R)		Pick (L)		Pick (L)	
Line 3	Gather	Gather	Gather	Нор	Gather	Gather	Gather	Нор
Line 4	Sweat (R)		Sweat (R)		Sweat (L)		Sweat (L)	
Line 5	Big wheel (R)		Big wheel (L)		Big wheel (R)		Big wheel (L)	
Line 6	Toss (R)	\rightarrow	Toss (L)	\rightarrow	Toss (R)	\rightarrow	Toss (R)	\rightarrow
<i>Ji-uchi</i> (Base Rhythm)	大大大大大大 T C J C J C J C J C J C J C J C J C J C							

Musical Example 5.8. 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' movements mapped against 48-beat rhythmic cycle.

A feature of MCS is its ability to occur among participants who are alien to each other and yet produce an intimate musical world. While the spontaneous teaching, learning and participatory performance of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' took place towards the end of the ETC4, it is nevertheless worth remembering that a full 50% of places targeted at European players were reserved for conference newcomers. In other words, we can reasonably assume that participants had not forged connections with everyone else in attendance. Dancing 'Ei Ja Nai Kai' was a fundamentally embodied act by participants, one I suggest indicates openness to the experiences of others (i.e. Japanese immigrants to California) yet also served as a means of further producing and solidifying a European taiko community. Each cycle of the 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' dance lasts approximately 24 seconds; dancers thus performed the cycle around 75 times each over the course of the participatory performances on Saturday and Sunday, resulting in kinaesthesia. By moving together synchronously, taiko players from diverse social and musical backgrounds generate a deep sense of bonding and solidarity (i.e. communitas), ultimately enabling 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' to reach 'new locations through the bodies, minds, and memories of its dancers' (Pietrobruno 2006: 2).

5.6.3 Conclusion

The 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' case study presents an intriguing possibility, namely that musical cosmopolitan sociability can apply to music and dance forms other than taiko. While the manifestation occurred within the framework of a taiko event, participants nevertheless generated MCS using participatory dance. I suggest simple, recurring bodily movements performed synchronously by participants serve to produce embodied belonging to a European taiko community. In other words, by moving together repeatedly, cosmopolitan players demonstrate awareness of and receptivity to a community of practice centred on the shared domain of taiko. The original purpose of Hirabayashi's composition, namely to build a sense of community among Japanese Americans and the wider community in California, is repurposed for a new social context and time.

A second distinguishing factor is spontaneity. My fieldnotes record that 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' was a personal highlight of the fourth European Taiko Conference yet Hirabayashi, Imperial and Uemura did not plan to share the piece in advance. Similarly, the idea to dance 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' in the early spring sunshine as a means of marking the conference's conclusion was impromptu. While the other instances of MCS explored in this chapter have demanded extensive forethought and planning, this fourth case study suggests it can be generated on impulse. However, it is worth highlighting that the three San Jose Taiko players who facilitated the process are highly experienced teachers and performers – a potential contributory factor. A second point to consider is that the dancing took place in the wider context of the conference – one which actively focused on 'developing the community, developing the art form' and sought to foster further cosmopolitanism through a transparent policy of allocating places and the provision of language groups. The relative importance of the wider ecosystem in which such instances of MCS occur is certainly worth focusing upon in any future research on the phenomenon.

5.7 The Limits and Potential Wider Applications of Musical Cosmopolitan Sociability

At the outset of this chapter, I presented the following working definition of musical cosmopolitan sociability: 'an empirically verifiable demonstration of openness to common human feelings, hopes, and/or experiences articulated through musicking. Settings and contexts may be transient, and participants may be alien to each other, yet an intimate musical world is created'. By providing musical and ethnographic evidence of its workings from four distinctive case studies across the sequence of European Taiko Conferences (2016-2019), we can reasonably conclude that the phenomenon not only occurs but also is adaptable – at least in this setting. For example, case studies one, two and three demonstrate that MCS can be anticipated and subsequently generated in the residential conference environment following careful forward planning. In contrast, case study four illustrates a spontaneous manifestation of MCS generated on impulse. Moreover, each iteration of the European Taiko Conference attracted different player profiles in terms of country of residence, language competence, and previous participation in the event. Indeed, roughly half of delegates were newcomers at the 2017, 2018 and 2019 conferences, suggesting the phenomenon can indeed take place in transient contexts among players who are – at least in part – alien to one another.

The performance of 'Never Again Is Now' at the second European Taiko Conference provides further examples of the phenomenon's adaptability and potential limits. The case study clearly demonstrates that digital tools can be used to engage in shared preparatory work in anticipation of musicking together and generating musical cosmopolitan sociability. As musicians and the world at large question when gatherings like ETC might occur in future due to COVID-19 and its resultant restrictions, it seems reasonable to question whether MCS can be generated via purely digital interactions or in face-to-face settings which are radically altered due to social distancing measures.

All four ethnographic case studies took place in the wider context of the conference's objective ('developing the community, developing the art form'), one developed and pursued by Jonathan Kirby. In my conclusion to the final case study, I recommend further exploration of the interplay between the conference ethos and instances of MCS facilitated by participants (as opposed to organisers). This leads to a wider question, namely whether all four instances of musical cosmopolitan sociability occurred because of the conference's overarching objective and atmosphere. This is a reasonable conclusion to draw for case studies one and three, which respectively analyse how the conference programme developed by Kirby facilitates community building at ETC and in Europe more widely. However, the evidence is less clear for case studies two and four (the collaborative arrangement and performance of 'Never Again Is Now' and spontaneous teaching, learning and celebratory performance of 'Ei Ja Nai Ka). Throughout my consideration of this phenomenon, I have demanded empirical verification precisely because MCS is a potentially nebulous concept. As the author of this inductively generated model derived from data gathered over four consecutive years of fieldwork, I suggest that researchers who choose to examine this phenomenon in future pay attention to the interaction and interdependence of the setting (e.g. aims and objectives) and instances of MCS.

A piece of data generated at ETC4 supports my call to examine the role of the conference objective in manifesting musical cosmopolitan sociability. Kirby asked delegates to discuss the role and meaning of the conference in their taiko lives during the final language group check in on Sunday, February 24, 2019. This was, in part, due to Kirby's candour about his potential future role in a European conference; nearing retirement age, and with no conference planned for 2020 to encourage European players to attend the World Taiko Conference in Tokyo, he highlighted in the printed programme that 'I do not want ETC to depend on me in the long-term' (European Taiko Conference 2019: para. 3). As the English language lead, I was responsible for convening the discussion. During a conversation that I characterised as 'deep, celebratory, and moving' in my fieldnotes, participants both conceived and repeatedly returned to a metaphor that reflected the collective mood. Conscious of the need to feed back in plenary and act as inclusively as possible, I asked Fred 'Pouick' Folly – a delegate from Francophone Switzerland who works as an artist – to draw the metaphor so that I could explain it during the plenary. Her output is shared in Figure 5.16.

When I revealed the image in plenary as part of the closing session, it was clear no language-based explanation was required to convey our collective feeling. Appreciative murmurs, exclamations and warm smiles characterised the reactions, both among delegates who had participated in the English language session and others. In short, however, discussants characterised the conference as the roots, core and pollinating force of the European taiko community. ETC is a strong, robust tree which in turn germinates new taiko practice across the continent and beyond, ultimately fulfilling its ongoing objective of 'developing the community, developing the art form'. I suggest that given my subgroup's immediate focus on the conference objective and wider ethos, neither can be overlooked in any future considerations of musical cosmopolitan sociability and its manifestations.



Figure 5.16. Visual representation of the meaning of the European Taiko Conference to members of the English language group at the fourth conference. Drawing by Fred 'Pouick' Folly.

As an ensemble-based art form, taiko demands both social and musical connections with others. As two of the four case studies demonstrate, however, musical cosmopolitan sociability can be generated with and through other music and dance forms, leading me to ponder the relevance of musical cosmopolitan sociability to other genres. We cannot determine its applicability in other musical contexts until comparative analysis can be undertaken at a similar event – a process that might be significantly delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, when such fieldwork is possible, I suggest focusing on one variable, namely whether the shared domain among participants is a solo or ensemble instrument.

A suitable event where such comparative analysis might occur is the World Shakuhachi Festival (WSF). Next scheduled to take place in Chaozhou (in the eastern Guangdong province of China) in 2022, WSF:

is a four-day festival for *shakuhachi* aficionados from all over the world and is held on different continents approximately every four years. ... [It] continues the tradition established in 1994 of gathering professional and amateur performers, scholars, and enthusiasts of the *shakuhachi* from around the globe for a festival in the style of an international musical congress. The festival has from its

beginning been a rare opportunity in which most of the top players from diverse backgrounds, styles and guilds in *shakuhachi*, *koto* and *shamisen* get together and perform. The WSF has thus became an established event to listen to and learn from the leading players in the world (World Shakuhachi Festival n.d.: online).

Shared traits are immediately identifiable from the above description. For example, both the European Taiko Conference and World Shakuhachi Festival bring together a cosmopolitan community of practice through the shared domain of a musical instrument, accommodate players of varying skill levels, and offer opportunities to watch performances and learn through workshops delivered by professionals. The immediate point of contrast, however, is the nature of the instrument around which festival and conference participants convene. The *shakuhachi* is a Japanese bamboo aerophone and its repertoire is principally solo. The sociability inherent in *kumi-daiko* (translated as *ensemble* taiko drumming) is absent as *shakuhachi* players typically undertake independent practice. Thus, future research could meaningfully explore whether musical cosmopolitan sociability can be generated through the shared practice (e.g. in workshops) of a solo instrument at an ephemeral, cosmopolitan event such as WSF. Ultimately, musical cosmopolitan sociability offers a rich avenue through which to explore contemporary communities of musical practice at play in a range of settings.

6. A Figure in the Landscape: Martin Doyle

In this sixth and final substantive chapter, I focus upon Martin Doyle – the co-founder, artistic director and lead instructor of Glasgow-based Tsuchigumo Daiko. I first met Doyle and Shonagh Walker, the group's co-founder, in 2016 at the inaugural European Taiko Conference (ETC). Thereafter, I joined Tsuchigumo Daiko and participated in twice-weekly training sessions led by the pair. I explore Doyle's career as a Scottish player, group (co-)leader and composer in order to contextualise some of the quantitatively derived findings presented elsewhere in the thesis. In particular, I focus upon his relationship with Japanese groups and instructors, his development of a distinctive ensemble 'style' and his role as a professional taiko artist (as opposed to a leisure player). Thereafter, I analyse 'MozamJam', an open-source piece composed by Doyle, in order to determine how key processes within the wider landscape of taiko practice (LoTP) – including musical cosmopolitan sociability and transmission – occur at the local level. By drawing upon qualitative data largely derived from semi-structured interviews as well as musical analysis of the composition, I illustrate a Scottish working musician's involvement in and contribution to the LoTP through the act of composition for a global audience. Unless otherwise stated, quotations and data about Doyle come from his interviews with me.

6.1 Working Musicians in the UK Community of Taiko Practice

In early 2016, Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker co-founded Tsuchigumo Daiko. Since the group's first practice session at Headhunter Studios in Kinning Park, Glasgow, the ensemble has become a fixture in the UK community of taiko practice (CoTP) and wider international landscape. In addition to offering a variety of regular classes in Scotland's most populous city, including intensive training for members of Tsuchigumo Daiko's performing group, Doyle and Walker routinely travel within Europe in order to deliver workshops to other ensembles. They also appear regularly at community events, offering classes, performances and stage management support at gatherings such as the Humber Taiko Festival, European Taiko Conference (ETC) and Taikopalooza in Ulm, Germany. The wider ensemble routinely performs at a range of events, including full-length theatre shows, collaborative performances (e.g. with Bharatanatyam Indian classical dancers) as part of wider festivals, and Japan-themed events (such as Orkney Japan Association's *matsuri*).

Unlike most groups in the United Kingdom, Tsuchigumo Daiko is run as a professional outfit – an element that may in part account for the ensemble's quickly acquired local, national and international prominence. While Walker performs and teaches taiko alongside a full-time career as a scientist, Doyle works as a professional musician and is solely focused on the artistic and operational direction of the group – hence my focus upon his activities. As highlighted in chapter one of the thesis, fewer than one in ten (9%) UK-based respondents to the TCA Taiko Census earned more than half of their income through taiko, suggesting only a handful of British players can claim that taiko is their occupation. Nevertheless, as the preceding chapters have illustrated, these 'professionals' make a significant contribution to the CoTP and wider landscape; Jonathan Kirby's instigation, development and ongoing management of the UK Taiko Festival and ETC serves as a key example.

With regards to music workers, Ioannis Tsioulakis (2020: para. 4) suggests that 'to emphasise music as work is to bring attention to the labour that is required to produce affective sounds and to refocus on those who perform it as well as the conditions within

which they do so'. In the preceding chapters, I certainly acknowledged contributions by fulltime taiko artists, including Kirby, Karen Young and Shoji Kameda among others. However, I paid sustained attention to taiko gatherings and the attendant outputs and outcomes. By examining Doyle's activities, I aim to make two novel contributions to the thesis: first, to begin theorising about the social and musical roles performed by British working taiko players (beyond event management); and second, to illustrate how wider trends within the CoTP and landscape occur at the local level in the UK, particularly in light of the composition and dissemination of 'MozamJam'.

I fully acknowledge that this chapter represents labour by a single, professional musician – one who co-leads an ensemble of taiko players. While we thus cannot draw conclusions at the national or international level, I nevertheless hope to offer theoretical insights into the musical activities of a well-known, internationally active working Scottish player.

6.2 Martin Doyle: A Working Scottish Taiko Artist

Martin Doyle started his musical career as a kit drummer, an instrument he 'loved ... because I was always at the back'. He began playing more than twenty-five years ago, principally performing with rock and metal bands in Glasgow. Doyle left his job as a technical support engineer to study music formally: he enrolled at James Watt College in Greenock, Inverclyde, before undertaking an honours degree in Popular Music Performance at the University of the Highlands and Islands. During his studies at the university's campus in Perth, he came across taiko. His biography on the Tsuchigumo Daiko website notes that he was:

immediately drawn to the synergy of physicality and musicality. After graduating University with First Class Honours, he toured and performed around the UK and abroad for the next five years as part of a professional Taiko ensemble. After deciding to completely rebuild his Taiko playing from the ground up, he co-founded Tsuchigumo Daiko with his partner Shonagh to set about exploring possibilities within Taiko and provide an outlet to express his love of music, drumming, rhythm, martial arts, and physical fitness (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.b: online).

Like most participants at the inaugural ETC, Doyle was first exposed to taiko in the United Kingdom; thereafter, he trained as a professional performer in Scotland. Over the course of five years, he performed in more than 400 taiko concerts in the UK and overseas while undertaking other creative duties (e.g. teaching) for the group, in turn gaining considerable experience as a working taiko artist.

Following his departure from his first ensemble, Doyle co-founded Tsuchigumo Daiko since there were 'no other groups operating in Scotland; well, nobody that was looking to take it to a professional level anyway, you know? So it felt like we had to break new ground and go our own way'. From the outset, Doyle planned to explore the creative limits of the art form. Setting up a new ensemble from scratch, however, demanded extensive musical *and* logistical work. Tasks included sourcing and financing drums, ancillary equipment and rehearsal space; composing repertoire, drills and exercises; setting up, promoting and delivering public classes; securing gigs for the performing group; and marketing the ensemble through the creation of a website and social media channels and activities. In other words, founding, leading and establishing the group within the UK CoTP demanded a wide range of daily activities.



Figure 6.1. Portrait photo of Martin Doyle. Photo by Vera Cloe Zebrowska.

6.2.1. Developing a Distinctive Style in a Community of Taiko Practice

Tsuchigumo Daiko's first public performance took place at the inaugural ETC in February 2016 – an event designed 'to gather together leaders and key members from as many different European taiko groups as possible' (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.b: online). Following Tsuchigumo Daiko's announcement on social media channels dedicated to taiko (e.g. UK Taiko Scene), Jonathan Kirby approached Doyle and Walker to encourage their participation at the conference – in part to ensure all four countries of the UK were represented but also to expose the group to European taiko players. Reflecting upon Kirby's request to perform at ETC, Doyle notes that:

We [Doyle and Shonagh Walker] were already writing songs at that point and starting the process of getting some repertoire under our belt. I really didn't want to be hamstrung playing other people's music, so I wanted to develop our own style quickly. The teaching and all the exercises would inform the style, you know, it would all be synergistic, and not simply using other people's techniques and ways of doing things. So we'd already started that process of composing, and it was a case of trying to get something ready for ETC. We really only got the drums to play on, I think it was two weeks before the actual conference, so that gave us a nice push. It gave us a deadline to work towards, to try and get us ready for a performance.

I suggest that three key points emerge from Doyle's remarks: first, the intentional development of a unique, recognisable ensemble 'style' from the outset; second, the creation of a teaching approach expressly designed to develop this style among group members; and third, the players' capacity to develop a performance with limited rehearsal time on the drums. As the photograph presented in Figure 6.2 illustrates, Doyle, Walker and Andrew Abercrombie⁹² – the three Tsuchigumo Daiko members present at the inaugural ETC – performed a piece that employs cross-hand technique, one that requires players to develop a fluid, relaxed flow between two drums. Moreover, execution demands mastery of *bachi* grips, bodily movements and positions specific to the form. Consequently, it is typically

⁹² Andrew Abercrombie and Shonagh Walker hold full-time employment in other sectors. Nevertheless, both are experienced artists: Walker has played taiko for more than fifteen years and serves as Tsuchigumo Daiko's coartistic director and a workshop instructor; whereas Abercrombie gained a degree in Music from the University of the Highlands and Islands and has played taiko since 2015.

performed by advanced players, immediately suggesting professionalism to the assembled audience.



Figure 6.2. Tsuchigumo Daiko's first public performance at the European Taiko Conference on February 19, 2016. Photo by Benjamin Pachter.

From the outset, Doyle articulated and incorporated the group's philosophy in compositions as well as other creative outputs, including the group's eponymous logo. Featuring a *tsuchigumo* (a species of spider indigenous to Japan, China and Taiwan), it appears on t-shirts, the group's website and social media channels as well as assorted promotional materials, including baked goods distributed at taiko gatherings. The artwork illustrates the philosophy behind the evolution of the group's 'exciting, creative, and highly energetic physical performance style' (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.a: online). Doyle writes that:

To us, Taiko is like a vast and colourful spectrum of possibilities, with each soloist or group offering their own unique take. This idea is represented in our logo, which features the three colours from which all others are made. As a group, we seek to create our own "hue" within this spectrum by embracing a variety of philosophies and methodologies to help us develop and refine our own.

Within the logo's simple design are the concepts which underpin our Taiko philosophy. At opposing ends, there is light and dark; the combination of these elements in our playing brings life to rhythmic patterns and movement. In the centre of each circle sits the Mitsudomoe (a symbol synonymous with Taiko), which represents our connection to the art, the world, and each other. The symbol for infinity appears in the centre, symbolising endless musical and artistic possibilities. Finally, there is the Yin-Yang, which represents the interconnected nature of seemingly opposing forces; a concept which informs certain techniques we utilise.

The circles themselves symbolise the cyclical nature of our Taiko journey, in that we should always return to where we began, shaped by our experiences and with a greater understanding of the world around us and our place within it (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.a: online).

Doyle describes an ambition to develop a unique approach constructed from a range of outlooks and techniques for contemporary taiko practice. His perspective allows for (and indeed actively encourages) personalised and distinctive expression. Moreover, relations with other players are accommodated socially and musically with scope for members to approach the drum anew based on enhanced understanding of the world and its constituent communities. In other words, membership of a wider CoTP – characterised by a common focus on taiko and desire to improve as a result of regular interactions – is foundational to the group's philosophy.

As Doyle's description above and Figure 6.3 make clear, the logo contains numerous symbolic references to Japan and East Asia, specifically the native spider, the *mitsudomoe* (typically seen as part of Japanese *mon* [family crests]), and – if somewhat abstractly – a *taijitu* (yin-yang). In other words, the genre's roots are recognisable, even if no express reference is made to the country.

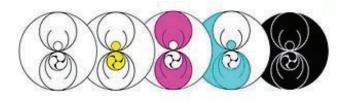


Figure 6.3. Evolution of the Tsuchigumo Daiko logo. Source: Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.a.

During a semi-structured interview, I questioned Doyle about his artistic vision for the group, particularly given his stated ambition 'to completely rebuild his Taiko playing from the ground up' (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.b: online). His response echoes section 2.1.3 of the thesis by highlighting an ongoing tension between deference to Japanese artists and the desire to forge a new, distinctive approach. He states that:

Artistically, I looked to groups I really enjoyed watching for inspiration; Tokara were an influence, Amanojaku were an influence, Shidara, Kodō, obviously. I didn't really want to go down the route of Hollywood-style taiko. It was about trying to create our own way of doing things. Previously, I'd been taught certain ways of doing things, and felt somewhat restricted by this notion of rules. Not being Japanese, I really didn't feel like I could create an authentic taiko performance, if you want to put it that way, in the Japanese way perhaps. But from seeing other groups, especially in America, I noticed they each had their very own identity, you know? Obviously, keeping in touch with the roots and traditions of taiko is important, but in order for any artform to grow, it needs to expand in different directions, undergo periodic reinvention. We wanted to break away from the norm, a little. When you understand the rules, so to speak, you can begin to bend and break them as a means to finding your own voice. I was hugely inspired by Shoji Kameda who's always maintained that we should "find your own voice and, try things. Try it out and see if it works."

Doyle's description reveals several interconnected elements at play. Notably, despite the stated desire to 'create our own way of doing things', he references groups based in Japan – Tokara, Amanojaku, Shidara and Kod \bar{o}^{93} – as stylistically appealing and influential. Similarly, as

⁹³ While all four groups are based in Japan, it is worth noting that Tokara's Artistic Director is Art Lee, an American player. Lee, however, is firmly embedded in the Japanese taiko scene; as his profile highlights, he 'is the first and only non-Japanese person to be crowned Solo Grand Champion of the world's most prestigious taiko competition in Tokyo' and was 'the first person in the world to be awarded an artist visa from the Japanese government to teach Taiko and lead the life of a professional Taiko artist in Japan' (Tokara Japan n.d.: online).

a player exposed to the art form and trained in the UK, Doyle acknowledges that his own teachers determined which aspects of (Japanese) taiko heritage they wanted to engage with and thus what he initially practiced and performed as taiko. Nevertheless, exposure to the LoTP – particularly groups and professional players in the USA and Canada – proved transformational: Doyle cites the influence of Shoji Kameda who, along with creative partner Masato Baba, blends the 'study and deep appreciation of Japanese traditional music with equally formative experiences as DJs, jazz musicians, electronic music producers, and rock bassists to produce, record and perform some of the most compelling and creative taiko music' (On Ensemble n.d.: online). Through contact with players in a country where 'taiko has become a rich and varied form of drumming, as idiomatically North American as jazz or American Indian drumming', Doyle observed manifold stylistic possibilities that proved inspirational for his musical work in Glasgow (Stanford Taiko n.d.: online).

Doyle's professional development activities reflect the wider tendency among participants at the inaugural ETC to learn from Japanese players. As detailed in section 2.1.3, a full third of respondents had travelled to Japan to take part in taiko activities during the previous three years while six in ten had participated in a local workshop with an international (typically Japanese) instructor. However, the volume of additional training is notable: both Doyle and Walker have studied with Masaaki Kurumaya (Hibiki Daiko, Kurumaya Taiko Orchestra); Art Lee (Wadaiko Tokara); Hiroshi Motofuji (Oedo Sukeroku, soloist); Chieko Kojima (Kodō, Hanayui); Katsuji Kondo (ex-Kodō, Soloist); Akio Tsumura (Miyake Doushikai); Kazuaki Tomida (Ondekoza, soloist); Isaku Kageyama (Amanojaku, Unit One, soloist); Eiichi Saito (Kodō); and Shogo Yoshii (ex-Kodō, Soloist) in varied settings.

In addition to multiple workshops and short courses with individual Japanese players, Doyle and Walker participated in 'Roots of Kodō' in September 2018. Kodō member Eri Uchida⁹⁴ developed the project following a workshop tour to Europe that included a session with Tsuchigumo Daiko members. The nine-day residential programme targeted at players from beyond Japan took place at the Kodō Apprentice Centre on Sado Island. As Uchida notes, it expressly sought to facilitate the growth of individual approaches:

rather than try to teach them [the participants] what Kodo's way of expression [sic], if I shared the roots of what we, Kodo, value as a group, then that might be the best way for each of them to move forward in their own pursuit of genuine taiko expression. ... I kept asking myself if all these activities were necessary for simply playing taiko, and I made a real effort not to just gloss over things by saying "In Japan, we do this" or "That's just the way it is." By being thoughtful about every element, what was actually important became clear and it was regardless of any country or culture. ... How the Roots of Kodo participants raise the seeds we gave them is up to each one of them. ... I wonder what kind of flowers will bloom from those seeds in each participant's country in the future (Uchida 2018: online).

Uchida designed a programme to foster the development of individual styles among mostly working taiko artists from the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and the United States. In other words, the event did not seek to transmit a standardised style or viewpoint on taiko. Instead, the programme hosted by Kodō – arguably the best-known ensemble – intended to equip players with the skills and understanding to develop their own approach to the art form in their country of residence. In section 2.2, I discussed the capacity of Kodō's antecedent group to adapt the art form in response to international *audiences*. Through 'Roots of Kodō', Uchida sought to make taiko adaptable to international *practitioners* and their local contexts. In response, Doyle and Walker described the experience as deeply meaningful, reflecting that

⁹⁴ Uchida left Kodō in May 2019 and is now an independent artist.

'its profound effect on us is sure to be felt for the rest of our lives' (@Tsuchigumo Daiko, September 23, 2018).

Delegates at the fourth European Taiko Conference gained some insight into the close bonds forged among the six 'Roots of Kodō' participants – all of whom attended. Performing as 'The RoK Group' on the evening of Saturday, February 23, 2019, the group humorously depicted the infamously demanding programme that Kodō apprentices follow and to which they were briefly exposed. On both Sado Island and on stage in Hamburg, Germany, the six players 'exercised, ran, cooked, farmed, cleaned, studied, sang, danced, and played together ...', illustrating the global reach of the art form as well as the players' desire to respect rigour and heritage while developing novel stylistic approaches (@Tsuchigumo Daiko, September 23, 2018).

In addition to studying with Japanese players and groups, Walker and Doyle have undertaken training with numerous players from the USA, including: Tiffany Tamaribuchi (Ondekoza, Sacramento Taiko Dan, Soloist); Mark H Rooney (Mark H Taiko); Shoji Kameda (On Ensemble, Soloist); Masato Baba (On Ensemble, Taiko Project); Yuta Kato (Soloist, Unit One), and San Jose Taiko. By participating in national and international conferences, festivals and programmes, and inviting visiting artists to deliver workshops for members of Tsuchigumo Daiko, Doyle and Walker have not only been exposed to a breadth of styles, techniques and approaches but have forged connections with other working artists. For instance, Shoji Kameda – a Grammy-nominated musician – appeared as a guest artist in 'Ikigai', the ensemble's second theatre show that premiered in October 2019. Moreover, Doyle and Walker formed part of the core staff for the Utah Taiko Experience, a nine-day taiko retreat organised by the founder of Taiko Zentrum Deutschland and sponsored by kaDON. While the event was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Doyle noted that 'some of our favourite people in the Taiko world will be in attendance, including two of the most prominent and innovative players and educators, Shoji Kameda and Yuta Kato' – both of whom are based in California (@Tsuchigumo Daiko, January 31, 2020). Yet what does this illustrate about the workings of the LoTP?

Put simply, a small group of mostly working taiko artists⁹⁵ based in Germany, Scotland and California – with support from kaDON's Japanese parent company – worked together. They sought to develop 'a chance to learn, grow, create, and perform, whilst deepening the connection to our extended taiko family, fostering new relationships, and getting closer to nature itself' (ibid). Members of the Utah Taiko Experience team formed a community of practice: they share a common profession and interact regularly despite physical distance – through collaborative performances, Roots of Kodō, workshop tours, conferences and community-led events – in order to provide a training opportunity to the wider taiko community. Ultimately, this brief example illustrates the intrinsically porous nature of geographical boundaries and a global team at work to support the development of the art form.

⁹⁵ In addition to Purcell, Doyle, Walker, Kameda and Kato (the principal instructor at the Los Angeles Taiko Institute), Diana Wu and Jason Matsumoto (kaDON staff) formed part of the organising team.

6.2.2. Presenting a Distinctive Style in a Community of Taiko Practice

A brief review of both 'Ikigai' and 'Kokoro' – Tsuchigumo Daiko's two full-length concert productions – reveals how global connections are reflected musically.⁹⁶ Even though all Tsuchigumo Daiko members are White, both shows employed Japanese titles: 'Kokoro' (心) translates as mind, heart, spirit (Jisho n.d.b); whereas 'Ikigai' (生き甲斐) means a reason for living or purpose in life (Jisho n.d.a). The concerts included 'a few traditional songs', including Doyle's arrangements of physically demanding pieces (Jansson 2018a: 3). For 'Yatai Bayashi',⁹⁷ players position the drums between their legs and lean back at a thirty-degree angle, thus demanding significant core strength (see Figure 6.4). In 'Miyake', a song core to Kodo's repertoire that emerged from a visit by players to Miyake Island, drums are arranged on low stands in a triangle, requiring players to sustain a deep and wide squat while striking the drumhead (see Figure 6.5). 'Buchiawase', a festival piece that originated at Kainan Shrine on Miura Peninsula but has since been widely adopted and arranged by groups globally, requires teams of three players to perform solos while rotating on a single drum, often demanding a frantic pace. While performed at a much slower tempo, 'Raku', a popular, opensource piece composed by Shidara Taiko (a touring Japanese ensemble) similarly requires teams of three to share a drum. Finally, the concerts included performances of 'Hachijo' by Walker and Doyle, a form popularised by Chieko Kojima, a founding member of Kodo. The style is improvisational and features two players – performing the solo and base beat respectively - striking the two heads of the same drum. As Bender (2012: 193) argues, 'emplacement and circulation are closely related'. In his capacity as co-artistic director of a UK ensemble, Doyle incorporated a wide variety of regional drumming styles from across Japan into a theatre show targeted at Scottish audiences.



Figure 6.4. Player performing 'Yatai Bayashi'. Line drawing by Morag Kewell.



Figure 6.5. Player performing 'Miyake'. Line drawing by Morag Kewell.

While both concerts incorporated styles and songs that originated in Japan, the set lists also included pieces expressly composed for the global taiko community. In May 2017, Shoji Kameda taught his composition 'Omiyage' to the performing group during a workshop in Glasgow. Kameda 'wrote this song as a gift to the taiko community back in 2004 and it has become one of the most widely shared and performed pieces in North America' (World Taiko Conference n.d.: online). While Kameda has taught the piece to groups in the UK, Sweden

⁹⁶ See Tsuchigumo Daiko 2019 and 2020a for concert showreels.

⁹⁷ The piece was popularised by Ondekoza but is based upon performances by local players at an annual festival in Chichibu (Pachter 2015a).

and Germany and provided free and ready access to learning resources online, ⁹⁸ it is less widely played in Europe, likely because it employs *naname kata* – a style that is not typically practiced in Europe. Indeed, when Doyle, Walker, Abercrombie and I formed part of the line up for a collaborative performance at the third European Taiko Conference in Hamburg, I noticed that the other players – including Kameda, Yuta Kato, Masato Baba, Rannoch Purcell and Lucy Thomas – were principally working taiko artists.

In addition to 'Omiyage', Doyle included 'Narushima' ('Roaring Island') on the 'Kokoro' and 'Ikigai' set lists, a piece composed by former Kodō member Katsuji Kondo and taught by Eiichi Saito at ETC3. Most delegates who learned 'Narushima' at the conference and completed the evaluative survey six weeks later had already started to teach the piece to other members of their group; indeed, it was the most shared piece of repertoire from ETC3.⁹⁹ Broadly speaking, however, Doyle estimates that about three-quarters of the shows' content was original material. Reflecting upon the thematic organisation of his own compositions, as well as 'traditional' arrangements by Japanese artists and songs by Kameda and Kondo, he stated that:

We really wanted the show to tell a story, so it will have an overarching narrative. This show is essentially our origin story! I am a huge comic book fan, so the idea of an origin story on stage really appealed to me. The way the pieces are organised is representative of different points on our journey, so the pieces have been chosen or composed specifically for their mood (quoted in Jansson 2018a: 4).

Doyle's sustained interest in comic books is well known among Tsuchigumo Daiko members. In an artwork produced by Morag Kewell,¹⁰⁰ Doyle is presented lifting weights while wearing a batman t-shirt, in turn reflecting his longstanding interests in physical fitness and superheroes. As illustrated in Figure 6.6, elements of other members' lives – including their jobs (e.g. doctor, Japanese teacher), personal hobbies and interests (e.g. running, Star Trek), and family roles (e.g. mother) – are also depicted.

One might reasonably ask why Doyle's interest in comic books is relevant to his practice as a working Scottish taiko artist. The answer is straightforward: Doyle's role as 'the group's resident comic-book nerd' is evidenced musically, in turn supporting his objective to 'explore possibilities within taiko' (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.b: online). In terms of the concert, the origin story sets out how a character acquired their abilities (which may in turn make them a superhero/villain). As Rosenberg (2013: para. 8) outlines, such tales 'inspire us and provide models of coping with adversity, finding meaning in loss and trauma, discovering our strengths and using them for good purpose'. In his first full-length concert as co-artistic director of a new ensemble, Doyle presented a wide variety of pieces, including arrangements of 'traditional' songs learnt early in his playing career, pieces shared by and for members of the global taiko community, as well as his own compositions.

⁹⁸ Kameda was due to teach the piece to members of Taiko Hungary in Budapest. The workshop (scheduled to take place in June 2020) was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

⁹⁹ The evaluation report I prepared for the conference organisers is unpublished as it contains confidential feedback about named individuals.

¹⁰⁰ Kewell is a member of Tsuchigumo Daiko and works as a sculptor and comic artist.



Figure 6.6. Caricatures of members of Tsuchigumo Daiko. Line drawing by Morag Kewell.

'Crossing the Streams', a reference to 'Ghostbusters', is an example of a composition by Doyle which actively incorporates and reflects his personal interest in comic books. As the photograph presented in Figure 6.7 illustrates, players establish interlocking rhythmic 'streams' by striking the stage floor with one *bachi* while tossing the second. The piece refers to multiple proton streams crossing paths; suspense is built up by the (very real) possibility that a player will drop a drumstick, thus interrupting the flow of the piece. Ahead of the piece's debut, I composed a flute part to allow the drummers to move from the floor to the drums behind. Considering the piece's theme, I arranged the 'Ghostbusters' theme song written by Ray Parker Jr. for the 1984 film with a motif from 'Kōjō no Tsuki' (荒城の月, 'The Moon over the Ruined Castle'), a Meiji-era (1868–1912) Japanese song that was later popularised in North America and Europe by Thelonious Monk's arrangement for his 1967 album ('Straight, No Chaser'). Although wholly anecdotal, my discussions with audience members at the 2017 Humber Taiko Festival made clear that they had recognised the intended 'Ghostbusters' theme; indeed, many stated that it was their favourite piece from the concert.

While a technically difficult piece, 'Crossing the Streams', as well as both concerts, reflect how one's personal interests can be incorporated into taiko performance. I suggest that the 'Ghostbusters' inspired song illustrates Doyle's ambition to explore the creative limits of the art form through composition and leadership of a professional ensemble – one that can perform complex techniques, rhythms and choreography. As previously intimated, however, Doyle is also extremely active within the UK CoTP – where almost 80% of players spend less than five hours per week on taiko (Walker 2016c) – as well as the global landscape of taiko practice. Given Tsuchigumo Daiko's 'group ethos focused on sharing the joy and benefits of Taiko, fostering community, inclusivity, and personal development', I now turn to consider 'MozamJam' – a composition written by Doyle for the wider taiko community (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.a: online).



Figure 6.7. Members of Tsuchigumo Daiko performing 'Crossing the Streams' composed by Martin Doyle. Photo by Ian Pickles.

6.3 'MozamJam': An Open Community Piece

In 2017, members of Tsuchigumo Daiko travelled to Exeter, Devon, to participate in the twelfth UK Taiko Festival. From June 30–July 2, more than 160 players from across the UK and Europe participated in workshops taught by seven leaders, including Doyle and Walker. The programme also included three discrete evening concerts, namely 'A Feast of Taiko', in which some 150 youth players from 11 groups performed; 'Pulse and Roll', a performance by Kagemusha Taiko (the host group) with guest appearances by Shoji Kameda and Shogo Yoshii; and 'Brother Drum'. The final festival concert proved somewhat atypical for an international community gathering:

Featuring players from England, Scotland, Japan and USA, Brother Drum involves not only the theatrical drama and emotional power of taiko drumming, it also embraces folk and traditional music from those countries, as typified by the title song of the show. Guest artists include: Hibiki Ichikawa on shamisen (Kubo and the 2 Strings), Damian Clarke on hurdy-gurdy and hammer dulcimer, Shogo Yoshii on flutes and kokyu, George Whitfield on accordion, and Shoji Kameda on taiko, flutes and percussion (Kagemusha Taiko n.d.d: online).

In addition to presenting hybrid duets, such as *fue* and accordion, and ensemble pieces employing taiko, shamisen, hurdy-gurdy, *fue*, *kokyu*, bass guitar and voice, Tsuchigumo Daiko also presented four songs from its repertoire: 'Tatsumaki', the 'tornado'-inspired cross-hands piece composed by Doyle that three members performed at the inaugural European Taiko Conference; an arrangement of 'Buchiawase', a piece originating in Miura Peninsula, Japan, and now widely recognised within the landscape of practice; 'Hotei no Yoroi', a song composed by Doyle for intermediate to advanced players with 'a funky, swinging base...

[and] lots of off-beat rhythms, syncopation, and advanced movement'; and 'MozamJam', which employs 'the Mozambique rhythm as a base, and brings together other world music flavours in a fun and challenging celebration of drumming' (Tsuchigumo Daiko n.d.d: online). The concert undoubtedly attained variety through instrumentation and the incorporation of English and Japanese folk songs. Doyle, however, also integrated forms – aka 'world music flavours' – typically associated with other music cultures. To borrow Mark Slobin's succinct summary, music 'embodies any number of imagined worlds that people turn to music as a core form of expression' (1993: 78).

Doyle's inspiration for the composition emerged directly from exposure to the international taiko landscape, specifically the first European Taiko Conference in 2016. During a semi-structured interview with me, he recalled that:

seeing all those different interpretations and ways of playing, you start to see the scope of it. It's not as narrow as you thought it was and there's an element of "anything goes," pretty much. That first experience at ETC highlighted that. People were doing such wild and crazy things; things I'd never, never have dared to try previously. I found myself asking: "You can do that?" You know, there's all these questions that start to spark in your mind.

As Doyle describes above, seeing different taiko groups perform proved revelatory in terms of his willingness to experiment; indeed, one could reasonably argue that the second part of the conference objective ('develop the art form') was personally fulfilled for Doyle. Moreover, as he would go on to explain, Doyle was motivated to try new things both musically *and* socially as a result of participating in ETC.

As highlighted in chapter five, the European Taiko Conference promoted collaborative performances: at the first iteration, all delegates were encouraged to learn at least one opensource piece to perform together on the final day – a practice that continued over the following three years. Jonathan Kirby, the composer of 'Shimabayashi', and Shoji Kameda, who wrote 'Omiyage', 'Ready Set kaDON' and 'Worldwide Matsuri' as open-source pieces for the community, proved influential for Doyle, who recalls that:

I was inspired by Shoji and I was inspired by Jonathan Kirby, because they have given songs to the community for people to learn and play. I love the idea of having common repertoire that you can maybe learn at your own leisure, then go to a festival or something and everyone knows the song and can join in. It's just like the way other musicians would, with a guitar or a drum kit or whatever, you know, you just come together and start jamming. So that was another reason why the name MozamJam was important, because it was supposed to feel like we could just jam this piece out. We could just turn up and say "yay, let's just play it," you know, have some fun with it.

I argue that this statement reflects a theoretical cornerstone of this thesis: musical cosmopolitan sociability. Following exposure to varied approaches adopted by players from around the world, Doyle describes his openness to engaging with others by playing 'MozamJam', a piece composed for taiko community members so that they can come together and generate a joyful shared experience in a transient context (e.g. a festival). Moreover, I suggest that this concept is reflected musically in the composition through layering and inclusivity, and now turn my attention to musical analysis.

In addition to employing rhythmic patterns typically connected with other forms, 'MozamJam' – a piece composed for beginner to intermediate level – includes a pedagogic element. Indeed, Doyle's approach to composition is fundamentally rooted in teaching and learning. He notes:

With each composition I've created, I wanted to have some kind of function within them, where you learn something about your playing, your technique, your body etc. So, I'll include techniques that I want the group to reinforce in that particular song. But it simply can't be a bunch of practice rhythms masquerading as a "song." I also want to make it tuneful, memorable, and fun, by including a variety of textures and layers so there is a lot to learn in each song, plenty of aspects to practice and master (quoted in Jansson 2018a: 4).

Rhythmic and movement 'layers' are very much in evidence in 'MozamJam'. As Doyle's structure sheet (reproduced in Musical Example 6.1) and the prescriptive notation presented in Appendix P illustrate, the piece is arranged in four constituent parts: the introduction, main pattern (mozambique), call and answer, and the 'swooping' section – so called because players swing their arms as they step backwards and forwards behind the drums. The piece is organised as follows:

Section	Structure			
Introduction	(Lasts for 16 bars, with a new voice added every 4 bars)			
	Call Ji – 4 Bars			
	Answer <i>Ji</i> - joins in on bar 5			
	Ra-diddle-pa - joins in on bar 9			
	<i>O-daiko Ji</i> – Joins in on bar 13, plays 3 bars plus beat 1 of bar 4 (13			
	beats) Short <i>shime</i> Break – 2, 3 ,4			
Main pattern	Mozambique (All parts) - 16 bars			
	Build (<i>Nagado</i> and <i>Shime</i>)			
Call and answer	Call and Answer Patterns 1, 2, 3, 4 – 16 bars in total			
Swooping section	Shime Call Long - 4 bars of 6/8			
	Swooping Call and Answer – 8 times each.			
	Build (<i>Nagado</i> and <i>Shime</i>)			
Call and answer	Call and Answer Patterns 1, 2, 3, 4 – 16 bars in total			
Swooping section	Shime Call Short – 2 bars of 6/8			
(short)	Swooping Call and Answer – 8 times each			
Call and answer 2	Call A x 4 bars			
	Call B x 4 bars (in 6/8)			
	Call C x 4 bars (Part C is a crescendo, with first 2 bars quiet and			
	swelling over last 2).			
	Solo Break – 2 Bars (<i>Shime</i> Player)			
	Mozambique (All parts) – 16 Bars			
	Ending			

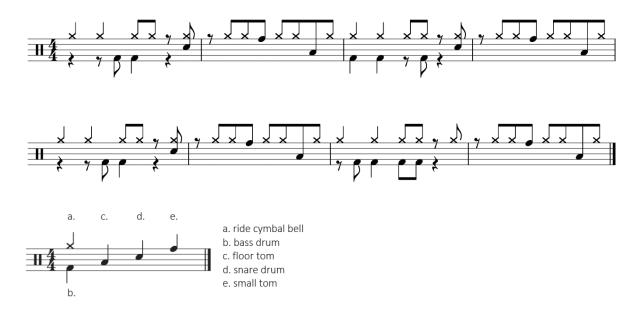
Musical Example 6.1. Structure sheet for 'MozamJam'. *Source*: Doyle 2017.

The mozambique rhythm serves as the backbone of the piece and occupies a conspicuous position in the title of the composition. However, before analysing it in the wider context of 'MozamJam', I suggest we first need to understand what it is.

Cuban musician Pello el Afrokán (1933-2000) developed the mozambique in the 1960s as a new dance rhythm. He selected the name to draw attention to his African heritage and Africans' inputs to Cuban culture. In other words, the nation state bore no influence. El Afrokán and his ensemble employed a battery of percussion instruments to perform the mozambique and other popular rhythms. In Cuba and beyond, the group's popularity spread swiftly; from 1965 onwards, artists in Puerto Rico and New York began to perform and record

the Cuban-style mozambique and arrange versions of their own (Moore 2006: 181-182). In the late 1970s, Steve Gadd – a renowned drummer – incorporated an arrangement of the rhythm into his drum set performances, in turn popularising the rhythm among kit players (Mulligan 2018).

I present a basic rhythmic sketch on drum set for the sake of efficiency. As the notated excerpt in Musical Example 6.2 illustrates, the mozambique offers a highly syncopated rhythm with several interlocking parts. Its transition to drum set broadly reflects the instrumentation of El Afrokán's percussion group (including rumba clave, cowbell, conga sets and *bombo* [bass drums]) by retaining distinctive voices, specifically the bass drum, floor and small toms, snare drum and ride cymbal bell.



Musical Example 6.2. Mozambique rhythm arranged for drum set. Source: Malabe and Weiner 1990: 48.

In performances by Tsuchigumo Daiko, the mozambique part is typically performed on *shime-daiko* paired with *chanchiki* (see Figure 6.8) – an instrument given an onomatopoeic name because of the two sounds it produces ('chan' and 'chiki').¹⁰¹ The two voices are illustrated in Musical Example 6.3; the crosshead represents the *chanchiki* and the standard notehead indicates the *shime-daiko* part. Optional strikes are also indicated by brackets to account for different abilities.

In addition to the core mozambique pattern, the structure reveals a variety of features, including breaks, ra-diddle-pa,¹⁰² four distinct rhythms, call and response, time signature changes, brief solos and a sustained *o-daiko* base rhythm. While two 'teams' are in conversation throughout the piece, the parts merge from bar 55 to become one voice, ultimately resolving and playing in unison. As Doyle described to me, 'it's like a party towards the end when you do that final break'.

¹⁰¹ This instrument is formally known as the *atarigane*. Doyle is one of many taiko players in the UK to refer to it as a *chanchiki*, hence why I use this term.

¹⁰² Ra-diddle-pa is a standard drum kit exercise, whereas Steve Gadd popularised the mozambique rhythm.



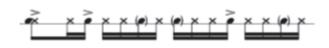


Figure 6.8. *Chanchiki. Source*: Asano Taiko Co. Ltd. n.d.a.

Musical Example 6.3. Mozambique pattern in 'MozamJam'. *Source*: Doyle 2017.

In terms of instrumentation, Tsuchigumo Daiko performs on *nagadao-daiko*, *o-daiko*, and *shime-daiko* paired with *chanchiki*. As Doyle explained to me, the combination of rhythms – which partly reflect his initial training as a drum kit player – 'was my way of putting a new voice into the mix... I'd never seen another group do that, where it was ... a rhythm from outwith Japanese culture being so prominent in a kind of taiko piece'. In other words, Doyle's composition is inherently cosmopolitan yet also reflects his personal ambition to explore the art form's possibilities.

While the piece certainly contains complex elements, Doyle also sought to ensure that players of different abilities could perform it. As already noted, Doyle scored optional modifications to the mozambique pattern. At the other end of the spectrum, the *o-daiko* part – performed by co-artistic director Shonagh Walker in the accompanying fieldwork recording from the 2017 UK Taiko Festival – is simply crotchet downbeats. Yet Doyle also uses the piece to illustrate players' capabilities. For instance, when teaching 'MozamJam' in the workshop setting, he reflects that:

when you break it into these small chunks, it's a great way of showing people that these things, ... [Mozambique and ra-diddle-pa] are not impossible. They're actually straightforward; it will just take some time to maybe build up the speed. ... But it's great to see the penny drop. People will watch me play it at full speed in a workshop, then within maybe half an hour, they realise it's nowhere near as difficult as they thought it was. You know, it just takes a bit more time. It's a great opportunity at that point for me to try and expand people's horizons a little bit, as to what they're capable of, but also in respect to embracing new rhythms, new ways of thinking about it, and maybe give them a little nudge in respect to composing for themselves.

Through the act of composing, sharing and teaching 'MozamJam', Doyle seeks to expose taiko players to a range of rhythms yet also develop specific skills. As a working taiko artist with formal education as a drum kit player and extensive technical training from Japanese and North American instructors, he is equipped to compose pieces that are accessible to a range of players while offering challenges for more advanced players. As the recorded performance illustrates, the tempo of the *shime-daiko* and *chanchiki* part demands technical skill yet can be played in an ensemble with a beginner who simply strikes downbeats on the *o-daiko*.

Following the piece's debut to participants at the UK Taiko Festival, Doyle and Walker travelled to groups and events, including Kagemusha Taiko (Newton Abbot, Devon), Taikoyaki (Paris), Energy Taiko Team (Fidenza, Italy), and Taikopalooza (Ulm, Germany) in order to teach the song. In addition, Doyle promoted the composition as a free piece for the community, offering documents and videos for practice via email. Groups from as far away as California and Brazil have learnt the piece in this way, a fact Doyle describes as 'mind blowing for me personally... it's just an amazing feeling that someone would pick up something that

you do and then want to play it and perform it'. Indeed, when Doyle submitted the materials to the World Taiko Conference's 'Taiko Composition Library', a global repository of opensource pieces for groups to learn, perform and adapt, members of the landscape were universally positive. Yoshihiko Miyamoto, the President of Miyamoto Unosuke Shoten, claimed 'MozamJam' is 'one of my favourite taiko piece[s]!' (November 14, 2020, 00:18am; comment on Tsuchigumo Daiko 2020b), whereas Australian player Mel Ski noted that 'this piece is so stupidly fun to play' (Taiko Rabbit Unicorns from Outer Space, November 13, 2020, 6:06pm; comment on Tsuchigumo Daiko 2020b). Posting under '#MozamJam #TaikoCommunity #TaikoLove #TaikoFamily', Doyle acknowledged that his composition 'has been an open community piece for a while, but this makes it kinda official' (Tsuchigumo Daiko 2020b).

6.4 Conclusion

By presenting and analysing the activities of Martin Doyle, I illustrate how recurring themes in the thesis – specifically UK players' connections to Japan and the influence of large-scale events on local practice – play out in practice. Although Doyle is somewhat atypical given his role as a working taiko artist, I suggest his experiences and interactions within the community of taiko practice represent what is possible for players in the United Kingdom. Through exposure to a variety of styles and approaches at events such as ETC, as well as sustained engagement in advanced training with ensembles such as Kodō, Doyle has developed an approach that is inherently cosmopolitan and rooted in the landscape of practice. He draws upon musicians (e.g. Kameda) and musical forms (e.g. mozambique) from around the world in order to develop and make a unique stylistic and compositional contribution to the art form. His developed outputs – such as songs, workshops and concerts – expand the skill sets of players as they come together to celebrate the art form at festivals and events. As Mark Slobin (1993: 23) suggests, the issue of 'the global within the local and vice-versa' needs to be addressed – an objective I hope to have achieved by presenting an individual musician and his composition as a unit of analysis.

7. Conclusion

This thesis results from my analysis of the UK taiko scene. My research sits at the nexus of two recent developments in the practice of *kumi-daiko*, neither of which have been subject to sustained scholarly analysis. The first is the rapid, multifaceted development of taiko across the four nations of the United Kingdom, spanning professional, community and school ensembles; local, national and international festivals; residential gatherings; composing; teaching; and performing. The second is UK players' role in a thriving transnational network of taiko practice – one that includes events expressly designed to foster exchange among players from diverse geographies and backgrounds. In my attempt to identify and understand both phenomena and latent interconnections, I pinpoint the development of well-defined networks and attendant value systems. While I am primarily concerned with players who are resident in the United Kingdom, I draw upon analogous developments in other parts of the world – particularly mainland Europe, North America and Japan – to exemplify the wider landscape and UK players' roles within it.

Like many longitudinal ethnographies, this thesis stems from varied social and musical interests and practices that serve as organising principles in my life. The data that I have gathered, analysed and presented in written, audio-visual and notated forms reflects the unstinting generosity and commitment of my project participants as well as my ongoing interest in the art form; indeed, I open the thesis with an acknowledgement that I cannot remember my first childhood encounter with the art form. In adulthood, my membership of Glasgow-based Tsuchigumo Daiko would offer me access to high-quality instruction, arrangement and performance opportunities, and rapidly snowballing activities for players in the UK, Europe and beyond. More broadly, I have long been aware of music's role in building trust and understanding among individuals from different backgrounds. Indeed, British Council programming during the London 2012 Cultural Olympiad – during which I composed and performed alongside musicians from the Arabian Peninsula despite the absence of a common language – ultimately led me to the study of ethnomusicology. Thus, this research project reflects not only my love of taiko but international exchange through musicking.

Throughout the research project, I embodied varied roles: insider and outsider, player and researcher, champion and critic. My loose assemblage of diverse identities is precisely what equipped me with necessary understanding to develop the questions that shaped this project. Yet it also led me to demand an empirical approach, one supported by clear evidence that illustrates how social engagement is enacted *musically*. The preceding chapters thus attended to the following concerns:

- How is the UK community of taiko practice structured and what are its parameters?
- What barriers, if any, prevent participation in the CoTP?
- Who leads the development of the CoTP? How do they go about doing so?
- Do CoTP members express shared/common values?
- How do UK players engage with other communities within the landscape of taiko practice (e.g. North America)?

How is the social engagement enacted in the taiko music composed and/or performed? By presenting and analysing quantitative data as well as ethnographies derived from longterm, multi-site fieldwork across the landscape of practice, I offer a snapshot of taiko at a particular moment in its development in the UK. Yet what key insights can we derive from the project as a whole?

7.1 Three Golden Threads

I have focused on varied phenomena in relation to the CoTP: the worldwide circulation of the art form, (leadership of) social change efforts within and beyond the taiko community, manifestations of what I call musical cosmopolitan sociability (MCS), and composition. None occurs in isolation. Instead, some elements function in combination, as exemplified by 'Worldwide Matsuri'. Shoji Kameda composed the piece in order to generate a sense of global taiko community – what I have labelled musical cosmopolitan sociability. By teaching 'Worldwide Matsuri' at the third European Taiko Conference (ETC), the composer and performer transmitted the song to new geographies while fostering MCS at the conference and future events.

While each chapter is made distinct by the peculiarities of the circumstances and actors involved, I nevertheless suggest that three golden threads are woven deeply into the fabric of the data, analysis and inquiry as a whole: the fluidity of community assemblages, the varied forces shaping the community of practice, and the adoption and use of the taiko genre. I now turn to elucidate my findings structured around the key contributions stitched into the body of the thesis.

7.1.1 Fluid Community Assemblages

In order to understand the diverse and dynamic nature of community gatherings and UK players' roles at them, the thesis included case studies from European Taiko Conferences, the Summer Taiko Institute (STI)¹⁰³ and Humber Taiko Festivals as well as overviews of the UK Taiko Festival, Taikopalooza, the Utah Taiko Experience and the Foyle O-Bon. All the events share common features: the gathering of players from different groups across the UK and beyond; opportunities to learn and perform together; and significant contributions, particularly in the form of teaching, from players based in other regions of the world. Brief examples of the final characteristic include performances and workshops by Shogo Yoshii (Japan) and Shoji Kameda (USA) at the UK Taiko Festival; San Jose Taiko (USA) at the Foyle O-Bon in Derry-Londonderry; Yeeman 'ManMan' Mui (Hong Kong/USA) at the Humber Taiko Festival; Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker (Scotland) at the Utah Taiko Experience; and Kenny and Chizuko Endo (USA) at Taikopalooza. Thus, while event titles typically demarcate geographic boundaries, players from at least one other region transmitted repertoire or specific skills.¹⁰⁴ What, however, does this tell us about the nature of community gatherings and the role of UK players at such events?

Based on my research, the assumption of a distinctly British CoTP through which practitioners connect and reciprocate – one reflected in my five research questions – seems somewhat questionable. While the UK events presented throughout the thesis featured instructors and performers from North America and Asia, they also attracted numerous participants from beyond the United Kingdom, particularly the European Union. As Jonathan

¹⁰³ The Summer Taiko Institute preceded the North American Taiko Conference 2017.

¹⁰⁴ I have only ever attended one community event in the UK without an instructor from another region. During the 2016 Three Counties Weekend in West Yorkshire, James Barrow (the UK's first taiko teacher) led workshops, while participants also led informal sessions. Notably, the registration fee (£30) was considerably lower than other events.

Kirby (2018: 242) notes, each UK Taiko Festival 'shows the increasing involvement of groups and players not only from the UK, but from around the world'. Such diversity is by no means limited to national events; for instance, players from Switzerland and Germany attended the Humber Taiko Festival and UK Taiko Scene (a public Facebook group) includes scores of European and American players.

To be clear, communities of taiko practice certainly exist within the United Kingdom. As chapter six illustrates, Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker developed a sustained, innovative style and identity among Tsuchigumo Daiko members through shared taiko practice. Across the UK, most players belong to a group and some participate in regional cluster activities such as the Three Counties Weekend, an event conceived to allow players from three neighbouring English regions to gather and share. However, beyond event titles, my research revealed virtually no evidence of a distinctly *national* CoTP. Indeed, among survey respondents at the inaugural European Taiko Conference, fewer than half had participated in an activity organised by another group in the same country during the preceding three years. In contrast, six in ten had trained with an international teacher and a full one-third had travelled to Japan to learn. Thus, beyond these local CoTPs typically characterised by sustained activity and mutually engaged members, networks are centred on international – and often transcontinental – engagement, resulting in multi-level practices by UK players. Although derived from pre-pandemic data, one obvious implication of this finding is the potential exclusion of less affluent and/or mobile players.

Throughout this thesis, I explored gatherings of taiko players where musical exchange takes place between UK and international practitioners. A key contribution – the concept of musical cosmopolitan sociability – emerged from my sustained fieldwork conducted at annual iterations of the European Taiko Conference from 2016-2019. MCS offers a novel framework that enables taiko players (and potentially performers of other genres of music and dance) to demonstrate their openness to common human feelings, hopes and experiences with others, producing an intimate musical world. What sets MCS apart from other approaches to the development of sound communities is its ability to be generated in transient settings – such as festivals or conferences – with players who are unknown to one another. Indeed, it stands in contrast to Martin Stokes' view that 'music is socially meaningful ... largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them' (1994: 5). Instead, MCS actively collapses any such stratifications, enabling players from different geographies and backgrounds to interlock in ephemeral settings.

In chapter five, I presented four discrete ETC ethnographies – one for each iteration of the conference. I argue that the act of teaching, learning and performing music and dance together (i.e. practice) in the international conference setting is central to generating MCS. Indeed, as Wenger (1998: 118) notes, community of practice (CoP) members 'constitute a complex social landscape of shared practices, boundaries, peripheries, overlaps, connections, and encounters' – one that manifests musically through the composition/arrangement and shared performance of inherently translocal pieces. I analysed one piece from each ETC: 'Shimabayashi' (ETC1), 'Never Again Is Now' (ETC2), 'Worldwide Matsuri' (ETC3) and 'Ei Ja Nai Ka' (ETC4). The compositions span issei experience in California, the impact of the ongoing conflict in Syria, the arrangement of a Japanese piece by an Englishman trained in California, and the planned connection of taiko players in different regions of the world. While MCS's robustness is undoubtedly limited given I inductively derived the model from a single fieldwork context, a willingness to incorporate social and musical ideas from players based in other geographies would nevertheless seem to be a precondition of CoTP membership. At the

very least, we can conclude the ETC participants express openness to people from other geographies through the performance of music and dance.

7.1.2 Forces Shaping the Community of Taiko Practice

In the second golden thread, I discuss my research findings vis-à-vis the forces shaping the community of taiko practice. Specifically, I consider the individuals who lead musical and social development within the CoTP. First, however, I offer my main insights concerning contemporary representations of taiko culture and the resultant impact upon the CoTP.

In the call for proposals for the 'Global Musics and Musical Communities' conference held at UCLA in May 2019, the organisers cited taiko – along with hip hop and gamelan – as an example of 'global musics' (UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music n.d.). At first glance, it seems reasonable to apply the term given that taiko is now practiced on six continents, including most of western and central Europe. Moreover, players compose and arrange pieces to suit local contexts, including songs designed to be shared, adapted and performed by groups around the world. Finally, large-scale events, including the North American, European and World Taiko Conferences, bring together representatives from different geographies to exchange ideas and foster intra-community connections. I suggest, however, that 'global musics' – defined as 'genres [that] are regularly performed in locales that may have little or no connection to the genre's country of origin' (UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music n.d.: online) – is something of a theoretical oversimplification when it comes to taiko in the UK. Instead, a major finding of my thesis is that boundaries – regional or national – are inherently porous, in turn affecting the art form and the players who practice it.

Chapter two illustrates that taiko is – and always has been – inherently global. Daihachi Oguchi, the artist largely credited with creating taiko's contemporary style, was a jazz drummer. Moreover, from the outset, Japanese players toured extensively overseas, responding and adapting to local contexts and desires. The growth of taiko's popularity across Japan and the concurrent emergence of local groups in North America in the late 1960s meant the art form swiftly expanded beyond its originating communities. The evidence from my thesis, however, strongly suggests that both taiko music *and* the UK CoTP that centres on its practice hold specific meaning for players in the UK. This occurs for three reasons: first, who plays (and does not play); second, their engagement with other communities across the landscape of taiko practice (LoTP); and third, the common values that they express.

Throughout my thesis, I employ quantitative data, including analysis of some 2,466 responses to the Taiko Community Alliance (TCA) Taiko Census carried out in 2016. As Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cooke charge, 'musicologists are prone to build interpretations on very small data sets or even on single instances... There would be grounds for legitimate criticism if musicologists working in data-rich fields did not take full advantage of the methods available under such conditions' (2004: 4). My contribution to the research design and analysis of the resultant global dataset provides us with insights into self-selecting members of the global LoTP and their engagement with the art form. Consequently, we now have an evidence base which illustrates that, unlike North America, players in the UK are overwhelmingly White and typically very highly educated. In addition, motivational factors differ in the two geographies: while a love of playing/enjoyment, sense of community and exercise emerge as broadly common themes, North American respondents also commonly cite Japanese and Japanese/Asian American culture. In contrast, respondents to the ETC participant survey listed health and wellbeing as the primary motivational factor, thus suggesting that taiko is significantly less connected to its place of origin for European players. Put simply, UK players

(as well as ETC participants) internalise and recontextualise taiko somewhat differently to North American counterparts, thus invoking Turino's idea of 'cosmopolitan loops' (2000: 8).

A major offering of the research project is two discrete ethnographies of 'system convenors' at work in an international landscape of musical practice – a facet hitherto unexplored in ethnomusicological literature. Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner describe such actors as individuals who 'spot opportunities for creating new learning spaces and partnership that will bring different and often unlikely people together to engage in learning across boundaries' (n.d.: online). Jonathan Kirby and the partnership of Karen Young and Tiffany Tamaribuchi fulfilled the role in radically different contexts, namely as the instigators and directors of the European Taiko Conference (chapter five) and Women and Taiko STI (chapter four) respectively. Despite the seemingly disparate objectives of the events, they nevertheless illustrate leadership of the CoTP. Yet how do they go about doing so, and what does it tell us about the structure of the CoTP?

The case study of the first European Taiko Conference in chapter five illustrated how Kirby curated a programme of social and musical events designed to 'develop the community, develop the artform' in Europe. As the director of the longstanding UK Taiko Festival and artistic director of a prominent Devon-based ensemble with its own Taiko Centre, Kirby had the legitimacy to bring together players from across Europe. Indeed, as he reflects, 'one of the remarkable things about the story so far is that people had signed up and paid a fee without seeing an agenda for the conference' (Kirby 2018: 286). By convening players at the first Europe-wide event, I suggest Kirby played a visionary role in the growth of taiko on the continent - one that resulted from what Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner call a "landscape view" ... to increase the learning capability of that entire system' (n.d.: online). Courtesy of a fruitful partnership with Miyamoto Unosuke Shoten Co., Ltd and his existing credibility, Kirby was able to bring together artists – and their distinct approaches to the art form - from four continents. Hannah's at Seale Hayne in Devon and the Sunderhof in Hamburg thus served as venues for learning where different players and new CoTP members could come together. Moreover, as illustrated by the tree motif (Figure 5.16) produced as a discussion output at ETC4, the event gave birth to extra-conference connections. For instance, Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker, the co-directors of Glasgow-based Tsuchigumo Daiko, travelled widely to teach workshops. Moreover, multiple groups participated in Taikopalooza in Ulm, Germany, where they performed common repertoire together because of the connections forged. In other words, conference participation allowed ready access to a social landscape and further musical partnerships.

The Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute offers a second example of system convening at play. The three-day programme of wide-ranging facilitated discussions, composing and ensemble playing focused on exploring gender across the landscape. In organising the event, Tamaribuchi and Young brought together rather unlikely participants – spanning North American pioneers to relatively new players – in order to participate in learning. In doing so, the leaders dissolved a range of boundaries, including country of residence, age, race, gender and level of experience. Moreover, along with the STI participants, Tamaribuchi and Young sought to advance the learning capacity of the LoTP at large, not only by drawing attention to gender disparity during the North American Taiko Conference (NATC) opening plenary performance but also by establishing an open-access programme of activities. As prominent community leaders and players, Young and Tamaribuchi offered legitimacy and thus the capacity to convene; indeed, all the participants from Europe had participated in workshops with Young at the inaugural European Taiko Conference.

One notable difference emerges in how the figures approached system convening, namely strategy. Kirby, who served as a senior manager in Silicon Valley before returning to the UK to become a full-time taiko professional, approached the exercise with a clear, overarching objective as well as discrete themes for each iteration of the event. Moreover, I conducted detailed evaluations that supported strategic planning and facilitated an evidencebased approach to the evolution of the conference. In contrast, the development of Women and Taiko activities has been somewhat more organic in growth, although still highly organised. The latter programme, however, is volunteer led, whereas the management and delivery of ETC occurs under the auspices of a professional taiko organisation. Regardless, both case studies illustrate that system convenors can significantly affect practice across the landscape.

The second leadership process to emerge from the thesis offers a model of broader relevance to ethnomusicology through the nascent model of taiko leadership. While it reflects a specific repeated phenomenon derived from diverse fieldwork contexts, the model also addresses the dearth of research examining leadership enactments in musical practice. In the four-stage process, players first identify an intra-community issue that arises through the practice of taiko, such as varying opportunities to learn due to socio-economic deprivation. Next, individuals adopt leadership roles within the CoTP (whether local, national, or international) in response. Thereafter, additional players engage to advance the conditions for playing taiko, in turn producing outputs. In chapter four, I traced the model's workings by illustrating Young and Tamaribuchi's response to gender inequality across the landscape, specifically convening the Women and Taiko STI and shaping its programme. Thereafter, I identified deep engagement from STI participants and the performance of 'Kazarimono No More' – a musical output of the leadership process – at the NATC 2017 opening plenary. I also detected the same process at the Humber Taiko Festivals in Scunthorpe, North Lincolnshire, where players responded to the impact of socio-economic deprivation upon local youth players.

In the domain of leadership, the thesis offers contributions on two levels. On the one hand, we now understand leadership practices in the United Kingdom, Europe and North America as well as the impact upon taiko players and their musical practice. On the other, I provide theoretical models that we can draw from and apply to other musical settings. Although 'taiko' occupies a prominent position in the 'nascent model of taiko leadership', I nevertheless suggest that its rigour can be tested through exposure to other contexts. The potential variable factor, specifically what prompts players to act, must first, however, be identified. In the case of taiko, many groups and organisations make public claims of equality and diversity; chapter three illustrates the varying conceptions employed in a range of geographies. In taiko leadership, players act because they observe a pertinent issue emerging through taiko. I suggest that the determinant will likely differ by context; for instance, a national youth choir may consider musical excellence its primary concern while a choir for homeless people may give precedence to building participants' confidence. Regardless, the specific insights elaborated in the thesis locate leadership in taiko practices as profoundly collaborative and egalitarian. In leadership frameworks, we can identify the actions of playerleaders as 'behavioural' or focused on relationships and tasks in the pursuit of change (Northouse 2018). Fundamentally, leadership - whether systems convening or action in pursuit of change within or beyond the taiko community - occurs in a relational network. I hope that music scholars working in radically different contexts may find occasion to employ, test and modify the nascent model of taiko leadership, and further analyse instances of behavioural leadership within musical practices.

In the introduction to the thesis, I forewarned players and community members that I might make claims that cause them to feel uncomfortable. In the conclusion, however, I am ultimately forced to highlight an uneasy truth, namely that my research findings demonstrate that players can be treated differently or have limited access to opportunities due to personal characteristics (e.g. gender) and/or circumstances (socio-economic deprivation). While I have not encountered evidence of intentional discrimination at play, it is nevertheless fair to state that the international LoTP is not devoid of social ills – as evidenced by the STI and Humber Taiko Festival ethnographies and TCA Taiko Census data. The Taiko Community Alliance (2020c: online) announced a leadership programme in 2021, including one session dedicated to 'diversity, equity, access and inclusion'. I suggest, however, that strategic, sustained approaches are required to bring about change in these areas. With no umbrella organisation like TCA in Europe, however, it is difficult to envisage who might take this work forward on the continent. I nevertheless hope that my research, including some of the recommendations I have made, support the taiko community to address these concerns.

7.1.3 Adoption and Use of the Genre

The third and final golden thread stitched into the fabric of the thesis is the adoption and use of the genre to manifold socio-political ends. As emphasised throughout the thesis, my research examined self-selecting members of the UK CoTP. While I never intended to represent all taiko players in the United Kingdom, a clear limitation of the project is its express focus on a narrow subgroup. Nevertheless, the individuals and groups discussed illustrated quite different approaches to the art form, particularly concerning 'Japaneseness'. Activity spanned the production of a distinctly Japanese O-Bon festival in Derry-Londonderry, the arrangement of 'world' rhythms and western motifs from Ghostbusters and the Beatles, and fusion with other genres such as English folk and Bharatanatyam classical dance. Yet despite the miscellany of UK groups, the sum of chapters two, five and six suggests CoTP members express and embody a core common value that affords meaning, namely openness to taiko players from different geographies and their musical practices.

More broadly, my research findings support Wong's view that taiko practices result from and contribute to community activism (2019). I apply, however, a wider lens to the issue by looking at manifestations of social change across the English-speaking landscape of practice and considering how players operationalise taiko to affect change for communities more broadly.

Chapter three highlights the multiplex ties of taiko and deliberate social change. I illustrated how players conceive of taiko as a tool to disorder the socio-political landscape at Women's Marches and rallies. I also identified the importance of involving community members in crafting solutions to intra-community challenges courtesy of an International Women's Day social media campaign. An examination of CCS Taiko and San Jose Taiko enabled me to highlight the art form's utility for offering therapeutic experiences as well as an avenue for future research in the subfield of medical ethnomusicology. Lastly, I explored the British Embassy Taiko Team's express support for the LGBT community in Japan, connecting musical analysis of 'Yellow Submarine' to the UK Government's public diplomacy objectives.

While chapter three largely presents taiko as a pathway to affect change in wider society, both ethnographies of taiko leadership seek to disrupt inequalities *within* the landscape: first, gender disparities among players; and second, limited access to the art form because of socio-economic deprivation. Yoon (2001), Kobayashi (2006a), Ahlgren (2018) and Powell (2012) explore taiko as a tool for *self*-expression and empowerment in North American contexts, yet my research shows that taiko is variously employed in the landscape to

empower *others*. For instance, by constructing a taiko ecosystem in North Lincolnshire, including an annual festival that brings prominent international artists to the region, Emma Middleton and Lisa Oliver offer sustained, high-quality music education opportunities for young people in the region regardless of financial circumstances. Moreover, Young and Tamaribuchi's STI programme sought to take steps towards eliminating gender inequality in the LoTP and empowering women – the majority of taiko players. STI participants invoked Sam Cooke's 'A Change Is Gonna Come' in the composition they performed at the NATC opening plenary performance. In doing so, they viscerally highlighted both the impact of the status quo upon an entire cohort of players and the potential for change through collective action.

While the specificities of each case study add ethnographic rigour to the project, I argue that this final golden thread illustrates how taiko is variously operationalised by a wide range of actors for the benefit of an equally broad array of beneficiaries. To date, multiple scholars have explored the usefulness of taiko as a means of empowering intersectional cohorts in North American settings. My research project, however, illustrates the expansive applications of taiko as a social change tool. By musically and socially demonstrating simultaneous attention to inequalities both within and beyond the landscape, I suggest that my research findings have wider implications for our understanding of musical practice more generally – a claim I turn to in section 7.3.

As noted in the introduction to this conclusion, a key organising principle of my approach is the provision of robust, empirical evidence. Throughout the thesis, I give pride of place to identifying how social processes manifest in performances and compositions by providing detailed *musical* analysis. A brief example from the thesis serves to illustrate some of the issues at play: the British Embassy Taiko Team's 'taiko version' of Akiko Kanazawa's 'Yellow Submarine'. In the case study in chapter three, British Embassy staffers incorporated sung English and Japanese language, min'yō vocal ornamentation, Western instruments, the shamisen and shakuhachi with taiko performance in pursuit of the UK's public diplomacy goals. To aid analysis of compositions with express social/political objectives, I developed a bespoke system of taiko notation – one that carries a notable disadvantage given users are required to learn a new system that is currently limited to ensemble taiko drumming. However, its three-part structure – choreography, Western staff notation (including sticking and kiai), and kuchi-sho $\bar{o}qa$ – is designed to offer access to as wide a range of players and researchers as possible while affording academic rigour. Notably, in my analysis of the adoption and use of taiko, I employed various modifications to my own system (e.g. in cases when choreography was absent from compositions). Regardless, by employing transcription and analysis, I gleaned unique insights into the development of specific ensemble styles, musical cosmopolitan sociability, leadership, and social change processes. In other words, a major implication of my study is that taiko music and choreography serve as robust units of analysis for our understanding of social processes.

7.2 Future Research

As I write this conclusion in late 2020, I am acutely aware that my fieldwork and the resultant research findings capture a particular moment in the development of taiko in the UK – one characterised by rapid growth, international connections, regular gatherings and a strong sense of excitement. When players can safely come together to pursue their shared interest in taiko, I question whether the same momentum can ever be recaptured. I ask this question because, like most sectors, taiko has shifted online: in addition to the extensive development of the kaDON platform, players including James Barrow and Ingmar Kikat now offer regular

online taiko instruction, and ensembles including San Jose Taiko offer online concerts. Moreover, CoTP members can freely participate in online taiko conferences without transcontinental travel and the associated costs, thus removing one potential barrier to participation.

How the taiko community, particularly system convenors, structure the CoTP during the pandemic and any transition period thereafter presents a rich opportunity for digital ethnography, particularly given the translocal nature of the art form. Indeed, the 2020 World Taiko Conference – comprised of synchronous and asynchronous exchanges – offers some initial insights. For instance, participants were actively encouraged to learn and perform pieces submitted to the Taiko Composition Library. In late November 2020, the conference organisers had received and made available materials for pieces by players based in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and USA (World Taiko Conference n.d.). The conference thus serves as an example of the global convening power of a single online event and presents an opportunity to trace the transmission and arrangement of open source compositions in different socio-musical contexts.

Any future focus on digital taiko offers an opportunity to address the limitations of my research project. As highlighted throughout, I focus my attention on a core group of highly mobile and engaged players, including professional artists and system convenors. Based upon the quantitative data presented and wider fieldwork, these individuals are clearly atypical. Digital ethnographic fieldwork may offer an opportunity to engage with a wider variety of players, including those who view their engagement in the art form as less important. However, the technological requirements as well as the need to play at home (likely without a drum) may discourage the casual player from participating in any digital offerings, regardless of cost.

A second opportunity facilitated by a transition to digital is a thorough assessment of teaching and learning practices. While I made extensive fieldnotes documenting workshops focused on skills and repertoire, I am aware that I do not consider the efficacy of *how* teachers transmit songs, in turn supporting the growth of a CoTP. The ready access to a wide array of instructional materials would enable researchers to consider taiko pedagogy and its role in attracting and retaining new CoTP members.

7.3 Contribution to Broader Fields of Study

At the end of my introductory chapter, I expressed a desire to offer new insights to scholars who do not play or research taiko. In the body of the thesis, I suggested modifications to musical cosmopolitan sociability and taiko leadership when tested in other musical contexts. Thus far in the conclusion, however, I have principally focused upon the implications of my research project for our collective understanding of taiko and its practitioners. In this final section of the thesis, I wish to underline my contributions to broader fields of study rather than taiko itself.

The specifics of sound and movement are integral to the three 'golden threads' – the fluidity of community assemblages, the forces shaping the CoTP, and the adoption and use of the genre – presented above. Consequently, I employed music and dance transcriptions and analyses throughout the thesis, including my bespoke system of taiko notation, in an attempt to illustrate how social engagement manifests musically. I propose that the integration of holistic transcriptions (i.e. that encompass all elements of performance rather than simply the sound produced) might prove useful for the study of other choreographed genres and enable greater attention to be paid to the music produced. In particular, I hope that my approach to

notation – one that offers access to researchers and players alike – can support rigour when examining the interrelation of choreographed musical practice and social contexts.

In concluding this thesis, I also wish to encourage increased engagement with quantitative data among ethnomusicologists, particularly those working at scale across landscapes of practice. By employing large-scale census data, I was able to determine and evidence-base specific traits of CoTP members – themes that I subsequently explored in the field by employing qualitative approaches. Greater adoption of quantitative methods would facilitate comparative analysis and thus potentially deepen our understanding of respective art forms as well as the general theory of communities of (musical) practice.

More broadly, I suggest that this thesis offers an approach to the analysis of landscapes of musical practice – one that demands mixed methods. As noted in section 7.1.3, my research project documents and theorises the manifold means by which players operationalise taiko to pursue social change both within and beyond the landscape. Yet what does this mean for music studies and associated disciplines more generally? Put simply, I suggest that no landscape can be studied as a single entity, thus demanding analysis of constituent parts (i.e. CoPs). For instance, members of RAW (Raging Asian Women), a group introduced in section 3.1, respond to the oppression they experience as East and Southeast Asian women in Toronto while the leaders of Humber Taiko address socio-economic deprivation in their region. Their experiences reflect local conditions, yet they nevertheless engage in a common landscape. Ultimately, however, I presented and dissected the varied structures that underlie a community of musical practice, its role in the wider landscape and the music its members produce, in turn offering evidence to support ethnomusicological inquiry on a global scale.

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Appendix A: European Taiko Conference 2016 Pre-Event Survey

European Taiko Conference

European Taiko Conference

In this short survey, we ask you to reflect upon your taiko practice as an individual rather than as a member of a group. The findings will be used to identify what support is needed in order to strengthen the European taiko community. An initial summary of the responses will be provided to participants on Sunday 21 February at the European Taiko Conference; thereafter, a more detailed analysis will take place and findings made available to all attendees. Thank you for your time.

Please note that the data you provide may be used by Kate Walker, a PhD student at the University of Sheffield who is researching taiko drumming in the UK. By completing this survey, you give your consent for the information you provide to be used as part of her research project. All the information that is collected will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications unless you give your express permission. Further information can be obtained from kewalker1@sheffield.ac.uk or from Kate in person at the conference.

*Required

- 1. Name (optional)
- 2. If applicable, which taiko group are you a member of (optional)?
- 3. Which country do you live in?*
- If applicable, which city and country is your group located in?
 e.g. York, England

5. How long have you played taiko for? *

Mark only one oval.

- less than one year
- One to four years
- five to ten years
- more than ten years
- 6. When performing taiko, how do you view yourself? *

Mark only one oval.

- professional player
- semi-professional player
- amateur player
- learner of taiko
- O other
- Please explain why you selected professional player/semi-professional player/amateur player/learner of taiko/other. *

8. Why do you play taiko? *

9.	Please write about the first time you saw or learned about taiko. * Please include details such as the year, group and setting as well as your reflections on the experience.
Lear	rning Taiko
10.	Please list all of the activities you have undertaken over the past three years to develop as a taiko player *
	e.g. 2 day teacher-training workshop in 2014 delivered by Kagemusha Taiko, England.
11.	Do you use online resources (e.g. instructional videos, recordings of performances) to develop as a taiko player? *
	Mark only one oval.
	Never

Rarely

Occasionally

Regularly

2.	
	If applicable, how do you use online resources to develop as a taiko player? Please include the sources you use and the purpose (e.g. to learn pieces, to strengthen technique).
3.	If applicable, please explain why you use online resources (rather than learning from an instructor).
ac	ling Taiko
eac	ling Taiko What is your role in the taiko scene in your country? *
	What is your role in the taiko scene in your country? *
	What is your role in the taiko scene in your country? * Mark only one oval.
	What is your role in the taiko scene in your country? * Mark only one oval.

15. Please explain why you selected I am a leader of taiko/I am a member of a group/I am an individual with an interest in taiko/other *

8.	What role does social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) play in how you connect with taiko players from other groups, areas and/or countries? *
9.	Please describe the network of players you interact with on social media. * e.g. membership of Facebook groups, size of network, countries of origin, group affiliation etc.
0.	How frequent is your contact with other taiko players using social media? *
:1.	Why are you attending the European Taiko Conference? *

Additional Information

22.	Please provide any additional comments here (optional)
23.	Thank you very much for your time and contribution. If you'd be willing to discuss your responses further, please input an email address.

Google Forms

Appendix B: TCA Taiko Census 2016 Questions

The TCA Taiko Census 2016 gathered the following data from respondents.

Demographic Information:

- First name
- Last name
- Year of birth
- Country
- State
- City
- Zip Code
- Gender
- Other gender

Supplementary Information:

- Why do you play taiko? (open question)
- Which event(s) have you attended?
 - East Coast Taiko Conference
 - European Taiko Conference
 - > Intercollegiate Taiko Invitational
 - > North American Taiko Conference
 - Other (free-text field for input)
 - Regional Taiko Gathering
 - > World Taiko Gathering
- Why do you attend taiko gatherings? (open question)
- For the events [that] you have been to before, please indicate what you enjoyed about this conference:
 - > East Coast Taiko Conference (open question)
 - European Taiko Conference (open question)
 - > Intercollegiate Taiko Invitational (open question)
 - > North American Taiko Conference (open question)
 - World Taiko Gathering (open question)
- Please rate your interest in the topics below on a scale of 1 (not important at all) to 5 (very important):
 - > Performance resources (How to play taiko)
 - Drum building and construction (How to build taiko and related stands and instruments
 - Costuming (How to design costumes, where to have them made, etc.)
 - Business practices (taxes, nonprofit filing, fee structures, contracts)
 - > Fundraising (access to grants, scholarships, etc.)
 - Composition (How to write and arrange taiko pieces)
 - Curriculum (What to teach, how to teach)
- Where do you typically get information about the taiko community? (Please check all that apply):
 - > My instructor, taiko school, or taiko group
 - Taiko Community Facebook Group

- Race
- Other race
- Asian ethnicity
- Other Asian ethnicity
- Occupation
- Employer or school (i.e. college/university)
- Educational level

- > Local or community based newspapers or journals (for example Rafu Shimpo, The Bulletin)
- > Taiko Beat TCA Newsletter
- My friends' Facebook Posts
- ➢ Word of mouth
- Taiko Community Alliance Facebook Page
- TaikoSource
- Facebook Events
- ➢ Instagram
- > Twitter
- Please indicate your use of Facebook, FaceTime, GotoMeeting, Google Docs, Instagram, Livestream, Skype, Twitter, Vimeo, YouTube for:
 - External Communication (Marketing or Advertising)
 - Internal Communication (to communicate within group members)
 - Learning (interacting with a teacher online)
 - Critique (to get performance ready self or group)
 - Archive (to keep records of performances, pieces, etc)
 - \succ I don't use this.
- Please add any additional comments below (open question)
- Do you currently participate in any taiko online learning such as kaDON or Skype lessons? > Yes > No
- What is your opinion about learning taiko online? (open question)
- Please indicate whether YOU personally purchase or make any:
 - Hapi (performance attire) Tekkou (wristbands)
 - > Hachimaki (performance > Obi ➤ Tabi headband)
- Please indicate whether your GROUP purchases or makes any of:
 - Hapi (performance attire)
 - Hachimaki (performance) headband)
 - Please indicate what equipment YOU purchase or make:
 - > Odaiko
 - Odaiko stands
 - > Chudaiko
 - Okedo
 - Naname stands
 - Please indicate what equipment YOUR GROUP purchases or makes:
 - > Odaiko
 - Odaiko stands
 - > Chudaiko
 - > Okedo
 - > Naname stands
 - How much time do you spend on taiko each week?
 - Less than 1 hour
 - ▶ 1-2 hours
 - ➢ 2-3 hours

> Shimedaiko Shimedaiko Stands

> Beta stands

Tekkou (wristbands)

> Obi

≻ Tabi

> Bachi

Beta stands

Shimedaiko

Shimedaiko Stands

- > Bachi
- ➢ 3-5 hours
- ➤ 5-10 hours
- More than 10 hours

- What percentage of your income do you derive from taiko?
 - ▶ 0%
 - > 25% or less

- ▶ 51%-75%
- ▶ 76%-100%

▶ 26%-50%

Some of the following questions pertain to spending. While the response options below are listed in US\$, participants could submit their responses in multiple currencies.

- On average, how much do you spend on taiko instruction per month?
 - I don't pay for taiko instruction
 - ▶ \$0
 - ▶ \$1-25
 - ▶ \$26-50

> \$75-100 ➢ More than \$100

> \$51-75

- Prefer not to say
- On average, how much do you spend on group dues or membership fees per month?
 - I don't pay for taiko instruction
 - > \$0
 - ▶ \$1-\$25
 - ▶ \$26-\$50
- How much do you spend on taiko products per year?
 - ▶ \$0
 - ▶ \$1-\$50
 - > \$51-\$100
 - ▶ \$101-\$300

- ▶ \$51-\$75 ▶ \$75-\$100
- ➢ More than \$100
- Prefer not to say
- > \$301-\$500
- > \$501-\$1000

> \$301-\$500

> \$501-\$1000

➢ More than \$1000

Prefer not to say

- ➢ More than \$1000
- Prefer not to say
- How much do you spend on taiko events per year? (concerts, intensives, workshops, conferences)
 - ≽ \$0 ▶ \$1-\$50
 - ▶ \$51-\$100
 - ▶ \$101-\$300
- Do you teach taiko?
 - > Yes
- How long have you been teaching taiko?
 - Less than 1 year

➤ 11-15 years

> No

- ▶ 16-20 years
- ▶ 1-5 years ➢ 6-10 years
- More than 20 years What types of taiko instruction do you currently teach? (Please check all that apply)
 - Collegiate education (practical or historical taiko curriculum)
 - \succ K-12 education (practical taiko classes as part of an elementary, middle, or high school)
 - Lessons (organized ongoing instruction for individuals or groups)
 - Workshops (one-time or short-sprint instruction)
 - Online lessons (such as kaDON or private Skype lessons)
- Please indicate whether your current student list includes individuals from the selections below. (Please check all that apply)
 - > Adults
 - Retirees or seniors

- Special needs students (deaf, blind, autistic etc.)
- Children 5 years or younger

Children (13 or under) ➤ Teens (14-18)

- Which of the following best describes your level of compensation?
 - I do not receive compensation for instruction
 - I receive some compensation for instruction, but not enough to support me
 - Taiko instruction contributes significantly to my annual income
- How many students do you currently teach in total?
 - Less than 10 > 26-50
 - ▶ 11-25 More than 50
- What support or resources do you need to continue to achieve your taiko instruction goals? (open question)
- Do you teach workshops or masterclasses?
 - > Yes
- On average, how many workshops do you teach per year?
 - Less than 5
 - > 5-10
 - ▶ 11-25
- What is your preferred length of workshop? (group setting)
 - ➢ Less than 1 hour
 - ➤ 1 hour
 - ▶ 1.5 hours
 - ➢ 2 hours
- Comments (please provide further details as necessary) (open question)
- How long have you been teaching workshops?
 - This is my first year
 - ▶ 1-3 years
 - ➢ 4-7 years
 - ➢ 8-10 years
- At which of the following taiko conferences have you taught workshops? (Please check all that apply)
 - East Coast Taiko Conference European Taiko Conference
- > North American Taiko Conference World Taiko Gathering
- Intercollegiate Taiko Invitational
- Where else have you taught? (open question)
- Please list any non-taiko conferences at which you have taught or spoken about taiko. (open question)
- On average, how much do you receive per hour of workshop instruction?
 - ▶ \$0
 - > \$1-\$50
 - ▶ \$51-\$100
 - ▶ \$101-\$150
- Comments (please provide further details as necessary) (open question)
- What support or resources do you need to deliver workshops more successfully? (open question)
- Do you offer online interactive lessons? (Skype, Google Chat, Face Time, Livestream, or any type of LIVE online instruction?)

> No

> Yes

- ▶ \$151-\$200
- ➢ More than \$200
- Prefer not to disclose

- > No
- ▶ 26-40
- ➢ More than 40

➢ Collegiate (18-22)

- \geq 2.5 hours
- > 3 hours
- More than 3 hours
- ▶ 16-20 years
- More than 20 years
- ▶ 11-15 years

- Do you teach online recorded sessions? (pre-recorded sessions that are uploaded to a central hosting service such as Youtube, Vimeo, or services like kaDON)
 ➢ Yes
 ➢ No
- Any final comments or suggestions for TCA? (open question)

Appendix C: International Women's Day 2018 Social Media Cards



Today, I'll share gender-related findings from the TCA Taiko Census and other research to celebrate the inspiring contributions made by women in and for our community.





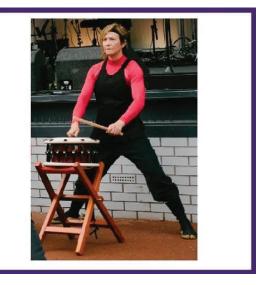


Fact # 1: In the UK, 70% of costume-makers are female and 100% of drum-builders are male.

Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016



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Fact # 2: 43% of selfidentified group leaders at the first European Taiko Conference (2016) were women. Source: ETC Participant Survey

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Fact # 3: Women in Europe attend fewer events designed to bring together players from different groups and/or regions (e.g. festivals) compared to men.

Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016







Fact # 4: 47% of male teachers in Europe state that taiko instruction contributes significantly to their annual income. 18% of female teachers in Europe say the same ... Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016







Fact # 5: Female players in Europe are highly educated! More than 4 in 5 have attended university and nearly 4 in 10 hold a postgraduate degree.

Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016







Fact # 6: In North America, the gender breakdown of players is 64% female, 34.5% male and 0.5% other*. In Canada, fewer than 3 in 10 players are male.

* 1% did not disclose their gender Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016







Fact # 7: In North America and Europe, the average age of female taiko players is 45.

Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016

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Fact # 8: At North American Taiko Conference 2017, nearly 60% of workshops with the highest satisfaction scores were taught by women.

Source: NATC 2017 Evaluation Report







Fact # 9: When asked to rate their interest in taiko-related topics, women in North America found performance resources (how to play taiko), composition (how to write and arrange pieces) and curriculum (what and how to teach) to be most important. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016



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Fact # 10: In North America, 10% of female players and 13% of male players participate in online taiko learning (e.g. Skype lessons, kaDON etc).

Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016

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Fact # 11: In North America, 25% of male players derive at least some of their income from taiko. For women, that figure drops to less than 18%.

Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016



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Fact # 12: 35% of male players and 21% of female players teach in North America. More than half of instructors of all genders receive no compensation. Source: TCA Taiko Census 2016



International Women's Day #PressforProgress





D International Women's Day

#PressforProgress

Appendix D: Lyrics to 'Yellow Submarine' by The Beatles (1966)

In the town where I was born Lived a man who sailed to sea And he told us of his life In the land of submarines So we sailed up to the sun 'Til we found a sea of green And we lived beneath the waves In our yellow submarine

We all live in a yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine We all live in a yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine

And our friends are all aboard Many more of them live next door And the band begins to play

We all live in a yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine We all live in a yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine

(Full speed ahead Mr. Parker, full speed ahead Full speed ahead it is, Sergeant Action station, action station Aye, aye, sir, fire Captain, captain)

As we live a life of ease Everyone of us has all we need (has all we need) Sky of blue (sky of blue) and sea of green (and sea of green) In our yellow submarine (in our yellow, submarine, ha ha)

We all live in a yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine We all live in a yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine We all live in a yellow submarine We all live in a yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine Yellow submarine, yellow submarine.

Appendix E: Partial Notation of 'Yellow Submarine Ondo' Arranged by the British Embassy Taiko Team



Yellow Submarine Ondo

By Lennon/McCartney; as perf. Kanazawa Akiko











Appendix F: Women and Taiko Summer Taiko Institute Pre-Event Participant Survey

Women and Taiko: Past, Present, and Future

Thank you for registering for the 'Women and Taiko' Summer Taiko Institute.

You'll be part of a diverse group of individuals. To enable us to shape the contents to reflect you and your needs, please complete this short survey.

Your individual responses will only be viewed by the organizers/facilitators. We will, however, share some headline facts (e.g. the percentage of participants that teach) with the whole group at the outset of the program. No individual will be identifiable from the information. If you have any questions or concerns about how your information will be used, please let us know using the box at the end of this survey. *Required

Untitled Title

About you

1. Your age *

Mark only one oval.



2. How do you describe yourself? *

Mark only one oval.

Male
 Female
 Trans Male/Trans Man

Trans Female/Trans Woman

- Genderqueer/Gender Nonconforming
- Other Identity
- Prefer not to say
- 3. Which gender pronoun(s) do you prefer? *

Mark only one oval.

She, her, hers
He, him, his
They, them, theirs
Ze, hir
Just my name please!
No preference
Other:

Your experience/role in the taiko community

4. Please describe your taiko experience. (e.g. Which groups have you played with and for how long? Do you earn a living through your taiko work? Are you involved with/paid for production?) * 5. Do you teach or lead? If so, please describe. *

6. Do you perform? If so, how much/often? *

 Describe the main challenge you face as a taiko practitioner. Please highlight any gender identity-specific issues. (e.g. feeling confident as a leader, soloing, deciding to have a family, etc.) *

8. What are your general taiko aspirations at this point in your life? (e.g. Would you like to be a professional performer? Are you a seasoned player who wants to start a project?) *

The Summer Taiko Institute

9. What would you like to see happen at the STI? * 10. What conversations would you like to have? * 11. What questions would you like to ask? * 12. Do you want to acquire particular skills during the STI? (e.g. I want to learn how to be a better teacher. I want to talk to others about how to set up life to have a family. I want to know about the women who are the pioneers. I want to help create a pipeline of women professionals.) *

Anything else?

13. Is there anything else you want to let us know ahead of the conference?

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Appendix G: Humber Taiko Festival 2017 Programme



PERFORMANCES

TOMOE

Friday 24th November, 7pm at The Plowright Theatre, Scunthorpe Three renowned Taiko groups from across Europe bring this fantastic unmissable show to The Plowright Theatre! Humber Taiko presents Tsuchigumo Daiko (Scotland), Coritani (England) and Kion Dojo (Germany) for a memorable and exhilarating evening of Taiko. From fast paced, high energy drumming to sensitive and theatrical performances to funky grooves, these three very different groups showcase the variety and power of Taiko.

This event takes place at The Plowright Theatre.

Tickets are priced $\pounds10/\pounds6$ concession each. Booking fee may apply Joint ticket available for both events $\pounds12/\pounds7$ concession each. Booking fee may apply

BUY TICKETS HERE

(https://tickets.scunthorpetheatres.co.uk/single/eventDetail.aspx? p=37018)

TAIKO NIGHT

Saturday 25th November, 7pm at The Baths Hall, Scunthorpe Humber Taiko presents the annual celebration of Taiko featuring local youth and community groups from across Northern Lincolnshire, and guests from further afield. The evening will also feature a brand new composition involving local folk musicians collaborating with Taiko.

This show takes place at The Baths Hall.

Tickets are priced £5/£3 concession each.

Joint ticket for both events £12/£7 concession each. Booking fee may apply.

BUY TICKETS HERE

(https://tickets.scunthorpetheatres.co.uk/single/eventDetail.aspx? p=37020)

Humber Taiko Festival is supported using public funding by the National Lottery through Arts Council England, and Arts Development at North Lincolnshire Council.

WORKSHOPS

Beginners Taiko Workshop (adults & ages 14+) Thursday 23rd November, 6.30-8.30pm at Frederick Gough School, Scunthorpe

With Tsuchigumo Daiko

Learn to play Taiko with an introduction to movement patterns and rhythms around and on the drum. Participants will learn a short piece. No previous experience needed, suitable for complete beginners.

Groove Taiko (adults & ages 12+) Saturday 25th November at The Baths Hall, Scunthorpe 10.30am-12pm or 1pm-2.30pm With Kion Doio

"The Kion-way of taiko drumming involves a lot of movement of the whole body, like jumping while striking the drum and moving along with the beat. It's a lot of fun and helps you to play with lot's of energy while staying relaxed. In this workshop we will practice that and also learn short piece!"

Previous Taiko experience would be beneficial.

Exploring the Space (adults & ages 12+) Saturday 25th November at The Baths Hall, Scunthorpe 10.30am-12pm or 1pm-2.30pm

With Tsuchigumo Daiko

"In this workshop we aim to provide a fundamental 'Taiko Toolbox' of movement patterns and rhythmic expressions to help participants effectively 'colour' the space around them, both on and off the drum, including a primer on Bachi tricks. Utilising specially created drills, participants will be shown exercises to increase awareness of how the body is used when playing, how to play with relaxation and power, to improve kata (form) and waza (technique) using dynamic grips and stances, and help strengthen their internal clock" Some Taiko experience needed.

Children's Taiko (ages 8-12)

Sunday 24th November, 10am-12pm at Frederick Gough School, Scunthorpe.

With Kion Dojo and Tsuchigumo Daiko

A unique opportunity to learn with both Kion Dojo and Tsuchigumo Daiko! Lots of energy, fun and moving around the drum to learn a short piece!

No Taiko experience needed.

All workshop places are £3.00 each.

Supported using public funding by the National Lottery through Arts Council England, and Arts Development at North Lincolnshire Council

Source: Humber Taiko. 2017. "The Humber Taiko Festival 2017." Accessed October 30, 2017. https://humbertaiko.weebly.com/humber-taiko-festival.html.

Appendix H: Humber Taiko Festival 2018 Programme

Date/Time	Event	Description
1.11.2018, 6pm-8pm	Cross Hand Drumming for Experienced Players, Frederick Gough School, Scunthorpe	Participants will learn how to develop a smooth, relaxed flow between two drums, with emphasis on the related techniques, grips, movements and body positions used to execute this type of playing effectively. You will learn how to maximize your movement potential and relaxation to improve speed, timing, visual impact, power, accuracy, and articulation on multiple drums. Cost £4
2.11.2018, 7pm	<i>Rhythm Soul</i> , The Plowright Theatre, Scunthorpe	An exhilarating evening of Taiko featuring amazing Taiko players from Taiko Journey (England), Taiko Zurich (Switzerland) and Tsuchigumo Daiko (Scotland). Supported by the excellent Tetsu Taiko. This event takes place at The Plowright Theatre. Tickets are priced £10/£6 concession each Joint ticket available for both events £12/£8 concession each.
3.11.2018 10.30am- 12pm	<i>Waku Doki,</i> The Baths Hall, Scunthorpe	Seen performed at 'Rhythm Soul' at the Plowright Theatre on Friday 2nd November, learn to play Taiko Journey's 'Waku Doki', a high energy, fast paced piece. This is the perfect adrenaline rush workshop with chance to learn different parts on different style drums and with resources available for further development after the session. Cost £4
3.11.2018, 13:00- 14:30	<i>Buchiawase</i> , The Baths Hall, Scunthorpe	The piece 'Buchiawase' comes from the Miura Peninsula south of Tokyo, where it is traditionally played to celebrate a bountiful fishing haul.

3.11.2018	<i>Taiko Night,</i> The	Participants will learn the powerful piece in the style of 'Kenka Daiko' or fighting drums, encouraging friendly competition between opposing teams, with energetic choreography for all levels. Cost £4 Humber Taiko presents the annual celebration of
7pm	Baths Hall, Scunthorpe	Taiko featuring local youth and community groups from across Northern Lincolnshire, and guests from further afield. This show takes place at The Baths Hall. Tickets are priced £6/£4 concession each. Joint ticket for both events £12/£8 concession each.
4.11.2018 10am- 11am	<i>'Use the</i> <i>Force': Children's</i> <i>Taiko Workshop for</i> <i>Experienced Players</i> <i>(8+),</i> Frederick Gough School, Scunthorpe	This workshop offers exercises and drills that strengthen participants' connection with their own body as they explore their connection with the instruments. Explore how to move your body efficiently to develop a strong and dynamic strike. A practice piece will be introduced as part of the workshop. Cost £3
4.11.2018 11.30am- 12.30pm	'Taiko FUNdamentals': Be ginners' Community Taiko Workshop, Frederick Gough School, Scunthorpe	Through a series of FUN songs and games with taiko drumming, Taiko Fundamentals focuses on developing the participants' musicality level, creativity and sense of originality, while navigating within the realms of the art of taiko. Studies have shown that our learning abilities are maximised within a fun and supportive atmosphere, the goal of Taiko FUNdamentals is to create an inclusive environment for learning the core elements of the art of taiko. (adults & ages 8+) Cost £3

Source: Humber Taiko. 2018. "The Humber Taiko Festival 2018." Accessed November 3, 2018. https://humbertaiko.weebly.com/humber-taiko-festival.html.

Appendix I: European Taiko Conference 2016 Programme

The European Taiko Conference 2016 Schedule

THURSDAY 18 FEBRUARY

From 2.00pm	Check-in for accommodation	Main Reception
From 5.00pm	Conference Registration - ALL Sign-up for discussion sessions and yoga	LE15
6.00pm	Welcome Dinner • Welcome speeches • Food served at 6.30pm. 2-course meal	LE15
8:00pm	Social Time - bar opens Taiko Performances • Tano Taiko • Kagemusha Taiko	Yellow Room
11:00pm	Bar closes	

FRIDAY 19 FEBRUARY

6.45 – 7.45am	Yoga with Heather Murray (max 20 people, sign-up required)	Taiko Centre
8.00 – 8.45am	Breakfast for Delegates Continental buffet	LE15
9.00am	Welcome Session Speakers: 1. Jonathan Kirby 2. Yoshi Miyamoto 3. Shoji Kameda, Franco Imperial, Karen Young	Lecture Theatre
10.10am	Break The Pantry is open for drinks and snacks	0.00
10.30am – 12.30pm	Workshop Session 1 • Franco Imperial • Shogo Yoshii • Karen Young • Shoji Kameda	Taiko Centre Great Hall Cornish Room Big Red
From 12.30pm	Lunch Packed (sandwich) lunch available for each delegate	LE15
2.00pm	Discussion Sessions 1. Taiko for All - Working with Special Groups Chair: Jean Brown Panelists: Silke Hanzen, Jake Manning, Heather Murray 2. Taiko Training Outside Europe Chair: Lucy Thomas Panelists: Shoji Kameda, Oliver Kirby, Lisa Oliver, Chiara Codetta	Cornish Room Queen's Room
3.00pm	Break The Pantry is open for drinks and snacks	
3.30pm	Workshop Session 2 • Franco Imperial • Shogo Yoshii • Karen Young • Shoji Kameda	Taiko Centre Great Hall Cornish Room Big Red
6.30pm	Dinner 2-course meal	
8.00pm	Social Time - Bar opens Taiko Performances: • Tengu Daiko • Piero Nota • Tsuchigumo Daiko • Coritani • Oedo Sukeroku-ryu Wadaiko MAKOTO	Yellow Room
11.00pm	Bar closes	

SATURDAY 20 FEBRUARY

6.45 – 7.45am	Yoga with Heather Murray (max 20 people, sign-up required)	Taiko Centre
8.00 – 8.45am	Breakfast for Delegates Continental buffet	LE15
9.00am	Plenary • Review and preparation • Warm-ups	Great Hall
10.15am	Workshop Session 3 • Franco Imperial • Shogo Yoshii • Karen Young • Shoji Kameda	Taiko Centre Great Hall Cornish Room Big Red
12.15pm	Lunch Packed (sandwich) lunch available for each delegate	LE15
1.30pm	Discussion Sessions 1. Managing a Taiko Group Chair: Cherry Hingston Panelists: Isabel Biedma, Frank Dubberke, Lucy Thomas 2. Organising Taiko Events in Europe - What Works? Chair: Christine Boyle Panelists: Jonathan Kirby, Mary Murata, Micah Wilhelm	Cornish Room Queen's Room
2.30pm	Break The Pantry is open for drinks and snacks	
3.00pm	Workshop Session 4 • Franco Imperial • Oliver Kirby • Karen Young • Shoji Kameda	Taiko Centre Great Hall Cornish Room Big Red
6.00pm	Dinner 2-course meal	
8.00pm	Social Time - Bar opens Taiko Performances: • Taiko Mynydd Du/Aber Taiko • ThunderDrummers Cumbria • YATOSA • Ed Pickering • Shoji Kameda & Shogo Yoshii	Yellow Room
1.00am	Bar closes	

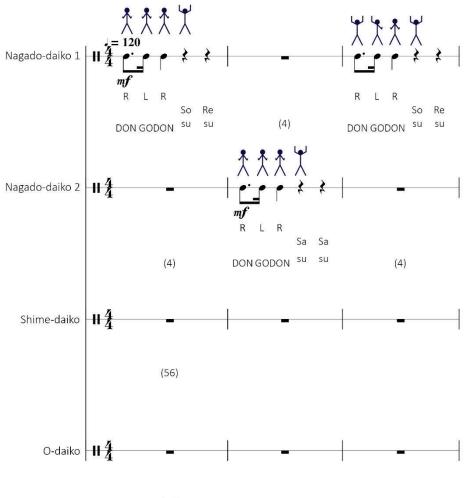
SUNDAY 21 FEBRUARY

8.00 – 9.00am	Breakfast for Delegates Continental buffet LE15	
9.00am	Closing Session Jonathan Kirby, Ben Pachter, Nora Emri, Ingmar Kikat, Fiona Umetsu, Kate Walker	Lecture Theatre
10.30am	Break The Pantry is open for drinks and snacks	
11.00am	Joint performances • Shimabayashi - Jonathan Kirby • Ready Set kaDON! - Shoji Kameda • Stepping Stones - Oliver Kirby • Matsuri - Franco Imperial	The Quad (Great Hall if the weather is bad)
12.00pm	Conference Photo - all participants	The Quad (Great Hall if the weather is bad)
	END OF CONFERENCE	

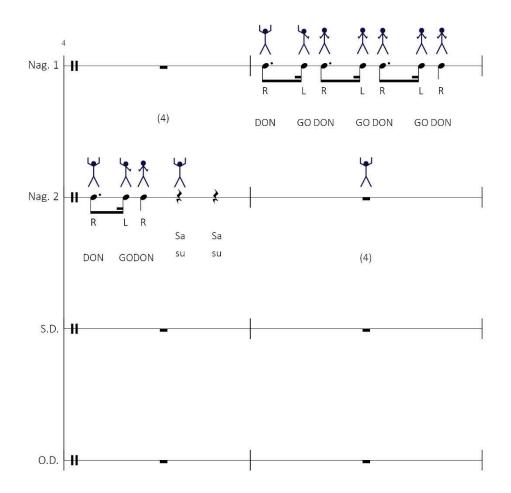
Source: European Taiko Conference. 2016. *European Taiko Conference England 2016*. Newton Abbot, Devon: Kagemusha Taiko.

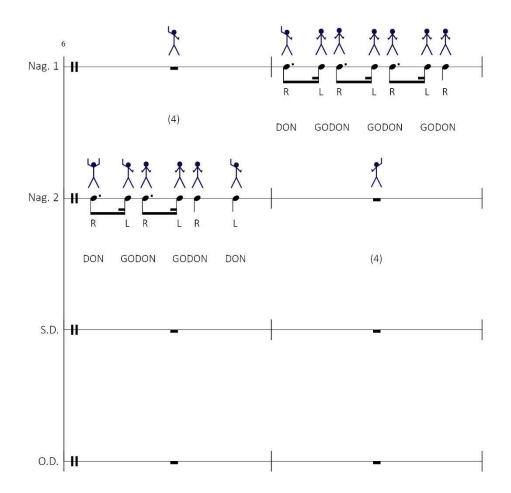
Shimabayashi

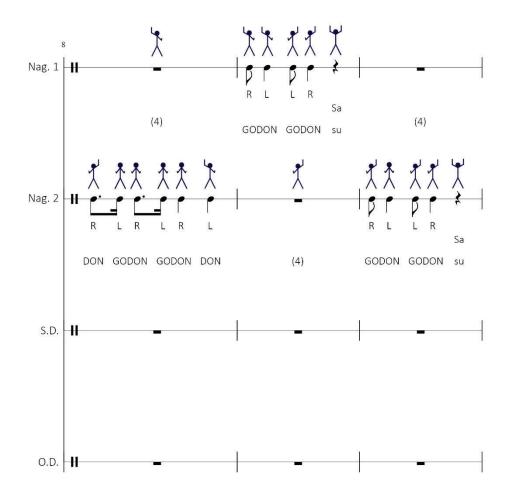
Jonathan Kirby

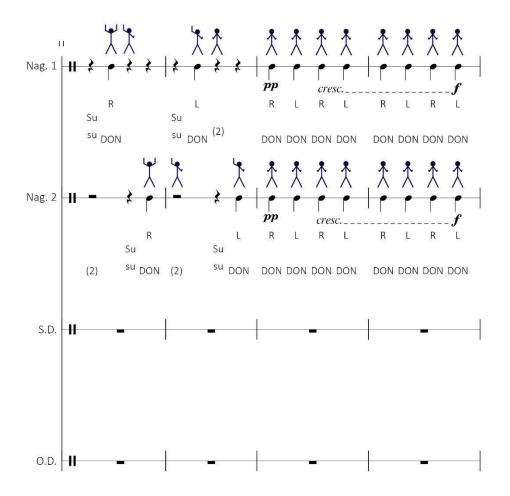


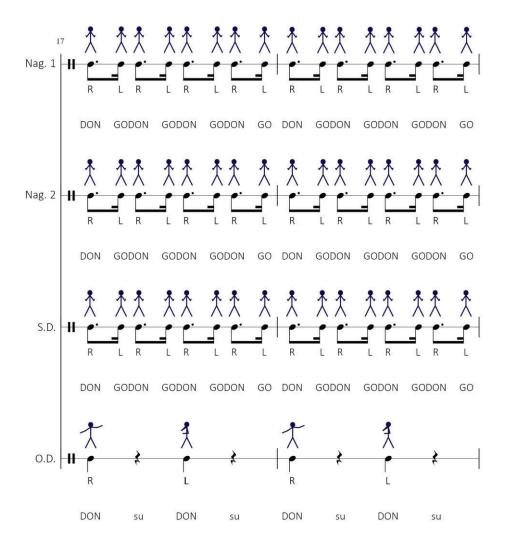
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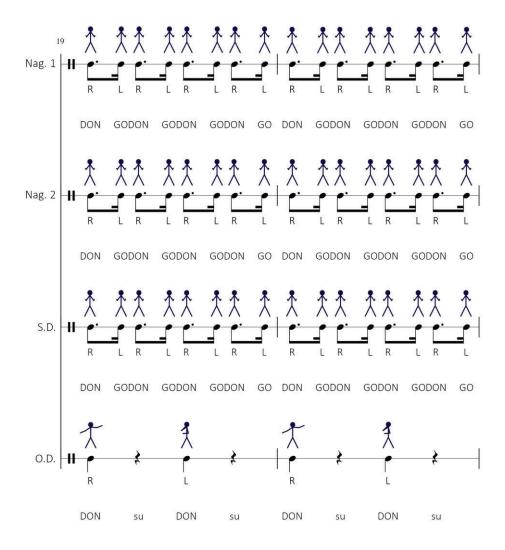


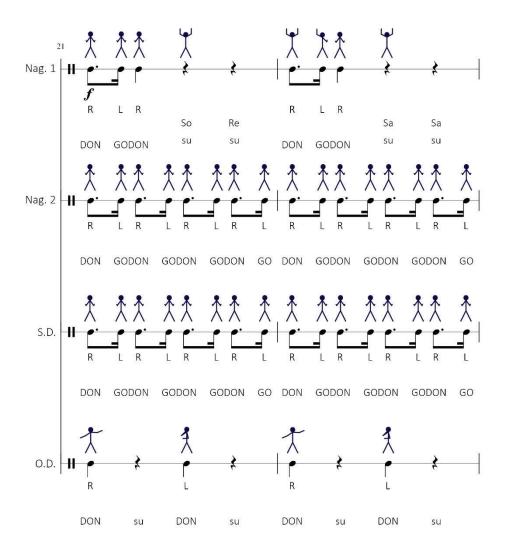


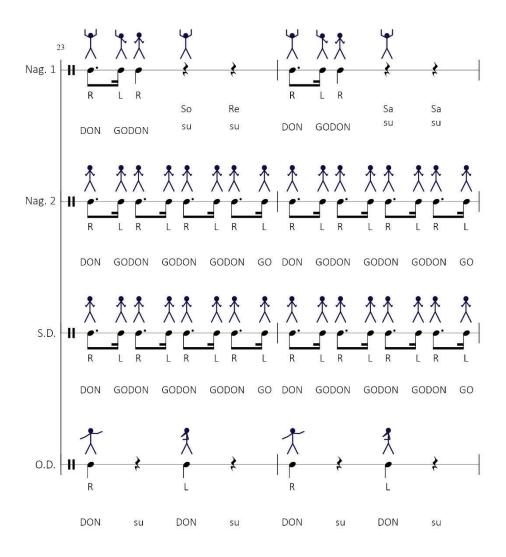


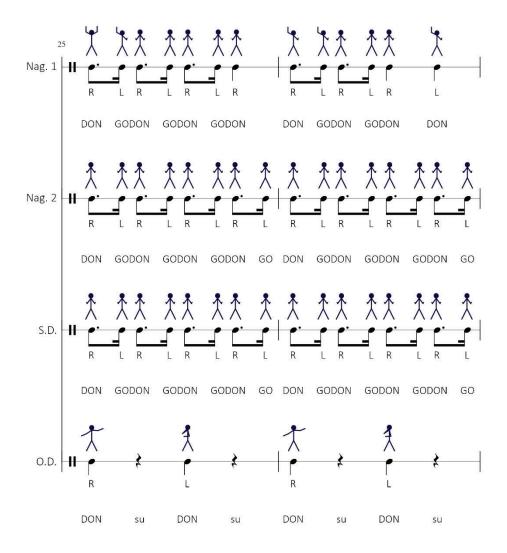


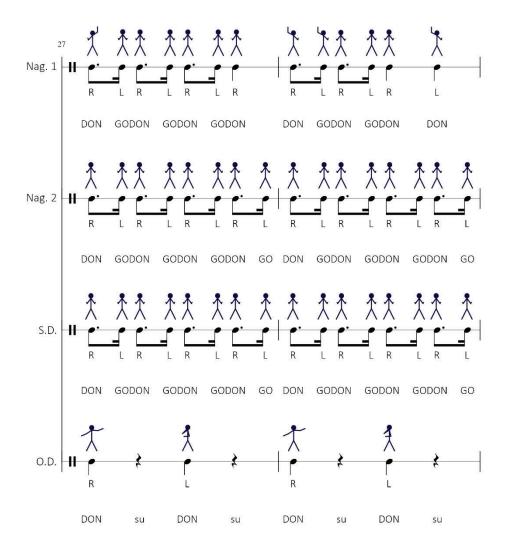


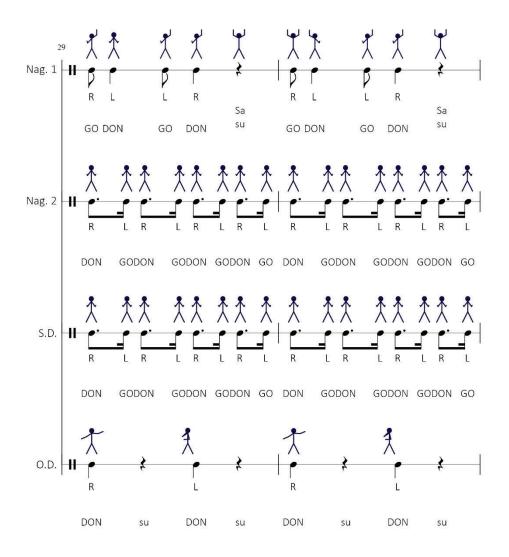


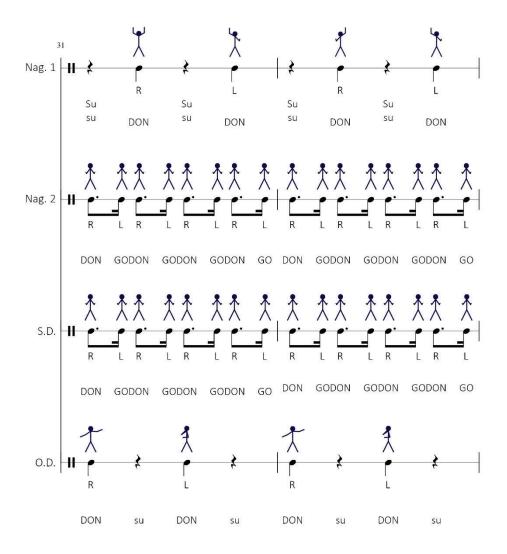


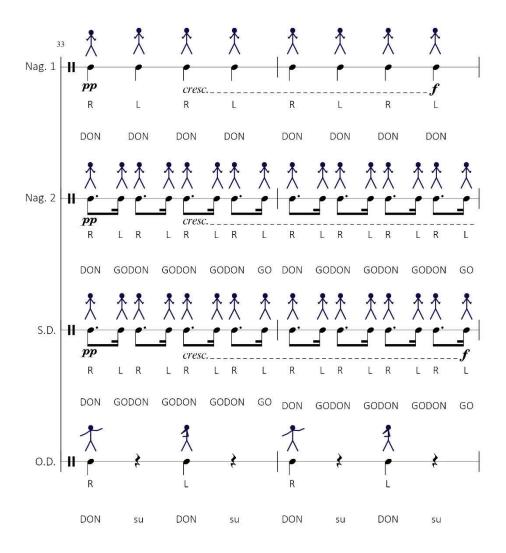


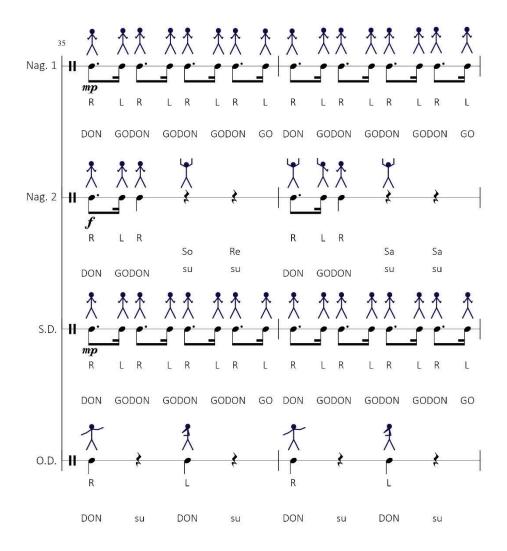


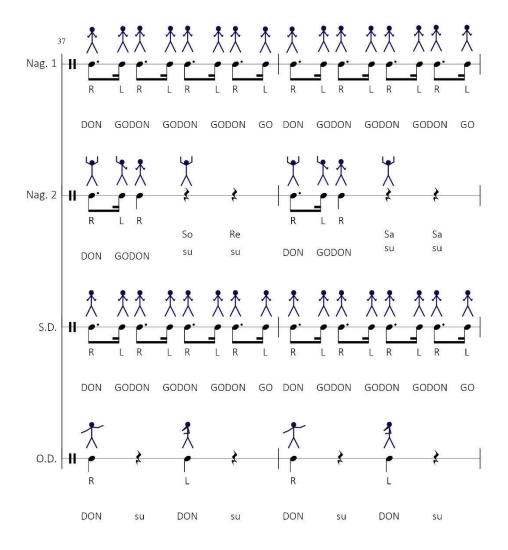


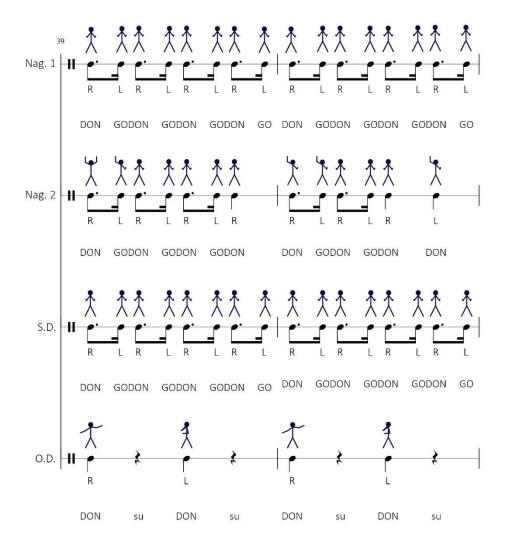


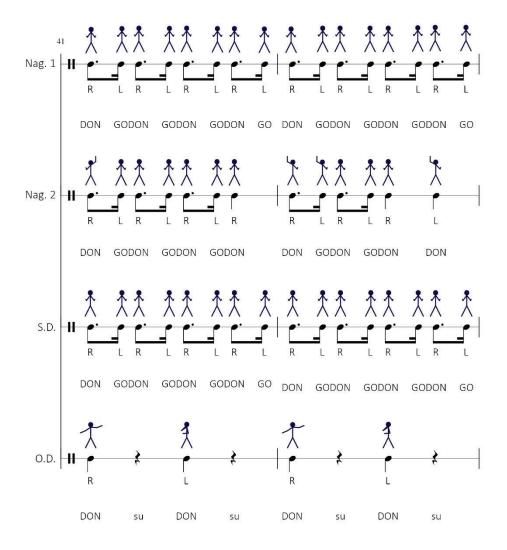


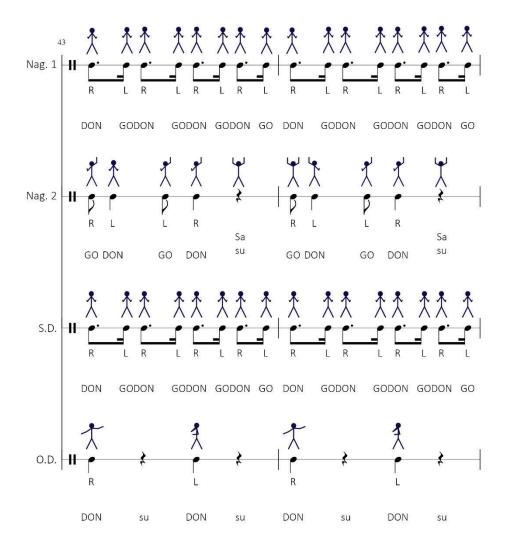


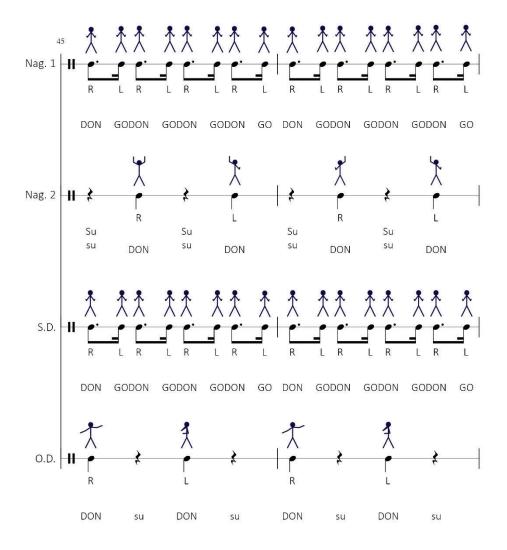


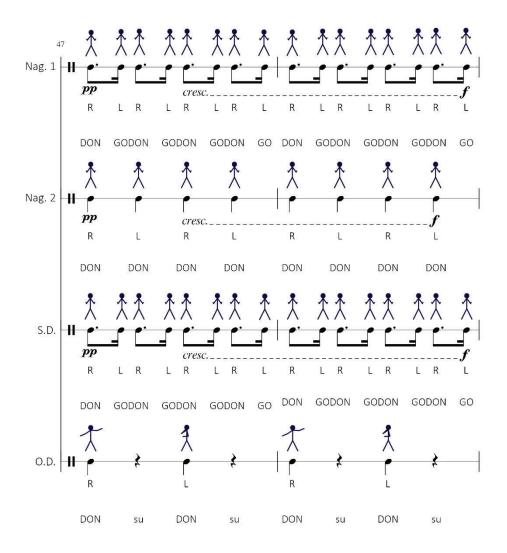




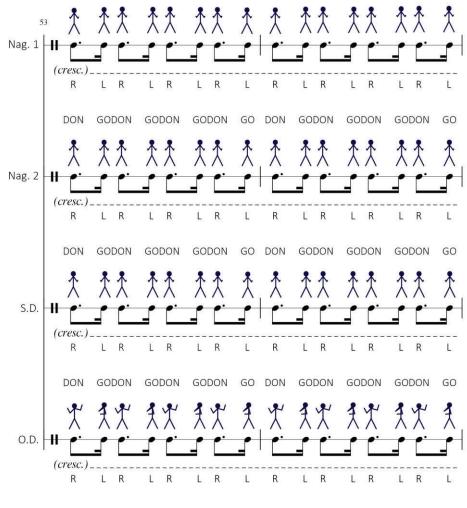




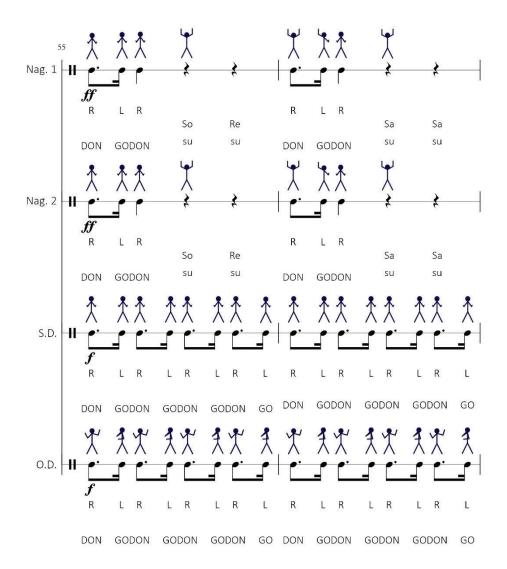


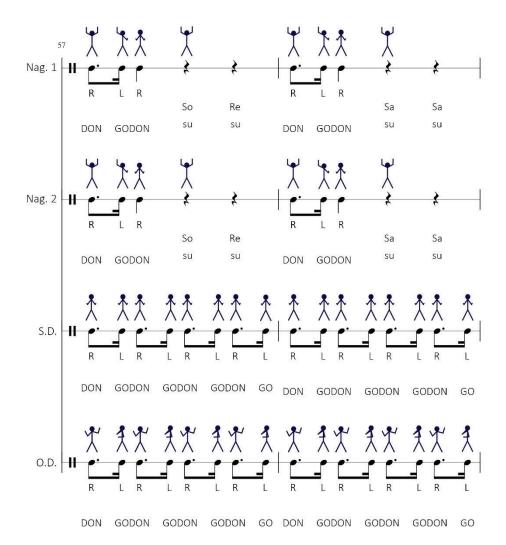


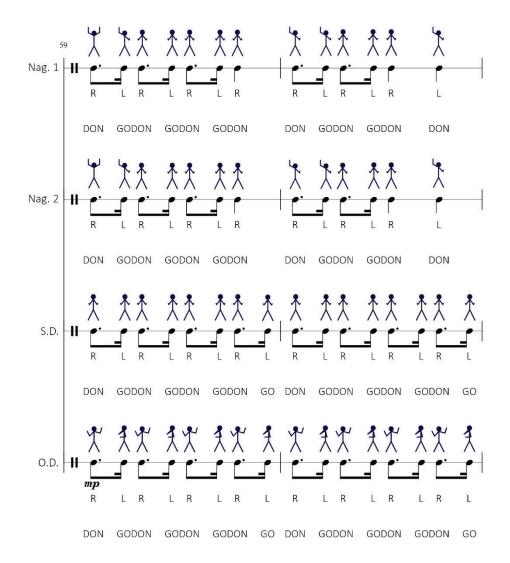
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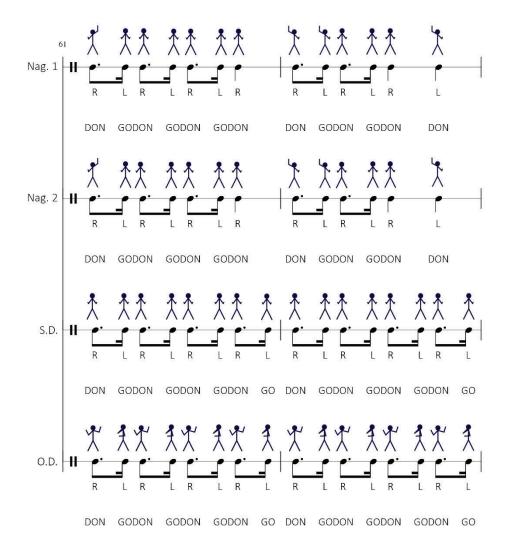


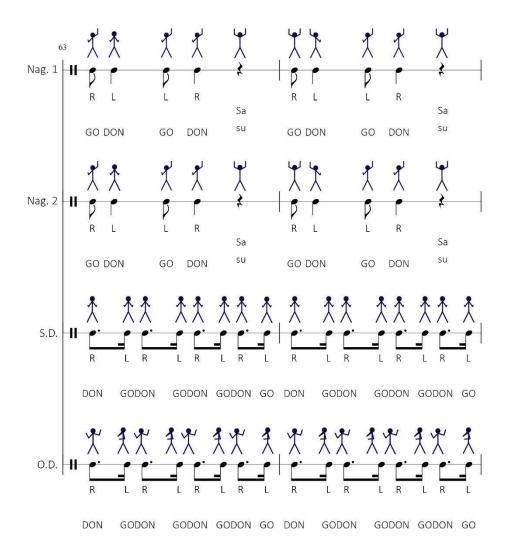
DON GODON GODON GODON GODON GODON GODON GODON GO

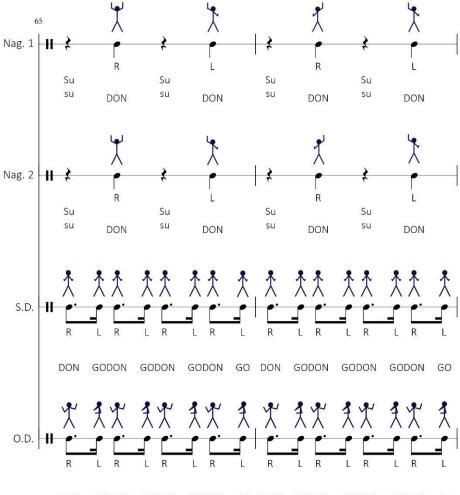




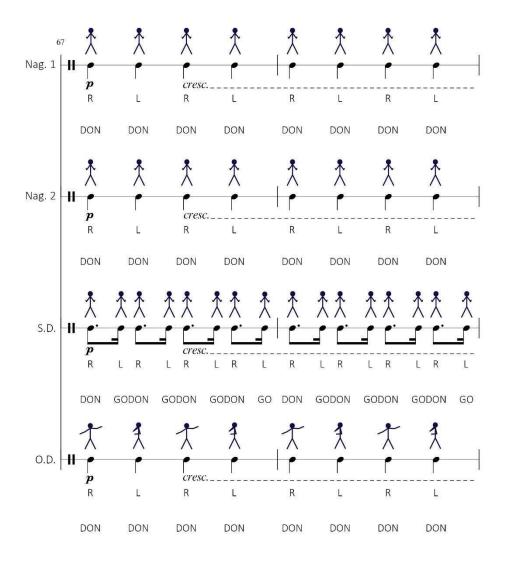


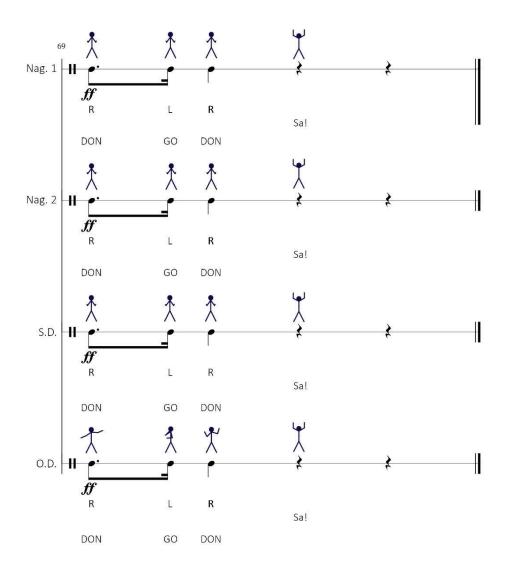






DON GODON GODON GODON GODON GODON GODON GO





Appendix K: Proposed Base Rhythms for 'Never Again Is Now'

Ji (just alternating RL with these accents - this is also played on rim sometimes)

DO-ku	tsu-ku	tsu-ku	DO-ku
tsu-ku	DO-ku	DO-ku	tsu-ku

Ji tag (short) only happens at the end of verse 1

DO-ku	tsu-ku	tsu-ku	DON
KAN			

Tag

1	2	3	4
Bachi Tag (bachi clicks)			
Kan	Kan	Ka-Kan	su

Horse Beat Tag (HB Tag)

Don	doko	Don	doko
Don	Kon	Do Kon	su

Lyrics

Look into their eyes, and you'll see. A world on fire is the reality. "I did it cause they, did" won't fly. wringing our hands and closing our eyes.

But never again.

(Ji - p)

I swear... never again. (Short Ji last 2 bars before verse 2)

(Ji - mp)

from the mouths of babes how the words ring true.

(we never wanted any of this)
(what could be the meaning of this?)
Stop believing the world is us and you.
(We never wanted any of this.)
(what could be the meaning of this?)
We are humanity my friend.
Standing as one, standing as one...
we'll reach the end... of this...
There must be an end.
to this

(Bachi Tag > JI, mf)

Never Again.... is now Never Again... is how

(Bachi Tag > JI, mf)

We can be one We can be change

(Ji on rim)

We can be beautiful. Taking the world

(Ji on rim)

from the deranged

Odaiko Solo / Call & Response

Odaiko - 6 bars (Chus play ji, *mf*) Chudaiko - HB Tag *ff* Odaiko - 6 bars (Chus play Ji, *mf*) Chudaiko - HB Tag, *ff*

All play Ji - *ff, 3x ending with shime tag.*

Odaiko - 6 bars (Chus play Ji, mf) Chudaiko - HB Tag, ff

Odaiko - 7 bars, bar 8, everyone plays "su don kon su"

Realize what we've become. Were living blind and deaf and dumb.

(Bachi Tag > JI, mf) But never again. Never again.

Ji on rim

The city's ghost speaks of what once was... And the skies above burn bright with new stars. Can we forgive but not forget? Choosing to love over regret. (Full stop, 2 bars, then HB Tag)

(same as earlier chorus 2x)

Never again is now Never again is how we can be one, we can be change. We can be beautiful. Changing the world from the deranged into a place for all.

Never again is now. Never again is how we can be love, we can be change we can be beautiful Claiming the world for the estranged.

(All stop)

Look into their eyes, and you'll see.

Source: Rannoch Purcell, Facebook message to author, January 17, 2017.

Appendix L: Partial Prescriptive Notation for 'Never Again Is Now'

Never Again Is Now





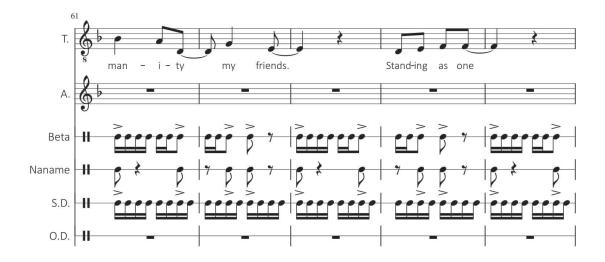


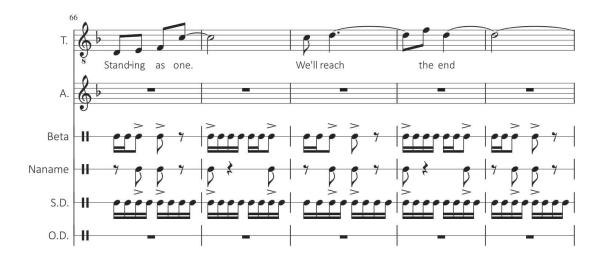








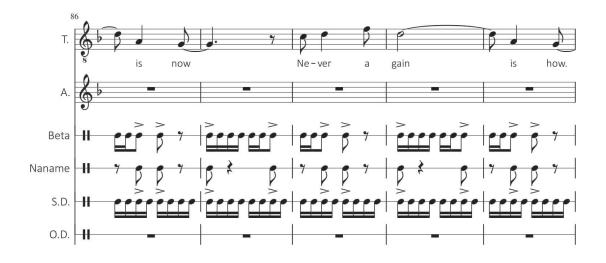






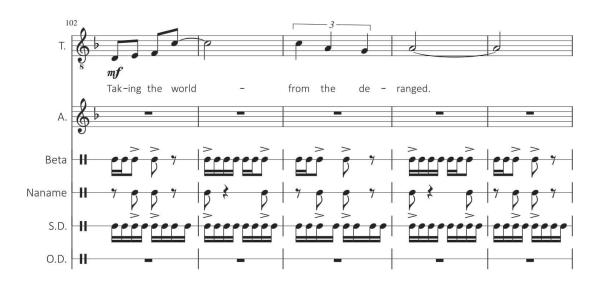


























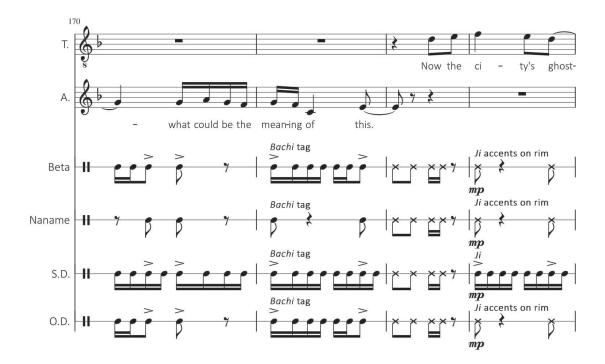


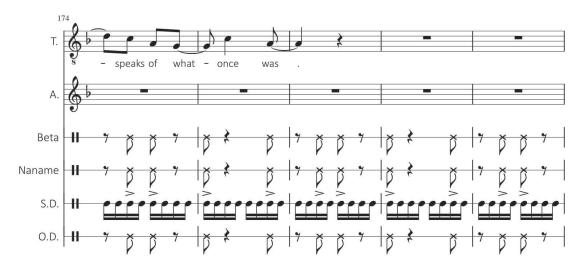


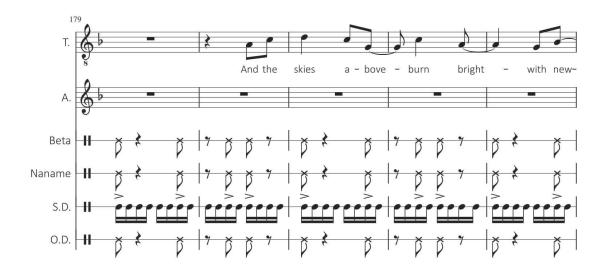


























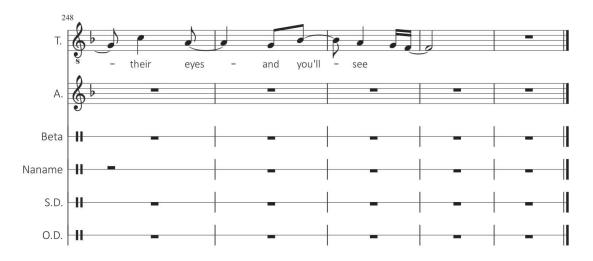












Appendix M: European Taiko Conference 2018 Survey (Immediate Aftermath)

European Taiko Conference 3

European Taiko Conference 3

Thank you for taking the time to complete this short questionnaire. It contains mostly multiple-choice questions and should take around 10-15 minutes to complete.

Please note that all responses will be held in strict confidence. They will be used by Kate Walker, a PhD student at the University of Sheffield. All data will be made anonymous in any research outputs, including reports provided to the organisers, sponsors and/or wider taiko community.

*Required

Thanks to the generosity of the conference sponsors, one ETC3 participant who completes this survey will win a one-month subscription to kaDON, an online venture dedicated to producing high quality instructional videos for taiko and fue.



1. lattended: *

Tick all that apply.

The first European Taiko Conference (2016)

- The second European Taiko Conference (2017)
- Neither (this is my first European Taiko Conference)

The Sunderhof

2. The space at the Sunderhof was fit for purpose (for taiko workshops, performances, socialising etc.). *

Mark only one oval.						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

3. The quality and range of food and drink available at the conference was good.*

Mark only one oval.



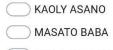
4. The accommodation was clean and comfortable. *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

Taiko Workshops and Performances

5. On Friday, I took workshops with *



- SHOJI KAMEDA
- EIICHI SAITO

6. I will be able to use what I learned during the workshops on Friday. *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

7. I would recommend the workshops I took on Friday to other players.

Mark only one oval.

C	Yes
C	No
\subset	Maybe

8. On Saturday, I took workshops with *

Mark only one oval.

- KAOLY ASANO
- MASATO BABA
- SHOJI KAMEDA
- EIICHI SAITO
- 9. I will be able to use what I learned during the workshops on Saturday. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

10. I would recommend the workshops I took on Saturday to other players. *

Mark only one oval.

Yes
No
Maybe

11. I will be able to use what I learned during Taiko Drills with Oliver Kirby *

Mark only one oval.

Strongly disagree

Disagree

Neutral

Agree

- Strongly agree
- Not applicable I did not take part in either drill session.
- 12. I performed during the social time on Friday and/or Saturday night. *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

13. The social performances were a valuable part of the conference programme *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

Plenaries and Discussion Session

14. The welcome session (on Friday morning) provided me with a good understanding of who was taking part in ETC3. *

Mark only one oval.						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

15. After the welcome session, I understood how the conference would work. *

Mark only one oval.



16. The plenary sessions led by Karen Young (on Friday afternoon and Saturday morning) allowed me to meet players I did not know before the conference and share opinions and ideas. *



17. Structured conversations during the plenary sessions led by Karen Young were relevant to me.



18. The discussion session on Saturday afternoon provided a good opportunity to learn about current challenges and opportunities for taiko in Europe. *

Mark only one oval.						
	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

19. The discussion session on Saturday afternoon was a source of new ideas. *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

20. The contents of Saturday afternoon's discussion session was relevant to me. *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	Strongly agree

Future Plans

21. I plan to share at least one piece of repertoire from ETC3 with members of my group or other taiko players who could not attend conference *



22. I will actively connect with groups/players I have met at the conference (e.g. take a workshop, attend a festival, share repertoire). *



23. Is there anything else you plan to do differently with members of your group or other taiko players as a result of any part of the conference (e.g. performances, plenaries etc.)? If so, what?

24. I would like to attend the next European Taiko Conference. *

Mark only one oval.



Final Thoughts

25.	If you have any additional comments about your experience at the European
	Taiko Conference, please insert them here.

26. If you would like to be entered into the prize draw to win a one-month subscription to kaDON, please add your email address.

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Google Forms

Appendix N: European Taiko Conference 2018 Survey (Six Weeks Later)

European Taiko Conference 3: Six Weeks Later / Sechs Wochen danach / sei settimane dopo

European Taiko Conference 3: Six Weeks Later / Sechs Wochen danach / sei settimane dopo

Thank you for taking the time to complete this short questionnaire. It contains mostly multiple-choice questions and should take around 10-15 minutes to complete. It will help us to understand what might change in Europe and beyond as a result of the third European Taiko Conference.

Please note that all responses will be held in strict confidence. They will be used by Kate Walker, a PhD student at the University of Sheffield. All data will be made anonymous in any research outputs, including reports provided to the organisers, sponsors and/or wider taiko community.

Vielen Dank, dass Sie sich die Zeit nehmen, diesen kurzen Feedbackbogen auszufüllen. Er enthält hauptsächlich Multiple-Choice-Fragen und dürfte etwa 10-15 Minuten Ihrer Zeit in Anspruch nehmen. Er wird uns helfen zu verstehen, was sich durch die dritte European Taiko Conference in Europa und darüber hinaus ändern könnte.

Bitte beachten Sie, dass alle Antworten streng vertraulich behandelt werden. Sie werden von Kate Walker, einer Doktorandin an der Universität von Sheffield, verwendet. Alle Daten werden in allen Forschungsergebnissen anonymisiert, einschließlich Berichte, die den Organisatoren, Sponsoren und/oder der Taiko-Community zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

Grazie per aver trovato del tempo da dedicare a questo breve questionario. Questo questionario consiste per lo più di domande a scelta multipla, basteranno 10-15 minuti per completarlo. Ci aiuterà a capire quali potrebbero essere i cambiamenti in Europa e altrove dopo la terza Conferenza Europea del Taiko.

kaDON Nagado Bachi



Thanks to the generosity of the conference sponsors, one ETC3 participant who completes this survey will win a pair of maple kaDON Nagado Bachi! Dank der großzügigen Unterstützung der Konferenzsponsoren, wird ein ETC3-Teilnehmer, der diese Umfrage ausfüllt, ein Paar Ahorn kaDON Nagado. Bachi gewinnen! Grazie alla generosità degli sponsor ci sono in palio, un paio di kaDON Nagado bachi in acero per uno dei partecipanti dell'ETC3, che avrà completato il questionario.

Workshop Repertoire / Werkstatt-Repertoire / Repertorio dei workshop

 My first two taiko workshops (on Friday 16th February) were with / Meine ersten beiden Taiko-Workshops (am Freitag, 16. Februar) waren mit / II mio primo workshop (venerdi 16 febbraio) è stato con: *

Mark only one oval.

- KAOLY ASANO
- MASATO BABA
- SHOJI KAMEDA
- EIICHI SAITO
- 2. I have shared (or started to share) the repertoire I learned during Friday's workshops with members of my group/other taiko players who could not attend ETC3. / Ich habe das Repertoire, das ich während der Workshops am Freitag gelernt habe, mit Mitgliedern meiner Gruppe/anderen Taiko-Spielern, die nicht an der ETC3 teilnehmen konnten, geteilt (oder angefangen zu teilen). / Ho condiviso (o iniziato a condividere) il brano imparato durante il workshop di venerdi con I membri del mio gruppo o altri suonatori di taiko che non hanno potuto partecipare all'ETC.*



3. If you have not shared the repertoire from Friday's workshops, why not? Please select all that apply. / Wenn Sie das Repertoire des Freitags-Workshops nicht geteilt haben, warum nicht? Bitte wählen Sie alle zutreffenden Antworten. / Se non ho condiviso il repertorio imparato durante il workshop di venerdi, perchè no? Per favore, selezionare le risposte adeguate.

Tick all that apply.

A lack of time / Zeitmangel / Mancanza di tempo

It does not align with my group's curriculum / Es passt nicht zum Lehrplan meiner Gruppe / Non è compatibile con lo stile ed il curriculum del mio gruppo

The level is not appropriate for my group (i.e. too simple or difficult) / Das Level ist nicht für meine Gruppe geeignet (d.H. zu einfach oder schwierig) / II livello non è appropriato (es: troppo facile o troppo difficile)

I dislike the piece / Ich mag das Stück nicht / Non mi piace il pezzo

I do not teach in my group / Ich unterrichte nicht in meiner Gruppe / Non insegno nel mio gruppo

I cannot remember the piece and/or do not have access to sufficient memory-aides / Ich kann mich nicht an das Stück erinnern und/oder habe keinen Zugang zu ausreichenden Gedächtnisstützen / Non ricordo bene il pezzo e/o non ho accesso a risorse e strumenti

per ricordarlo

I don't feel able to teach the piece (e.g. it is too difficult, I am inexperienced as a teacher) / Ich fühle mich nicht in der Lage, das Stück zu unterrichten (z.B. es ist zu schwierig, ich bin als Lehrer unerfahren) / Non mi sento in grado di insegnare il pezzo (es: è troppo difficile, non ho abbastanza esperienza come insegnante)

I am an independent taiko player (i.e. don't belong to a group) / Ich bin ein unabhängiger Taiko-Spieler (d.H. gehöre keiner Gruppe an) / Non appartengo ad un gruppo (cioè sono un suonatore indipendente)

I preferred the repertoire I learned during Saturday's workshops / Ich bevorzuge das Repertoire, das ich während der Workshops am
 Samstag gelernt habe / Preferisco il brano imparato durante il workshop di sabato

Other:

 My final two taiko workshops (on Saturday 17th February) were with / Meine letzten beiden Taiko-Workshops (am Samstag, 17. Februar) waren mit / II mio ultimo workshop (sabato 17 febbraio) era con: *

Mark only one oval.

KAOLY ASANO

- MASATO BABA
- SHOJI KAMEDA
- EIICHI SAITO
- 5. I have shared (or started to share) the repertoire I learned during Saturday's workshops with members of my group/other taiko players who could not attend ETC3. / Ich habe das Repertoire, das ich während der Workshops am Samstag gelernt habe, mit Mitgliedern meiner Gruppe/anderen Taiko-Spielern, die nicht an der ETC3 teilnehmen konnten, geteilt (oder angefangen zu teilen). / Ho condiviso (o iniziato a condividere) il brano imparato durante il workshop di sabato con l membri del mio gruppo o altri suonatori di taiko che non hanno potuto partecipare all'ETC *

Mark only one oval.



O No / Nein / No

6. If you have not shared the repertoire from Saturday's workshops, why not? Please select all that apply. / Wenn Sie das Repertoire von den Workshops am Samstag nicht geteilt haben, warum nicht? Bitte wählen Sie alle zutreffenden Antworten. / Se non ho condiviso il repertorio imparato durante il workshop di sabato, perchè no? Per favore, selezionare le risposte adeguate.

Tick all that apply.

A lack of time / Zeitmangel / Mancanza di tempo

It does not align with my group's curriculum / Es passt nicht zum Lehrplan meiner Gruppe / Non è compatibile con lo stile ed il curriculum del mio gruppo

The level is not appropriate for my group (i.e. too simple or difficult) / Das Level ist nicht für meine Gruppe geeignet (d.H. zu einfach oder schwierig) / II livello non è appropriato (es: troppo facile o troppo difficile)

I dislike the piece / Ich mag das Stück nicht / Non mi piace il pezzo

I do not teach in my group / Ich unterrichte nicht in meiner Gruppe / Non insegno nel mio gruppo

I cannot remember the piece and/or do not have access to sufficient memory-aides / Ich kann mich nicht an das Stück erinnern und/oder habe keinen Zugang zu ausreichenden Gedächtnisstützen / Non ricordo bene il pezzo e/o non ho accesso a risorse e strumenti per ricordarlo

□ I don't feel able to teach the piece (e.g. it is too difficult, I am inexperienced as a teacher) / Ich fühle mich nicht in der Lage, das Stück zu unterrichten (z.B. es ist zu schwierig, ich bin als Lehrer unerfahren) / Non mi sento in grado di insegnare il pezzo (es: è troppo difficile, non ho abbastanza esperienza come insegnante)

I am an independent taiko player (i.e. don't belong to a group) / Ich bin ein unabhängiger Taiko-Spieler (d.H. gehöre keiner Gruppe an) / Non appartengo ad un gruppo (cioè sono un suonatore indipendente)

I preferred the repertoire I learned during Friday's workshops / Ich bevorzuge das Repertoire, das ich während der Workshops am Freitag gelernt habe / Preferisco il brano imparato durante il workshop di venerdì

Other:

Networking / contatti e relazioni

7. I have actively connected (e.g. shared repertoire, exchanged emails, organised collaborative activities) with players I met at the conference during the past 6 weeks. / In den letzten 6 Wochen habe ich aktiv Kontakt zu den Spielern, die ich auf der Konferenz kennengelernt habe, gepflegt (z.B. Repertoire geteilt, per E-Mail kommuniziert, Zusammenarbeit organisiert). / Nelle ultime sei settimane ho contattato (es: condiviso repertorio, scambiato email, organizzato attività insieme) altri suonatori di taiko incontrati all'ETC. *

Mark only one oval.

Yes / Ja / sì

8. If applicable, please select the ways in which you have connected with other participants since ETC3. / Falls zutreffend, wählen Sie ggf. die Art und Weise aus, wie Sie sich seit der ETC3 mit anderen Teilnehmern ausgetauscht haben. / In caso di risposta affermativa, selezionare in che modo avete preso contatto con altri partecipanti dopo l'ETC3.

Tick all that apply.

I follow groups/individuals on social media / Ich folge Gruppen/Einzelpersonen in sozialen Medien / Seguendo individui o gruppi sui social media

I have attended/arranged to attend a performance given by a player/players I met at the conference / Ich habe ein Konzert von einem Spieler/von Spielern besucht, die ich auf der Konferenz getroffen habe, bzw. Plane dies noch zu tun / Ho assistito o mi sono organizzato/a per assistere ad uno spettacolo di suonatori incontrati all'ETC

□ I have attended/arranged to attend a festival, workshop or other event designed to bring together taiko players /Ich habe an einem Festival, Workshop oder einer anderen Veranstaltung teilgenommen, um Taiko-Spieler zusammenzubringen / Ho partecipato o mi sono organizzato/a per partecipare a festival, workshop o altri eventi che intendono radunare suonatori di taiko

I have shared learning resources with other participants / Ich habe Lernmaterial mit anderen Teilnehmern geteilt / Ho condiviso risorse e strumenti di apprendimento con altri partecipanti

I have shared teaching resources with other participants / Ich habe Unterrichtsmaterial mit anderen Teilnehmern geteilt / Ho condiviso risorse e strumenti di insegnamento con altri partecipanti

I have shared repertoire with other participants / Ich habe mein Repertoire mit anderen Teilnehmern geteilt / Ho condiviso brani di repertorio con altri partecipanti

I have shared taiko-related skills with other participants (e.g. costume design, drum-building) / Ich habe Taiko-bezogene Fähigkeiten mit anderen Teilnehmern geteilt (z.B. Kostümdesign, Trommelbau) / Ho condiviso competenze a capacità relative al taiko con altri partecipanti (es: design dei costumi, costruzione di tamburi)

I have shared non-taiko specific expertise with other participants (e.g. website design) / Ich habe nicht-taikospezifische Fachkenntnisse mit anderen Teilnehmern geteilt (z.B. Website-Design) / Ho condiviso competenze a capacità non relative al taiko con altri partecipanti (es: website design)

I have taught/arranged to teach other participants (e.g. guest workshop) / Ich habe andere Teilnehmer unterrichtet bzw. plane dies noch zu tun (z.B. Gastworkshop) / Ho insegnato o mi sono organizzato/a per insegnare ad altri partecipanti (es: ospite di workshop)
I have performed/arranged to perform at another group or individual's taiko event / Ich habe auf einer Taiko-Veranstaltung einer anderen Gruppe oder einer Einzelperson gespielt, bzw. plane dies noch zu tun / Ho partecipato attivamente ad eventi di altri gruppi o

9. If applicable, please describe why you have not connected with other participants since ETC3. / Falls zutreffend, beschreiben Sie bitte, warum Sie seit der ETC3 keinen Kontakt zu anderen Teilnehmern gepflegt haben. / In caso di risposta negativa, per favore, spiega perchè non hai avuto contatti con altri pertecipanti all'ETC.

Personal Impact / Persönliche Auswirkungen / Impatto personale

 My artistic practice has improved as a result of attending the conference. / Meine künstlerische Praxis hat sich durch die Teilnahme an der Konferenz verbessert. / La mia pratica artistica è migliorata dopo aver partecipato alla conferenza. *

Mark only one oval.

indivuidui

2 3 4 5

Strongly disagree / Stimme überhaupt nicht zu / Completamente in disaccordo 🛛 📄 💮 Strongly agree / Stimme voll und ganz zu / Completamente d'accordo

1

11. If applicable, what did you improve and how? / Falls zutreffend, was haben Sie verbessert und wie? / In caso di risposta affermativa, che cosa è migliorato e come?

12. I built connections at ETC3 with people I can draw upon for support as I continue my development as a taiko practitioner. /Während der ETC 3 baute ich Verbindungen zu Menschen auf, auf die ich zurückgreifen kann, um mich als Taiko-Spieler weiterzuentwickeln. / All'ETC ho costruito legami con persone su cui posso contare per la mia crescita come praticante di taiko.*

	1 2 3 4 5 Strongly disagree / Stimme überhaupt nicht zu / Completamente in disaccordo Image: Completamente disaccordo Image: Completamente disaccordo
Fir	al Thoughts / Abschließende Gedanken / Conclusioni
13.	If you have any additional comments on changes to your taiko practice since the conference, please insert them here. / Falls Sie zu Änderungen in Ihrer Taiko-Praxis seit der Konferenz Anmerkungen haben, fügen Sie diese bitte hier ein. / Se hai un qualunque commento riguardante I cambiamenti nella tua pratica del taiko dopo la ETC3, per favore inseriscili qui
14.	If you would like to enter the prize draw to win a pair of maple kaDON Nagado Bachi, please insert your email address. / Wenn Sie an der Verlosung teilnehmen möchten, um ein Paar Ahorn kaDON Nagado Bachi zu gewinnen, geben Sie bitte

Wenn Sie an der Verlosung teilnehmen möchten, um ein Paar Ahorn kaDON Nagado Bachi zu gewinnen, geben Sie bitte Ihre E-Mail-Adresse an. / Se vuoi essere inserito nella lotteria per vincere un paio di kaDON Nagado bachi in acero, per favore inserisci il tuo indirizzo mail qui.

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Appendix O: European Taiko Conference 2019 Programme

The European Taiko Conference 2019 Schedule

THURSDAY 21 FEBRUARY

From 3:00pm	Conference registration. Check-in for accommodation. Assist with drum distribution, as required.	Main Reception
4:00 - 5:45pm	Miyamoto/kaDON merchandise on sale / pre-order pickup	Shop
6:00 - 6:45pm	Opening Session - for ALL delegates, staff and visitors.	Conference Hall
6:45 - 8:00pm	Bar open for drinks with dinner and following session.	
7:00pm	Welcome Dinner	Dining Hall
8:15pm	Presentation by Jonathan Kirby	Conference Hall
9:00 - 9:30pm	Selected performances: Franck Glowacz; Isabel Romeo-Biedma; Otominato.	Conference Hall
9:30 - 12:00pm	Bar open. Social Time. Music and dancing.	Bars and Bowling Alley

FRIDAY 22 FEBRUARY

7:00 – 7:45am	Taiko Drills with Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker	Conference Hall	
	Breakfast	Dining Hall	
9:00 - 10:00am	Welcome Session. Speakers: Ilka Haase, Kate Walker, Shoji Kameda, Yoshi Miyamoto.	Conference Hall	
10:00 - 10:15am	Language Group Check-In: • Ariane Hendrich, German • Kate Walker, English • Isabel Romeo-Biedma, Spanish • Jean Marie Pascal, French • Chiara Codetta, Italian	Conference Hall Workshop Space 3 Meeting Area 1 Meeting Area 2 Meeting Area 3	
10:15 - 10:30am	Break		
10:30am – 12:30pm	Taiko Workshop 1: • Fumi Tanakadate • PJ Hirabayashi • Shogo Yoshii • Jonathan Kirby	Workshop Space 1 Workshop Space 2 Workshop Space 3 Conference Hall	
12:45 - 1:45pm	Lunch	Dining Hall	
	Miyamoto/kaDON merchandise on sale / pre-order pickup	Shop	
2:00 - 3:15pm	Taiko Video Session: introduced by Jonathan Kirby • Taiko in Japan: Daihachi Oguchi, Oedo Sukeroku, Ondekoza/Kodo. • Taiko in North America: Kinnara Taiko, Seiichi Tanaka, San Jose Taiko.	Conference Hall	
3:15 - 3:30pm	Break		
3:30 - 5:30pm	Taiko Workshop 2 • Fumi Tanakadate • PJ Hirabayashi • Shogo Yoshii • Jonathan Kirbyo	Workshop Space 1 Workshop Space 2 Workshop Space 3 Conference Hall	
5:45 - 6:30pm	Miyamoto/kaDON merchandise on sale / pre-order pickup	Shop	
6:30 - 7:30pm	Dinner	Dining Hall	
8:00 - 9:15pm	Informal Performances: Taiko Zuerich & Inner Drum; Gladbeck; ReMi Taiko; Taiko Hungary; iki iki Taiko; Kion Dojo & Friends.	Conference Hall	
9:15 - 10:15pm	Miyamoto/kaDON merchandise on sale / pre-order pickup	Shop	
9:15 - 12:00pm	Bar open. Social Time. Music and dancing.	Bars and Bowling Alley	

SATURDAY 23 FEBRUARY

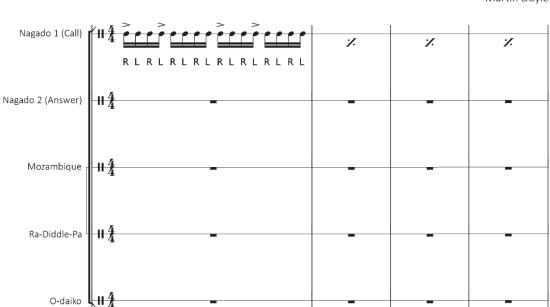
7:00 – 7:45am	Taiko Drills with Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker	Conference Hall		
8:00 – 8:45am	Breakfast	Dining Hall		
9:00 - 9:15am	Reveille: Lucy Thomas	Conference Hall		
9:15 - 11:15am	Taiko Workshop 3 • Fumi Tanakadate • PJ Hirabayashi • Shogo Yoshii • Jonathan Kirby	Workshop Space 1 Workshop Space 2 Workshop Space 3 Conference Hall		
11:15 - 11.30am	Break			
11:30am – 11:55am	Discussion Session Part 1 Plenary • Moderators: Kate Walker, Ilka Haase, Shoji Kameda.	Conference Hall		
11:55am - 12:45pm	Discussion Session Part 2, 3 seperate groups: • Kate Walker • Ilka Haase • Shoji Kameda	Workshop Space 3 Conference Hall Rooms 4a + 4b		
1:00pm	Lunch	Dining Hall		
	Miyamoto/kaDON merchandise on sale / pre-order pickup	Shop		
2:00 - 2:45pm	Discussion Session Part 3 Plenary Moderators: Kate Walker, Ilka Haase, Shoji Kameda.	Conference Hall		
2:45pm - 3:00pm	Language Group Check-In	Language Zones, as before.		
3:15 - 3:30pm	Break			
3:30 - 5:30pm	Taiko Workshop 4 • Fumi Tanakadate • PJ Hirabayashi • Shogo Yoshii • Jonathan Kirby	Workshop Space 1 Workshop Space 2 Workshop Space 3 Conference Hall		
5:30 - 6:00pm	Language Group Check-In. Expanded groups.	Language Zones, as before.		
6:00-6:30pm	Miyamoto/kaDON merchandise sale / pre-order pickup.	Shop		
6:20 - 7:45pm	Bar open for drinks with dinner, and for informal performance session.			
6:30 - 7:30pm	Dinner	Dining Hall		
7:30 - 8:00pm	Taiko Workshop Drum Clearance	Workshop Spaces 1,2 & 3.		
8:00-9:15pm	Informal Performances: Yo Bachi Daiko; Virginie Pinon & Adeline Bombrun; Piero Nota; Sakura No Ki Daiko; The RoK Group.	Conference Hall		
9:15-10:15pm	Miyamoto/kaDON merchandise sale / pre-order pickup. Last chance!	Shop		
9:15 - 1:00am	Bar open. Social Time. Music and dancing.	Bars and Bowling Alley		

SUNDAY 24 FEBRUARY

7:00 – 7:45am	Taiko Drills with Martin Doyle and Shonagh Walker	Conference Hall		
8:00 - 8:45am	Breakfast	Dining Hall		
8:45pm - 9:00am	Language Group Check-In	Language Zones, as before.		
	Break - Ensure all private rooms are clear.	Break - Ensure all private rooms are clear.		
11:00 - 12:00am	Celebratory taiko playing: Shimabayashi - Damian Lee and Razna Miah; Narushima - Ilka Haase; MozamJam - Shonagh Walker and Martin Doyle; Wa no Ichi - Ingmar Kikat; Worldwide Matsuri and Ready Set kaDON! - Shoji Kameda; Stepping Stones - Lucy Thomas.	Conference Hall		
12:00am	Official closing of Conference: Jonathan Kirby	Conference Hall		
12:15 - 1:15pm	Lunch	Dining Hall		
1:15 - 2:00pm	Drum-loading and venue clearance: All delegates and staff.			

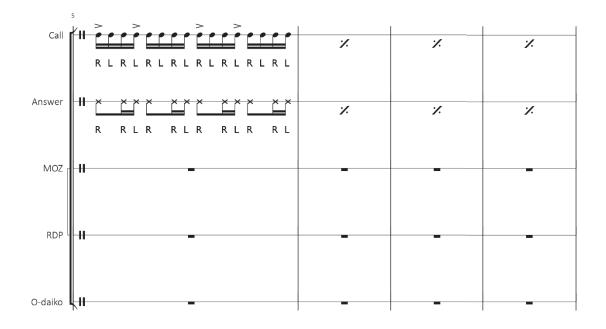
Source: European Taiko Conference. 2019. *European Taiko Conference Hamburg 2019*. Newton Abbot, Devon: Kagemusha Taiko.

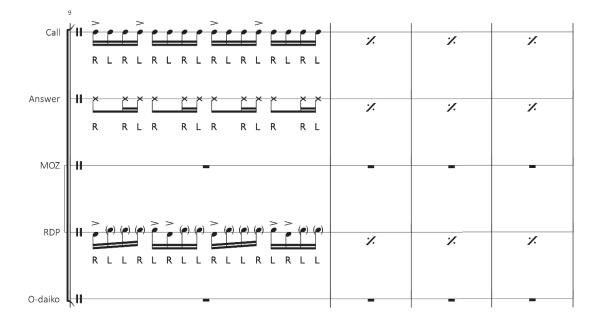
Appendix P: Prescriptive Notation for 'MozamJam'

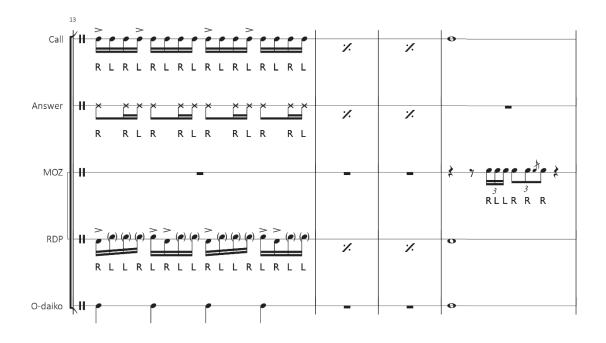


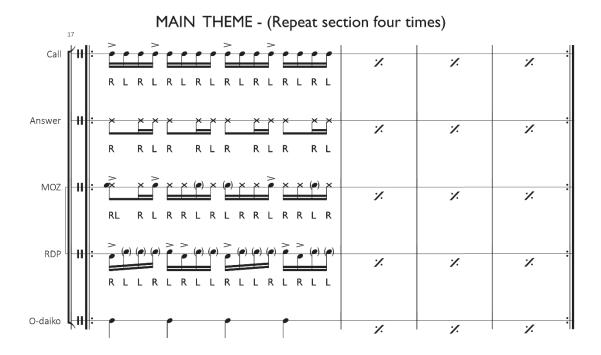
MozamJam

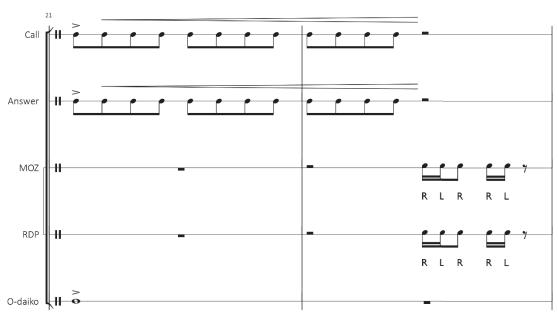
Martin Doyle



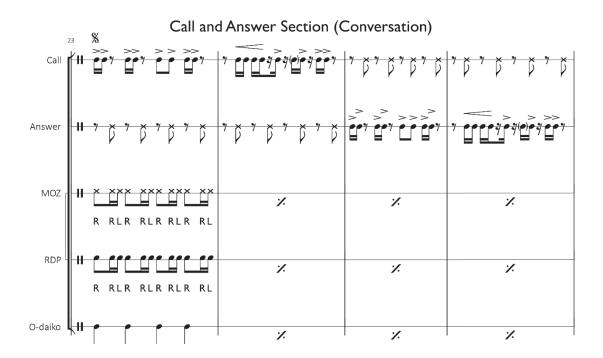








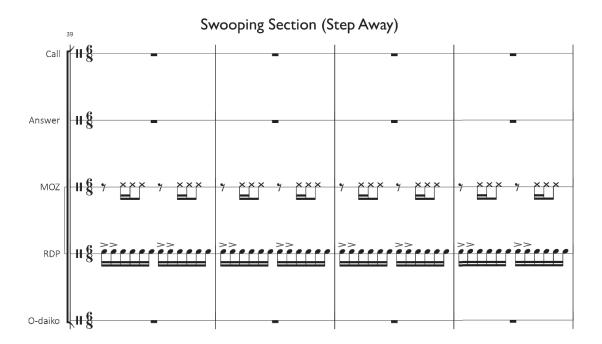
Build

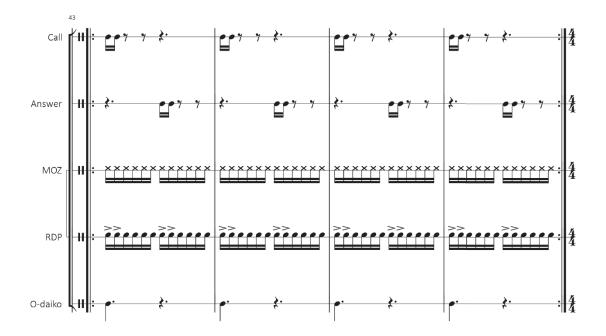


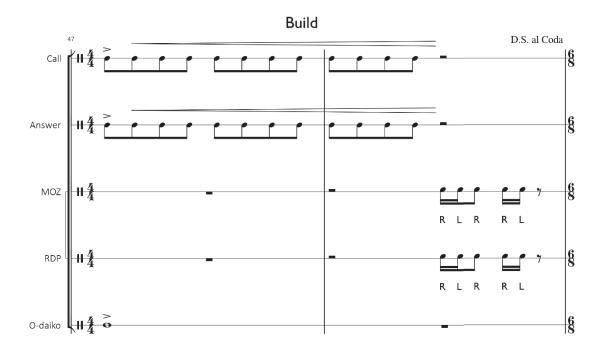
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Answer	H 	* * * * * * * * * * * *	RRL LR RL LR RL	Ÿ() Ÿ() LR RL LRLRL
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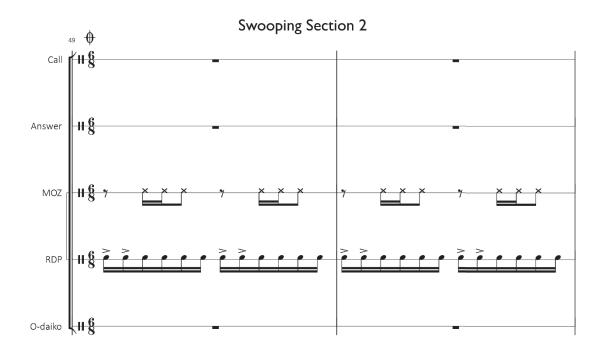


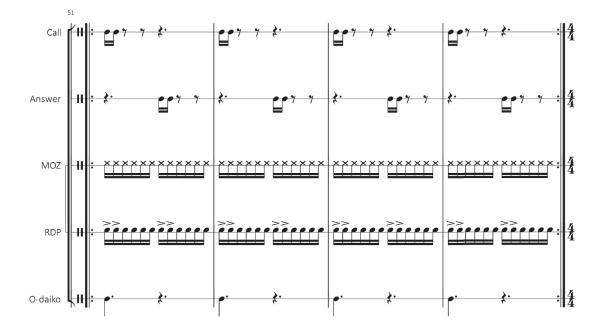


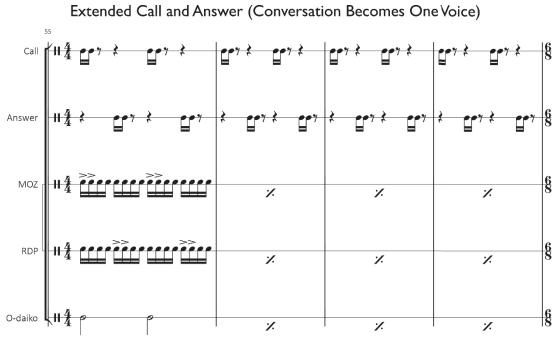


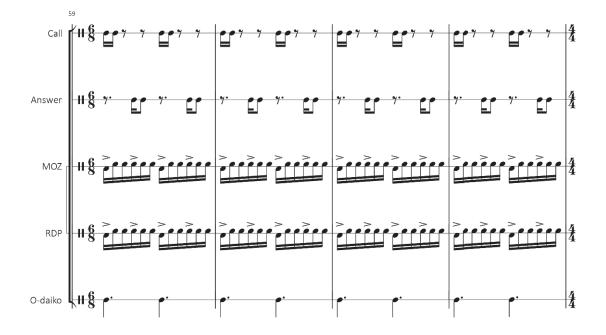


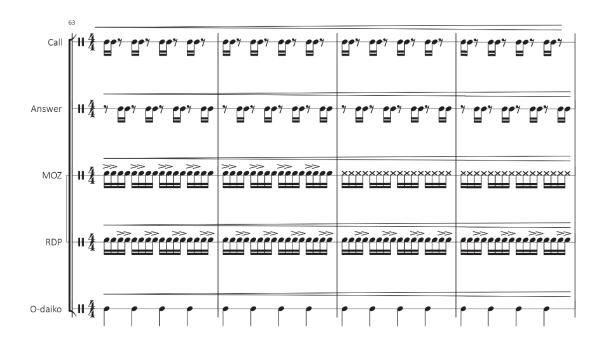


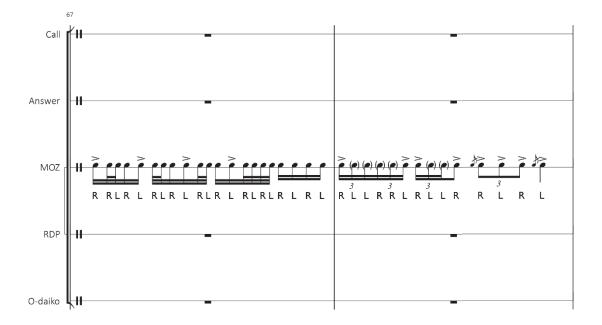




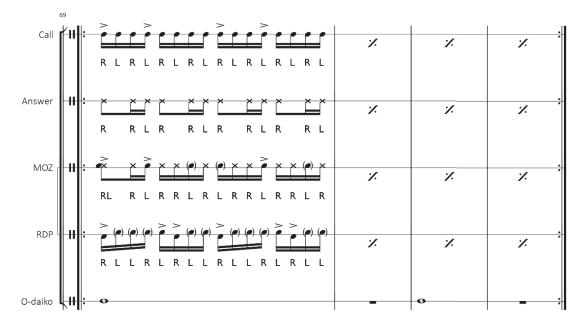


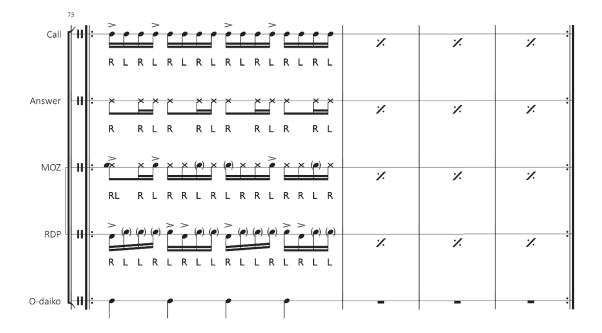


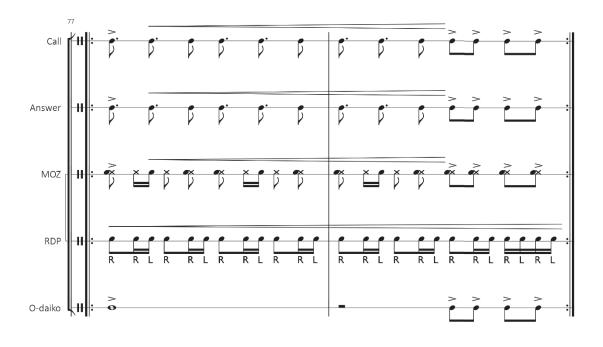




MAIN THEME - Finale









Source: Adapted from Doyle, Martin. 2017. MozamJam. Glasgow: Tsuchigumo Daiko.