Multi-Track Practices and Linearisation
Safeguarding Variability or Authorised Versions

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Abstract

This article discusses aspects of the epistemology of practice. It defines the term practice to mean bodily actions, that usually have names and are considered as repeated or reoccurring in society and often based upon advanced skills. Examples could be ice skating, playing a fiddle tune, braiding hair, making a vegetable soup or dancing the waltz. The article addresses the methodology in the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage at one narrow, specific and concrete point; a mechanism I call linearisation. I oppose this to practices that are not regulated into an authorised form but often has many alternatives in its structure; points where the practitioner can choose between several options. I call this a multi-track practice. What I discuss is how the multi-track practices tend to be linearised into one line of elements in a fixed order.

Introduction

Since the article addresses methodology in the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage[1] at one narrow, specific and concrete point it does not intend to address the overwhelming play with and interpretation of words and terms, that are so plentiful in broad discourses on heritage. To avoid

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1. Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention (accessed 10/08/2017)

misunderstandings, let me stress that the long "folklorismus" discussions on dance from the late 1920s onwards and many similar debates in the field of folklore will not be revisited here. The difference between "folklig dans og folkdans" (Klein 1927: 19–35), "erstes und zweites Dasein" (Hoerburger 1968: 30–32, Nahachewsky 2001: 17–28), and folkeleg tradisjon og opplæringstradison (Bakka 1970: 5) just to mention a few from dance, do not need to be repeated. These broader discussions are a backdrop for, but not a part of the present argumentation.

The article takes its point of departure in the field of specialisation, Dance studies. Still, I hope that it can shed light on the epistemology of practice on a more general level, even if the scope does not allow more than a cursory discussion of empirical material from other kinds of ICH. It will focus on a limited and specific mechanism that tends to be triggered when transmission of what we now call Intangible Cultural Heritage changes from informal learning to formal educational methods. For the sake of this article, I will define linearisation[2] as a process whereby a practice allowing substantial variation turns into one line of elements in a fixed order, so that the alternative elements allowing for variation does not function as such any more. The article is, therefore, an attempt to discuss an actual mechanism at play in concrete transmission processes. My point of departure is that tools, ideals and methods in organised teaching tend to change the variability of practices that are marked by informal learning processes.

It claims that linearisation is a major factor to formalise, simplify and freeze open-ended and vibrant learning. Still, we can reduce or avoid it if its mechanisms are understood and counteracted. That does not mean that all ICH have substantial variation. For some practitioners, the unchangeable character of their ICH is vital, and the Convention's stress on creativity and recreation may harm ICH that is particularly stable. It is, as the Convention also stresses, the practitioners who should decide how they want to deal with variability. Still, as we know, external experts tend to advise and even settle such matters. This article is addressing the latter and not the practitioners. We, as external experts need a careful analysis of the epis-

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2. I am aware that linear and linearisation have complex meanings in fields of science and technology, but I do not relate to that, only to the root of the term; line and the meaning of putting elements into a line.

temology of practice, and methodologies developed for the purpose as the basis for our advice. This article hopes to give a contribution to one concrete epistemological point and to open a discussion.

The 1972 UNESCO Convention[3] sees heritage as objects, monuments and sites. The aim is to secure and keep this material intact so that it can remain available in the future. Knowledge about the heritage is therefore documented, that is, fixed to a medium, such as paper, tapes or datafiles and in this way made material, so that it can be kept intact and available in the same way.

When the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage defined its new strategy, it shifted the focus to practices. The point is to support and help people who maintain a practice to continue their practice, to sing the song, to dance the dance, to build the boat or to bake the bread. The material products, including documentation, are now tools needed for the practice or they are products coming out of it. The material objects do not have the focus, and are not Intangible Cultural Heritage on their own, but will be, as part of a practice. The Convention did not invent the idea of safeguarding, but named, defined and recognised activities which had gone on for a long time. These were more often activities among amateurs than in the museums and among researchers.

Multi-Track and Linear Practices

A practice that is not regulated into an authorised form often has many alternatives in its structure; there are points where the practitioner can choose between several options. I call this a multi-track practice. The girl can turn clockwise or counter-clockwise under the boy's arm in a couple dance, and the cook can use water, whey or milk in the bread. When the girl dances the dance several times, she will turn clockwise in one dance, and the next time perhaps the other way. Still, she considers it to be the same dance. For

3. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/ (accessed 10/08/2017)

one bread baking the baker will use water, and the next time perhaps whey or milk, but the baker might still think about it as the same bread.[4] The multi-track practitioner will keep each realisation within a specific frame to which he or she relates as a norm. He or she would say that she is doing the same dance or the same bread baking over and over again. Still, it is rarely essential that it is totally the same from one realisation to the next; on the contrary, traditional dancers may say that they should dance a bit differently from time to time. The dancer is taking slightly different tracks between elements, using different alternatives. The same will be the case with other kinds of practices such as singing songs or telling stories. This is not to say that all practices are multi-track nor that they are more valuable than less variable ones. The point is only that the multi-track ones represent a particular challenge for the safeguarding of ICH.

When the transmission changes into systematic teaching, the spectre of alternatives tends to be reduced to one single line of elements coming in a fixed order. The girl is taught to turn only clockwise every time, and a formal recipe prescribes 5 decilitres of milk only. This reduction of options is a specific mechanism rather than an intended strategy, which this article will discuss under the term linearisation. It is of course not possible to distinguish informal learning processes and organised transmission in any precise way; they are different tendencies in a continuum, rather than clear opposites. They will not be analysed here; it would be beyond the scope of this article.

Characteristics of Traditional Transmission

Academics have investigated and described transmission processes within folk or traditional culture. Researchers have asked how boat builders learned their craft (Planke 2001: 136), how musicians learned to play (Stubseid 1992), how dancers learned to dance (Bakka 1978a: 3) and how housewives

4.   I use this example from cooking, because it so clearly shows how the selection of alternative elements can be the result of availability and how it influences the result; be it the baker's intention or due to the restraints in availability. This is not so easy to demonstrate when the result of a realisation is immaterial such as with dance or music.

learned to prepare food in the traditional societies where little or nothing of this was taught in organised ways (Sutton 2014). Many answers would summarise that people who were to learn just took part in the practice, imitating the more knowledgeable. Some skills needed close and intensive guidance, but learning by doing seems to have been a general tendency across many fields.

Characteristics of Teaching or Organised Transmission

The main point here is to discuss the process of linearisation in relation to the intentions of the 2003 UNESCO Convention. Linearisation is, however, a mechanism that is triggered in most cases when somebody wants to teach, in a systematic and organised way, a process that was earlier learned by doing. Much of what is today learned in school has been through this process, and I would argue that it might be worthwhile looking at whether the teaching of strictly linearised practices is always beneficial in education. Systematic and organised teaching resulting in linearisation is not brought about by the 2003 Convention, but can probably be traced centuries back in time. Similar claims are well known from an old, and extensive discussion connected to pedagogy and education often labelled experiential learning. It is about learning through experiencing or doing and has been discussed through the 20th century by many outstanding researchers such as John Dewey, Kurt Lewin and Jean Piaget. The American educational theorist David A. Kolb developed it into a recognised theoretical framework (1974), which offers a valuable resource for developing methodology on the safeguarding of ICH.

Now, what is happening when a process of organised teaching or heritagisation starts? Many agents have described various kinds of changes of mentality towards the safeguarded elements. There are, however, also many processes that tend to bring about apparent changes in the practice – changes caused by safeguarding measures. If safeguarding is all in the hands of the practitioners and their communities and if outsiders such as authorities, experts, NGOs and other activists do not influence the practice, there

is little point in evaluating changes. It remains the privilege of the practitioners and their community to choose how to manage their ICH. This is according to the UNESCO Convention, so we are not talking about interfering, where no advice or help is asked for.

The situations discussed here is how state authorities, experts, teachers of ICH, cultural brokers and NGOs are influencing through their advising, awareness-raising, documentation, revitalisation efforts, teaching or staging. These safeguarding measures may strongly influence how ICH develops, and when administered from the outside one would expect that the outside experts base their advice on advanced analysis and careful consideration of their effects.

Paradoxically, the so-called freezing, which the Convention portrays as the most significant threat, is in itself a change that stops further change. Indeed, there is a tendency to consider any kind of change as better than "freezing". The contention here is that processes, which for instance simplify, distort or trivialise ICH are just as harmful to safeguarding as "freezing", and that there is no contradiction between counteracting freezing and counteracting inappropriate changes put in place by outsiders. The intuitive reaction of practitioners is, in most cases, that their heritage should stay as it is and not be changed, whatever that may mean in real life.

In any case, when value is added to an ICH, measures for safeguarding are often put in place. The Convention asks for inventory making, which preferably should include documentation. Often the documentation is then used for the publishing of books with descriptions, as well as for sound or even film/video publications. Teaching programmes and staging can also be part of such efforts. All this have in common that it is most often done by experts or people given authority over the productions. They will be inspired by the ruling conventions for making such productions, which calls for limitations of size and clarity of presentation, which has a strong leaning towards linearisation.

Added Value and Heritagisation

The UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage aims at helping practices to continue. When, however, a practice is selected for the status as ICH, a value is added most often for insiders as well as for outsiders. The adding of value is not something new that came with the concept of ICH. When somebody from the outside, perhaps even from the inside started pointing out that a specific element of popular or traditional culture was rare or unique or was having a value beyond its everyday function, some kind of value was added to it. I would question if the so-called heritagisation is always such a radical change in the understanding of elements of practice as the discourse of heritage has claimed (Bendix 2009: 263, Kuutma 2009: 7). Members of the local communities have appreciated talented painters, woodcarvers, musicians or dancers. How is this different from the appreciation signalised through heritagisation by a nomination for the UNESCO lists? A skilled practitioner was often noted outside her or his region, perhaps by people of the elite, long before the term heritagisation was coined. The basis for the Convention is that practitioners value their heritage and that they want to state that, by proposing it for the lists. It is, however, a paradox that already heritagised culture may seem less attractive in this context. The practitioners may already have discovered that their practice has importance, without calling it heritage, and they may already have dealt with it accordingly. It is no longer "pristine" as not heritagised, and due to this, it risks being considered trivialised and frozen. The claim that heritagisation is a new and radical change in the understanding of an element could be construed as an unwillingness to let go of ideas of the pristine and authentic, even if these words have been discarded.

The Mechanism of Linearisation

According to my experience, advanced analysis is needed to achieve sustainable safeguarding with help from the outside (Bakka 2015: 135–169).

The following is an attempt to analyse this specific process type, for which I above proposed the term linearisation. It is a process that is not necessarily intended, but that happens due to strong conventions in fields such as education and staging. Due to a lacking analysis of the epistemology of practice, linearisation happens through unnoticed and unquestioned processes. The core of the mechanism is that a spectre of alternatives that is contained in many practices are reduced into one authorised line.

A practice can only be observed in its primary form (Bakka & Karoblis 2010: 109–135), when it is realised or enacted, that is when somebody sings the song, dances the dance, bakes the bread or builds the house. I will here use the term *realise* to avoid connotations towards acting or performance. A realisation can be a performance, but more often, it is not. An individual's realisation of his or her (part of a) practice is linear in the sense that it is one sequence of actions coming in an order. A point of alternatives is a set of variations or different choices of which the practitioner can choose only one for each realisation to fill a step in the practice. When making food, a point of alternatives can be to add 1) butter or 2) cream or 3) no butter or cream or 4) butter as well as cream. The reason for choosing differently can, for instance, be if you have butter and/or cream at hand, if the cream needs to be used before it is spoiled or if you should skip fat because of dietary restrictions. If you are making the dish as a free practice, all versions may be equally eligible but give different results in the finished product. If you work from a fixed recipe which offers only one alternative, you will see it as an error or the last resort solution to choose another option. The conventional recipe builds upon the idea that there is one way of achieving the ultimate product. A specific consistency of the dough, for instance, is achieved by precise measuring up the flour and the liquid. An experienced practitioner who is not working from a fixed recipe will perceive when the consistency is right, and he or she can manage without measuring, and just by estimation. I would contend that most conventional recipes are documentations of linearised practices, as are usual folk music notations or folk dance descriptions. Such kinds of documentations have been criticised, but tends to be seen as the only practical solution (Kvifte 2007: 25). The American dance anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler explains this way of thinking:

Tongan musicians believe that the music of the lakalaka cannot be written down. Notation could be made (with difficulty) by listening to a tape recording and writing down what occurred on a specific occasion. But this does not cover the possibilities of how a lakalaka could or should be sung. Each time a lakalaka sung speech is performed, it is performed differently and each rendition is "correct". Indeed, the music can only be perpetuated through the oral tradition—both for known historic lakalaka, and the structure and strictures of lakalaka composition (Kaeppler 2004: 3).

This film was made when Lakalaka was inscribed on UNESCO's representative list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008. https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/lakalaka-dances-and-sung-speeches-of-tonga-00072? include=film_inc.php&id=41755&width=700&call=film (Accessed 18/19/2020).

Tellef Kvifte promotes a similar idea:

Preserving variation in the tradition is to a large extent a question of the transmission of processes rather than of products. As is argued here, archives tip the scales in the direction of products rather than processes for several reasons, partly because of the more or less pronounced heritage from the national romantic view of art where products in the form of works of art are more important than the creative process, and partly because variational processes are not very well documented in the archives (Kvifte 2014: 300).

My claim is that there are ways to understand, describe and teach complex multi-track material, in contrasts to the doubts voiced by Kaeppler and Kvifte. Skilled pedagogues who know the multi-track way of realising such a material can analyse, describe and teach it without changing it into a linearised version. Due to earlier written descriptions that have almost always been simple and unsophisticated in their approach, teachers have seen them as authoritative norms that cannot capture multi-track material. As a response to Kvifte, I would say that, yes, if the results he is referring to are authorised and linearised tunes in standard music notation, then they do not help variational processes. On the other hand, the result of playing a

Lakalaka from Kanokupolu for the 70th birthday of the king of Tonga; princess Pilolevu Tuita as vāhenga. Lakalaka, dances and sung speeches of Tonga was proclaimed as Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2003, and moved to the Representative list in 2008. Photo: James Foster 1988 (Copyrighted Free Use, https://commons.wikimedia.org/ wiki/File:Lakalaka.jpg).

tune is, after all, also a product. As I see it, the only way of accessing and evaluating creative transmission processes in terms of historicity is to study such results. If historicity is an interesting topic nowadays is another question, not to be discussed here.

An Example of Linearisation in Dance – Vestlandsspringar

Einar Bø, an enthusiastic teacher, started giving courses in the improvised old Norwegian couple dance the *Springar* in Bergen around 1900. He was brought up in the city of Bergen but went to the teachers training seminar at Stord, a school in the countryside south of Bergen. There he learned the springar by his landlord and the landlord's daughter so that he could dance it together with the countryside youngsters at the school, many of them knew it from their home places. The dance was still known at least by the older generation in many rural communities, and their dancing was full of variations and alternatives, even if each realisation could be short and straightforward. When Einar Bø came back to Bergen, an organisation

The teacher Einar Bø, mentioned in the text, stands alone at the back to the left. A dance group of children in folk costumes are showing motives from springar, presumably Vestlandsspringar. The picture is taken by Otto Borgen in 1907, promoting a performance at a "fair" raising money for Nynorsk, one version of written Norwegian language. Sitting at the right is the fiddler and folk music collector Arne Bjørndal. Photo: Otto Borgen. Billedsamlingen, Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen.

asked him to teach the dance. His main concern was that the riches of variations and alternatives should not be forgotten and lost. Therefore, he taught the dance as a long, fixed order into which a considerable number of motives and alternatives of the dance were all included. He did not see how he could handle variations as alternatives in an open form.

The dance is a typical example of a linearisation process, based on the understanding and practice available rather than upon a wish to change. It can also be seen from the end of the process. After having taught the students a fixed form, which he saw as the basis, he told his students to loosen it up again and dance a bit differently each time they realised the dance. Even if variation was an expressed ideal, the pedagogical method was not sufficient to transmit it, because the students did not get any guidance to the rather complex conventions for variation, and they were therefore mostly holding on to the fixed form. In the author's experience, it is hardly

possible to restore patterns of variation back into a fixed form without precise knowledge about the conventions that competent practitioners would follow (Bakka 1972: 16, Bø no year, Bø & Bakka 1966).

Hordaringen, a Norwegian dance group based in Oslo, performs on July 11 at Nordlek 2012. This video contains these dances: Reinlender, Vestlandsspringar and Polka Potpourri. Posted by Alix Cordray, July 24, 2012 on YouTube. The second dance Vestlandsspringar starts at time code 00:59. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Y4KJvdy Deo&ab_channel=AlixCordray (Accessed 05/09/2020)

Variability and Constraints

This brings us to the point that variation or improvisation, in this context does not mean to choose any anatomically possible alternative, but to select one of those that are most suitable in the actual setting and which is acceptable in the community. If you are making an embroidery upon a red cloth you may – according to the custom – select between several colours for the thread, but not red, because it would not stand out sufficiently. If you do a dance where you change between holding your partner with one hand and both hands, there can be many ways to do the changes. But the dancers do not do the change in any possible way. There are conventions to follow, often offering alternatives. It may also be usual to adapt a bit to the circumstances, for instance, when changing hands. There may be a way most suitable when the dance floor is very crowded, and another way which looks great when you have ample space.

There is a discrepancy between ideas of improvisation as doing something new, that you have not done before, something you invent on the spot and improvisations as a virtuosic choosing between alternatives that you all master excellently rarely including something totally new. The first idea seems to be particularly strong in modern and contemporary dance. Even if Susan Leigh Foster posits the surprise in improvisation as the interface between the "known" and "unknown" (Gere 2003 XIII) the new-made aspect of it seems most important. The choosing between alternatives is typical for social

and traditional dance, and even improvisatory music. The Norwegian Jazz musician Bjørn Alterhaug points to his fellow musician saying "They know that there is no musical activity, which requires greater skills and devotion, preparation, training and commitment" [than improvisation.] (2004: 104). The idea is, in other words, not to invent something on the spot.

The Term: Recreate and the Continued Practice

The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage uses the term "recreate". Most practices we humans do, we can classify by names[5], and we consider most of our actions to be realisations of a particular reoccurring practice. In my opinion, it would be helpful and close to the intention of the Convention to understand the term recreate as meaning to realise. To repeat the practice in what the practitioners conceive as the same way as before is in itself a recreation. There is no call for intentional changes that are not necessary, due to specific circumstances. The realisation of a practice goes on in the same way with all its variations, as long as that works well.

Practices can be placed on a line between the most fixed and regulated and the loosest and most open. When someone wants to teach or write down a practice that is located close to the most fixed and regulated, it might suffice to work with one realisation only. The variations might be too modest to be dealt with. Such practices would be easy to work with and were attractive to folk dance revival movements. Still, there may be small, almost subtle variations in style or details at the micro-level. Organised teaching or staging will very quickly linearise those.

Gammal reinlender has been a popular dance in the organised folk dance movement. It is a good example of a dance with a linear structure in the meaning that there is one line of couple elements and steps coming in a fixed order, having elements of fixed duration. The result is that the dancers

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5. Springar is the name for a dance practice that can be observed when it is realised and which is reoccurring with variations. If we ask a person doing some kind activity what he is doing, he will most often have a name for it.

dance the same way at the same time. The dance was probably made to be linear, as choreographies by dancing masters would usually be.

The folk dance club Springar'n, located in Follo, Norway, dances one of the standard dances of the Norwegian folk dance movement, Gammal reinlender. Posted by Svein Arne Sølvberg, February 4, 2016, on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CKbjwUPAmus&t=54s (Accessed 05/09/2020).

How to Safeguard without Unintentional Linearisation

As a consequence of the above, there is a need to discuss how those who want to safeguard variable Intangible Cultural Heritage and the qualities of informal learning can work to avoid linearisation. This will be different according to which safeguarding tools being used.

Documentation
The first step in safeguarding processes will often be inventory making and documentation. Documentation can easily be the decisive first step in a linearisation process. First, there is the idea that a practice has an ideal version, which brings about a search for this one perfect form. Then you may document many versions, only to discard all except what is considered the best one. This one is later published and promoted for transmission, and voila! You have a "frozen" linearised version.

Therefore, a method to counteract linearisation would be to document a broad selection of realisations in detail and in such a way that we can see how realisations would vary. It is also quite a significant difference between documenting the functions and meaning of a practice, and to record all the concrete actions that make up the realisation. The first way is the most usual in documentaries, and tend to show only short and incoherent pieces of the action that can serve as an illustration to interpretations of meaning, and then close-ups of facial expressions or other body parts combined with interviews or voice-overs. It is often very demanding to document in the

second way, and it is also in many ways contrary to film or record making. Whereas the final product of the first idea is a publication, the second way depends on an archive to keep available the vast and multifaceted material which would come out of a professional documentation of a practice, and which is not suitable for publication in its totality.

Recording Practices

Systems for recording human expressions and practices are best adapted for recording one realisation at a time. Writing is primarily a linear recording of verbal utterances from speech or thoughts. Music notation is primarily recording a linear sequence of music-making, and movement notation a linear movement sequence. It is, of course, possible to give alternatives to an element of a sequence in the recording systems above[6], but it is not convenient, usual nor easy.

If we compare two or more realisations of a practice, we will usually find that they are not identical. In most cases, there will be differences. Bakka (2007: 103) has proposed that there is a source of skill, knowledge and understanding, which practitioners have acquired when learning their practice. This source is often more or less shared by practitioners who practice together, and Bakka (2007: 104) has proposed to call this source the concept (i. e. a dance concept, such as the concept of the dance *halling*). In this way, a realisation springs from a concept, and the concept is expressed through realisations. When a person is dancing a halling many times, he is considering it to be the same dance every time. Every realisation will still be a bit different from other realisations, so in this understanding, it is not the same every time. This is because of the accepted and available alternatives that create variation from realisation to realisation. According to the terms used here, it is a multi-track practice.

Now, the term "concept", as opposed to realisation, is the basis and source for practices; this source needs to be acquired by anyone who wants to become a competent practitioner. The concept is mainly available to us through realisations, but will usually contain much more than one realisa-

6.   It is in other words possible to put a comment to a note character, for instance that this quarter note is sometimes performed as two-eighth notes, or that this element in a movement notation has two more alternatives.

tion shows. The fundamental epistemological question then becomes: How can the concept of a specific practice be documented, analysed and transmitted and acquired by the new practitioner through systematic teaching or education? The traditional way the beginner learned a concept was by participating in many realisations. In this way, the learner absorbed the conventions, ideas and skills of the practice, which enabled him or her to establish a concept of his/her own, which then would usually have a multi-track form.

Learning only one realisation, repeated without variations or alternatives could be compared to learning ready-made sentences from a Phrasebook; "May I have this dance?" you would not have the skill or knowledge to modify it so that it fits other situations than just the one it was made for ("Shall we …? May I have the next dance?"). Learning the concept can be compared to learning a language.

Analysis

In standard processes of analysing the practice of folklore material before sound recordings or films were available would be to write down on paper the story or the song or the melody or the dance. To achieve this, the collectors depended upon having the practitioners stop and repeat piece by piece, some collectors did notice and put in notes about variations. Still, most of them simply chose the variation that they like most or find to be most typical, which is then already a linearisation. Some collectors would perhaps take a story, song, melody or dance only once, from one person, but many of them would bring home several versions, for instance the two Norwegian pioneers and collectors Magnus Brostrup Landstad (1802–1880) and Sophus Bugge (1833–1907) (Blom 1982: 15).

This brought about the heavily debated ideas about restitution of ballads and fairy tales. One singer of a ballad may have ten strophes, another one eight and yet another two. To be able to present as much of the material as possible, publishers would piece all of this into one extended version. The idea could also be that the song "originally" was long and sung with same strophes by everyone. In any case, the solution to analyse realisations as

pieces from one long and complete "original", is a well-established way of linearising multi-track folklore material.

Later on, critical editions of folklore material have been published where each transcription from a folklore collector is published as it came from the folklorist's hand, representing a multi-track approach. This is true for text material, and less for music or dance notation.

Transmission

When I discussed the transmission of traditional material with colleagues in the field of music, they often claimed that a multi-track analysis and notation is so complicated that it does not work in their context. They would argue that a linearised and perhaps simplified form needs to be presented. Then the learners need to pick up the way to producing variations, that is multi-track musicking intuitively. That assumes that publications to support transmission will only be on one level, the level that learners' access. Then the role of pedagogy seems to be forgotten, and that there can be many levels of expertise: There is the researcher who analyses and explains a phenomenon in its complexity. Then the researcher ideally teaches new researchers and university teachers. Then, to transmit it to non-specialists and learners at less advanced or elementary levels, there is the need to develop teaching methods adapted to learner's levels. Particularly, when it comes to practices mostly based on learning by doing and not on theoretical learning, the pedagogical part is vital. There is a tendency that it all ends up in a vicious circle: The multi-track material is too complex to be transmitted, so the researchers publish simplified versions of the material, based on their intuitive analysis. The pedagogues take the material, and they may have the idea that there should be variations, but have little knowledge of how it works.

Folk culture and its transmission mode produce multi-track material; careful studies will reveal the principles for how it is produced, which in each individual can be reasonably simple. The pedagogues can develop teaching methods that transmit at least some of these principles. Some people may claim that this approach will freeze the material. This article argues that such an approach will keep the material in constant movement be-

tween variations, as learners learn, not to produce linearised versions, but rather multi-track practice. The main principles may well be simple, even if the analysis of its results can be extremely complicated.

Some of the springars danced in undivided metre in the South-Western regions of Norway have a footwork where a basic principle is to mix running (stepping on each quarter note (R)) and jumping (taking two-quarter notes for each step (JJ)). There would be periods of R R R R R R in the dance, may periods of JJ JJ JJ, but also R JJ or JJ R or R R JJ JJ, other words many possible ways of combining the patterns. A move towards linearising would be to teach the students to do 6 Rs 3JJs 4 R JJs in unison and make this into a fixed pattern to be used always. The way we teach a multi-track solution would be, first to teach the Rs, then the JJs and then ask the students to mix them freely. When the teacher(s) also dance this free mixture, the students pick it up and get used to making up their footwork independently from the fellow dancers. The man's dance in this video clip shows the principle. His footwork is, however, nuanced through dynamics, the degree of elevation or lack of elevation in the JJs and he may add additional patterns.

Torkjell Lunde Børsheim and Eli Børsheim Kvåle from Hardanger dances Springar from Ulvik at the Norwegian National Competition Landskappleiken in 2015. Posted by Atle Utkilen, August 24, 2015 on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9oM2a2szTQ (Accessed 05/09/2020)

The same kind of springar also has alternative motives. When the teacher transmits alternative motives from the very beginning, and tell the students, to pick any of them for each realisation, then the students get used to making their individual multi-track decisions.

This springar from Valdres is a typical multi-track form. It is danced at the Norwegian National competition Landskappleiken at Fagernes in 2015. Posted by Lars R Amundsen, December 24, 2015 on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ijq5RYxIGz4 (Accessed 05/09/2020).

Conclusions

This article has proposed and discussed the terms linearisation and multi-track practices. They are meant as ways to improve the understanding of some aspects of the epistemology of practice. It suggests that formal, organised teaching tend to lead to linearisation, whereas intuitive and informal learning tends to result in multi-track practices. Most kinds of Intangible Cultural Heritage seem to be multi-track. Still, when safeguarding leads to unsophisticated organised teaching, a linearisation tends to result and to bring about static, fixed forms. The idea that might arise is that variation and change should be brought back into such static forms. Such attempts could quickly destroy the identity and value of the ICH in question if it cannot build upon an understanding of and a precise knowledge of the variability that was there before linearisation.

In this article measures to avoid linearisation were drafted, proposing that documentation should include many realisations of the same practice, which should be archived for further analysis. In teaching, the pedagogy should then as much as possible imitate the processes happening in informal learning, so that a multi-track version of ICH, could be the result.

A practice learned informally can often be very complex to explain theoretically because of its variability, but it can be easy for learners to pick up because it allows the individual to find slightly different solutions since the norms are more open. A formalised and linearised practice can be simple to explain or verbalise but can be demanding for learners to master because the norms often are narrow. In both cases, the level of skills can be very high, but while the first ideal can be more coloured by personality, the second can be more coloured by the pointed norm.

The author would suggest that a pedagogy imitating informal learning processes should be made part of organised teaching. The welcoming of personality in the expression of practice could also be valuable contributions in education in general, and not only in the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The vast field of experiential learning offers essential resources for such a development.

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