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### **Abstract**

Dancefilm, as a hybrid art practice, diverges from the ephemeral nature of live dance performance and produces permanent inscription of movement through a digital medium. Its reproducibility grants dancefilm the potential for commodification. Informed by anthropological literature on gifts and commodities, as well as theories of value and capital, I situate the analysis of dancefilm in the economy of exchange in order to understand how social relations operate in its production and circulation. Using Mitchell Rose’s film “Globe Trot” as a case study, I conduct a close analysis of social relations and value creation involved in its process of production and circulation. I conclude that in the current regime of value, dancefilm is largely operating under the gift economy. It is the social relations of perpetuating mutual indebtedness that sustain its operation without creating an exchange value. Dancefilm generates value through social recognition and equips the creator with both cultural capital and social capital, which in the long run can convert to economic capital. Rather than focusing on textual analysis of dancefilm works, this research contributes to current screendance scholarship by opening up a new lens that examines social relations involved in its making and circulation.

**Keywords:** Dancefilm; screendance; gift relations; commodity relations; value creation

### **1. Introduction**

A couple of years ago, I had a long discussion with an entrepreneurial-spirited choreographer, trying to brainstorm alternatives for dancers and choreographers to break away from the status of being starving artists and to obtain some independence from public funding in order to create art. We both arrived at the conclusion that under this neocapitalist society, it seems the only way “out” is to make dance accessible to mass consumers by making it reproducible. As dance practitioners who were eager to find a possible solution, we both thought of the medium of film because of its inherent characteristic of being a technologically reproducible art. Dancefilm, as a hybrid art form, diverges from the ephemeral nature of live dance performance and produces permanent inscription of movement through a digital medium. Thus, imbued with all the characteristics of film, dancefilm possesses the potential for commodification. However, is this potential actually realized? Does dancefilm currently operate under the commodity economy, or does it still operate under a similar value system to that of most live dance performances, which hardly generates any revenue?

Discussing the distinction between gift exchange and commodity exchange, anthropologists Yuxiang Yan (2005) and Mark Osteen (2002) both argue that the real distinction between the two lies in “the different orders of social relations that are constructed and mediated through the exchange of objects” (Yan, 2005, p. 254). Therefore, to explore whether dancefilm operates in the commodity economy, it is imperative to answer

the following two questions: What type of social relations is involved in its production and circulation? And how are value and meaning created in this process?

It is important to point out that the term dancefilm, or screendance, is a rather broad concept referring to any form of hybrid practice involving dance and film. It often includes experimental dancefilm, filmmusicals, music videos, documentary films about dance, advertisement that feature dance, and Hollywood feature films that center around dancers' lives.<sup>1</sup> With the breadth of dancefilm practice, each specific genre operates under a completely different regime of value.<sup>2</sup> It is not difficult to discern that some forms of dancefilm are indeed operating as commodities made for mass entertainment, for example: commercials that feature dance, music videos, or Hollywood dance film. Others are created mainly for aesthetic and artistic reasons and do not operate as commodities. I consider experimental dancefilm as independently produced works that use movement as the principal medium of expression. These works are often not tied to profit generation or made to promote other commodities with which they associate. In this paper, I limit my discussion to only experimental dancefilm. The goal is to avoid making an immediate judgment on whether experimental dancefilm embraces or resists commodification but to dissect every single layer within its production and circulation process to understand what types of social relations are involved and how they operate

In the following paper, I will first review relevant anthropological and economic literature that offers critical theoretical frameworks for analyzing and situating experimental dancefilm in the economy of exchange. I will then assess the order of social relations involved in its production process and patterns of circulation, using Mitchell Rose's film "Globe Trot" as a case study. Finally, I will discuss how value and capital are generated in this process. Rather than conducting textual analysis of dancefilm works, this research contributes to current screendance scholarship by opening up a new lens that examines social relations involved in its making and circulation. My analysis reveals that experimental dancefilm, in fact, operates under a unique regime of value that resists commodification even when it assumes the form of reproducibility. My methodologies involve a close reading of the production and circulation of "Globe Trot," combined with a personal interview with Rose and literature research.

## 2. Literature Review

Anthropological literature investigating the relation between gifts and commodities, as well as literature on theories of value and capital, is extremely relevant in this discussion. They provide important frameworks for

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of dancefilm or screendance is drawn from Erin Brannigan's book *Dancefilm: Choreography and the Moving Image* (2011), as well as Douglas Rosenberg's book *Screendance: Inscribing the Ephemeral Image* (2012). While Brannigan never provides a direct definition of dancefilm, she analyzes a wide range of dancefilm throughout the history of its development, which includes Hollywood musicals, avant-guard film, and contemporary dancefilm, etc. Rosenberg, on the other hand, refers to the hybrid form of dance and film as screendance. He considers this term as an umbrella term that includes any dance that is projected or made onto the screen. Therefore, it is important to define my scope of analysis for this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Arjun Appadurai (1986) brought up the concept of "regimes of value" (p. 10), which refers to the construction of value under different cultural context and at specific space and time.

the understanding of the status of dancefilm in terms of social relations and value creation in its production and circulation process. Marcel Mauss's groundbreaking book *The Gift* ([1925] 2011) analyzes gift relations in "archaic" society and lays a theoretical foundation for the anthropology of the gift. Since then, economic anthropologists have started an ongoing debate on the definition of and the relation between gifts and commodities. Based on the literature that I have encountered, I sum up the wide range of opinions in this debate into three camps.

Scholars of the first camp consider gifts and commodities as completely distinct categories that do not intersect. As the key figure belonging to this camp, Mauss considers the gift economy as an antithesis to the commodity economy in capitalist society. With reciprocity as the core of the gift relation, it is the moral obligations to give, receive and return gifts that sustain the social relations in "archaic" society. On the other hand, completely ignoring the concept of gift exchange, Marx ([1867] 2010) considers that commodities, characterized by both exchange value and use value, are prone to alienation and fetishism. In addition, critiquing Mauss's neglect of individual ownership in "primitive" society, Annett Weiner (1992), another scholar in this camp, argues that the motivation behind giving lies in the keeping of the inalienable, which are material or immaterial possessions that speak to the individual's or the community's social identity. All of these scholars separate the discussion of gifts and commodities as two different categories.

Recognizing that gifts and commodities are distinct in nature, scholars of the second camp also believe that gifts and commodities constitute different stages of the life of things. Thus, the relationship between gifts and commodities are fluid and convertible. This understanding is spearheaded by Arjun Appadurai (1986) who brings up the concept of "the social life of any 'things'" (p. 19). He maintains that the commodity status of an object is not permanent but is only a phase of its social life. Other scholars belonging to this camp include Michael Goddard and C. A. Gregory. Goddard (2000) contends that the gift is alienated "when the intrinsic relation of the product to the giver is no longer recognized" (p. 147), which serves as a condition for the transformation from the gift status to the commodity status. Gregory (2015) defines the oppositional characteristics of gifts and commodities but points out that they are convertible under certain conditions.

Finally, the third camp of scholars agree with scholars in the second camp that the commodity and gift statuses are not permanent, but they also argue that gifts and commodities can co-exist and are mutually dependent. They further identify that most of the time, an object of exchange is neither a complete commodity nor a complete non-commodity (Osteen, 2002; Frow, 1997). It may possess qualities of both. Analyzing the supply-chain economy of Matsutake mushrooms, Anna Tsing (2013) points out that the value of capitalist commodities is created through transforming gift relations. In analyzing the strategy of using Lovemark in advertisements, Robert Foster (2008) argues that commodity branding also exploits gift relations in order to construct a direct relationship between persons and things. All of these scholars consider gift and

commodity relations not oppositional or exclusive, but instead, an object of exchange, as well as the exchange of immaterial labor, can contain characteristics of both gifts and commodities.

Besides discussions on the relation between gifts and commodities, some scholars shift their attention to various forms of value and creation of value as an alternative model that sheds light on social relations involved in the gift and commodity exchange. Marx's labor theory of value argues that in the economic sense, the value of a commodity is measured by the socially necessary labor time required to produce it. This formula of value abstracts the labor put into the production of the commodity, which provides the condition for its fetishism. In a sociological sense, David Graeber (2001) extends the idea of labor in Marxist tradition to "human capacities for actions" that are equipped with the generative power (p. 56). He believes that values are created through actions in a socially recognized form. Pierre Bourdieu (1997) provides another model to understand capital as accumulated labor but moves beyond the recognition of capital in the economic sense to also cultural capital and social capital. Bourdieu points out that these three forms of capital are mutually convertible under certain conditions. All of the above mentioned frameworks provide a solid theoretical ground to explore the status of dancefilm in relation to concepts of gifts and commodities, as well as the social relations involved in its production and circulation.

### **3. "Globe Trot": a Vision to Celebrate Humanity**

Since gift or commodity relations are formed at the moment of exchange, it is essential to examine the types of exchange relations that take place at various stages of the production and circulation of dancefilm. To examine this question, I will conduct a close reading of a typical but also rather extreme example of a dancefilm work "Globe Trot" created by Mitchell Rose. This example is "typical" because it shares a lot in common with the production process and exhibition practice of most dancefilm works. It is "extreme" because of the significant amount of labor and collaboration involved in the making of this work. An analysis of the process of making and exhibiting "Globe Trot" reveals that social relations involved in this dancefilm demonstrate strong characteristics of gift relations and that the value of the dancefilm is created through the action of social recognition. In addition, different forms of capital generated through the process of its production and exhibition undergo various kinds of conversion.

#### **3.1 A Web of Social Relations in the Stage of Production**

Gregory (2015) provides a rather comprehensive definition of gifts and commodities in terms of social relations. He distinguishes gifts from commodities and states that "gift exchanges involve inalienable objects exchanged by reciprocally dependent people that establish qualitative relationships between transactors" (p. 106). In other words, gift relations are "reciprocally dependent" and "qualitative," while the object being exchanged is inalienable. Contrarily, borrowing from Marx's proposition, Gregory argues that "commodity

exchange is an exchange of alienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal independence” (p. 6). Osteen (2002) challenges the polarity of gifts and commodities in the anthropological discourse and draws a spectrum with “complete commodification” and “total non-commodification” as the two ends (p. 230). In my view, Gregory’s definitions of the commodity relation and the gift relation would correspond to “complete commodification” and “total non-commodification” respectively, while social relations that demonstrate characteristics of both would lie somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. Applying this framework to “Globe Trot,” I argue that this dancefilm situates close to, but not at, the point of total non-commodification on this spectrum.

“Globe Trot” is a labor-intensive dancefilm involving 111 dancers and 50 filmmakers from 23 countries in all seven continents (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016) (see figures 1., 2., and 3.). This project is accomplished through international crowd-sourcing.<sup>3</sup> However, rather than employing the more common practice of crowd-sourcing funds, Rose crowd-sourced labor. All participants of this project, except for the composer, donated their labor as a gift out of their love and, altogether, formed a global web of social relations. The entire production of this work, from pre-production planning, searching for filmmakers and dancers, to collecting footage and editing, spanned over a year. Rose’s goal was to create a dancefilm that celebrated the joy of humanity. He employed an editing technique that he coined as “hyper-match cutting,” where “every adjacent edit is perfectly aligned in position and continuity,” to connect the movement of people from around the world performing a complete choreography (Elgart, June 11, 2014). The use of this editing technique is intended to deconstruct the inherent hierarchy and inequality that exists in the world and to convey an idealistic message that all people, no matter where they are, are equal. Thus, bringing together directors and choreographers worldwide is coherent with the ideology behind this work. How did Rose convince so many people from different cultures to donate their time and effort?

I will first give a brief account of the entire production process. The project started with Rose’s idea of creating a work that involved people from around the world who would perform a choreographed dance together. He first contacted his colleague at the Ohio State University (OSU), a renowned choreographer Bebe Miller, to choreograph a two-minute dance (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016). One of the graduate students at OSU learned the movement and helped teach the dance through an instructional video made by Rose. Then he created a twelve-page manual with detailed instruction for volunteering filmmakers/dancers to follow. This manual contains instructional videos of the dance and of information on the framing of the dancer, as well as other detailed information on the choice of locations, costumes, dancers, requirements of image quality, and instructions on how to export the footage. The next step was to get as many volunteers as possible and from as many countries as possible. To do so, he utilized his personal

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<sup>3</sup> Merriam Webster Dictionary defines crowdsourcing as “the practice of obtaining needed services, ideas, or content by soliciting contributions from a large group of people and especially from the online community rather than from traditional employees or suppliers.” See <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/crowdsourcing>.

connections with individuals and major dancefilm institutions around the world and asked them to help disseminate the information about the project to their networks. After three months of emailing back and forth, Rose received responses from a total of fifty-four filmmakers who agreed to participate in this project.<sup>4</sup> With a full list of filmmakers, he assigned either one four-count phrase or two four-count phrases to each filmmaker and asked him or her to record three or four clips of the assigned phrase(s) using a few dancers at different locations. This way he could make sure the entire dance was covered. Once he received all the footage from the filmmakers, he edited the footage and assembled a complete dancefilm. How does this streamlined process reflect the three pairs of oppositional characteristics of social relations outlined by Gregory: reciprocal dependence vs. independence, quality vs. quantity, and inalienability vs. alienability?

First, I argue that all the relationships involved in the production process are reciprocally dependent relationships. In my interview with Rose, he shared with me that among all the emails that he sent out or phone calls he had made, around ten percent of people did not respond at all. Those were precisely the people with whom he had not had prior relationship but approached them through “cold calling” (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016). People who agreed to disseminate information about the project for Rose included his colleagues, friends, and relatives who had already established an ongoing reciprocal relationship with him. The fact that he asked them for a favor worked to perpetuate the ongoing indebtedness between them. Institutions that agreed to share Rose’s projects either on their websites or through newsletters often had exhibited his films in the past so a relationship of trust had already been built. Rose mentioned in the interview that sometimes he would promise the institutions a credit at the end of the film if they would help him publicize his project to their network of filmmakers (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016). In this case, a contractual relationship was established which resembled bartering, an exchange of goods without involving money, except that a time lag existed in this case since Rose could not fulfill this promise until he finished his film.

In addition, in the individual back and forth interaction between Rose and the filmmakers who decided to commit to the project, the filmmakers gave their time and labor as a gift to Rose, while he reciprocated with a unique experience, a final film, and a credit at the end of the film. This reciprocally dependent relationship did not stop when the film was completed but has continued until today. Rose mentioned in the interview that he still felt extremely close to these people, and has stayed in touch with many of them (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016). When he updated them about the success of the film, he heard back from about a third of the volunteers who expressed great excitement about the news. Moreover, Rose always invites filmmakers in the local area where the film is exhibited to attend the festival. In some cases when filmmakers did end up coming, to be able to see the film screened in front of many audiences was a gift that

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<sup>4</sup> Although fifty-four filmmakers initially agreed to take part in this project, four of them gradually dropped out due to various reasons. Therefore, only fifty filmmakers are represented in the completed version of the film “Globe Trot” (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016).

cannot be measured by monetary value. Therefore, staying in touch with these volunteers and inviting them to festivals are both Rose's way to reciprocate.

Second, in terms of qualitative or quantitative relationships, it is rather obvious that the gift of time and labor, as well as the reciprocated gift from Rose in the form of a unique experience and a credit in the film, is not quantifiable. They are qualitative relationships that can only be experienced through a deepening of personal relationship and the mutual indebtedness that propels the ongoing exchange between them. However, in this process, one exception exists. Rose mentioned that he did pay a composer for the music, and this was the only commensurable monetary expense of the entire project. In this case, the relationship between the composer and Rose is a formal employee-employer relationship, which embodies the characteristics of commodity exchange. The compensation for the composer's labor constitutes the exchange value of the music.

Third, what is being exchanged between Rose and the volunteers, such as the experience of filmmaking and labor, are also inalienable gifts. According to Osteen, "What makes possessions inalienable... must be neither time nor the drive for power but an immaterial aura of connection to other humans and to something greater than any individual human" (p. 244). When I asked Rose what incentives motivated these filmmakers to volunteer for this project, his response was, "Love" (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016). He continued that participants did not have any financial incentive, and they would not receive any glamour since their names were just among many other names. However, they chose to take part in it because of their genuine interests and love for the project. For many participants, especially those who do not have an artistic background, the opportunity to be part of a global art project itself is a gift to them. Therefore, it is these volunteers' love for the work they do and the relationships they have built with Rose on a personal level that make their gift of labor and Rose's reciprocity inalienable.

However, is the love from the volunteers really as pure as Rose believes so? As Mauss ([1925] 1990) already points out, gifts are "not without interest" (p. 12). The self-interest that exists alongside with their love for the project lies in their belief in value creation through participating in this project. Pierre Bourdieu's (1997) groundbreaking theory of various forms of capital beyond the economic form lends an alternative understanding of how social and cultural capital is generated and converted in the presence of these gift relations. According to Bourdieu, economic, social, and cultural capital can convert from one form to another under certain conditions. The global hierarchy of values permeates all kinds of international exchange as well as personal relationships. The opportunity to work with a US-based artist teaching at a renowned university brings prestige and honor to any participants, no matter how trivial it may seem. Associating their names with Rose, who has already established an international reputation as a filmmaker, could lead to improvement in their social status, thus generating both cultural and social capital that could potentially benefit their career as filmmakers in the long-run.

Moreover, the possibility of realizing this entire project relied on Rose's already established social capital. Bourdieu (1997) defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships" (p. 88). Its volume partly depends on how one can mobilize the size of his or her network of connection. In order to reach as many people as possible in all parts of the world, Rose had to tap into his social capital, manifested in the established relationships between him and various individuals. Mobilizing this existing network, Rose was able to reach the "right" people whose participation contributed to the creation of this dancefilm. This process is also a conversion of social capital to cultural capital objectified in the form of media. These conversions of capital from one form to another do not necessarily compromise the status of the film as a gift, but complicate its cultural value.

To sum up, all three characteristics of gift relations are satisfied in almost all social relations involved in the production of "Globe Trot." The only exceptions are the compensation to the composer and the agreement made between Rose and the organizations, which embody some characteristics of the commodity relation. Therefore, "Globe Trot" definitely operates under the gift economy and is made possible because of the ongoing indebtedness established through personal relationships. However, certain commodity relations simultaneously exist, making it an impure gift relation.

### **3.2 Circulation of Dancefilm**

We have seen that the production process of "Globe Trot" is highly gift-like; what about social relations involved in its circulation? In general, dancefilm circulates through three principal platforms. First, it is published online, either on individual filmmakers' or choreographers' personal websites or posted on institutional websites. It also appears on their social media sites such as YouTube and Vimeo. These works are often accessible to the public at no cost. The second avenue where these works are exhibited are dancefilm festivals. Since the 1990s, dancefilm festivals have started to burgeon across the world, mainly in Europe and North America, with a few in Latin American countries and Asia. These festivals act as curators of dancefilm, and they often charge audiences a fee for the tickets in order to cover festival costs. However, filmmakers or choreographers whose works are selected for festivals do not receive any compensation for their works. A selected few dancefilm makers, whose works are recognized as the best films by the festival judges and audiences, may win monetary award ranging from a couple of hundred dollars to a couple of thousand dollars. Receiving this type of award can write off some of the production expenses, but most of the time it does not generate any income for the artists. Lastly, some other venues where dancefilm works are shown include museums, libraries, TV networks, or other institutional space. In such a scenario of institutional space, dancefilm makers may get compensated with a small amount of money from venues that present their works



but they often do not generate any profit. Most film screenings hosted by these institutions are either free to the public or often, a small fee is charged to cover operational expenses.<sup>5</sup>

In the case of “Globe Trot,” this film is publicly available on Rose’s YouTube and Vimeo sites. It has also been shown in ninety film festivals around the world and won twelve awards, out of which four were monetary awards that totaled a little over four thousand dollars (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016). This amount of monetary return is only enough to pay for all the expenses, including submission fees for festivals and the fee to the composer. In both cases, while this dancefilm offers the use value of an experience of art, its exchange value, an inherent aspect of a commodity, does not exist. In my interview with Rose, he refers to this dilemma as “a racket” (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016). He agrees that currently no model exists for dancefilm makers to generate income from their labor of producing works. Besides having to fund their own production most of the times, dancefilm makers also have to pay a fee to submit their works to festivals but without receiving any monetary compensation when their works are chosen. This mode of producing and presenting works stands in opposition to the typical “profit-oriented, self-centered, and calculated spirit that fires the circulation of commodities,” as mentioned by Appadurai (p. 17). Given the lack of profit-making opportunities, dancefilm makers are forced to rely on other forms of support to create their works. In Rose’s case, the fact that he has a stable income through his employment at a research university where making dancefilm works can be considered as part of his research provides an important condition that enables his creative practice. In addition, dancefilm makers have to seek other channels of rewards such as public or institutional recognitions, which partly explains why many of them make their works freely accessible.

Despite the absence of value in the economic sense in the circulation of “Globe Trot,” Bourdieu’s theory of capital helps explain why dance filmmakers still make such works even without immediate financial return. In the case of “Globe Trot,” as Rose’s film receives recognitions from various film festivals globally, it not only converts the cultural capital of the film back to social capital but also transforms the cultural capital of an objectified state to the institutional state, meaning that it has become an institution-recognized work of art. According to Bourdieu, “the reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (p. 90). He also states that this work of sociability becomes highly productive when the person is known to more people than he or she knows. The public’s action of giving recognition to Rose’s film, both at the individual and institutional level, increases the value of both this film and Rose as a filmmaker, which is consistent with Graeber’s (2001) and Lambek’s (2013) theory that value is created through social action.

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<sup>5</sup> In my interview with Rose, he mentioned that some of his other films had been shown through TV networks, but the compensation was only a couple of thousand dollars, which was again only enough to cover production cost (M. Rose, personal communication, February 26, 2016).

Finally, social capital and cultural capital can both be converted into economic capital under certain conditions. Bourdieu maintains that economic capital is at the root of both social capital and cultural capital, but the other types of capital are not reducible to economic capital. The institutional recognition that Rose has received from “Globe Trot,” a form of cultural capital, as well as his expanded social network, a form of social capital, can in the long run convert to economic capital manifested in him receiving promotion and increased salary at his workplace. Therefore, even though the production and circulation of dancefilm, such as “Globe Trot,” may not involve obvious monetary incentives, the social relations involved, along with social and cultural capital accumulated through this process, can potentially convert to measurable economic capital.

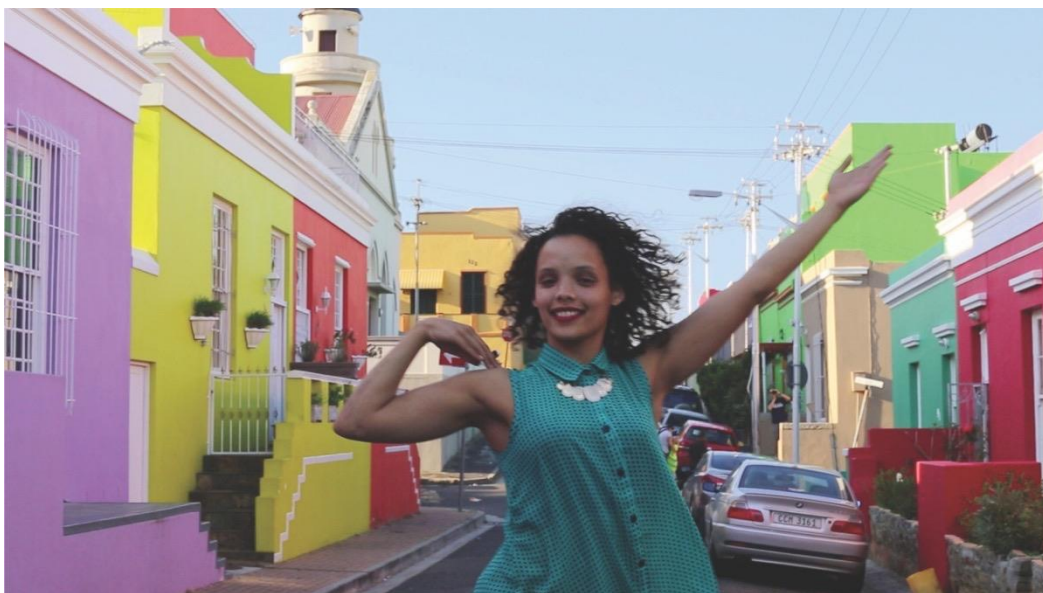
#### **4. Conclusion**

Based on the above analysis of this “typical” and “extreme” example of dancefilm production and circulation, I conclude that in the current regime of value, experimental dancefilm is largely operating under the gift economy structure. It is the social relations of perpetuating indebtedness that sustain its operation without creating an exchange value. However, this gift relation is not completely pure. At different stages of its production and circulation, the commodity relation co-exists. Finally, dancefilm generates value through social recognition and equips the creator with both cultural capital and social capital, which in the long run can convert to economic capital.

Making a dance into an experimental dancefilm certainly does not escape the same dilemma of not being able to make a living out of artistic endeavor. The making of art seems to be operating under a unique regime of value, a sphere that resists commodification even when it assumes the characteristic of reproducibility. Artists also have a different value system towards their artworks. Some may truly believe that art is made to be seen by the public and is a creative process that should not be attached to any profit motivation. These artists imagine the sphere of art making as a utopian landscape outside the commodity economy or a spiritual journey that should not be polluted by involving money that could alienate the labor involved and dim artistic passion. Other artists may advocate for the intensive labor that goes into the making of art and demand monetary compensation for the labor. I want to highlight both Osteen's (2002) and Frow's (1997) views that commodification is not inherently disabling, and at times, it can be productive and generative. Maybe one day a new regime of value will be established that grants both dance and dancefilm a more balanced coexistence of the gift and commodity status. Arriving at the utopia of art production and circulation may require a new model that fairly compensates artists for their labor while maintaining the dependent and qualitative gift-like social relations in its production and circulation.



Figures 1. Goa, India. Film Still from "Globe Trot" (2014, Dir: Mitchell Rose). Used with permission.



Figures 2. Cape Town, South Africa. Film Still from "Globe Trot" (2014, Dir: Mitchell Rose). Used with permission.



Figures 3. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Film Still from “Globe Trot” (2014, Dir: Mitchell Rose). Used with permission.

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