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Europeans in Afro-Caribbean space and Aftermath of Intercultural meeting: Case study of Dancehall in Poland

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Abstract

Dancehall culture was born in impoverished parts of urban Jamaica, so called ghettos and garrisons of Kingston and Spanish Town. Thanks to digital revolution, since early 2000s dancehall became global phenomenon. Nowadays dancehall is offered as dance course around Europe, including Poland. Since around 2010 dancers from Europe started to travel to Kingston in Jamaica to meet the culture they knew from Internet, study dancehall by dancehall creators and to experience dancehall culture in it's origins. My paper will examine how transfer of culture is changing life of its participants, and what are the sociological and psychological outcomes of intercultural meeting. Thesis of my paper is based on assumption that power of dancehall is based on it's structural transgression. Social mobility is outcome of agency created in dancehall space. For dancers from impoverished parts of Jamaica, dancehall is opportunity to transgress their life circumstances and uplift their social status. For European dancers dancehall means liberation from oppressive cultural patterns and transformation in queens of dancehall, feminine goddess in dancehall axiology, however in terms of European axiology, this transgression is leading to self-objectification and downgrade on the scale of European social stratification system.

Key Words: *Dance, Dancehall Tourism, Slum Tourism, Exotisation, Trans Racialism, Caribbean, European, White Privilege, Self-Objectification, Carnavalesque, Mobility*

Résumé

La culture Dancehall est née dans les quartiers pauvres de la Jamaïque urbaine, appelés ghettos et garnisons de Kingston et Spanish Town. Grâce à la révolution numérique, depuis le début des années 2000, le dancehall est devenu un phénomène mondial. De nos jours, le dancehall est proposé comme cours de danse dans toute l'Europe, y compris la Pologne. Depuis 2010, des danseurs européens ont commencé à se rendre à Kingston en Jamaïque pour rencontrer la culture qu'ils connaissaient sur Internet, étudier le dancehall par des créateurs de dancehall et découvrir la culture dancehall à ses origines. Mon article examinera comment le transfert de culture change la vie de ses participants, et quels sont les résultats sociologiques et psychologiques de la rencontre interculturelle. La thèse de mon article est basée sur l'hypothèse que le pouvoir du dancehall est basé sur sa transgression structurelle. La mobilité sociale est le résultat d'une agence créée dans l'espace dancehall. Pour les danseurs des régions pauvres de la Jamaïque, le dancehall est l'occasion de transgresser leurs circonstances de vie et d'élever leur statut social. Pour les danseurs européens, le dancehall signifie la libération des modèles culturels oppressifs et la transformation en reines du dancehall, déesse féminine dans l'axiologie du dancehall, mais en termes d'axiologie européenne, cette transgression conduit à l'auto-objectivation et à la rétrogradation à l'échelle du système de stratification sociale européen.

Motsclés: *danse, tourisme dancehall, tourisme bidonville, exotisation, racisme trans, caribéen, européen, privilège blanc, auto-objectivation, carnavalesque, mobilité*

Introduction

Dancehall is a music and dance style based on the use of sound systems by deejays and party selectors. It is commonly acknowledged as Jamaica's most popular music style of millennials. Coupled with recent trends of globalisation, dancehall reached high level of international recognition.

Dancehall is a subculture that emerged from reggae and raggamuffin music at the end of XX century. This culture was born in impoverished parts of urban Jamaica, so called ghettos of Kingston and Spanish Town. Dancehall is highly sexualised and violent culture what corresponds with life of it's creators. It is very distinct from middle class aesthetics, it is voice of unheard. Lyrics of dancehall songs are expressing hedonistic and materialistic aspirations of of ghetto “bad boys”, referred to themselves as gangsters and gun mens. Precarious, violent life in ghetto is the ground for this music and culture. Dancehall gender roles are performed with flounce exaggeration and expressed in dance moves, men are presenting strength by shooting and fighting, women are seducing in sexually provocative way. The hectic way gender is performed corresponds with insecure and unstable life conditions, where lack of income is putting people in enormous stress and eviction, hunger and death is around the corner. One of the most important icon for dancehall dance was Bogle, creator of old school steps. Bogle was shot in 2005 by one of his enemies, what established him to dancehall martyr. Other icon is Vybz Kartel, recording artist, sentenced to prison for manslaughter. Although Kartel was sentenced in 2014 and he has to serve minimum 35 years in prison, he is still active as the artis, recognised as a voice of the ghetto.

Digital revolution and development of social media enabled transfer of dancehall culture worldwide, appealing voice of the ghetto seduced people from different continents and backgrounds. Using

terminology provided by James Clifford culture started to travel (Clifford, 1997). Describing mobility of culture, Clifford introduced terms roots and routes. In this framework, roots is Jamaica, routes is Europe. Dance has become platform of intercultural meeting and exchange. Due to unique choreography and music style, dancehall became popular dance course offered in European dance schools. Schools of dance emerged from fitness clubs and became popular leisure time institutions offering inclusivity that was never a feature of elitist ballet schools.

Precursor of dancehall in Europe was ragga, dance style created in Belgium in early 2000s. It was created in area, when European dancers were not traveling to Jamaica yet, they did not know the steps but they knew the music and created their own dance to it. Ragga was mixture of hip-hop and reggae. This was hybrid version of dancehall, but it gave a highlight to original Jamaican dancehall.

First Polish school of Caribbean dance (Szkoła Tańców Karaibskich SalshallOrtodox) was founded in 2006 by Polish dancer and Dancehall Queen Ale Camara. Breakthrough moment for awareness and visibility of this genre in Poland was a winning of second place in International Dancehall Queen competition in Montego Bay Jamaica by Polish dancehall queen (dhq) Ula Afro Fryc in 2009.

In capital of Poland, Warsaw currently works around twenty dancehall teachers. Dancehall instructors from Poland are usually participants of trip to Jamaica, some of them travel regularly to Caribbean, now also to Trynidad and Tobago. Girls who run dancehall classes are also usually winners of one of dancehall competition and members of dancing crew.

Methodology

I was gathering my primary data through ethnographical research. I was doing research in Warsaw and in Kingston in Jamaica. This method requires that a researcher integrate him/herself into the environment, typically playing a role of someone in that environment. My field work based on participant observation, interviews and notes. Between 2014 and 2015 I was in Kingston Jamaica working with street dancers crews Rifical Team and Elite Team by documentary "From Daw to Dusk" and unfinished Mockumentary "Life of Jamaican Godzilla". In 2014 I took part as a camera operator in dancehall trip to Jamaica named Tr888Jamaica vol.2.. When I came back to Poland, I recorded three workshops with Jamaican dancers for Szkoła Tańców Karaibskich - Crazy Hype and Dance Bling in 2014 and Anika Head Top in 2016. In 2019 I recorded Slavic Dancehall Queen Contest and three long interviews and with three main Polish dancehall queens: Ula Afro, DHQ Aga and Ale Camara. Since September 2019 I was also participating in Afro-Caribbean parties "Soca vs Dancehall" in Warsaw's clubs. Since 2011 till 2020 I was participating in dancehall classes in dance schools in Warsaw as a student in five different dance schools in Warsaw (Isadora Dance Studio, Szkoła Tańców Karaibskich, Viva Cuba, Queen of Dance Studio, Saska Dance Studio, Riviera Dance Studio)

My second analytical tool is netnography. For this part of research, I implemented methodology based on analysis of the source. In this case source is the internet and culture text is picture, video, social media post and profile. In this part I was analysing instagram profiles of dancers and dance groups, pictures and videos from dancehall trips, dancehall classes, dancehall workshops, dancehall contests. I made typology based on dance style and purpose of the profile on instagram

Dancehall dancers Dancehallqueenstyle dancers Soca dancers
Trips to Jamaica

@amaliekaar @dhq.anna.stukacheva @veronnie @Just
here Chillin

@cece the Jinx @venlavanila @bambaii @tr888jamaica

@jasmin_halper @dhq_tamica @lavvvinia

@dodirightthing_stepinnajamaica

@missvenergy@ale.camara @Thundawhine

@baddfyah.tripjm

@dhqsnowwhite @salshallortodox @ryfka

 @monkeyjotravels: bringing people to Jamaica, and
highlighting Jamaican dancers

@johannaenough @dhq_marine @tinzeofficial

 @dhqafrooo @fraules

 @dhq_alevanille @claudia.readheaded_bebe

 @fluffy_sofresh

 @dhq_aga

My secondary data tool was archival review of related literatures to the subject of dancehall and dancehall tourism and internet articles in topic of Afro-Caribbean music and dance.

Data Analyses and Results

Journey to ghetto, Dancehall tourism as form of slum tourism

Since 2013 Polish dancehall dancers fascinated by Jamaican dance and culture were organising dancehall trips to downtown Kingston Jamaica. Trip had a form of dance camp with workshops at the days and parties at nights. During such a trip tourist (students) have been taking part in dance workshops and master classes lead by Jamaican dancehall streets dancers and crews. They were practicing dancehall and dancehallqueen style (only female style). Except dancing, they also have been visiting Hellshire Beach (local beach, not tourist one) with famous passa-passa parties, participating in dancehall video, events promotions and were visiting dancers yards.

Concept of dancehall tourism is designed in opposition to mainstream tourism. In this concept, travel to Jamaica is stepping out of comfort zone, and satisfying cravings for exoticness. Main goal of mainstream tourism on the other hand is safety, that's why it is based on scheme Sand-Sea-Sun in all inclusive, guarded resort facilities. Dancehall tourism is form of slum tourism, based on integration with local community, exploring downtown, and "going native". As culture tourism, it is based on contact with local community.

The cost of the Tr888Jamaica trip was around 700 USD, excluding flights, food, transportation and parties expenses. Participants of such trips were females between 19-35, from middle class backgrounds and big cities, university students and corporate workers from IT, marketing, law or financing sector.

During trip I was participating in 2014 as cinematographer, two girls were under 19, organizer was 26 years old. German dancehall queen Miss Venergy first visited Jamaica in 2014 being 22. Johanna Enough, to who we will refer later in this article, was 25. French dancehallqueen Marine Drallaic, was not even 20 when she came to study dancehall to Jamaica. Veronika, dhq from Danmark was 20. Therefore I can assume, that average year of initiation in to dancehall and travel to Jamaica is twenty years.

Economical gains of slum tourism for ghetto community were undeniable. Each day girls had classes by different dancers or dance crews. Cost of the class was between 2000 jmd to 3000jmd (20 Euro) per hour for each student. Camp finishes with contest for best dancers in female and male version of dancehall and in old school and new school dancehall. Each of girls got diploma and got back home, the once who had more money stayed in Jamaica for one month longer. Three trips are organised each year from Poland, they are also organised from different European countries.

On pictures from trips dancers-tourists are very happy, on each picture every girl smiles or laughs. They are on tropical paradise and they enjoy their trip. All memories captured on pictures are kept

spring break aesthetics. On trainings girls are dressed in shorts, while going to parties they dress slack. They are imitating the way Jamaican women in dancehall culture are dressing. They were putting lot of make up, often they put on braids and were showing as much body as possible. Each night they went out on street party. Parties that dancehall tourist choose, were not posh parties in clubs, they went on “real” Jamaican street parties. At the parties, they were dancing in provocative way, lots of videos of white girls “bruk out and skin out” went viral. Street parties are the ones, where street dancers and crews are attending. All dancehall parties such as Uptown Monday, Weddy Wednesday, Boasy Thursday, Wappings Thursday are taking place in downtown Kingston on squares and inside yards of shopping plazas or in the middle of ghetto. Party is the space of where dance spectacle is performed and negotiated.

Social Media Presentation

Hypersexualization of female body appeared in dancehall as manifestation of class identity. Denis Nobles argues, that “in Jamaica, dancehall expresses a working-class culture of opposition to the hegemony of the middle classes over the moral-political space of the nation” (Noble 2008) Carolyn Cooper argues, that slackness was lower class weapon to get self expression (Cooper 2004) From respectability politics perspective, revealing clothes and explicit dance style are indicators of low class ratchetness and lack of manners. In digital area hypersexualisation turned into voyeuristic spectacle, in which dancehall queen became someone between stripper, model and entertainer. Digitalised consumer society creates multicultural national identity, where cultures and images are interacting with one another in global network. Instagram and other social media accounts are mediums designed to attract as much as possible followers and to monetise their attention.

To exist in digital world, dancehallqueen has to be “on fleek” (perfect). Dancehall queen same as Playboy's model “is actually displaying herself to our gaze as sexual object” (Nussbaum, 1995) It manifests itself differently in West-Indies and in Europe.

In Jamaica dancehall celebrities are under influence of American plastic surgery and body-make-over culture. In digital area fight for attention in social media creates new forms of self-presentation with emphasis on appearance.

Perfect body is investment. Dancehallqueens look up to American instagram (IG) models rappers and influencers such as Amber Rose, Nicky Minaj, Cardi B. Similar as American celebrities, they also want to get “their body done” (Chromazz, 2020) and have perfect curves. Famous dancehall celebrities, artists, dancers, presenters, models such as Rene Six Thirty, Spice, Sher, Yanique Curvy Diva , Anika Headtop and Miss Kitty went through complete silhouette makeover in Dominican Republic and are endorsing clinic called Designers Bodies, which is launching realty show in Jamaica. Nicki Chromazz, dancehall celebrity, socialite and model, is one of the ambassadors of the clinic, presenting proudly her new body in social medias (Chromazz, 2020)

Many Jamaican dancehall queens refer to themselves as “dolls” (e.g. dhq Sher nick and instagram name is Sher luxury doll) which is good manifestation of self-objectification.

European dancehallqueens stress appreciation of gymnastic body, dance abilities and fitness. As Denis Noble argues, “One of the primary manifestations of postfeminism is the dominance of hypersexual images of femininity both in media representations and in the talk, dance and styles of girls and young women (McRobbie, 1993: 173)

Instagram profiles of European dancers differ in level of identification with West Indian culture, reference to political issues and level of self-objectification.

Profiles of dancehall dancers are presenting mostly choreography, dancehall steps, history of dancehall, traveling to Jamaica, classes with Jamaican teachers, classes in dance schools, crews. Trip to Jamaica is embraced as trip to tropical paradise full of positive memories, girl power, friendship, freedom, youth, feminism, culture vulture and empowering of Jamaican female and male dancers. Sometimes this profiles cover social issues and lifestyle: controversy around white privilege in dancehall, #BlackLivesMatter protests and lifestyle with Jamaican partner. Dancehallqueens profiles are focusing on presenting acrobatic excellence; scantily clothed dancers are often showing their gymnastic skills and are posing under Jamaica's waterfalls. Soca profiles are similarly naked but wining and twerking techniques are the main focus of them. Soca dancers also present themselves in carnival costumes and while dancing on parades. Most of the routines is recorded focusing on dancers hips, profiles are also full of beauty sessions, sexy poses, celebration of femininity. Most dancers profiles, especially those who spend significant time or live in Jamaica (@veronnie @dhq_aga) put emphasis on carnality and fitness related products.

Emphasis on carnality is reducing human being to body, what is form of objectification in concept proposed by philosopher Martha Nussbaum. According to Nussbaum, there are seven features involved in the idea of objectification: instrumentality, denial of autonomy, inertness, fungibility, violability, ownership, denial of subjectivity. "Objectification is to treat a human being in one or more of these ways"(Nussbaum, 1995) which means, that even one trait from seven mentioned above means objectification, however core trait for objectification is instrumentality, which occurs when

“objectifier treats the object as something whose feelings don't need to be taken in to account” (Nussbaum, 1995) “One is treating as an object what is in fact human being” (Nussbaum, 1995)

In social media images of women are consumed. Reduction of human being to fungible body is part of process of scrolling in social media, from one profile to another. Men, who are using social media follow usually not one female dancer, and because most of the profiles are sexually provocative they can be easily replaced. Fighting for attention on instagram can lead to depression but it is deeply internalised, because women are trained to objectify them self, and dancehall is perfect arena for it.

Psychologist Chiara Rollero explains that “ The objectification theory posits that women often are looked at as objects by society, with a sexual focus being placed on their bodies rather than on their abilities. The ubiquity of these objectification experiences socialises women to internalise an observer perspective upon their body. This process is called self-objectification and occurs when women think about and treat themselves as objects to be regarded and evaluated based upon appearance (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997; McKinley, 2011)” (Rollero, 2017)

Dance is part of postfeminist narrative. Seductive dance controls man's “gaze” . Illusion of power contributes to self-objectification. Dancer is expected to expose parts of her body by wearing revealing clothes to attract the attention and admiration of men. Exhibitionistic imaginary can be indicator of lot of psychological disorders, such as: low self esteem, low self worth, alienation associated with desperate seeking for attention, narcissistic personality disorder (NPD) and promiscuity. However this are inner issues not visible from outside, that's why voluntary display on social media can be so harmful for persons sense of self.

Meeting

Framework of interaction between European tourist and Jamaican dancer has cultural background. Roll model for interracial dating in Jamaica was romance between Cindy Breakspeare, Miss World 1976 and Bob Marley. In contemporary mass culture, Breakspeare could be compared in some to Kardashian-Jenner sisters. Both beautiful sisters are associated with black rappers, with complicated past in the hood, both of them are culture vultures and subscribe to black culture.

Breakspeare, was uptown white women who was representing Jamaica in Miss World contest, what was already controversial for 99% black population of the Island. Her love affair with Marley, who regardless his fame, was still an rastaman from the Trenchtown with lot of babymothers and no education, was shock for uptown Jamaica and British society. The London press had made a mini-scandal of their affair billing it as a romance between “Beauty and the Beast” (Poul, 2014). Articles about their story were given leads such as: “Miss World's Wild Men” and “I have nine children with seven girls, he claims” . Breakspeare was “dating down”, what was threatening for the structure of the Jamaica society and race relations as whole. Back in the 70s, it was not possible for uptown girl to date a rastaman. Marley was typecast by the middle and upper classes in Jamaica to whom Rastafari was anathema. In interviews Cindy Breakspeare was mentioning, she had a girlfriend that told her, that her parents sat her down categorically and told her, “Now you see what Cindy Breakspeare has done, don't even think about it!” (Poul, 2014). Cindy Breakspeare love affair was breaking social barriers. For Marley having public affair and child with Miss World was enormous achievement. Winning love of Miss world was a victory over establishment, biggest blow to white supremacy (also referred as Babilon in Rastafarian's axiology) one could think off.

As outcome of this relationship, Breakspear became one of many Bob Marleys baby mothers.

Construct of Jamaican Ghetto Masculinity

As Vernon Brooks states in his autobiographical ethnographic study: “average Jamaican masculine depends mainly on street smartness and informal education to tide him along” (Brooks, 2009). Men participating in dancehall culture are very skilled in using their trick and traits to get to tourists. In ethnography, adaptation to social circumstances is being described as etnomethodes (Garfinkel, 1984). Ethnomethodology provides methods which have been used in ethnographic studies to produce accounts of people's methods for negotiating everyday situations. In difficult conditions of ghetto life, using privilege of other groups (tourists) for own sake can be regarded as such etnomethode.

Taking in concern poverty of ghetto life, meeting with tourist from Global North is great opportunity. Using tricks and traits as psychological manipulation tactics, it is an easy to turn young European girl with “white guilt complex” in to agent of change. As dancehall queen Johanna Enough describes her impressions of dancers social condition in Jamaica “Not once did I see a black man as the owner of a store, supermarket or other similar business. Black men are disadvantaged because of structural limitations.” (Sjövall, 2013) She writes further “Those who were not lucky enough to have a relative abroad who could help them, could create this foreign asset by “linking up” with foreigners who showed an interest in their lives. In this way, I became a part of the survival strategies of my informants” (Sjövall, 2013) When girls go back home, contact has it's follow up, thanks to social media.

In dancehall socially and educationally disenfranchised men can build their ego and get a recognition. Grandiosity offered by possibility of

being dancehall king is empowering possibility.

“Dancehall recreates and re-images the individuals, especially men, away from their actual social positioning.” (Hope, 2006) As Donna Hope elaborates: “As such, ugly men are transformed into famous kings and other royalty, and individuals who are often social pariahs are provided with the opportunity to recreate their identities within the space of the music and culture.” (Hope, 2006)

“This might help us understand why the dancehall is a male-dominated space, and why masculinity is such a prominent theme in the dancehall. In the dancehall, alternative masculinities are being forged, masculinities that can be accessed by lower-class males. These dancehall masculinities feed into and off the traditionally accepted definitions of Jamaica's hegemonic masculinities” (Hope 2010:4). The increasing influence of women in the formal and informal sectors of the Jamaican economy is a threat to the ideas of masculinity that Jamaican men have to relate to (Hope 2010)” (Sjövall, 2013)

Opportunity

Stolzoff writes that dancehall offers “upward mobility to poor young men” (Stolzoff 2000). “Another reason why the dancehall is male dominated, is because the public space and the streets belong to men. Men spend most of their time on the streets (Miller & Horst 2006:125)” (Sjövall, 2013) Dancehall dancers she was interviewing for her paper were often using the word buss to explain their drive to dancehall culture. As she notes:

“To buss is to achieve the goal of using entertainment as survival strategy. Everybody struggle for a higher status, to „better themselves, with the ultimate goal of leaving the ghetto life behind” (Sjövall 2013) The same ghetto she visited, and found her partner and

babyfather (Nightly Fix, 2017)

Dancehall enables social mobility for big group of Jamaican's lower class. Dancers are moving to Europe, using European dancehall tourist as lift to get in. Dancehall dancer Biga Elite, who is now living in Stockholm said in interview for Jamaican Cleaner, that all started for him, when he met tourist from Stockholm (Poyser 2016). All dancers from Rifical Team and Elite Team I met in Jamaica while working on documentary film "From down to dusk" and "Life of Jamaican Godzilla" in back in 2014 and 2015 are now living in richest European countries – Sweden, Russia, Switzerland, Denmark, Germany. Non of them stayed in in the yard we met in September 2014. Agency provided by dancehall opens also opportunities for their children, one of the dancers from Rifical team, Rifical Gage after starting new family with Danish dancehall dancer, relocated to Copenhagen with his Jamaican son.

Voluntary class degradation

While their Jamaican teachers are craving for higher social status, visa to Europe and financial opportunities, European dancers are consuming new experiences and search for new identity in Caribbean.

Stepping in space of dancehall, Europeans are also finding themselves in area of social mobility. They are abandoning respectability politics of middle-class. Some of them are adopting dancehall gender roles and try to built families with Jamaican dancers. Career of exotic dancers is not expected career choice for women with university education.

European-tourist-turned-to-professional-dancehall-dancers don't

gain anything from this transition in terms of income and status. Actually, professionalisation of dance passion is putting lot people in precarious condition. Being a dancer, compering with being a lawyer or doctor or financial analyst is degradation in terms of social stratification. In interviewer in Jamaican radio Johanna Sjövall - dancehall queen Johanna Enough (other nick name she uses is Monkey Jo) was asked, why she decided to be dancehallqueen, taking in to account her education and opportunities in Sweden. Jamaican journalist asked: "Sweden is progressive country, you could be anything" Johanna hawsers "actually I have six years of university studies and I was studying social anthropology and I decided to write about dancehall group Black Eagle" she fell in loved dancehall and one of dancers from Black Eagle. Jamaican journalist, commented ironically: "your parents must be very proud of the path you are taking right now" (Nightly Fix, 2017) . In interview she also said, that dancehall in Sweden is underground movement, it doesn't have recognition of ballet, contemporary dance or jazz. She recalled, that she was was accused by dancing community in Sweden, that dancing dancehall "is not enough" to be a dancer. In reaction to that statement she took the nick name Enough, to proof that dancehall is enough (Nightly Fix, 2017).

Choosing dancehall as a carrier means becoming working class, because dance teacher is physical work, and it is not occupation of professional athlete. Being exotic dancer is not respectable occupation in any society. Urban dance or so called street dance genres as dancehall, twerk, soca, are not regarded as artistic dances in dance stratification, where higher on hierarchy is jazz, modern dance on the top of hierarchy is ballet. In Jamaica division between formal, classical dance education offered by Edna Manley Collage and spontaneous dancehall education, where craft is thought in community and any able person can aspire to be dancer, is very sharp. It is class devision, where education in Edna Manley is possible only

for upper class representatives. In Europe artistic dance is even more institutionalised (for example in such institutions as Instytut Muzyki i Tańca in Poland) and it requires formal education in ballet school to perform as a dancer. Ethnic styles or exotic dances are regarded by professional dancers as amateur, commercial dance. Dancehall, same as zumba is a fitness service, inclusive for all who are willing to pay for participation in class. Dancehall queens are running dance classes, one of them, Ale Camara is owner of Caribbean dance school. When I researched and asked owners of a schools about their financial situation (Queen of Dance Studio, Salshshal Ortodox - Szkoła Tańców Karaibskich, Vivia Cuba) they admitted, that income from selling of classes was not profitable venture. After paying the rent, electricity and instructors there is not much revenue left. Just few dance school survived Convid19 pandemic, other survived thanks to crowdfunding donations.

Teaching dancehall is also not profitable business, main drive for it is passion. Most European dancehall and soca teachers need to have regular jobs. European dancers are investing a lot on trips to Caribbean (Jamaica, Trinidad) therefore dancehall can be regarded primarily as expensive hobby.

Conclusion: Carnival World Upside Down

Sexual expression in dancehall might be manifestation of resistance to oppressive model of European middle class respectability politics. European culture is regarded by dancehall fans as very oppressive and repressive in terms of self-expression (Sjövall 2013) and body standards. In Europe synonym beauty is slimness, in Jamaica synonym of female beauty is curviness. Lot of young girls feel repressed and alienated from their bodies. Dancehall culture lets them liberate from standards of European culture (Sjövall 2013). In Europe sexual dancing would be received as vulgar, meanwhile on dancehall party, women showing her dance skills and flexibility is praised for it.

Hierarchy in dancehall culture is opposite to the hierarchy of dominating culture. Reversal of hierarchy has also social aspect. Switched hierarchy is putting the once from bottom of society on top and that builds carnival dynamic (Bakhtin 1929). Mikhail Bakhtin, one of the first theoreticians of carnival, described it as social order turned upside down (Bakhtin 1929)

Challenging social order and social barriers is outcome of this dynamic. Dancehall culture is a space to negotiate new social order. In dancehall space, daughter of lawyer from Germany is winning and twerking and son of illiterate inner-city pauper is giving her instruction how to move her body. This is emancipatory power of dancehall. Jamaicans are rising. Dancehall is giving them tools to challenge their subaltern positions. The ones who came to visit their yards, white, privileged, educated are getting trapped in self-objectification. Self-objectification as European dancehall queen, that might appear liberating in someones 20ties but becomes problematic in someones 40ties.

Using dancehall as their capital and equipped in their tricks and traits Jamaicans from ghettos are resilient enough to switch the code and smart out the structural hegemonies that weren't designed for them. They are supported in this mission by European dancers, who are scarfing their inherited status to promote dancehall culture. Dancehall culture that was designed as voice ghetto, not a voice of entitled young European millennial, that can choose any cultural identification she can find, scrolling bored through social media.

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