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Choreographing culture: Dance, folklore, and the politics of identity in Turkey

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Rice University, 1993

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CHOREOGRAPHING CULTURE: DANCE, FOLKLORE, AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY IN TURKEY

by

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ABSTRACT

Choreographing Culture: Dance, Folklore, and the Politics of Identity in Turkey

by

Melissa Cefkin

Processes of transnational restructuring have significant, if complex, effects on local tradition. Turkey has been greatly effected by such transformations in the performative arenas of public culture which mediate between national and transnational spaces. These changes challenge Turks' notions of identity, giving way not only to concerns about the proper and most appropriate form of representation to advance as images of Turks and Turkey, but the need to negotiate among these varying identities (class, political, historical, aesthetic, professional, and gender) themselves. Domains of public culture often thought of as "traditional" such as folk dance and festival support the dynamics of middle-brow positioning vis-à-vis the global arena. Yet, while powerful, arenas of performance are also problematic when engaged as mediations on and representations of cultural identity. Because it exists only in the state of performance, dance poses particular difficulties to the effort to pin down meaning and intent. The practice of folk dance in Turkey, thus, is especially
charged with debate. While folk dance is often assumed to present a virtual representation of the authentic spirit of Turkish culture, it is increasingly being conceived of as an arena capable of promoting further entrée into global cultures of artistic expertise. Attempts to reformulate the practice of folk dance in terms of these goals have sparked intense debate. Tensions between people, including members of the state and participants, who support one position or the other reflect broader tensions of contemporary Turkish society.
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Preface

The interpretive turn in anthropological theorizing over the last three decades has focused attention on the ways in which culture is written and read, both by natives and by ethnographers, and on the complex relationship between these increasingly complexified inscriptions and readings. My object of study here is the intricate choreography of dance as social and cultural form. Choreography is a kind of "graphy" which is always changing, in fact, it is about change, in the form of movement, itself. It draws on bodily sensate as much as ideas and verbalizations. Choreography in this sense parallels ethnography insofar as the latter negotiates between textuality in the Geertzian or Ricoeurian sense (the social traces or institutional legacies of social action, and their cultural readings or interpretations by the actors themselves) and the textuality in the literary critical sense (turned back on the ethnographer as author) of James Clifford. As Marcus, Fischer, and other anthropologists point out, the contemporary fast changing world requires ethnography to negotiate between conscious changes in both kinds of textuality. Choreography, as I use the term here, requires similar negotiations.

My research was most centrally focused around the fashioning of culture through the dancing body in Turkey. I focus especially on the way folk dancing engages a dynamic recreation of the Turkish middle class. Folk dance is largely institutionalized through nationwide networks of its practice in schools, voluntary organizations, and festivals. There are over 400 voluntary associations dedicated primarily to folk dancing in Turkey, each hosting between twenty and 400
members. In 1989, 843,765 school children participated in a nationwide competition of folk dance among schools (Çakir 1990a), and approximately 1700 people auditioned for sixteen vacant places in the professional State Folk Dance Ensemble. The involvement of citizens in processes of cultural fashioning is clearly evident.

The question of the kind of representation of culture engaged through the dancing body in Turkey, however, is very much in tension, and with it, the term choreography itself. In Turkey the concept of choreography refers to a particular individual's (the choreographer's) innovation of movement as dance. Yet folklore, and with it folk dance, is specifically collective and authorless. Hence, instead of referring to those who stage folk dances as "choreographers," the preferred term for their practice is "to arrange" (dizenlemek). "Choreography" has historically been reserved for high culture dance. At present, however, especially with the efforts to use folk dance as one means of entrée into global cultures of artistic expertise (though perhaps equally indicative of a loose use of the term by individuals involved in folk dance more as an artistic or sportive activity than as one with importance for its Turkish or folk culture status), both terms are in use.

It is with an eye and an ear to the tensions that coalesce in and are represented by the current use of the term choreography that I employ it here. By using of this controversial term I wish to draw attention to the contested nature of representing culture in dance. I adopt the notion of choreography, as
well, in the spirit of the way that Fischer and Abedi propose "autography" as a word-play in looking at Iranian poster art, where autography refers to processes of cultural inscription and interpretation, acting as "signatures composed with collective symbols" (1990, 382). Turkish folklore, in folk song, dance style, and performance, too, mediates this space of the collective and the personal, "transmitting" or "graphing" signs about both along the way.

My aim is to explore the corporeal aspects of inscribing and interpreting culture and of cultural and personal processes of identification. I learned about the choreographies of Turkish dance and culture through entering into the dance and the dance world as a participant. In continuity with that experiential resonance, I organize my ethnography as a process which doubles back on choreography as an arrangement of movements. I try to uncover ciphers and look for codes to obscure systems of meaning. But, in the spirit of the Turkish fairy tale which begins in the grammatical tense (unique to Turkic languages) of hearsay and uncertainty--"bir varmış, bir yokmuş", "there was one, there wasn’t one"--I have tried to stop short of definitiveness; I have tried to allow for a "distracted collective reading with a tactile eye" (Taussig 1992, 147)¹, the kind of reading, writing, and dancing demanded by fieldwork, folk dance, and fantasy alike.

¹ Taussig argues against the explanatory reduction of lives and life-events to signs, codes, and symbols, to registers of meaning. He suggests, following Benjamin, that there is much, for instance in the everyday, that cannot be brought to consciousness, that is not contemplative but instead is distracted. It is thus that he calls on tactility, on the sensate, in reading culture.
My title, thus, is meant to be suggestive of at least two matters. Explicitly I analyze the composition and constructive debates that go into the making of Turkish culture through the space of folklore and folk dance, but I am left with the question, can dance be arranged like a thesis on paper? can it be quoted as I quote Taussig, Fischer, and Geertz? I also pose the title as a point of self-reflection: whose choreography is this?

This dissertation proceeds as follows: In Chapter One I offer a suite of ethnographic dances intended to introduce my project and its setting. These 'dances' are developed further in Chapter Two in which I begin to trace out the complex relationships between and among Turks, dance, and ethnography. Chapter Three provides a case study, or "site study" of kılıç-kalkan, the sword and shield dance of Bursa, through which many of the multiple registers of meanings and disruptions in and by dance are examined. In Chapter Four I sketch out the political and sociological contexts of this study, focusing on the social structure of folkloric activities in Turkey. It is here that the interpretive domains vying for control over such activities are explored and situated. In contrast to Chapter Three, which focuses on a "local" example of the dynamics of global-local negotiation through dance, Chapter Five provides a "site study" of festivals and competitions, many of them international, as an examination of events explicitly designed for extra-local, often transcultural, interaction. The concluding chapter will analyze the implications of these sites of cultural activity in the negotiation of Turkish identities. Moreover, it is finally there that I am led to the question "why
dance?" What is it about dance as a form of performance that both enables and problematizes its ability to do the work of cultural interpretation?
Chapter One: Introduction

Ethnographic Suite

A. Dance One: The Project

There is a deceptively simple saying in Turkish, "dünya var", or, "there is a world." It is said when one emerges into the outside following an absorption in a mentally circumscribed space of time, for example, following a particularly engaging chat (sohbet) in the home of a friend. It is said as one is confronted by a reality beyond the one from which he or she has come, as if struck by the overwhelming material and social reality of the world.

The world is more than a problem of place. It is a realm of psychology, belief, understanding—and too their opposites—disbelief, confusion. Yet the positional metaphors are powerful, a person wants to understand where she stands in the world, who she is vis-à-vis others.

How Turks comprehend where they stand in the world will be explored through an examination of moments when they specifically don’t stand, or more correctly, don’t stand still. At the micro-level the focus of this work is on dance, particularly folk dance, as a site of social and cultural formulations. More
broadly, however, in this dissertation I examine the ways in which specific arenas of public culture--those geared towards display and performance, together with other institutional arenas which engage with them (voluntary associations, research institutes, even journals)--can be read as spaces within which discourses on such issues as Turkish identity, nationalism, and modernity are engaged and contested. I argue further that they not only reflect formulations of cultural identity, but that they do the work of cultural interpretation itself.

One of the notions upon which this dissertation is predicated--that through explorations of folk dance, multiple layers of meaning can be exposed--assumes that there is something meaningful to be exposed (a claim always worthy of a little suspicion). My efforts in this dissertation to test the extent to which this is so stems from the particular instance in which Turkey finds itself at present, a moment rife with change and reformation. The shifting role of Turkey in the EC, NATO, and the Islamic Conference, increasing popular (and now official) recognition of the Kurds as a separate ethnicity, and the restructuring of the media, both with the opening of private radio and television within the country and attempted exportation of Turkish media to Central Asia, are merely suggestive of the dramatic shifts occurring. The effects of global shifts and the intensification of translocal and transnational interactions has engendered an increasing awareness of and/or confrontation by the hybridization of Turkish society.

I argue that the changing relationships of Turks to the nation, to history,
to gender, and so on, is being scripted or choreographed through folk dance as an arena of public culture. Folk dances and folk dance activities act as polysemic vehicles through which varied political, regional, cultural, and artistic attitudes and agendas can be exposed and debated. Yet, while I argue that analyses of these various layers of meaning can and does expose aspects of the processes of cultural interpretation and formation in Turkey, I also want to argue strongly that such interpretations leave much unsaid. Even after the many layers of social meanings are unpacked, residues of the passing of the dance, its ephemeral instance, remain.

In this dissertation I argue for a notion of the performative and performativity. I use the notion of the performative to suggest that there is an excess that cannot be subsumed by signification. I refer to performativity as the passing moments of signification and de-signification that propel the meaningfulness (or lack thereof) of lives. Or, to borrow Homi Bhabha’s sense of the term, I refer to the performative as a presence, as the arena of what actually occurs and what is just being given shape to, as inscription and reinscription rather than representation (Bhabha 1990, 1992). Performativity refers to practice, to formation, and to transformation. The directionality of performativity is not fixed; it may work towards formation (per-formance) or to disassemble (dis-play, from the German, dis-plech, or to unfold).

One of my aims is to show that consideration of the notion of performativity, as it is rendered explicit in many domains of public culture and
equally in its inherent modes in the daily dynamics of living, can contribute much to our comprehension of the structures and sensibilities of social life. Far from denying the existence and significance of both authoritative and less authoritative power structures, it exposes instead how these structures emerge and are dismantled, disseminated, restructured, and reasserted.

It is through pursuit of this goal, however, that I am led to expose the difficulty of writing dance. This dissertation, therefore, also represents a struggle over the effort to show rather than tell about the work that I am arguing dance does precisely through its very defiance of being constrained by inscription. My argument is based on the power of performance to show what cannot be told, but I am left with the challenge of showing/telling what performance shows without telling.

Neither of these aims--arguing for consideration of performativity in social analysis and grappling against the limits of this possibility--are particularly useful or important, in my view, except insofar as they have the potential to expose something about the social milieu through which they were derived to begin with. It is not performance as abstract form but performance as a practice with consequence (social, psychological, sensual) in a particular cultural milieu that is significant. Perhaps most importantly the, my aim is to tell a story, or rather write a dance, about Turkey.

B. Dance Two: Bursa
Problematising the spatial. A break with the trope of community in realist ethnography. The concept of community in the classic sense of shared values, shared identity, and thus shared culture has been mapped literally onto locality to define one basic frame of reference orienting ethnography. (Marcus 1991, 315, emphasis in original)

A small iron fence surrounds the park that balances atop a sheer cliff near the center of town. Leaning over the railing one sees immediately the city sprawled below. The horizon, generally hazy in the smog and misty conversions of air from the sea water, fades into the gentle rolling hills that extend the land before descending into the Marmara Sea. Such is the view to the north, north-east and north-west.

Perhaps the most favorable view of the city is that to the west. Nestled in the side of the mountain are red-slate roofs atop beige-brown buildings, most three and four stories high, patterned in weaving rows along the narrow, curved streets of old. In the coves of the mountain walls are smaller homes, many painted in traditional pastels and bright colors. Further along, the domes of the Muradiye complex dominate the scene. Underneath these domes of varying sizes lie tombs, cool and serene tributes to those buried there, the members of the family of Sultan Murat II (ruled 1421-51). Murat II's son, Sultan Mehmet II (ruled 1451-81), the Conqueror of Constantinople, lies buried beside his father. The mosque itself, with its unique front-portal, is a stellar example of the particular style of architecture that emerged first in Bursa, the original center of what would become one of the longest-lived and extensive empires in world history, the Ottoman Empire.
Continuing the gaze along the mountainside one sees the neighborhood of Çekirge, favored by the elite and wealthy historically as well as now for its natural mineral hot springs. If you were to travel there you would discover the mosques and tombs of the earliest sultans of the Ottoman Empire. But from the hilltop of Tophane our attention is caught instead by the many large four and five star hotels and any number of smaller ones, each boasting their own curative waters siphoned off the natural streams below. These hotels are commonly filled to capacity throughout both the summer tourist season and the winter ski season. Many a Bursaite would chuckle at the bittersweet good fortune they have had at Çekirge's fashionability among wealthy Arabs who, until a decade or two ago, would have instead gone to the now war-torn Beirut. The bitterness of this was all too apparent when in August 1990 Kuwaiti and Saudi nationals found their vacations turned to exile. With their accounts and assets frozen in the early days of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, many vacationers/exiles resorted to selling their wife's gold to support their stay in Bursa.

Nothing much in the built environment arrests one's sight in the relatively flat plains below Çekirge. Spanning the view from west to east one is more likely to notice the agricultural and farm lands that lie on the edges of town. It is not until your gaze turns almost due north, or even a little east, that evidence of industrial production becomes apparent. From this perspective, however, aside from extra heavy smoke emissions in the air, it is difficult to fully account for the many industries that now lie there and have accelerated urban growth over the
last three decades. The largest manufacturers--Renault, Tofaş, spare-part manufactures, leather and textile mills--all operate on the outskirts of the city, prompting bus loads of workers to shuttle to and from their jobs and homes at all hours of the day and night.

The view to the west rejoins the hills, one of them accented by the thick cables of the telefrik. From Tophane you can barely see the cable car itself, carrying tourists, hunters, skiers, and more into the mountains behind. It is hard to miss, on the other hand, the striking blue-green tiled dome of the famous Yeşil Camii (Green Mosque). Famous for its tiled dome and the tomb of Çelebi Sultan Mehmet (ruled 1413-1421), a picture of this sight often graces tour books and promotional posters for Turkey, evoking all that is oriental and exotic.

From our vantage point the nearby center of town is characterized most readily by the twenty domed Ulu Camii (Great Mosque). Construction of Ulu Camii began in 1399. It is famous for many things; the fine calligraphy that graces the interior walls, the beautiful multi-tiered fountain that rests at the center of the mosque, and its twenty domes. The mosque was built to fulfill a pledge made by Sultan Beyazid I (ruled 1389-1403) that if he were successful in a particular battle in Macedonia he would build twenty mosques. Instead, though he was successful in the battle, he settled on building a single mosque with twenty domes. Ulu Camii is also famous for the characters of Karagöz and Hacivat. Popular throughout Turkey, these characters are memorialized in shadow puppet theater, entertaining kids and adults alike. The shadow plays,
filled with crazy antics and constant bickering between these loyal friends and a host of other characters, impart social commentary and moral messages along the way. The real Karagöz and Hacivat were two workers in the construction of the famous mosque. However, when their real-life zaniness disrupted progress on the mosque, the Sultan ordered Karagöz beheaded. It was said that Hacivat mourned the death of his friend forever. (Between downtown and the neighborhood of Çekirge there is a monument to the two characters.)

The smaller domes of the covered market and silk market also grace our view of downtown Bursa. Bursa was an important trading center on the silk road between China and Venice. It remains a primary silk producer today. Silk production occurs both in small and large scale, and shops throughout the city offer a variety of qualities and styles of silk goods. Moreover, the silk market itself still houses an annual sale of silk worms. For one month each year, silk worm growers and buyers gather at the market. Truck-loads of silk worm cocoons are spilled out over the ground in the center courtyard as the participants negotiate their business buying and selling.

Just below the cliff upon which Tophane lies is the old Jewish and Armenian quarter of Bursa. There, a few blocks of narrow residential streets within which an inoperative synagogue remains hug the side of the hill. A major boulevard marks the boundary of this small neighborhood. This thoroughfare houses some of Bursa’s finer boutiques and pastry shops as well as one of three (and by the summer of 1990, only two) movie theaters in the city, the only one to
show American and European films.

No description of Bursa would be complete without mention of Kültür Park. This huge public park serves in many ways as the social center of city, especially for families and youth. On the park grounds lie many facilities: a huge outdoor amphitheater for concerts and performances, a separate outdoor sports arena for soccer games and the springtime Children’s Day festivities, and an indoor sport salon for basketball, city-wide school events, and concerts during the winter and in inclement weather. There is also an amusement park, a history museum, a major nightclub, commercial fair facilities, a small lake for paddle boating, and many tea gardens, restaurants, and taverns. Surely, this park has witnessed everything from the raciest of flirtations to the most antagonistic of fights.

The cliff upon which our elevated outlook is perched is formed by the old city walls built directly out of the mountain that surrounded and defended the original Byzantine settlement in Bursa. Now a public park, the beautiful and serene grounds are accented by an old clock tower and a row of refurbished Ottoman houses painted in the pastel colors fashionable to Ottoman residences and an old cannon (from whence the park, Tophane, "the place of the cannons," derives its name). Between the park and the mountains which hover behind lies the oldest neighborhood in Bursa, where stately homes are intermingled with decrepit hovels. To enter this neighborhood from the park, one passes between the tombs of the first two sultans of the Ottoman Empire, Osman and Orhan. It
was at Bursa that the gazi tribe of warriors headed by Osman consolidated their control vis-à-vis both other gazi tribes and the Byzantine empire, establishing the "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu," the "empire of Osman." His son Orhan led the conquest of the Byzantines at Bursa in 1326 following approximately twenty-seven years of residence in the vicinity. Bursa was established as the first capital of the expanding Ottoman Empire, remaining so until the capital was moved to Edirne (not far from the current Greek and Bulgarian borders with Turkey). In 1453, when the Ottomans finally defeated the Byzantines at Constantinople, the capital was moved to Istanbul where it remained until 1923 when Atatürk designated Ankara (then but a small Central Anatolian village) the capital.

Framing the city are the Great Mountains, Uludağ. The Uludağ mountains extend from east to west and are several ranges deep. The highest peak, Mount Uludağ, reaches a height of 8300 feet. These mountains not only frame the identities and attitudes of the residents of Bursa, but they focus them as well. In many ways, Uludağ is the soul of the city. It holds originary significance as the place through which the Ottomans first arrived and fell in love with the Bursa area. The mountains have provided economic stimuli by encouraging tourism, especially to the winter sport facilities (considered the best in Turkey), as well as through agricultural enterprises, and through the small-scale industries of mountain villages, notably craft production. Rivers that run through the mountains provide water to the urban center and surrounding towns, and have even allowed for the construction of a controversial nuclear power
plant. To understand the mountains and the peoples and cultures that have thrived there, it was commonly assumed, was to understand the soul of Bursa.

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The connotations of solidity and homogeneity attaching to the notion of community, whether concentrated in a locale or dispersed, has been replaced in the framework of modernity by the idea that the situated production of identity—of a person, of a group, or even a whole society—does not depend alone, or even always primarily, on the observable, concentrated activities within a particular locale or a diaspora. The identity of anyone or any group is produced simultaneously in many different locales of activity by many different agents for many different purposes. One’s identity where one lives, among one’s neighbors, friends, relatives, or co-strangers, is only one social context, and perhaps not the most important one in which it is shaped. For a modernist approach to identity in ethnography, it is this process of dispersed identity in many different places of differing character that must be grasped. (Marcus 1991, 315)

The perspectival view, a bird’s-eye approach, as if contained and knowable by descriptive bounds, is commonly used at the start of many an ethnography. From pastoralist idyll to the horrors of war-torn ravages, the visual is often assumed to correspond to the domain of action and the reality of the subjects’ world. The setting, we are led to assume, at minimum gives us a visual sense of the terrain we will become engaged in, and at best will be traced as a mapping of the cultural lives of our subjects. A descriptive account such as this, however, demands a locale, a sense, though perhaps imperfect, of a bounded arena. The above description began and ended with the idea of Bursa, a city. But what of the many inhabitants and users of the city whose horizons include the surrounding villages and towns, those who come to sell their produce or crafts,
those who come in hopes of work, or to attend to official matters? And what of other places in the Marmara region, whose industry, agriculture, and history figures prominently in the economies, leisure time pursuits, and identities of Bursa as its center? And beyond that there is Istanbul, the cultural and often commercial and bureaucratic center of Turkey, a place visited rarely or frequently by residents of Bursa and a place always visited by tourists who also often pass through Bursa. Farther to the north lie Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the birthplaces or ancestral grounds of many Bursa residents. And to the east lies the capital, with its combined savvy and peasant aires. And beyond it to the southeast and northeast are the lands of Kurds and Artvinites, so many of whom make up the present population of Bursa. And then of course there is the sandy south and sunny Aegean, other perfunctory stopping grounds for the tourists who visit Bursa. And then there are the oceans and countries that border Turkey. And those that border them; countries like Libya and Iraq, current homes to many Turks as they work on building crews, or Senegal, where a tree was discovered bearing the Turkish inscription "Bismillahirahmanirahim" (In the Name of God, The Compassionate, The Merciful) written over and over again in its trunk.

There are German satellites and cans of British oatmeal. There is Moscow, the adopted home of the again-celebrated poet Nazim Hikmet, and Houston, where the president goes annually for check-ups. Where does this place—as a site of social, psychological, economic, political, and cultural realities—begin and end?
C. Dance Three: A Rehearsal

The bus worked its way through all corners of the city, dropping off tired group members along the way. A few girls at the front of the bus quietly sang a song from a mountain village above Bursa, a song they danced to that evening at rehearsal, "Tren yolunda çiçek of of o yarım...," "There are flowers by the railway, oh my love." As my fellow travelers grew fewer, a friend in the seat in front turned to me to point out the high school he and some of the other members attended, pointing out as well a girl who sat alone in the back of the bus. "She just came from Bulgaria last summer" he said, "and she is still very shy."

Normally there was no bus to deliver the dancers home after a rehearsal, but now it was Ramazan. Being a late spring Ramazan, the days were long. Sundown, and thus the breaking of the fast, came late. It was well into the night before the members could gather again for rehearsal. The bus was provided by the city government for the safe passage of the dancers home so late at night.

Despite it being Ramazan and the lateness of rehearsal and the fact that many of the dancers were observing the fast, the practice had been quite demanding. The next big performance was still a few weeks off but the group needed to insure that all dancers were ready to perform a number of pieces as the busy performance season ahead was sure to put a strain on the need for prepared dancers. By then, of course, even the newest members of the group, those who had just joined the previous fall, knew most of the dance suites. So
throughout the evening they rotated dancers, doing over and over again the suite from Keles, a mountain town near Bursa, then the suite of dances from the Black Sea town of Akçaabat, then one from Adıyaman in the southeast followed by Silivri in the northwest. After the women did Zonguldak-Bartan, the men ran through Kılıç-kalkan.

It seemed to me, as I sat on the folding chairs lining the large rehearsal hall, that they were particularly careful that night in the Bursa-Keles suite. They would weave through the figures, hopping and bouncing and clicking their spoons, never touching but constantly attentive to the spatial (and psychological?) relations they developed. I imagined them with their costumes on, the women clothed in layers and layers of beige embroidered shifts, woven aprons, red vests, and blue jackets, their heads covered in beaded hats secured with heavy red sequenced scarves. The men would wear pants and vests of thick brown wool and would undoubtedly complain, as they typically did, at the discomforting heat.

They rehearsed the suites one after another in quick succession, almost as if it were a performance. It was a kind of performance, if you like, with no audience aside from fellow members waiting their turn to dance, no costumes except for the t-shirt and sweatsuit with the group logo bought by each member when joining the group, and no musical accompaniment except for a drum. There was a difference in energy and passion from a real performance too, as well as a difference marked by the voices of teachers calling out instructions. The many months of teaching new dances was melding into the mode of
perfecting them. Now, instead of being led through the basics of step formation and figures, the dancers were instructed to lift their legs higher, bend their knees lower, straighten their lines, curve their arms, gaze down mournfully in the funeral dirge, and smile the rest of the time.
Chapter Two

*Dünya Var*: There is a World

A. Getting into the Local-Global: Beyond Bursa

The world in which Turks reside is a world increasingly cognizant of and sensitized to global dynamics. The globalization itself is not new, a fact of which Turks are particularly aware. Multicultural nodes of interaction--migrations out of Central Asia, mixes with populations met along the way, expansions into Africa and Europe, international economic relations through trade and navigation, and the mixed linguistic and ethnic character of Ottoman ruling courts--dominate common understandings of Turkish history. And yet many of the conceptual frameworks that have characterized and sustained the flux of history are now breaking down.

A simple tour of the Turkish geo-political landscape exposes the disappearance of modernist frameworks that have sustained, through strategies of bipolar thinking, understandings of Turkey's place in the world at least since the rise of the Republic in 1923. Perhaps nothing characterizes this breakdown better than the end of the Cold War. Turkey's role as an actor in the Western
alliance, particularly through its crucial position as the only member of NATO to border the Soviet Union, stabilized its place in the geo-political arena. It gave the opposition forces within the country (the socialist-communist left and the religious right), as well, a raison d’etre.

For more than four decades, Turkey was the West’s easternmost bulwark against Soviet Communism, and that was enough to define its place in the world. Now all bets seem to be off. In place of its secure and valued niche in the old world order, Turkey is confronted with the new world order’s explosive mix of ethnicity and war, faith and violence. (Cowell 1992, E3)

_Perestroika_ and then the breakup of the Soviet Union threw those positions into question. From the perspective of the West, was the Turkish military alliance (which insured their status as "friend") any longer necessary? or was it to Turkey’s benefit to strengthen ties with its Islamic neighbors (and Asian, and East European) in an attempt to establish new power blocks in the face of the open political arena?

With the fall of the communist rules of East European countries that reached its peak in the fall of 1989, Turkey was affected in yet other ways. The remittances from guestworker earnings which make up a significant portion of the Turkish national income, were suddenly threatened as many of the jobs that some three million Turks typically held in West Germany¹ were being turned over instead to former East Germans, as well as to the many Czechs and Poles

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¹ The number of guestworkers in West Germany in 1987 was 1,434,300 (including dependents) out of a total of 2,330,871 guestworkers in thirteen additional countries (Çevik 1989).
that came seeking the opportunities of the prosperous West. Racial and ethnic strife increased, throwing into relief again the question of what makes and breaks alliance and friendship in the global arena.

Moreover, friends and foes continued to emerge in the former Soviet Union, and the terms by which they were to be identified grew hopelessly muddied. For instance, much of the Turkish population was angered by President Ozal's January 1990 statement to the Western press while on a visit to the United States that the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict was a matter outside of Turkish foreign policy concerns. In an effort to distance Turkey from what many both inside and outside the country assumed would be its natural affinity to side with Azerbaijan because of their linguistic and ethnic commonalities, Ozal instead emphasized their religious difference, stating in effect "they are not quite our brothers anyway, because they are Shi'ite and we are Sunni." This statement notwithstanding, Turkey has tended to support Azerbaijan in the continuing conflicts. Why? If not for the domestic sentiment of support for the Azeris as Muslim brethren standing up to Christian Armenians, or as Turks in any case, then for the window of opportunity that was opened as the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union continued to break away and establish their own nations. Suddenly there was a whole beltway of peoples and resources whose political and economic favor was up for grabs. It was hoped that these peoples' "natural" affiliation with Turkey, being linguistically Turkic and primarily Sunni, would encourage their tendency to support Turkish (rather than Iranian, or even
Pakistani or Saudi) influence. Cultural and diplomatic ties between Turkey and the new states of Central Asia have indeed flourished. And once again Turkey’s importance as a member of the Western alliance has grown as their efforts are widely supported in attempt to counteract Iran’s similar efforts to gain influence.

And then of course there was the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the war that ensued. The Turkish republic was thrown into the limelight as President Ozal was called on repeatedly by the press and Western governments for his assessments of and positions on the matter. Permission was granted to lead air-strikes into Iraq from joint Turkish-American military bases and Turkish troops were activated on the Turkish-Iraqi border. Turkish newspapers headlined analyses of how deep into the country Iraqi missiles could hit. A member of the United States State Department briefed the staff at the English daily *Turkish Daily News* on what to expect if there was an Iraqi air-strike against Turkey. Emergency packets were gathered in homes and getaway plans discussed. Excitements and tensions produced by the potential war mixed with cynical attitudes of "politics-as-usual." Members of folk dance groups in Bursa expressed a range of opinions on the conflict. Just days after the invasion an army reservist had his bag packed and was itching to board a plane and join the American forces that gathered in Saudi Arabia. One of his dance partners, on the other hand, was sympathetic to Saddam Hussein’s plea for Islamic unity and for a *jihad* against the West, invoking Europe’s refusal to give Turkey full membership in the Economic Community as an example of the West's anti-Islamic campaign (a
charge forwarded frequently at all levels of society). Yet another individual blamed the conflict on Western imperialism and thought Turkey was too hypocritically poised to join in a supposedly 'moral' campaign.

These global political shifts and resedimentations are critical domains in which the categorical positions and identities that sustained understandings of Turkey's modern history--East-West, traditional-modern, first world-third world, socialist-capitalist--are being challenged. There are yet other ways in which such historical, cultural, political, and epistemological shifts are being enacted and experienced. The movement of peoples to and from Turkey, through travel and tourism, further accentuates the question of where one (as individual or nation) is standing. Much of the traffic of peoples to and from Turkey, of Turks and non-Turks, occurs for reasons other than vacationing and sightseeing. Perhaps most trenchant in this category of peoples is those in exile or diaspora. "Turkish" "guestworkers" (both now amorphous and imprecise terms) to Germany, Scandinavia, and Australia have now reached the third generation. Some of those who left Turkey as guestworkers try to return on a permanent basis, others spend their vacations in Turkey; many still concentrate their savings in order to bring more relatives to live in their new "home"; and still others, doubtlessly, have all but forgotten that they are/were "Turkish." Within Turkey, too, there are populations of people whose shifts reinscribe the social landscape. There are migrants from the north and south-east to the west, and from villages to cities. There are Bulgarians and Yugoslavs who have in waves over time re-kindled their
historic, ethnic, linguistic, and/or religious affiliations with Turkey. Many people still come to Turkey from both of these countries, often in attempts to gain greater political or economic opportunity. In the summer of 1989 alone, an approximate 300,000 Bulgarian Turks migrated to Turkey. A year later roughly two-thirds of those remained in Turkey, about half of them in the city of Bursa. The number of Iranians in Turkey in 1989-90, some there in exile from the Islamic regime, others to attend schools and universities, was vast. The common perception of Turks, based on what I was typically told, was that there were between one and two million Iranians living in Turkey. Georgians still recall when their parents or grandparents came from Russian or even Soviet Georgia to Turkey and yet others remember when their Armenian neighbors left.

Tourism is one of the largest industries in Turkey, contributing substantially to the national economy. While a heavier concentration of tourists

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2 The areas of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were Turkified after the mid-14th century when the Ottomans moved through those lands. The Turkification proceeded both through the permanent and semi-permanent resettlement of Turks in these lands, as well as through conversion, intermarriage, and cultural influence.

3 Official figures on the number of Iranians living in Turkey are difficult to procure. Though information on nationality, ethnicity, and languages' spoken is gathered in the Turkish census it is not released to the public. In addition, visas are not required for Iranians coming to Turkey. Moreover, estimates in other sources vary widely, from as low as 250,000 to as high as 1.5 million. A recent analyst suggests 800,000 as an appropriate estimate (Robins 1991, 57).

4 Receipts from tourism have grown from $51.6 million in 1970 to $1.5 billion in 1985. The governments' budget for touristic investment has expanded correspondingly from $4.3 million to $83.6 million. In 1988 it accounted for 21.43% of total exports (Çevik 1989).
visit points in the western half of the nation, tourism is pursued throughout the entire country. (Some of the most popular tourist spots are in the east, including the Surmela Monastery near Trabzon, Mt. Ararat, and Mt. Nemrut with its massive carved stone heads.) Both Hotel and Restaurant Management and Tourism are popular courses of study at the university, and even in high school students may opt to specialize in these fields. The touristic activities of Turks themselves within Turkey, however, remains rather select. While many urbanites or Turks of middle to upper class status travel to many of the same sights as foreign tourists, and yet others may travel internally among towns and villages or between villages and cities to visit relatives, many never travel anywhere. I met people in Bursa who had never been even to Istanbul, three hours away. When I told the doorkeeper's wife in my apartment building in Bursa that I was going to Istanbul, it was clear that to her I might just as well have been going to America, of which she asked "is it like Istanbul?" And yet travel is not the only means by which space is being traversed. For many, other places are highly familiar (if not well understood) through education, on the one hand, and television, that great translator and mediator of space, on the other. Acquaintances' frequent encouragements to visit renowned spots in Turkey were often based not on their own experiences but on what they had seen and heard on television, in the media, and from friends.

Moreover, many Turks who travel abroad for business, as guestworkers, or as members of performing groups, have nonetheless traveled little, if at all, in
Turkey. Yet, though domestic tourism itself is not a very common activity for Turks, vacationing is, especially for employees of governmental agencies and mid to large size companies of all kinds. Throughout the costal areas of Turkey there are private or state-owned "holiday villages" to which employees and their families go for weeks at a time. It is at such sites that guestworkers on vacation in Turkey often spend their time, such that the children of these families may know Turkey only as the place where they swim in the sea.

As is true for the rest of the countries on the Mediterranean, a large percentage of foreign tourists to Turkey are German. British, Scandinavians, Dutch, and French make up a fair portion of foreign tourists, as do Americans, Greeks, Italians, and Israelis. Arabs, finally, round-out the major tourist populations to Turkey. Like Turks, however, Arabs are more likely to vacation by spending many weeks if not months at one place, geared more towards relaxation, picnicking, therapeutic treatments, or a particular activity (for example, skiing or sailing) than sightseeing. Bursa is a favored spot for Arab tourists as it offers skiing, curative baths, mountain parks for picnicking, and appropriate accommodations.\textsuperscript{5} It has, moreover, a reputation of being more conservative and religiously observant. The concentration of Arabs in particular spots, such as Bursa, during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait threw into relief the

\textsuperscript{5} Searching for a furnished apartment in Bursa I discovered that the market was entirely geared towards wealthy Arabs, which translated into exorbitant rents. Even in 1989 furnished apartments, often, however, without appliances, were going for as much as $25 a day.
convergence of spaces and people more apparently than usual, as did the presence of Americans when the United States imposed an embargo on Turkey in 1974, and of Iranians since the Iranian revolution.

Sightseeing, nonetheless, is the primary goal of many if not most foreign tourists. They travel about from mosque to market to seashore. To ruins. Many come to Turkey specifically to see ruins, ruins of one of the Seven Wonders of the World, of Byzantine churches and ancient temples, of the favorite rendezvous spots of Anthony and Cleopatra, and of war-torn fields of battle. I myself roamed from one sight to the next to revel in history and wonderment, from archeological site to archeological site. Iznik, Aspendos, Side, Ephesus--the Turkish landscape is indeed dotted with ruins. These ruins dot the everyday landscape of many nationals, too, who do not travel to them as tourists but live amongst them as residents, from rampart walls in Istanbul, to the old citadel towering over Ankara, to carved marble steps forming the base of the modern mosque in the village of Güneybudaklar.6

Interestingly, what is now on display was largely for display, for what dominates many of the most noted ruins, what often gains the most attention and

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6 Güneybudaklar is a village in the Uludağ range just off the main highway into the mountains from Bursa. Its primary industries are craft production and harvesting strawberries, though many of the men earn their livelihood through work in Bursa. The village is noted for the distinct Türkmen features of its residents, both in terms of facial structure and customs. The villagers claim to have maintained fairly strict rules of endogamy with two neighboring villages who also moved into the area in a wave of Türkmen migration out of Central Asia in the 13th century.
appreciation, are the numerous Greek and Roman arenas. The theater of Iznik (or Nicea, a former capital of the Byzantine Empire and the site of two ecumenical councils) was just recently discovered and has barely been excavated. The theater at Aspendos is famous not only for its large capacity (it seats 15,000 people) but for its free standing stage wall built to the height of the mountain-recessed seats. And the renowned theater of Ephesus is noted not only for its huge size (it seats 24,000 people), tremendous state of preservation (and now reconstruction), and fabulous acoustics, but for its prominent place in Pre-Christian and Christian history. These ruins themselves are potentially jarring reminders of the transience and fragility of place and identity, for the power in ruins lies in their evocation of what has passed, been silenced, erased (Gabriel 1992). They are reminders--like snapshots--of what is no more. Creators of memories. They are ephemeral, like the performances once held in the arenas, like the dance.

B. Placing Dance

The memories evoked by these ruined arenas are memories of social lives. In history, these arenas were the sites of events--athletic, theatrical, political, cultural, even religious (just beyond the theater walls in Ephesus was the site of many of Saint John's baptisms)--where people gathered as participants, performers, and audiences. These were places for the unfolding of lives and
meanings. The contemporary Turkish social landscape, too, is dotted with forums for the interplay of peoples, thoughts, actions, and identities. Public life comes together at numerous interstices, themselves sites for the expression, observation, and analysis of cultural conditions. Ruins, place, and performance converge at such sites. It is through such arenas of public life that identities and ideologies are enacted, contested, expressed, and sublimated. It is through them, in this profound conjunction of local and global conditions, that the residues of modernist categories of societies and peoples continue to be challenged. And it is through them that these efforts are made visible, not as ruins of lives of the past but as performative moments of those of the present.

Sites of collective, public action have long been regarded as places in which cultural identity is defined and reinforced. From Durkheimian notions of *consciences collective* to Turnerian theories of ritual *communitas* to Geertzian cockfights, the cultural, in anthropology, has often been investigated in the public. Recent theories of public culture, however, have added to these focuses on sites of collective action as indices of culture by complexifying both the agency of those involved in them and by paying closer attention to the processes of their production and reception. The notion of "public culture" considers increasingly cosmopolitan cultural forms, but with the recognition that "every society appears to bring to these forms its own special history and traditions, its own cultural stamp, its own quirks and idiosyncracies" (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988, 5). Public culture, as hypothesized by Appadurai and Breckenridge, allows for the
play of trans-local and self-conscious cultural production at the crucial point of articulation between the domestic and the nation-state. Moreover, public culture thus defined has the advantage of drawing attention to the political dimensions of power, to the roles of states and other positioned actors, and to processes of production and dissemination which are increasingly technologized, packaged, commercialized, and mass mediated. Most importantly, many forms of public culture disrupt the notion of the essential nature of a particular geographic local and common meeting ground for collective means of cultural identification. Thus restaurants (Appadurai 1988), television (Naficy 1990), advertising (Appadurai 1990, 1991; Fischer 1991b), poster art (Fischer and Abedi 1990), and cassette tapes (Feld 1988; Horowitz 1991), act as culturally dispersed, temporary, or transient zones of public life. And being dispersed and largely unbounded, they display and enable even more the multiple and sometimes conflictual aspects of cultural identity.

I argue here that dance, dance events, festivals and other mediums of contemporary cultural organization in Turkey similarly act as arenas of public culture. I try to draw attention, further, to the ways in which display, moving display, has the potential to intercede in the process of cultural identification. A key argument of this dissertation—in contrast to much writing on dance which

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7 Drawing on Joann Kealiinohomoku's notion of the "dance event", Anya Peterson Royce uses it to refer both to the form of the dance and its context, or of "dances and dancing" (1977, 10). Cowan defines it as "a temporally, spatially, and conceptually "bounded" sphere of interaction" (1990, 4).
either over-aestheticizes or over-universalizes dance as an expressive language of emotion--is that all cultural forms are layered with multiple registers of meaning, and that these meanings are made available through performance contexts of various sorts. By focusing not only on the everyday performance of culture, but on contexts explicitly defined as being about performance, I hope to expose yet an additional point: that the meanings are not only "made available" through these performances, but that they are made in them and by them.

For example, in the next chapter, I describe how the famous dance kütü-kalkan (a sword and shield dance), exposes several layers of meaning. The dance is said to derive historically from the activities (training and/or entertainment) of Ottoman soldiers and to allude to the original capture of Bursa by the Ottomans. The dance is regionally tied to Bursa, a matter which plays out in competitive frameworks through values ranging from cultural capital to authenticity.

Together with the dance's uniqueness in being done completely without music and Bursa being the original capital of the Ottoman Empire and the primary place left to the dance, Bursa gains prestige through the rarity value of the dance and provides the basis for an essentializing narrative available to claims on cultural authority. The dance is further coded in terms of nationalism and politics (opponents to the dance are often tagged as leftists trying to deny the non-modern/western aspects of Turkish culture), gender (it is an enactment of maleness emphasized through the large size of dancers, danger, and warrior representation), and even aesthetics (some charge the dance with being ugly
while others look towards the nuance of execution to reveal its aesthetic virtue). Moreover, these meaning referents are themselves multilayered and contested. Attitudes towards the Ottoman past, towards gender, towards regional identification and nationalism, as well as towards notions of expertise, art, and aesthetics, and the implications of each, are all in dispute. I argue that it is the regular confrontation by the actual performance of the dance that sustains and regenerates the disputes. This is what I mean by performance itself actually doing the work of interpretation: through performance participants are forced again and again to renegotiate their understandings and attitudes. This is illustrated as well by the festival as the embodiment of performative moments. The actual combination of international groups in the setting of a festival may disrupt its underlying aim for universalist, humanist appeal. The participants may respond to each other through varying expectations and standards of aesthetics such that particular performances may be evaluated as boring, too exotic, too athletic, too nationalist, and so on.

Thus, like the tourist who roams ancient ruins for traces of pasts and others' lives, I toured through the arenas of contemporary Turkish culture. My tour should not, however, have been confined to the borders of the Republic of Turkey (and in many ways it was not), for these arenas of cultural display themselves are not bounded by these borders. Indeed through such cultural zones the local is inserted into the global, and visa-versa. Thus, like the Turkish folk dancer whose play on the stage is informed by current pop music
phenomena in Latin America, Russian dance training, European festivals, and international folklore organizations, I too "traveled" through broader fields through my interaction in the seemingly minute space of Turkish folk dance. This dissertation, therefore, is actually a foray into space, *global* space, with an attempt to expose how particular manifestations and articulations of it are experienced and understood from particular Turkish, or Turkish-informed, perspectives. I proceed through specific sites--Bursa, folklore associations, festivals, even dances themselves--in which discourses on the broader global space converge.

C. Getting into the Local-Global: Dance and Performance

Mustafa Turan, the charming and amiable director of the only professional folk dance group in Turkey, the state sponsored State Folk Dance Ensemble (Devlet Halk Dansları Topluluğu), began my initial interview with him with a telling of what I came to think of as the origin myth of folk dance: "Dance is the mother of all arts...Even the earliest remains of human life depict dance...Folk dance remains as an activity by and for the people, though now we do it as performance on stage as well..." Beyond this kind of universalizing significance, as fundamental to the experience of human life, however, is a more directly representational one: dance is poised specifically to stand for Turkish culture. The fact of current debate over the roles and uses of folk dance in Turkey
derives at least in part from a lingering romantic notion of its role, that it is representative of the Geist of the culture. Indeed it was thus that it was targeted along with other cultural forms of display informed by the traditional by the national leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as an appropriate and meaningful mechanism to use in integrating the people into the process of nation-building as he forged an identity for the new republic (And 1976, 1986; Kongar 1986).

Influenced by the Durkheimian sociologist Ziya Gökalp, Atatürk sought to foster a proud sense of Turkish identity. Two features were central to this aim: (a) that the Turkish identity fostered evoke a "true" and "original" Turkish spirit, meaning one predating the Ottoman period, and (b) that it concurrently be commensurate with experiences derived from increased modernization and the aim to achieve the level of modernity symbolized by the Western world. Secularization, abolition of the fez, and the introduction of the Latin script were but a few of the successful attempts of the Kemalist state undertaken in attempt to achieve this goal.

One particular institution which developed out of the state's endeavor was the system of Halkevleri (People's Houses), inaugurated in 1932 and closed in 1980 (for their politicized activity⁸). Spread throughout the country, the Halkevleri were designed to act as a mechanism to educate the public in national

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⁸ The Halkevleri had been closed as well from 1951 to 1963. Designed as a forum for public participation in concerns of the nation, the Halkevleri soon became locales for ongoing political discussions and were commonly known for the leftist orientation of their most active participants.
culture, and hence to involve them in the process of nation-building. Not only were language classes taught and museums housed there, but they acted as centers for recreational and performance events including folk dancing.

Atatürk himself also initiated and sponsored two international folk festivals specifically designed as arenas for the competition of folk music and dance. State-sponsored competitions for school groups and voluntary associations continue today, with increasing popularity and attention.

Structurally, the Halkevleri have been replaced by Halk Eğitim Merkezi (People’s Education Centers). Currently, as well, state sponsorship of folkloric activities is extended through the National Folklore Research Institute (Halk Kültürü Araştırma Dairesi, or HAKAD), through university departments such as Folklore, Folk Music, Folk Dance, Sport Education, and others, through the research activities and programming of Turkish Radio and Television, and through the State Folk Dance Ensemble. Established in 1976, the ensemble brings in new members on a yearly basis. In 1989 there were approximately 1700 people auditioning for 16 places. An indicator of the interest of citizens in folkloric developments of nationalism, this pattern is noted too in the huge increase in the number of voluntary associations dedicated to the development of folk dance. In 1989 there were well over 400 such groups nationwide in Turkey. It is here that citizens’ contributions and investments are most evident, suggesting that the impetus of nation-building has, at least in part, succeeded.

That folk dance and related activities in Turkey mediates a position as
both an icon of the spirit of culture as well as that of a specific mechanism (though a contested one) of Turkish nationalism, is played out at least in part through the class position of the practice. It is primarily a middle-brow activity: migrant groups who participate in it are those that are fairly well established (i.e., neither folklore groups nor the activities they participate in are typically found in newer gecekondu⁹); except for a select few who make their living as folk dance teachers, festival organizers, or group directors, the overwhelming number of participants engage in the practice more or less as a hobby; and most participants are educated at least through secondary school if not university and pursue or plan to pursue professional or vocational careers (or marry those who do). Performance occasions are generally geared towards those who engage with it as select public entertainment (i.e., in that performances do not occur in participatory communal forums and admission may be charged); thus it is at least minimally engaged as a leisure time pursuit, both for participants and viewers. And the institutional and support structures through which it operates (such as schools and voluntary associations), and is publicly received (as in performances for civil affairs), mediates between the state and the populace. Insofar as folk dance is structurally an aspect of middlebrow culture, it negotiates between the

⁹ Gecekondu are residential communities, typically at the outskirts of urban areas, settled by migrants to the city. Literally translated "put up over night," the houses within are hastily constructed due to the law that states that if a building has a roof over it, it can not be destroyed. Thus established, they have historically become active political blocks which gain municipal services and political representation over time. (For more on the gecekondu, see Bastug 1979, Dubetsky 1973, Karpat 1976, and Tavakolian 1974.)
contradictory interpretive frames of "traditional and authentic" and "professional and artistic." Moves to align folk displays in both directions are quite strong, manifesting in ideological and even political contest between participants and among groups. Rather than read these as judgements about the actual state or essence of folkloric forms of culture, I read these tensions instead as negotiations over gender, regional, national, and aesthetic differences. The function of these forms, then, is missed if judged against either high art or authentic village dances. Neither folk nor high arts, these forms operate on a different level, that of public culture.

To return then to the map of this cultural arena, the "local" terrain of folk dance specifically, that within which participants most often operate, is configurable alternatively in two ways: through (1) folk dance groups in relation to each other, and (2) folk dance groups vis-à-vis their specific residential communities, i.e., the village, town, or city in which they are based. As is outlined in detail in Chapter Four, there are a variety of organizational networks of folk dance groups in Turkey. Many of the activities of folk dancers are developed in relation to a network of amateur voluntary folk dance associations, of which there are anywhere from one to dozens in any given village, town, or city. It is through this network that many of the attitudes and goals of folk dancers are defined and framed. Such things as sociability, authenticity, and performance quality are measured to a large degree in relation to other voluntary associations. This level of "local" action in folk dance transcends the local terrain
of town or city to interact with groups in other places. Moreover, it may exclude other dance activities present in the same geographic locale.

At other times, however, the geographically defined local setting, that of town or city, is more active than this dance network in framing the attitudes and activities of folk dancers. A group's role in its own residential community plays out again in many ways. It may be operative in measuring success and stature, regional or ethnic sentiment, and even the political leanings of communities.

Beyond these "local" settings of folk dance in Turkey is the national one. The nation and dance interweave and criss-cross nearly as often as they pass by each other with little mutual regard. In addition to the State Folk Dance Ensemble and the folk dance subsection of the National Folklore Research Institute, there are festivals, resistance protests, village returns and departures, and official protocol events, all arenas in which folk dance is regularly found. Less typically, it appears in parliament, jails, and airports. It appears in the mass media. Where folk dance does and does not enter, where it is and is not constructed, all configure the space of its existence.

I think it can be argued that there is a national psychic domain of dance that exists as well. Turkish folk dance is categorized primarily in terms of its regional designation. Traditionally folk dance varied from place to place, from village to village, and region to region. The terms by which specific folk dances are identified, therefore, are the names of the locales from which they come. At the broad level one may speak of doing Kafkas (dances of northeastern Turkey
or of Turks in the Caucuses mountains), Trakya (dances of the European region of Turkey), or Karadeniz (dances of the Black Sea region); or one may speak more specifically of doing Artvin, Akçabaat, Kirklareli, Bergama, or Bilecik, for instance, all names of towns in Turkey. While many groups specialize just in the dances of their region (so that, for example, the group at Balikesir did only that region) or of the region of their origins (several groups in Bursa did only the dances of Üsküp in Yugoslavia), many will do dances from many regions. Though this has now become one of the backbones of the debates on the role and place of folk dance in Turkey, it has commonly been assumed that to do the dances of another region one must travel mentally to those places in order to contextualize their learning and experience. Those who still favor a very folk-identified notion of folk dance (put more generally, those who support the "authentic" reading of dance) insist that proper training in folk dance requires a lesson in the folk lives of the region. Occasionally, in fact, a rehearsal is proceeded by a description of the social and cultural contexts and histories of the dances. In any case, however, another place is identified. I think it remains very much open to question the degree to which, if at all, these designations of other places work into participants' notions of place and identity. It may well be that the localness of a dance is consumed merely as any other feature or style of a dance would be (such as, whether it is a spoon dance, whether their are squats, if it is done with straight lines, or if the extension should be subtle or broad), and is measured only within the context of the dance itself and its potential for
performance material. But there were indications of there being some kind of transcendental effect on participants. For instance, a young urban Bursaite explained that it was only after he learned the dances of Adiyaman--a town in southeastern Turkey in which many of the activities of the agricultural season that punctuates the lives of those who live there are represented in the dances, from tilling the soil to reaping the harvest to thanking God for the bounty--that he became sensitized to the lives of agricultural peasants. It was the first time he had ever seen a sickle, let alone held one in his hand and tried to simulate the cutting of wheat.

This point is suggestive again of the sociological placement of folk dance in contemporary Turkish culture, its role in the making of middlebrow culture. Here, tradition is consumed in the search for a nostalgic authenticity in contexts outside the purview of the original authenticity. One need only think of middle and upper middle class consumers of New Age practices in the United States, many drawn from Sufi, Buddhist, and Hindu belief structures whose originary practices are far from middle class urban America, or of the 1970's emergence of urban cowboys, or the popularity of Southwestern art, craft, and costume in the 1990's, for examples of the dynamics of middlebrow culture in the United States. While folk dance operates through a similar dynamic in Turkey, it is by no means the only feature of this process. Kafadar (1992) shows that similar processes are at work in Turkey in the current consumption and interest in Sufism. He suggests that the recent resurgence of interest in Sufi brotherhoods among
intellectuals and the bureaucratic classes transcends the earlier strict
dichotomization between rightist Islamists and leftist secularists. He identifies
this process not only in the collection of "ottomana" (Ottoman artifacts and
styles), the interspersing of Sufi music with jazz in music selections, the study of
Arabic by secularists or their children, and the vanguardism of Islamic
intellectuals in current academic trends and in their mastery over scientific and
communication developments, but also in arabesk music,\textsuperscript{10} and the culture it is
seen to engender. Though popularly conceived of as the epitome of lowbrow
culture, Kafadar suggests that it does have "a broader appeal to various segments
of the population within the middle class and lower ranks of state
employees...[and] even villagers" (1992, 314). The popular press has made it
clear, in fact, that it is not only the "lower ranks of state employees" but some of
the upper ranks as well who consume arabesk music. (President Turgut Ozal has
been known to frequent the concerts of Bülent Ersoy, a musician who bridges the
arabesk-popular music frontier.) Kafadar shows, moreover, that arabesk itself--
understood to be a synthesis of Arabic and Turkish musics coupled with lyrics
that explore suffering, unrequited love, and alienation--bespeaks a modern
identification with these same themes as they appeared in Sufi poetry, from

\textsuperscript{10} As a music genre, arabesk is identified by its borrowing of an Arabic
singing style characterized by its long sustained notes with glottal inflections.
The lyrics tend to be mournful and despairing. Sociologically arabesk is
associated primarily with the urban poor, the dwellers of gecekondus who have
not yet fully adapted to the middle classes' and elites' conception of modern city
life.
which *arabesk* songwriters frequently borrow. "The point is not that the arabesk borrows verses but that is can so easily integrate *aşık* [barbs who drifted among towns and villages, and who commonly infused their tales with Sufi poems] poetry with no perception of anachronism" (1992, 315).

Finally there is the *world* of dance in its more literal sense, as a global phenomenon. It is this level that many dancers and aficionados of Turkish folk dance are most concerned with and want to be connected to. The global setting of dance is accented by various features which loom above participants, informing their hopes, standards, and identities as the mountain of Uludağ looms above the inhabitants of Bursa. While media images of breakdance in Hollywood to knowledge of the training routines of Soviet folk dancers inform the "world" of folk dance in Turkey, there are other spots in the international arena that consistently illuminate their view. The Dijon Festival in France, for example, operates as a global standard of achievement, offering an international competition of folk dance whose significance in the folk dance world is on par with the Olympics in sports. There is also the International Organization of Folklore (IOV), an organization structured through the guidelines of UNESCO (with whom it has been the process to gain the status of a category A or B affiliation) who have assumed the responsibility of developing, sustaining, and furthering the international relations of folk art communities. While many casual participants of folk dance in Turkey are unconcerned, perhaps even unaware of, the activities of the IOV, it offers a significant operative by which folk dance at
the structural, national, and especially international levels gain prestige and legitimacy.

It is not evident what constitutes "the local" setting of folk dance or of folk dance participants in Turkey. The local is dispersed, a fact of significant implication for theorizing about the roles and meanings of contemporary practices and events such as folk dance and festivals. It would suggest that such events and practices cannot be assumed to represent or contain essential truths of (a so-called) Turkish culture. Meanings are relational, contingent upon specific settings, actors, and aims, each with their varying influences. Indeed I do not posit folk dance as a "key symbol" (Ortner 1973) of Turkish culture. Rather I look at folk dance as a measure of the increased hybridization and class evolution of Turkish society and people's increasing awareness of these processes. My dramaturgical interest is sustained here in my model: I observe these arenas of cultural display as embodiments and enactments of changing conditions. This involves unpacking these activities and events, as Geertz does the cockfight, to get at the tensions and meanings constituting them, but I stress the plural. Folk dance is a question of personhood, as is the cockfight, but I do not suggest that it is the single or most fundamental matter to which it reacts. I suggest, moreover, that dancing effects something, as Peacock (1987) claims for acting in his analysis of the ludruk theater of Java. But it is not a single thing that folk dance effects, such as to assimilate Turks to the processes of modernization, as Peacock suggests for ludruk. My interest in unpacking folk dance and related events is to
see to what range of matters it responds. And towards this end I see my list expanding rather than simplifying. I argue, moreover, that dance writes (or shall we say, choreographs) the story of response itself. At minimum, it writes a story about the way that some Turks construe their relationships to history, gender, nationalism, ethnicity, politics, and professionalism, and how these relationships may vary over time and place. It also frames the story about how I construed my relation to Turks at varying times and places.

D. Entering into the Dance

The first lesson I learned as a young teen beginning to folk dance at the recreational group on the university campus in my home town was this: fake it. An invaluable lesson towards the enjoyment of dance—-it was especially useful when performing, as common wisdom says that if you look like you know what you are doing, no one will notice that you don’t--I have since become troubled by the ontological status of this remark. For if dance is defined by movement (albeit a special kind of movement defined in part in distinction from everyday movement) then what exactly am I faking if I continue to move? Am I really faking dancing or just particular criteria of dancing? Can dance be faked?11

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11 This question did in fact arise in my fieldwork. Early in my stay I attended a studio taping of a folk music and dance program for television. In my fieldnotes I wrote that the performances were all "mimed," drawing attention to the extensive use of playback for vocal performances (where the singers lip-synch to their own pre-recorded tape). At that moment I understood the dance
"Faking it" was for me, as I suspect it has been for most of my anthropological predecessors, at times a means of fieldwork. Again I am not sure of what exactly was being faked--my being Turkish (I never claimed I was), my being a dancer (I was as well suited for that as many others), my comprehension, or even my status as a rational human being. ("Is it because you are French" asked my five year old neighbor with the knowing smile of a patient but tried mentor upon hearing yet another oddity emitted from my mouth "that you don't know anything?") And as for covering up for mistakes made in dancing, faking it in fieldwork was never (well, almost never) intentional. These issues surrounding concerns of intentionality, rules of recognition, fakeness and its opposite, authenticity, demonstrate the seamlessness that often exists between anthropologists and their topics, for questions in regards to these matters surrounded not only me as an ethnographer but folk dance as a cultural artifact.

Interestingly enough, on the other hand, dancing was perhaps the time in the field when I was least dependent on faking it, for the dance activities in which I engaged were most often highly structured and systematic so I was able

performance also to be being done as playback. But rereading my notes sometime later this was no longer clear. Was it that they were not "really" dancing, somehow, perhaps just marking the movement? Or were they "really" dancing, but not to "real" music? Where was I drawing the line between a "real" performance and its copy? It would seem there is no way to dance in playback. It is one thing for a singer to mouth words, gestures, and performances to a pre-recorded song, but either the dancers were dancing or they were not. In other words, there is no way to "body-synch" dance, to put the tape of the present recording over or under another pre-recorded one, except to create a mixed-media performance.
to learn right along with others. And usually while dancing I was not expected to speak and was being spoken to primarily only through the quickly learnable semantic field of dance instruction. And kinesthetic learning is less culturally bound. (Or is it? Responses to this question are implicit in the debate over folk dance's places in defining cultural identities.)

So enter into the dance I did. Yet by the end of my twelve-month field stay in Turkey the chances that I had to actually dance, especially folk dance, were disappointingly few, and the reasons for this are quite telling. Most notably, folk dance in public, urban settings occurs primarily in the context of voluntary associations organized around performance groups. Thus, short of joining one of these groups as an active member and participant in all rehearsals, my opportunities to dance were few. There were literally only a handful of times that participatory folk dancing occurred at any event I attended, and in even fewer that the participatory moment of dance lasted longer than a few minutes. There were several indications that this pattern is not uncommon in smaller towns as well. In my estimation, the most popular form of participatory dancing in both cities and towns at social events such as weddings and group celebrations

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12 In her impressive PhD "Unspeakable Practices: Meaning and Kinesis in Dance," Fowler (1987) develops the notion of "entering into the dance" as a way of arguing for a kinesthetic based notion of dance, i.e., that dancing is primarily emergent from and identified through kinesthetic sensibilities that precede or supersedes the cognitive or emotive (if there are any) expressions of dance. Jane Cowan also speaks of "entering the dance" (1990, 20), suggesting that dance is a metacommunicative device bounded in space and time that, when entered into, is bounded by the many ambiguities open to readings of social action.
was what is known as çiftetelli, a dance roughly parallel in form and practice to rock and roll bar dancing: it is characterized by solo execution done with a partner, a group, or alone, and by a recurring range and style of movements, constrained only by style rather then actual steps and figures, done to all music selections.

Thus my status vis-à-vis these folk dance performance groups was primarily that of a researcher. In all cases I felt that I was warmly received. In Ankara I worked regularly through one particular association, the Halk Oyunları Turizm ve Folklor Derneği (Folk Dance, Tourism and Folklore Association) known widely as HOY-TUR, though I visited and interviewed several others including the partially state supported Anadolu Folklor Vakfı (Anatolia Folklore Foundation, or AFV).

While in Ankara I also sustained a regular engagement with the National Folklore Research Institute (HAKAD). During the first three months that I spent in Ankara I visited HAKAD several times a week and I sustained my contact with HAKAD throughout my twelve months of fieldwork, even after I moved for the last nine months to Bursa. My interaction with the staff at HAKAD proved to be not only informative and useful, but thoroughly enjoyable as well. There I was provided with valuable data through access to their own visual and print data, as well as through being party to discussions among the researchers themselves and with officials from other government ministries as to the nature and status of folklore in Turkey. My contact with HAKAD also
enhanced the access I had to other kinds of information and contacts. It was through them, for example, that I was initially introduced to the director and others at the State Folk Dance Ensemble, and to several of the amateur associations around Ankara. They also provided me with contacts in Bursa. Finally, the individuals at HAKAD proved to be a challenging soundboard for my ideas as they developed. For instance, one of the most stimulating conversations I had--focused broadly around the topic of "what counts" as folk dance--was in trying to convince several HAKAD researchers that break dancing in America fit their definition of a "folk dance"! Their operative definition of folk dance was dance that is naturally emergent out of any group identified as a folk; i.e., any kind of (1) human group, or set of at least two people in which members may or may not know all other members, (2) with one common factor of any kind (linguistic, religious, occupational, etc.), and (3) who explicitly identify themselves as a member of that group (Eroğlu 1990, 31). I argued that breakdance emerged as a urban, primarily black, male, youth phenomenon which referenced earlier forms of male street dancing and therefore fit the definition. Their disagreement with me was based primarily on its highly commercial existence (a fact they over interpreted given that their knowledge of breakdancing stemmed only from Hollywood representations), and its very recent emergence.

My initial contact with any of the amateur associations in Ankara, however, was made through a contact at the Promotion Foundation of Turkey (TÜTAV). The entree that this first group I visited (HOY-TUR) provided me
into the world of amateur folkloric practice was informative and encouraging. I attended their rehearsals and performances regularly during my stay in Ankara, thereby discovering much of how this strata of participation operated and what functions it served. It was also there that I was able to participate regularly as a dancer. This initiation into the world of Turkish folk dance through dancing myself, I feel, sensitized me to many of the social dynamics of group participation, including the fears, hopes, tensions, and aspirations that punctuate the lives of participants. My self as dancer emerged strongly—"was I doing the movements right? why couldn't I get the strange rhythm of the steps to Silifki? did anyone see that mistake?"—became the questions I asked myself as often as "what does this practice mean to those around me?" The powerful joys of muscle ache (nostalgic, kinesthetic reminders of my undergraduate university days when I worked for a year in pursuit of a degree in dance), the sharing of dance with these young dancers, and the positive feedback of the dance director all tempted me to pursue my research through joining just this one group. I recognized even then, however, the highly politicized nature of this network of amateur associations. Too close an association with just one group would have greatly confined my access to the inner workings of other groups. (Indeed, I was already referred to by one acquaintance as HOY-TUR's "gelin", or "bride".) Especially when coupled with traditional values of politeness, honest opinions on the debate of folk dance's role and place in Turkish society (in short, positions on the authentic-show debate as described in Chapter Four), would have been much
more difficult to elicit.

So move to Bursa I did. I chose Bursa precisely because of the profound mix of historical, regional, and newly modernized elements I understood to exist there. A city of nearly a million inhabitants, it seemed to me nonetheless to retain many of the more pleasing aspects of a small town: people were friendly and helpful, there was a noted sense of civic pride, and the downtown—often referred to generically as heykel (statue) in reference to the statue of Atatürk erected there as in most all village, town, and city centers—continued to serve socially as city center both in public ceremony and as the prime commercial center. There was rarely a time that I visited downtown when I did not meet someone I knew.

In many ways my interactions in Bursa were made more comfortable by the fact that I was accompanied by my now ex-husband. Especially given the somewhat more traditional and conservative atmosphere of Bursa compared to Istanbul and Ankara, both my living situation and mobility were greatly increased by my being accompanied by my husband. Had I been alone I would have been expected to share an apartment or live with a family, and my movements, especially at night (necessary to attend many of the rehearsal and performance events I was researching), may well have been the source of much talk among friends and neighbors. Moreover, though in many ways I neither played the role nor looked the part of a woman my age (then 27-28), at least I satisfied a common view that a woman my age be married. Together with my ex-husband's
friendliness and willingness to 'hang out with the guys', my being married
seemed, for the most part, to improve my public image.\textsuperscript{13}

Comfortably settled into an apartment through the helpful assistance a
local dance troupe director, himself a member of the local elite whose family had
settled in Bursa in the earliest days of Ottoman rule and who was well connected
through business clubs and organizations, we gained knowledge of the city
through a variety of means. We explored many of the local craft and production
industries for which Bursa is famous--silk, knives, towels, and leather. Indeed the
city is roughly divided along these lines, with both knife and silk production and
commerce occurring often through small-scale family run operations in the center
of town, and towel and leather production and sales occurring through larger
factories at the edges of town, many with huge showrooms open to the public
and geared towards servicing tour groups. Visits to various government offices,
to local art and cultural events, to the university, for tea with neighbors and
friends at our apartment, their home, or their place of work, and the normal

\textsuperscript{13} That my husband came with me to the field, on the other hand, clearly did
raise some questions in terms of people's perception of us. People wondered
why a grown man would spend a whole year "not working" so that I could do my
work. It did not help that people's perceptions of what exactly my work was--
they rarely saw me do anything that fit typical definitions of work--remained
rather cloudy despite my attempts to explain. Coupled with the fact that we were
American, my husband's not working suggested that we must be quite wealthy, a
factor regularly measured in social interactions. On a rather more humorous
note, my husband's domestic activities became quite a source of interest for our
neighbors. One of the women in our building would regularly stop by to see
whether he was cooking or cleaning, and eventually to share kitchen tips or to
tease him that he should come to her house both to help and to provide a model
to her husband suggestive of his potential to do more in the house!
daily affairs of living, together with nearly daily visits to local folk dance groups and performances, rounded out our activities.

In Bursa I worked initially primarily with two folk dance groups, Bursa Kültür, Turizm ve Sanat Vakfı (the Culture, Tourism and Art Foundation of Bursa) and Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği (Bursa Sword and Shield Dance Folklore Association) though as the year proceeded I increasingly spent time with other groups, such as the Bursa Büyükşehir Halk Dansları Topluluğu (the Bursa Municipal Folk Dance Group, organized under the auspices of the municipality), Batum ve Havalısı Göçmenleri Yardımlaşma Derneği (Batum and Havalı Immigrant Assistance Association, devoted to the folklore of Georgian Turks), and Bursa Turizm Folklor Derneği (Bursa Tourism and Folklore Association, or BUTFOD, geared mostly to dances of southeastern Turkey, as well as to other artistic activities such as music and theater.)

My work with these groups was engaged through a variety of forms: interviews with directors and dancers, filling out questionnaires on participants’ backgrounds, attending rehearsals and performances, hanging out with members at their headquarters or a local tea house, visiting participants at their place of work or school, and joining them on forays, either as performers or just for pleasure, to festivals, other folkloric events, and social activities. Insofar as my research was focused on folkloric-related activities, I rounded out my study through interviews with and visits to other people and organizations whose work was in some way related to these activities, including school and university
administrators and teachers, costume makers, musicians, folk art dealers, individuals at the Ministries of Culture and Education, and those at the Bursa Halk Eğitim Merkezi.

I traveled regularly to Ankara, Istanbul and Yalova (a transit town for the bus-ferry link on the trip between Bursa and Istanbul, which had a small but very active folk dance scene) to attend festivals and competitions, to visit other groups and organizations, and to conduct interviews. My own touristic activities in addition provided me with ample, provoking material for comparison and contrast. Notable among them was a visit to Konya to attend the annual week of commemoration of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, the famous 13th century poet and mystic who is buried there and whose followers enact the famous *sema* of the whirling dervishes (now a rather commercialized event, performed twice a day in a high school gym for paying audiences). Performances for tourists in Cappadocia, complete with a reenactment of a "traditional" wedding and belly dancing, a festival in Antalya, nightly performances for guests at a dining spot in Kuşadası, and dancing at bus stations as a part of the familial send off of young men to their military service, were yet other sights informing my work.

I struggled then with the difficulty of articulating the dance and the experience of dancing as I struggle now with the difficulty of writing it. A fundamental problem for commentators on dance is the issue of how one writes about an embodied experience that has less permanency than many abstract ideas. The ephemerality of dance is indeed mystifying, but it need not be
immobilizing. The dance is always also constrained and engendered through the social channels out of which it emerges. As I write through the elaborations on particular dances (such as kaliç-kalkan), events (festival and competitions), and organizations (particularly voluntary associations) that follow, I try to open new ways for an anthropological query into the embodied, affective dimensions of living and culture, into the choreography of dance.
Chapter Three

"And the Tourists Escaped!":  Kılıç-Kalkan and the Historical Trope of Gazi as Contested Image Markers

You know what they say: To love the king more than himself. That’s all I want to say. Since I’m interested in folklore, love Turkey and deal with Turks, I am not an excessive rightist. I’m the one who dealt with the Bulgarian Turks the most. When people from the National Folklore Association came to the city, I also dealt with them and gave them some advice about Bulgarian Turks. Am I now an excessive rightist? There is a Turkish culture, should we forget it now? This is not excessive rightism. This is research, like yours. Is this lady now an excessive rightist? All she’s interested in is the subject. Some leftist writers claim that this play is the image of Turks in the world, which is that they’re always ready for battle. They wanted it to be abandoned. However, what they don’t understand is that is how we are and nobody can change it! (Interview, Şinasi Çelikkol, translated by Erkan Yılmaz and Melissa Cefkin)

A. Deep Dancing: Notes on a Turkish Sword Fight

No single dance in the repertoire of Turkish folk dance provokes more controversy than kılıç-kalkan, the sword and shield dance of Bursa. In situated times and places, other dances may, granted, generate a certain amount of
disagreement. For example çiftetelli, an "undisciplined" dance said to derive from harem dancing though now the basis for participatory night club and party dancing, is oftentimes criticized for inclusion in a program of "folk" dance since its origins is tied to courts and elite culture rather than peasant popular culture. And the suite of folk dances put to contemporary western pop music by the folk dance class in the division of Sport Education at Uludağ University in the spring of 1990, entitled "Köyden İndim Şehre," or "I Left from the Village to the City," was criticized locally for its contamination of and potential encouragement of further degeneration of "authentic" folklore. But kılıç-kalkan, the sword and shield dance, meets with controversy at just about every turn. Within the circle of those few groups who perform it there is conflict over the manner in which it should be done; among folk dance association participants there is debate as to whether it should be done; folklore researchers debate its categorization as a "folk dance"; and citizens have their own aesthetic evaluations of it as well as opinions about its place as an artifact of Turkish culture. Even newspaper columnists and satirists effectively invoke the Bursa sword and shield dance as cutting critique of current events.

In part the controversy surrounding kılıç-kalkan is based on the nature of the dance itself, being a vigorous dance with militaristic associations. On the side

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1 Şerif Baykurt, a noted scholar on Turkish folk dance, has developed a typology of Turkish folk dance based on stylistic (rather than regional) features. He describes çiftetelli as "undisciplined" in reference to its free style without constraint of specific steps or figures.
of aesthetics, discussions abound as to the nuance of its performance: Is it done
with the right mood? serious but not overly so? Are the movements precise?
large but still contained? Negative evaluations of the dance’s aesthetics are
perhaps that much more straightforward. The dance is seen to require no talent-
"they just go tap-tap with their swords and shields, do you call that dance?"--and
to be only theatrical or acrobatic. It is deemed deficient in entertainment and
even social value because of its lack of ability, in some people’s view, to inspire
communal excitement. "Coşkun yok", people claim, "there is no excitement," a
charge often further explained by the fact that it is done without women or
music. In the end, many consider it to be just plain silly or ugly.

The dance’s historical associations, more than its military nature, account
for much of its controversial status. In fact, a dance common to the Aegean
region, the very popular zeybek,\footnote{The following description both describes the zeybek and illustrates the
sensitivities provoked by folk dance over cultural property and its implications for
identity. The zeybek

is executed by a single dancer or by several. But even in the latter
case it keeps its solo character, for each dancer, though following
the movements of the others, always dances apart. In its basic
movement the dancers kneel on one leg while their other leg is in a
half bent position. They hold their arms outstretched with elbows
as high as the shoulders and snap their fingers.... It is a dance of
solemn, heroic style. The dancers... wear short embroidered
trousers which accommodate the kneelings.

It has been claimed the zeybek is a dance of Hellenic origin
and Greeks add a Greek suffix, making zeybekikos. This is far
from being true. Not only is the dance of obvious Turkish style and
tradition but there is evidence proving its Turkish origin. Zeybek
can be found in other parts of Turkey, even Far Eastern Turkey.

\textcopyright{2}} is free from controversy despite its
representation of armed warriors. The zeybek too, like kiliç-kalkan, even has a specific historical reference. Though the zeybek pre-dates the Turkish War of Independence (And 1959), it was adapted to refer to the activities of groups of military irregulars, or efeler, who were instrumental in gaining control of portions of western Anatolia from the Greek. What makes kiliç-kalkan and not zeybek controversial, I argue, is its affiliation with the Ottoman Empire. Where Turkey's relationship to the Ottoman Empire is fraught with concern and difficulty, so is the dance's. The question thus arises, does the dance represent the might, pride, honor, and rich historical depth of Turkish identity (as zeybek seems able to do without complication), or the barbarism, corruption, and embarrassment of the Ottoman Empire?

Controversy notwithstanding, some version of the following story almost without exception accompanies initial mentions of the dance: "when kiliç-kalkan was performed for a group of tourists they became so frightened they ran away and escaped!" I have been told this story by those in support of the practice, and those opposed, and by avid performers of the dance in Bursa to an esteemed neurologist in Houston. In all cases, despite the teller's general opinion of the dance, it was told with a smile, and, it would seem, a certain sense of pride. So why, given the questionable representative potential of the dance, do even those generally opposed to the dance still recount this story of tourists escaping with

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There are even villages bearing the name Zeybek, and as the Turks came to Anatolia from East to West a reverse direction of influence is not credible. (And 1959, 46-7)
humor and pride? Is it simply the pleasure felt at the possibility of those naive and/or imperialist tourists fleeing? Or does it speak more to a lingering confusion over sense and place? What accounts for this "slipzone of indeterminacy" (Naficy 1990)? In what ways is the sword and shield dance an artifact of cultural ambivalence in a society made hybrid through history and the world that surrounds it?

To repeat from my introduction, a key argument of this dissertation is that all cultural forms, including dance, are layered with multiple registers of meaning. In this chapter I will explore the many different ways in which kalç-kalkan does the work of cultural interpretation around such issues as cultural boundaries (historical, urban-rural, regional, and national), gender (masculinity and effeminacy), and aesthetic value (high and low culture and evaluations of performance virtue). I attempt to expose, moreover, the ways in which the performative elements of the dance intercede at every level of meaning formation, thus driving the gears of the interpretive process itself.

As an example of the provocative, complex, and often conflictual processes of cultural interpretation engaged by these young Turks as members of folklore associations, I will begin, however, by telling a different story, a story of the insult to masculine pride, to kinship and honor, and to the civilizing assumption of modern Turkey. Kalç-kalkan is not the only debated artifact derivative of the historically stimulated hybridity of contemporary Turkey as heir to the Ottoman Empire. Nor is it the only one that speaks to the contestation over identities and
place in Turkey. The referent of *gazi*, too, performs the work of interpretation.

*Gazi* refers to "warriors of the faith," or Muslim soldiers who, since the earliest conquests in the name of Islam, sought to defeat the infidels. Over time the term was extended beyond its religious designation to refer to any warrior who gains heroic stature through righteous battle. Thus Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the leader of the struggle for Turkish autonomy (and a devout secularist), became known as *Gazi* for his successful battle at Gallipoli in 1915. The self-proclaimed *gazis* I met, all male members of Bursa folk dance teams, were similarly charged to engage in moral battles. These present-day *gazis* took on characters similar to those of Iranian *javanmard* and *dash*. The *javanmard*, sustained in high literary culture, is the upholder and protector of moral virtue. The *dash* plays a similar role at the level of popular culture; he is a character "midway between the immoral *aubash* or young street toughs, and the selfless, usually old, *darvish* concerned more with spiritual values than material attachments" (Fischer 1984, 214).

I encountered the first of these *gazi* warriors following the 1990 Bursa area school folk dance competition sponsored by the State Ministry Department of Youth and Sports. The winners of each division (primary, middle, and high school) in the citywide competition would go on to compete at regional, then national, level competitions. The winners of each division at the Bursa competition were announced in an award ceremony at the end of the day. The team who received second place in the high-school division protested the results.
Their supporters in the audience booed as the first-place winners were announced. As a show of protest, only one male and one female dancer from the second-place team stood alongside the full teams of the other winning groups to receive their award. Their dance teacher made visible his disapproval.

Afterwards there were charges of favoritism and bribery. Rumor had it that the dance instructor of the first-place team had been seen the evening before (in fact, he was purposefully spied on) dining with members of the jury. The conflict over competition results was compounded by the fact that the dance instructors of these two teams were rivals in the local sphere of folk dance, a rivalry rife with questions over who had been responsible for what in developing the folk dance scene. Who was the better teacher? Who had access to higher status officials, and hence more desirable performances? Whose version of Bursa-Keles was arranged better? was more authentic?

About an hour after the competition ended I met up with the male members of the second-place group, still in costume, roaming the park. Led by their dance instructor (the \textit{kale\c{c}-kalkan} instructor in a folk dance association), the dancers punctuated their march with shouts of "Gazi!" Their anger and disapproval at the results was translated into a kind of group euphoria over a promise of future, and hopefully victorious, battle. Their enemies were established (the second-rate dancers who won and the corrupt judges) and their moral battle, defined in the language of fairness and justice, waged.

Several months later the folk dance association in which the above team's
leader taught performed in Mustafakemalpaşa, a town in Bursa province. When I next saw them (a few days later at a festival in Istanbul) one of the male members was injured with a black eye. Upon asking after his wound he told me the following tale: as they were leaving the performance in Mustafakemalpaşa some local boys "said things," apparently rude or suggestive, to the girls of the folk dance group. Things heated up when the male members (here truly acting in the vein of the streetwise Iranian dash) of the group sought to defend the girls, resulting in a brawl. In this version of the story, I was assured of their victory (despite the fact that three of their dancers were taken to the hospital for attention to wounds). The fellow with the black eye proudly displayed his injury for my camera, exclaiming of himself "Gazi!" (His pride, however, was tempered by protocol, for though he was to have performed at this Istanbul performance he felt, or was instructed, that it was inappropriate to appear on stage with a black eye.)

As I tried to elicit more details over the next few days, especially about what was said by the Mustafakemalpaşa boys to the Bursa girls, I learned little else except that the local security office had found the Bursa men free of fault for the fight. I was told simply, "they said some things." It was not until several days later that I learned the following details from a friend of a group member (not a member himself). The guys left the performance first. Some Mustafakemalpaşa boys surrounded the girls as they left, saying such things as "you are pretty, why don't you stay with me tonight." The Bursa guys returned
when they realized what was happening. However, at this point the
Mustafakemalpaşa boys turned instead to the male Bursa dancers, taunting
"Where are you from? Are you "Bursali"?

Technically "Bursah" means only "of Bursa" and it is by this term that
Bursa residents identify themselves. "Bursali," however, can also mean
"homosexual." Bursa was known throughout Turkey as a center for homosexual
encounters and activity. (Now Bodrum, the current residence of the very popular
gay musician Zeki Müren, is considered to be the center of gay life in Turkey.)
According to this description of the events at Mustafakemalpaşa, then, the more
serious affront was to the male members of the group. Yet, here again, in the
end their might as gazi warriors was reconfirmed, along with their masculinity, in
the victorious results of the fight--the Mustafakemalpaşa boys had been more
seriously injured and had been held responsible for the fight. Truth and victory
reigned.

Within this social drama multiple values converged, were breached, and,
true to the conquest of right over wrong, reestablished. It is no accident, I think,
that issues over gender definition are confronted concomitant with the increased
hybridization of Turkish society, where things from topless beach-goers to AIDS
are not constrained by national or cultural boundaries. It was not only slurs to
manhood, however, that were revenged. Another register was that of family
honor. While one of the commonly acknowledged though largely understated
reasons for joining such clubs is to meet members of the opposite sex who are
not kin, the line defining the nature of relationship is often strategically manipulated. In this case, the boys' defense of the girls was expressed in terms of kin duty and value. They were saving their "sisters," and thus themselves, from further insult and harm.³

Yet another field of contestation played out through the conquering gazis was the arena of place, not only of "Bursa" as intertwined with gender identity, but of Bursa as "city" and Mustafakemalpaşa as "town." This register became more meaningful later, when the events at Mustafakemalpaşa became the reference point for yet another occasion when folk dancers proclaimed themselves gazi. A short time later this same group prepared for a performance at a festival in Keles, a small mountain town in the mountains above Bursa. On the eve of this performance the teachers lectured the dancers on what to expect and how to behave in Keles. I had by then spent over six months interacting frequently with this group, and I had never seen such thorough instruction for non-dance action; nor did I see it again, even when the group prepared to tour abroad, nor did I ever hear any other group make such a speech. The teachers portrayed Keles as a "very different kind of place," saying that it was even "more conservative" ("daha tutucu") than Mustafakemalpaşa. They cautioned that the problems encountered there could well be repeated in Keles given the (assumed) attitudes of village men and boys. They instructed the girls to walk in groups, to

³ For more on Turkish notions of kinship and honor, see Delaney 1991, Magnarella 1974, Meeker 1971, and Ünsal 1985.
keep the guys around them, to ignore any remarks made to them, and if there was trouble to immediately find one of the three teachers. (They were also instructed, in deference to proper image, not to smoke in public.) The boys were instructed not to fight.

These instructions were repeated the next day on the bus en route to the festival. These were not just general instructions for going anywhere, but were specifically geared towards going to a village. (Though officially a town, Keles is commonly thought of as a village.) Moreover, it was assumed that most of the dancers had never been there or to any village before, and indeed many of them had not (whereas almost all of them had been abroad). At this point one of the musicians, himself born in a neighboring village, stood up to inform the rest "Arkadaşlar, Bursa'dan orası gerçekten Teksas gibid," or "Friends, compared to Bursa, it is really like Texas there!" (It was only afterwards, with some embarrassment, that he was reminded I was from Texas!) After a parting wish for a good journey and success ("İyi yolculuklar ve başarı dilerim"), the male dancers began to hum the procession music of the Janissaries, asserting their role as (urban) gazi in conquest of the (rural) opponent. Within this event converged traces of multiple referents and meanings: cultural imperialism through the comic book wilds of Texas, the purity of the country (i.e., in asking the girls not to shock the natives' tender sensibilities by smoking), conversely, urbanites as the bearers and upholders of civilization, and traces of concern over gender and family honor.
B. The Dance

It is hard to say what strikes one most when first seeing *kulč-kalkan*. The dancers literally burst onto the stage running single file. Very quickly after entering the stage the patterned movement of the dance begins to articulate as the men circle counter-clockwise. The simple gait of the run becomes a figure in four measures. Skipping with a left-hop, right-hop, the dancers raise their opposite knees to perpendicular with their bodies. Each hop lifts the dancer high into the air. Though expansive and extended, the movement is somewhat slow and deliberate. The dancers swing their arms from side to side as they hit the sword against the shield.

The sudden entrance of the dancers onto the stage is all the more startling in that no music precedes them and none joins them as they begin the dance. Nonetheless a rhythm emerges from the striking of the swords against the shields, varying slightly from figure to figure and punctuated occasionally by the calls of the leader and sudden vocal outbursts of the dancers. These vocalizations are themselves provocative--strange and guttural.

The men are dressed in short shorts, striped shirts, and blue jackets with the seam of the sleeves open from wrist to armpit. A wide carpet sash is belted around the waist. They wear white wool knee socks and leather shoes on their feet and white wool pointed caps on their heads. And each man carries, of course, a sword and a shield. The sword, perhaps two and a half feet in length,
curves slightly back as it nears the tip. It is like the pala swords of normal
Ottoman soldiers, not the yatağan of the Janissaries. The sword is held in the
left hand while the shield, heavy and round (perhaps 20 inches in diameter), is
held in the right.

The amount of dexterity and precision required of the dancers becomes
notable as the dance continues and as the play of the swords against the shields
become increasingly complex. At various times the dancers strike the swords to
the shields over their shoulders in the back. At other times they exchange the
swords by tossing them through the air. And, as one might wish given the
representational nature of the dance itself, the dancers engage in sword fights.
Each of these moves, whether facing the audience, circling, or facing each other
in rows, is forceful and precise. Each movement, though extended wide into
space, is very controlled. The dancers' faces are sober and intense. The noise
can be deafening in a small room and is at minimum impressive in any
surrounding. In contrast to the tremendous noise and the concentrated
aggressiveness of the dance, it ends gently and joyously with the men hugging in
pairs.

C. Of Dances and Men

In point of fact, though kulç-kalkan has such a controversial place in
Turkish folk dance practices and even in the broader public's esteem (who are
generally familiar with it if only through television), it is only selectively performed. It is a rare feature of most groups’ repertoires, those who actually know it are relatively few, and it is performed only for limited occasions. It is not uncommon for the groups of each region to include in their repertoire, if not specialize in, their local region’s dances. However the dances of most regions are additionally performed by the larger ensembles in towns and cities throughout Turkey. *Kılıç-kalkan* is a notable exception to this. Of the more than 400 associations and foundations in Turkey organized around folk dance, no more than ten to twelve include *kılıç-kalkan* in their repertoire. *Kılıç-kalkan* is not performed by the State Folk Dance Ensemble, by the Anatolian University Folk Dance Group, (a highly visible, professionally staffed amateur group), nor by four of the five winning groups of the 1990 national amateur association folk dance competition. It is done only by a handful of groups in Istanbul, by one or two groups in towns near Istanbul, and in Bursa.

In 1990 there were six groups in Bursa that included the dance in their repertoire. In addition every year a few local primary school groups learn the dance for exhibition. Of the six groups in Bursa, two perform *kılıç-kalkan* exclusively, Yeşil Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Ekibi (Green Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Team) and Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan ve Halk Oyunları Derneği (Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan and Folk Dance Association). A third group, Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği (Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklore Association) also focuses largely on *kılıç-kalkan* though it includes three other regions of dance in their repertoire. Of the remaining three
groups who include the dance in their repertoire—Karagöz Halk Dansları Topluğu (Karagöz Folk Dance Group), Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Halk Dansları Topluğu (Bursa Municipality Folk Dance Group), and Uludağ Üniversitesi Halk Oyunları Ekibi (Uludağ University Folk Dance Team)—*kılıç-kalkan* is but one of several areas of dance in their repertoire and is infrequently performed or rehearsed infrequently. Indeed, though I was told that their repertoires included *kılıç-kalkan*, I never saw it rehearsed by either of the last two groups.

Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği is the oldest folk dance association in Bursa. It began in 1955 and performed only *kılıç-kalkan* until 1977 when the other main regional dance of Bursa, known as Bursa-Keles was added to the repertoire. It was only then that women joined the group. Both of the other groups dedicated to the performance of *kılıç-kalkan* emerged out of Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği. All three of these groups run on a minimal budget. Headed by local businessmen and community members, most of their operating proceeds come directly from the director’s pockets. Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği, seemingly the most active of the three and the only one of these groups that operated year round in 1989-90, for example, was directed at the time by the owner of an apparently successful small textile factory. The gentleman who has since assumed the directorship is a restaurant proprietor. While the other *kılıç-

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4 Despite its institutional, i.e., military (rather than village) basis, *kılıç-kalkan* is considered regional since it began, and now remains primarily, in Bursa.
kalkan groups relied on government support in the form of free use of school halls for rehearsals, this particular group maintained its own permanently-rented facility, which, though adequate, was small and in the need of some repair.

Other community members and local business leaders were called upon from time to time to help finance the association. Government support was accepted in the form of buses provided for transport to and from performances. Additional proceeds came from membership dues, at the time 5,000TL per month, or about two dollars, though due payment was not strictly enforced. Income was also derived from payment for some performances (others were offered free of charge) and from bringing along additional "tourists" on international tours. The three groups who included kılıç-kalkan as just one of many suites were additionally supported through institutional means (through the university, the municipality, and an umbrella arts foundation). The degree to which local folklore groups such as these can count on community and public investment suggests that there is a good deal of local support for community activities that are regionally identified.

The ages of kılıç-kalkan dancers vary. The groups devoted solely or primarily to kılıç-kalkan had a wider age-range of performers, from young teens to men in their forties and fifties. Indeed, in Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği it was the older members (who only danced kılıç-kalkan) who were the more experienced and better trained, and thus it was they who were preferred for more important performances. In the other groups, those who performed the dance
were almost exclusively men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four.

*Kiliç-kalkan* is danced only by men. I suppose it would be more correct to say it is a dance *performed* only by men, but I never saw a woman so much as pick up a sword or shield at any rehearsal and those I asked seemed totally bewildered at the thought of trying the dance themselves: "hayır, erkek oyunu, çok zor bir oyun," "no, it is a men's dance, a very difficult dance." It is performed with no less than six men, usually with eight or ten. While I mused that it may have originally been done by many more and was constrained now by stage size, the number of those interested and trained in the dance, or the availability of costumes, including the swords and shields themselves, a Bursa folklore expert claimed the opposite. He suggested that it is as it has become more and more of a performance piece that more people have been added (Ulumay 1990).

I am tempted to assert that all *kılıç-kalkan* dancers are physically large, though this is not universally the case. Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği, for instance, teaches the dance to all male members and any who become proficient enough, regardless of their size, are eligible to perform it. This policy notwithstanding, some of the tallest men I ever saw were members of this association. In fact there is an admitted preference for larger men in performing the dance. While Karagöz Halk Dansları Topluğu allows all male members to learn the dance, it tends to select the largest men available for performances. And *kılıç-kalkan* performers in the group Turizm Folklor Araştırma Geliştirme Derneği (Tourism and Folklore Development Association, or TUFAG) of
Yalova, who were selected only to perform *kılıç-kalkan*, were all both tall and husky. Indeed one of their dancers was reputed to be the second ranked weight-lifter in his category in Turkey. Far from trivial, the predominance of large men in *kılıç-kalkan* emphasizes many of the both positive and negative evaluations of the dance, as will be explored below.

Again adding to my sense of the remarkable character of *kılıç-kalkan* was the fact that the most rigorous rehearsal I ever saw of folk dancers in Turkey was a rehearsal for *kılıç-kalkan*. The instructor was stern and unrelenting as the men grew tired. He began with a series of exercises (more than was typical of warm-ups) which were then repeated throughout the rehearsal. For example, after rehearsing a section of the dance he would require the dancers to do push-ups or squat walks. The amount of precision he insisted on right from the start was notable. The angles of the knee lift, the degree of curve in the arm, the exact spot the sword was to hit the shield, were all enforced as he moved through the room manually adjusting the men, often with a firm tug. Though this was not representative of pedagogical practices for all *kılıç-kalkan* rehearsals, it was suggestive of a relation between the nature of the dance and the rigor of rehearsing.

D. Events

Occasions for the performance of *kılıç-kalkan* are varied. It is performed
for tour groups in Turkey, when Turkish groups tour abroad, at festivals, for celebrations commemorating historical events, at award ceremonies, on television specials, and even at weddings. Where it is not performed is perhaps as telling. It is not performed at any Turkish folk dance competition, neither at the state sponsored competitions for schools nor the one for amateur associations, nor at the prestigious privately sponsored competition for high schools (sponsored by the national daily newspaper Milliyet).

Folk dance performances are not uncommon forms of entertainment at town and city weddings, whether at a fancy hotel or in an outdoor park. Television specials that might show and/or discuss kılıç-kalkan would be, for example, children’s programs, programs on Turkish folklore, or the broadcasting of a memorial of an historical event. Indeed kılıç-kalkan is regularly requested at celebrations surrounding historical events. For instance, in 1990 kılıç-kalkan dancers from Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği were flown from Ankara to eastern Turkey to perform at the commemoration of the 1071 battle at Malazgirt between the Turks and the Byzantines. This invitation came through a direct phone call from the Minister of Culture (at the time Namık Kemal Zeybek). President Turgut Özal led the celebrations and greeted the group in their performance. Television news broadcast parts of Özal’s speech, the dancers’ performance, and then Özal’s departure through an arch of swords held by the dancers.

Festivals, local and national, are other sites for the performance of kılıç-
\textit{kalkan}. \textit{Kılıç-kalkan} was also a feature of at least two international festivals in Turkey, at Bursa and Yalova. And \textit{Kılıç-kalkan} is performed at festivals organized just for sword and/or shield dances of the world.

And what of the story of the tourists escaping? What tourists? Many organized tours to Turkey include "folkloric" elements or are organized as folklore tours. In regard to folk dancing, this may include being welcomed at the airport by costumed folk dancers who perform as the tourists assemble to board the bus; special "nights" offered at tourist hotels with traditional foods, a re-enactment of a "traditional" wedding, folk music and dance performances, and belly dancing; and tours with specially requested folk dance exhibitions, though \textit{Kılıç-kalkan} is rarely highlighted during these events. Nonetheless, I was invited by a local tour organizer to accompany a "folklore tour" of American retirees on a specially arranged day of their tour. We were taken to an original Ottoman settlement, now a small village\footnote{The village, Cumalıkrizık, lies to the east of Bursa. Denied permission to join with other Ottoman settlements, the village was one of seven villages granted to seven brothers in the 13th century in order to encourage Ottoman settlement of that particular area. Each village included \textit{"kizik"} in its name. All the other villages were destroyed either by floods or by Greek armies, most recently during the Turkish war of independence (Çelikköl 1990).} about ten kilometers from Bursa. After being led through the village, and stopping to visit with residents preparing for a wedding, the tourists were entertained with a performance of \textit{Kılıç-kalkan} (done by a group brought from the city to the village expressly for that purpose.) None of these tourist ran to escape! Indeed, following a rather polite, if
unenthusiastic, response to the performance, I overheard several (in testimony to
their seasoned folkloric touring) comparing it to other sword and/or shield dances
they had seen elsewhere, such as Spain and England. Some tourists at the Bursa
International Festival, on the other hand, did happen to leave during a kulaç-
kalkan exhibition. Noticing this, an association member who had earlier made
quite clear his disapproval of the dance altogether leaned over and chuckled
"Bak, turistler kaçıyorlar!," or, "look, the tourists are escaping!"

Finally, kulaç-kalkan is performed world-wide as groups tour the globe to
attend festivals, "Turkish Weeks," and for specially invited performances. In the
summer of 1990 alone, kulaç-kalkan was performed at minimum in Belgium,
China, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Dancers
recounting earlier years' tours told of performing at the Lincoln Center, Carnegie
Hall, and the Royal Albert's Hall.

Audiences' reception of performances of kulaç-kalkan in Turkey are
consistently enthusiastic. Applause usually begins at the dancers' entrance and
erupts on-and-off again throughout the performance, especially at the seemingly
dangerous or especially skillful moves. What motivates this reaction? Is it true
enjoyment of the dance? Local or national pride? The appeal of something
familiar? Or its dramatic effect? Descriptions of performances abroad generally
suggest that the dance is well received there too, though perhaps not as well as
other pieces of the repertoire. But certain tellings indicate that kulaç-kalkan is, or
has been, amazingly well received, thus countering charges of its negative
influence on the image of Turks in the world. Indeed Mehmet Çeven, director of
the Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği described a performance of kılıç-kalkan
in London in the 1960's in which they were so well received that not only were
repeat performances demanded and their presence constantly surrounded by
well-wishers, but the BBC followed them around for days, airing at least one
performance of the dance on national British television. The Turkish
ambassador to England thanked them for their fine role in promoting Turkey
abroad, telling them that they had done far more to improve the image of Turks
in England in their one performance than he had managed to do in the entire
time of his post (Çeven 1990).

E. History

The controversial nature of kılıç-kalkan as well as the story of its own
development are situated within the history of the Ottoman Empire. Bursa kılıç-
kalkan⁶ is commonly understood to be a dance whose origins date back to the
early years of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire is famous, among
other things, for its span of time and space. It existed for over 700 years and at
its apex reached from the borders of Vienna to the Saharan desert, and from

⁶ There are other dances in Turkey which are descriptively known as kılıç
and/or kalkan dances, as those terms merely describe the use of swords and
shields in the dance. The particular Ottoman form of the dance kılıç-kalkan I am
primarily concerned with is often referred to as "Bursa kılıç-kalkan."
Morocco to Persia. It arose out of earlier Islamic empires which had ruled in the Arabian peninsula and the Levant, succeeding the Seljuk Empire (11th-13th centuries) whose power extended over Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria through to the middle of the Anatolian planes just beyond the Turkish city of Konya. Like the Seljuks, the Ottomans were descendants of peoples who had migrated out of Central Asia beginning in the 8th century and who had been Islamized by the Arab conquests that moved east in the 9th century.

These Muslim Turks marched into Anatolia as gazi, "warriors of the faith." There were numerous groups of gazis, each united primarily on the basis of the tribal and familial structures of the Türkmen peoples who comprised the ranks. These groups contended for power throughout the Anatolian planes. In their expansions west they mixed with and conquered other peoples already in residence in Anatolia, namely the descendants of the Hittites and the Greek and Roman subjects of the Byzantine Empire.

1071 is noted as the date that Türkmen warriors won their first battle in Anatolia, at Malazgirt on the eastern boundaries of present-day Turkey. Though led by the Seljuk leader Alp Arslan against the Byzantine Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes, it was the pre-Ottoman gazi warriors who fought the battle, rather than the regular Seljuk troops. These gazi continued to move west in advance of the Mongol invasions of Seljuk-ruled lands, often joined by Seljuk Turks escaping the invasions. One group of gazi warriors, lead by Erteğül, sided with Seljuk armies for a battle against the Mongols. As a reward, Erteğül was granted a territory
near the present day town of Eskişehir, with summer and winter pastures near Söğüt. At the time Erteğül's protectorate was just one of ten such grants. By the end of the 13th century the principality of Erteğül, then under the command of his son Osman, began to consolidate strength and political power vis-à-vis both the other territories and the Byzantines. 1299 is commemorated as the date that Osman and his followers first arrived in the vicinity of Bursa, specifically the area of Keles high in the Uludağ mountains. Still gathering strength, Osman and his followers entrenched themselves firmly around the Byzantine power base at Bursa. Following Osman's death in 1324, his son Orhan continued the campaign against the Byzantines. On April 6, 1326 the Byzantines of Bursa were conquered, giving the Ottomans a capital from which to rule and establish a state.\(^7\)

Ottoman dominance and expansion continued for several centuries. In 1453 the Byzantine capital of Constantinople was conquered by Fatih Sultan

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7 The story of the capture of Bursa generally involves a 'Trojan horse' twist. (The city of Troy, where there is a large wooden sculpture of this famous horse, is 320 kilometers from Bursa to the west). One version of the capture had the Ottomans camped in Bilecik (a town of Bursa province ninety-four kilometers from the city). The Byzantine ruler of Bursa wanted to marry the Ottoman girl, Nilüfer (for whom a river running into Bursa from the Uludağ mountains is named). As a wedding gift Sultan Orhan sent forty horses laden with bulging saddle bags. However, rather than being stuffed with gifts, these bags contained a soldier on each side who surprised the Byzantines with their attack, capturing both the city and Nilüfer. She was then married to the sultan. In another version, the Ottomans, following the first sultan's death, requested that they be able to bury him in Bursa. Permission was granted, but when they brought the coffin to the city, they hid inside of it not the body of Osman but forty swords with which they defeated the Byzantines.
Mehmet, the 7th sultan of the Ottoman Empire, who followed his siege by ceremoniously prancing through the streets of Constantinople atop a white horse. The Empire continued to grow and expand for another two centuries. By the time of the second failed attempt to conquer Vienna in 1683 (the first had been in 1529), the empire was losing land, power, and control. Despite attempts to reform throughout the 19th century, and the adoption in 1876 of a constitution (which was shortly thereafter suspended but then reinstated in July 1908), the Empire, now shrunk to a land base not much larger than the current land mass of the Republic of Turkey, came to a final end in 1918. There was a struggle for control between Western powers and Turkish opposition groups until Mustafa Kemal, latter known as Atatürk, declared the republic of Turkey in 1923.

The reasons for the waning of control and power for the Ottoman Empire are multifaceted and complex. 16th and 17th century reorganizations of the armies lead to increased financial needs. Taxes were increased, leading to peasant unrest. Meanwhile state lands that had been allotted to military leaders effectively making them land-owners, were confiscated and turned into tax-farms, thus creating unrest among their ranks as well. In efforts to squelch resultant revolts, the elite armies of the Empire, the Janissaries, were moved to the provinces. Yet as the central authority continued to weaken, more power was assumed by the Janissaries. To put a final end to their power the Janissaries were dismantled in the 19th century. It was in the 19th century as well that the power of religious leaders was diminished as rule by secular law increased.
Further changes in land laws, increased Western influence, and the peripheralisation of the Empire vis-à-vis the world economic system lead to further breakdown of Ottoman strength. Conflicts with minorities within the Empire and emergent nationalisms of peoples on the fringes of the Empire further destabilized its power. Finally, an emergent intellectual elite, joined by discontented factions of the military, began to push for real political change, demanding in particular parliamentary representation.

F. Playing with History: Interpretations

*Kılıç-kalkan* is understood to have emerged out of this historical context. It is generally agreed that the practice began to develop during the rise to power of Osman and his followers. The most common explanation of its origins is that what is now identified as a dance developed out of the patterning of movements involved in training Ottoman soldiers. A slightly different version of the origins claims that the soldiers themselves developed their movements into patterned sequences as a way to alleviate boredom. It was also suggested that the practice was aimed at intimidating the Byzantines while they had them surrounded in Bursa. *Kılıç-kalkan*’s emergence out of a practice of soldiers’ training is used to explain why no music accompanies the dance. As one instructor put it "war and music are two separate things."

It is argued, however, that *kılıç-kalkan*’s direct association with military
procedures ended. One explanation for the continuation of the practice of kiluç-kalkan outside of military practice was that it was taken up as a "sport" by students in the religious schools (medresses). Dance and music in the medresses was prohibited. However, by doing kiluç-kalkan the students were able to skirt around this rule (Uluumay 1990). It also flourished as a form of entertainment at celebrations for marriages and after successful battles. Indeed there was considerable insistence that kiluç-kalkan therefore not be thought of as a military dance given that it has for some time been done purely for the sake of enjoyment.

While authorities on the dance do not see it as a mimicry of war itself, the patterns are organized to tell a story about the activities of soldiers. Unlike folk dance suites, or series of distinct dances from the same region that are arranged in succession for the sake of performance, kiluç-kalkan is not made up of distinct dances but rather of a series of patterned movements that together make up a single dance. These movements represent the recruitment of soldiers, their bows to those who have come to see them off, the taking of an oath, sharpening of the swords, practice clashes with one another, periods of peace, testing of the swords

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8 The question of the permissibility of music in Islam has been covered rather extensively in the literature, though there has been little attention to the question of dance. Among the reasons for prohibitions against music and dance at various places and in various historical periods are their possible ties to pre-Islamic practices, their potential to incite passions, and their limited mention in the Qur'an (the flute and drum are referred to but neither other instruments nor dance are mentioned). For more on these issues see al-Faruqi (1976, 1985), During (1982), Haq (1944), Hussaini (1983), Lawrence (1983), Mole (1963), and Rouget (1985).
and of the soldier’s wrist action, and a final display of peace and friendship (And 1976, 43; Çeven 1990).

G. Playing with History: Ambivalences

Turkey’s relationship to the Ottoman Empire is not just a matter of history. Indeed history itself, insofar as it is inscribed, is never purely bounded by the past. History "lives on" through memory. The memory of the Ottoman Empire and all that it has, does, and may stand for, remains as a lived experience for Turks and others who live within the boundaries of the republic. Not only does formal education include teaching about Ottoman history, but numerous local and national celebrations are held in honor of important dates in Ottoman history. The relationship is experienced spatially as well. In any number of Turkish cities, most notably Istanbul and Bursa, artifacts of the Empire--citadel walls, sultan’s tombs, strategic defense towers--impose themselves on the landscape. Moreover, many vulgarized touristic artifacts, from bright satin harem pants to the stereotypic red felt fez, are sported in shop windows and sold by street vendors. To Turks these items are distinctly Ottoman. It is unclear however, if tourists make that distinction. Yet perhaps more trenchant are the memory provokers which appear daily in the media, notably within the framework of international politics. And it is here where popular memory is blurred with international politics as Turkey continues to face political
consequences because of Ottoman pasts.

Two recent events in international politics, for example, speak passionately to the ways in which modern Turkey's place vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire remains as an implicit factor in Turkey's structural and political relations in the world. A common condemnation of Iraq's claim that its August 1990 invasion of Kuwait was justified because a disputed portion of the latter country had once belonged to Iraq, was to sarcastically joke that both Iraq and Kuwait were once part of the Ottoman Empire, so maybe Turkey should just go and reclaim them both, saying "it was all ours anyway!" On perhaps a more serious note, the ongoing conflicts between Armenians and Azeris pulls on Turks for reasons beyond their ethnic ties to the Turkic Azeris. Historic conflicts with Armenians continue to challenge Turkey, especially in the form of the Armenian Resolution regularly put before the American Congress. While the resolution calls simply for a day of recognition of what is asserted to have been an organized genocide forwarded by the Ottoman regime against Armenians in 1915, Turks fear that not only will it invite increased anti-Turkish sentiment, and thus the potential for a rise in anti-Turkish vandalism and terrorist acts, but also that it will pave the way to Armenian attempts to regain land in eastern Turkey. In attempt to ward off such threats, in addition to asserting that many Turks were also killed and that these deaths all occurred in the context of a civil war rather than a genocide, Turkey actively works to assert a distinction between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. On the other hand, on other occasions Turkey itself
often fosters a melding of identities between the former Empire and the modern Republic. 1992, for example, marked the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of Jews from Spain. Turkey commemorated the event, celebrating the Ottomans' acceptance of many Jews into their land, with special conferences, programs, and exhibits.

The most overt manifestation of this concern and confusion over how to think about and understand the relationship between contemporary Turkey and the historical Ottoman Empire is concern over *image*. And it is on this point that the existence and performance of *kılıç-kalkan* acts so powerfully, for what image of contemporary Turks, who self-consciously continue this practice, does the dance present? It is this question that is very much in debate.

Theories of hybridity suggest, in their most basic premise, that the meeting of cultures results in complex and non-linear renderings of new cultural forms and psychological attitudes. The cultures considered in such theories are the dominant and non-dominant cultures that confront each other by way of colonialism, imperialism, exile, diaspora, and racism. I focus here on the role of *history* as a source of cultural confrontation. That is, I suggest that history, especially through popular and official memories, adds to the sense of displacement felt by people confronted simultaneously by cultural mixings identified through space (i.e., through migration, tourism, and so on).

The brief foray into the history of the Ottoman Empire offered above, therefore, is provided as a way of contextualizing some of the many elements that
contemporary Turks (and others) continue to react to, reactions distilled often into pride or disapproval. There are a variety of significant features of the Ottoman Empire out of which negative evaluations are formed: its essentially militaristic basis; its governance by a single hereditary ruler; the mind-set thus demanded of subjects for complete submission to the rule (referred to as "padışa kafası", which some argue continues today in regards to the state and its bureaucracy); the imperialistic aims of the empire; and, in the end, its inefficiency and corruptness. Lingering pride in the Ottomans, on the other hand, is based on the many charitable and 'civilizing' practices it encouraged (for example, social welfare, cleanliness, and public works), the fact of its many years of heterogeneity and generous rule of minorities (at least prior to the tensions of the 19th century), and its impressive display of control and power.

The implications of these evaluations for the debate over kilç-kalkan should be clear. As it gets articulated the debate revolves around the pivot point of the notion of barbarism. Put simply, some fervently feel that the dance dangerously and erroneously fulfills the orientalist stereotype of the "barbaric Turk." Others claim it does not. Still others feel that the Ottoman Empire was indeed barbaric and therefore want no further association with it. And yet others claim that it stands for the strength and bravery of a people who stood strong.9

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9 Parallels between the kilç-kalkan dancers and the Iranian character of the pahlavans, the athletic heros trained in the zurkhanehs (traditional gymnasium) who stood for heroic strength and morality (Fischer 1984, 221) are especially evident here where their persona are understood in metonymic relation to the whole culture.
but in the end were devoted to peace, pointing out that the dance ends with an
embrace (referred to interchangeably as the "selam" or "barış", both references to
"peace.")

H. Swords, Blood, Crowds, and Bodies

Ivan Karp argues that fairs and festivals with cultural and historic themes
require mechanisms of interpretation in order to impart their underlying (or
similarly, "meta") messages. In many fairs and festivals the message is
"authenticity" while the mechanisms through which it is sustained include written
and/or verbal narratives that accompany and contextualize the events. Karp
concludes therefore that "the larger metamessages of "authenticity" and "fantasy"
are the product of the overall story spun by the exhibition, and not a product of
the specific display forms used in exhibitions and festivals" (1991, 281). In other
words, such displays are defined not by a "poetics of display" but by the "politics
of interpretation."

There is clearly a politics of interpretation that goes into the making of
kalış-kalkan and the debate that surrounds it, including the questioned
metamessage of barbarism. Other analyses of the contestation over the symbolic
features of expressive media have demonstrated just how nuanced, sophisticated,
and multifaceted the politics of interpretation can be. Killoran's (1991) analysis
of monumental art and particularly the symbol of blood in the struggles for
claims to identity in Cyprus demonstrates how varying historical, literary, popular, and political illusions to blood legitimate varying positions of cultural identification. Fischer and Abedi's (1990) analysis of revolutionary poster art in Iran explores the manipulation of images rooted in distinct historical traditions to map out multiple interpretive and expressive sites of personal and collective meaning. The specific symbolic contents of the above examples may themselves be richer and more developed than is so for kilic-kalkan. The particular potency of kilic-kalkan, in contrast, is in the fluidity of its images and the symbols themselves.

Hamid Naficy (1990), for example, argues that the temporal, artificial, and immaterial dimension of television adds to the indeterminacy of its reception, that the symbols and artifices it employs "show cracks" in the attempts to assert a single positionality. Similarly, I would argue that the poetics of display in kilic-kalkan as a performative domain continually interferes with the processes of interpretation. It destabilizes the possibility of any particular meaning of the dance being privileged as the meaning of the dance. This is especially so in that the objects of display in this case are living, self-conscious bodies. Moreover, given the forceful nature of the dance, these bodies demand a kind of attention and reflection which has the potential to inhibit distanced interpretation. Kilic-kalkan is thus debated for the double reason that its power of representation is acutely acknowledged, while its interpretation is never certain.

Let me return, then, to the debates surrounding kilic-kalkan. Though articulated through the pivot-point of barbarism, the debates revolve around a
number of axes, including its role as a folk practice, its evocation of a sensitive
history, its representation of conflict, and, to some, its quaint or comic
appearance. Significantly, these matters assume that the concern for image is
rooted not just in interpretation, but display itself. For example, many people
consider kılıç-kalkan to be excessively showy and dramatic. The image that
seems to be feared here is that of an underdeveloped and/or superficial depth of
cultural and artistic appreciation by Turks. Indeed my attention was frequently
directed away from kılıç-kalkan to the more subtle riches of other folk dance
styles. The demands for nuanced expertise in the dances of the Caucuses or
zeybek, for example, were cited in contrast to the presumed talentless execution
of kılıç-kalkan. At another level, the charge of its seeming lack of cultural and/or
psychological resonance was attributed not only to the fact that music and women
were both absent from the dance, but that (not unrelatedly) it was "not living."
Folklore, and hence folk dance, some argued, emerges out of lived experiences.
And yet there is no longer living experience by which to continue to give rise to
kılıç-kalkan. Whereas other dances may continue to correspond to the daily
practices, concerns, and thoughts of the folk, kılıç-kalkan does not. The military
or war-like nature of the dance would seem to speak for itself in regards to the
concern over image. Many claimed that they personally feel ill-at-ease because
of its association to war. And yet many other region's folk dances, indeed most,

10 For the many ways this intertwines with the greater tensions in folk dance,
see reference to kılıç-kalkan in the description of the FOYAK performance
below.
portray instances of going to war (eg. Artvin and the zeybek) or of war itself (eg. Üsküp and Diyarbakır). Again, I argue that the reason kıltç-kalkan is objected to when others are not is its association to the Ottoman Empire.

A dominant axis of debate surrounds the question of authenticity. Debates over authenticity frequently revolve simultaneously though often unconsciously around a double axis of meanings: the authentic as original, as derivative of actual historic pasts and realities, and the authentic as genuine or true in essence regardless of its role as an artifact of history. This double axis is clearly apparent in the controversy over kıltç-kalkan.

Perhaps the greatest divergence of opinion regarding the authenticity of kıltç-kalkan is not that pertaining to its representation of truth in the sense of a genuine Turkish identity (though I would argue that that is the most trenchant of debates), nor whether it is "true to" earlier forms of the practice, but rather whether the practice is 'really real' at all, whether there really was an earlier practice of kıltç-kalkan. In point of fact, kıltç-kalkan is widely accepted as being 'original', i.e., as being a practice emergent out of actual historical practices (whether considered "folk" or a "dance" or not). However I did meet with occasional assertions that kıltç-kalkan is not "real" at all. One version of this claim may derive out of Kemalist ideology which holds that many things Ottoman were not authentically Turkish. It was on this basis, for example, that Atatürk instigated extensive language reforms designed not only to switch from the Arabic to a Latinized script but also to rid the language of Arabic and Persian
influences.

The most direct and serious charge of kulaç-kalkan's inauthenticity, however, came from a highly noted scholar of Turkish folk and performing arts. There was no mistaking the meaning of his assertion, he truly meant that the dance did not emerge out of Ottoman military practices, that it had not existed at all, but that it was "made up by a crazy man in the 1930's!" Though this claim has not, to my knowledge, been forwarded in writing, many authorities on the dance were evidently familiar with the charge. Indeed it was in reference to this issue that the remark at the outset of this chapter, that the charge of kulaç-kalkan's inauthenticity was forwarded by leftists, was made.

The point is not to belabor the truth about kulaç-kalkan's origins, but rather to consider what motivates the argument. I do not believe that it is motivated simply by concern for accuracy in the historical record or by intellectual proprietorship, but rather because it is seen to forward a view regarding the character of Turks. It is seen as a comment on who Turks are. It is thus that the right-left political axis, and also traditionalist-modernist and East-leaning-West-leaning axes, are encoded in kulaç-kalkan. In brief, the Turkish political right often accuse leftists of giving up and denying too many essential aspects of Turkish history, culture, and identity in their zeal to embrace the perceived (Western) standards of a modern nation-state. Implicit in this charge is the accusation that the political action and ideologies of leftists and secular, modernist Kemalists (generally academics and journalists) more broadly,
inauthenticates their essential Turkishness. In another (unsolicited) response to
the charge that the dance was made up, a Bursa folklore expert claimed that
many "hocalar" (teachers) have "stayed in the West and Europe so long" that they
have adopted this opinion of the "barbaric Turk."

The concern over image and the stereotype of barbarism plays out in an
even finer form in a more nuanced debate surrounding *kalç-kalkan*, which draws
instead on the notion of the authentic as genuine, that over the proper form of
executing the dance. The debate here does not concern itself with whether the
dance is based on some kind of real past. There is nonetheless sensitivity to the
fact that the dance at some level is seen to stand for something and thus goes
into the making of an image. The image it provokes, however, is bounded not in
the context and interpretation of the practice that an audience might bring with
or add to their viewing (for example, their knowledge of history or their attitudes
and stereotypes) but rather is contained or coded in the movements themselves.
Thus specific executions of the dance were often spoken of in terms of being
correct (*doğru*) or mistaken (*yalnız*). In terms of representational features, these
evaluations are based on if the dance includes, for instance, tossing around a fake
carcass or if the hug is executed. Judgments based on more abstract evaluations
consider such things as the attitude projected by the dancers while performing
and the forcefulness of their movement. In short, these differences are often
described as a contrast between "barbaric" and "softer" performances. Here the
authenticity of the dance is encoded within the dance itself as it is performed.
One interesting register of this debate is its regional dimension. Many of the accusations of "barbaric" performances of kalıç-kalkan are levied by Bursaites against the way it is commonly done in Istanbul. Intersected with this is a critique of pedagogy, for the Istanbul group's barbaric performances, though sometimes attributed to a misunderstanding of the dances' intents, is more often blamed on faulty learning processes, for example that they learned it through watching videotapes or that their teacher was not from Bursa, thus coming full-circle back to essentialist regional biases. The claims to cultural authority that Bursaites enjoy in regards to kalıç-kalkan are further embellished by the cultural capital gained from the rarity value of the dance—that it is done without music, and more-or-less only in Bursa, the original capital of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, according to the same logic of authenticity and rarity value, kalıç-kalkan also put Bursa in the limelight of all that is considered reactionary, backwards, and provincial.

In kalıç-kalkan, as in all dance, the body is the essential object of display, for it is only through it that movement emerges. The body, therefore, becomes the actual site for the tensions between interpretation and display as the standard bearer of the dance's and dancers' identities. On the one hand, the bodies represent the specific history of the now past Ottoman Empire, on the other they are the bodies of contemporary men who willingly enter this arena of display. They cannot, therefore, be fully denied or forgotten despite the will of observers. In fact, these bodies demand to be acknowledged. They are large, male bodies
made even larger through the unmistakably powerful props they carry. Further, the dance must be seen—there is no music upon which the viewer can focus instead. Indeed, what noise there is, is produced and hence controlled by the bodies. The large, extensive movements themselves occupy space in a way that demands acknowledgement. And finally, the attention that kılıç-kalkan demands by its presence is even more charged by an element of danger. Swords can and do get thrown out of dancer’s hands, potentially hitting viewers. And the swords can and do cut. I saw several dancers receive sizable and apparently painful gashes on their legs, arms, and faces, and yet others showed me scars of earlier wounds.

That the body is encoded by the dance, and the meaning of the dance encoded in the body, was suggested in a skit performed at a show by the Istanbul-based association Folklor Yayma ve Araştırma Kurumu Derneği (FOYAK). In a multi-leveled attack on "show" groups whose performances are seen to favor exhibition standards over folkloric veracity, one skit portrayed a potential recruit asking about the activities and goals of the association. As she asked questions it became clear her own desires were "misguided" towards wanting to be in a "show" group where all the members are "tall and beautiful," where they "do folklore," and where they aim to tour abroad as often as possible. With this somewhat sassy, hair-flipping woman was a husky man, dressed in casual white, with his shirt unbuttoned half way down his chest, and sporting a thick gold chain and sunglasses. He appeared fashioned in the manner of the
American television serial *Miami Vice*. In the woman's "interview" with the group director, she was asked sneeringly "where did he come from, some *kılıç-kalkan* group?" The implication was not only that *kılıç-kalkan*, like this man, was seen as all show and drama, but that such a character, given his size, stance, and projected air, could only have gained this attitude through *kılıç-kalkan*.

Another example of the way in which the tensions generated over the practice and contested meanings of *kılıç-kalkan* coalesce in the body is through the question of moustache, a long standing symbol (and stereotype) of a "real Turkish man." One teacher of *kılıç-kalkan* (from Bursa *Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği*) told me that it was imperative for the men who performed it to sport a moustache. In fact, the members of his association were not actually required to have one, and not having one did not disqualify them from performing *kılıç-kalkan*, but his remark expressed a sense of what the dance should attempt to project, a strong, male, Turkish identity. On the other hand, *Karagöz Halk Dansları Topluğu* *forbids* its members to wear either a beard or moustache. There is a large sign permanently posted in their rehearsal hall "* Çalışmaları Sakallı Girmek Yasaktır,*" or "It is forbidden to enter rehearsals with a beard." And though the policy did not seem to have enthusiastic support by the members, most would in the end agree to the conditions, sometimes with great fanfare as their group-mates would carry them off for a shave before a performance. (While beards were altogether banned, moustaches could be worn until the time of a performance. On one occasion I recall a member choosing
not to perform so as not to have to shave.) This policy was based on the premise, shared more broadly by certain segments of Turkish society, that clean shaven men presented a cleaner and more wholesome image to the non-Turkish world. (It is also interesting to note that this policy would discourage very religious men from joining as their religious identity is often displayed through the wearing of a particular style of closely cropped beard.)

The politics of representation and the role of the body in encoding it is clearly enconced in these two examples. Whereas the message delivered at the performance of FOYAK was that küç-kalkan is too showy and contrived for a sincere representation of the nature of Turks, implicit in the debate over moustaches is the suggestion that it is perhaps too Turkish and thus unfit for show. In both cases, it is the body as performance that demands and yet disrupts answers to what image of the contemporary Turk will be taken as authentic.

I. The Comedy and Tragedy of Küç-kalkan

In the end there is no authoritative metanarrative by which to interpret küç-kalkan, its reception, and the dancers' participation in it. The ways in which küç-kalkan has been taken up through the intertextual domains of political satire and commentary, in conclusion, is suggestive of the complex interpretive domains of identity and place that play out in küç-kalkan.

A cartoon illustrates two men poised in a stand-off, one holding an
antenna, the other a satellite dish. The caption reads: "TRT ve Magic Box--Savşi Kızılığı...Kılığı-kalkan Oyunu!" or "TRT and Magic Box—the War Heats Up...A Kılığı-kalkan Dance!" (Hürriyet 21 July 1990). The cartoon references a debate over whether to allow a privatized television company, Magic Box, to begin satellite broadcasts in Turkey thus breaking the statist monopoly of Turkish Radio and Television. As the company was German, the issue intensified debates on the role of foreign investment in Turkey, especially in the powerful arena of the media.

In 1991 a fiasco erupted when the National Ballet Ensemble of Ankara commissioned a new ballet, "Türk Adımlı Bale", or Turkish Step Ballet. The ballet was intended to wed traditional representations of Turkish culture into modern, high-culture, artistic representation, and thus was designed around folk dance motifs. The ballet corps was taught to folk dance to the accompaniment of the zurna and davul, the quintessential instruments of Turkish folklore. However, the dancers protested in disdain and fatigue, and rehearsals fell apart. The matter was catapulted into the public view as the media pursued debates around questions of what constitutes the legitimate domain of the national ballet company, and more broadly, what the company, as a bearer of Turkish culture,

11 As of 1993 there are a handful of private televisions now operating in Turkey.

12 On the other hand, Turkey itself has extended satellite transmission of Turkish television (Channel Five) both to Germany and to the Turkic republics of the former Soviet Union.
should be seen to represent. One columnist suggested that while folk dancing by ballerinas should be celebrated, the "comedy of kalıç-kalkan" should be "removed" from Turkey (Doğru 1990).

These examples throw into relief the disjunctive potential of the dance and performance of kalıç-kalkan. Assumptions about the nature of appropriate display stems from idealizations of collective identity and the proper representations of the modern state. The commissioning of the ballet, for instance, suggests that the rich historical depth of Turkish culture, idealistically seen to reside in folk dance, is seen to be able to work symbiotically with the modern (encompassed in high-culture performance) to generate a positive national identity, an identity that kalıç-kalkan, if anything, is seen to negate. In the end, however, it is not the reality of history and civilization that is disputed, but rather its image. The cartoon, too references the "comic" side of kalıç-kalkan, but in such a way as to recognize the seriousness with which it is engaged as an arena of culture. Deep dancing indeed.
Chapter Four

Disciplining Dancers:

The State, the Popular, and the Market

"...except for when they don't" (a regular intervention used by Dr. Richard Randolph when teaching anthropological models and theories).

"It seems to me there is a third position/voice/mechanism..." (a regular suggestion offered by Dr. Michael Fischer when intervening into discussions that have fallen out into dyadic positioning).

A. Frames: The State, the Popular, the Market

In folkloric performances, as in other mediums of cultural work, multiple social forces converge in the production and interpretation of meaning. Disciplining mechanisms shape and orient not only the activities themselves, but the discursive domains by which they are interpreted and understood. In other words, public cultural expressions are constrained and/or directed through various social channels and institutions. This chapter is intended as a mapping of some of the social forces regulating folkloric performance practices in Turkey today.

"The state," "the popular," and "the market" are three sites, disciplining agencies, and discursive arenas vying for interpretive dominance in contemporary
Turkish folkloric practices. Each of these discursive arenas acts as an institutionalizing mechanism, orienting the practices of folklore and guiding interpretations of them, to achieve varied ends. Each institutional site acts differently, both in terms of its actual mechanisms of disciplining and managing the practices and in terms of the tropic or rhetorical frames it employs (or, conversely, is enplotted by). There is tension between the three institutionalizing agents. Each one constructs the same basic arena of practices; the different mechanisms do not so much structure different objects of folkloric practice as they address the same aspects. Despite the homogenizing and obviously disciplining mechanisms of the state, for instance, I argue that this discursive domain does not control folklore any more than the popular and the market.

The institution of the state itself manages various aspects of folkloric activity, from overseeing research to approving folk dance performances to be shown abroad. Moreover, it imposes its own assumptions of the evaluative criteria through which folkloric activities should be organized and interpreted. While actors within the state apparatus themselves vie for interpretive control over to what counts, there is an over-arching range of sensibilities governing the statist operation. It works through the tropes of centrality and reason, modernist narratives of the inevitable march towards progress guided not through the divine plan of God but through the secular, moral reason of state. Research, documentation, checks on the "authenticity" of material, and training dominate state interests, albeit with varying degrees of concern dependent on the particular
department of state at hand. This position emerges out of the historical
transition out of the centralized, patrimonialist Ottoman Empire into a secular
republic, a move that was accompanied by adherence to a statist orientation for
guidance.\textsuperscript{1} Despite regular moves towards privatization and the free-market,
protectionist measures still guide not only many actions of state, but the attitude
of citizens towards the role of the state.

The popular operates through an idealized vision of "the people," the
"folk." My construction of the notion of the popular does not assume the
popular to be either a massified or necessarily heterogeneous construct. As a
disciplining social force, however, it does direct attention towards an ideal of
collectivity. It works around tropes of nostalgia and loss, and in turn the desire
for presence and grounding. The popular in folkloric practices operates through
ideals of regionalism, ethnicity, locality, amateurism, and the relativistic integrity
of folklore, concerns which guide not only the organization of folk dance groups
but their ideological stance on the kinds of activities in which they will engage.
Whether or not a group will participate in folk dance competitions, for example,
is guided largely by their sense of the popular.

The market, finally, works on a competitive framework. By market I do
not mean a quantifiable exchange of parts balanced through seemingly rational
measures of value. My use of the notion of the market to refer to practices of

\textsuperscript{1} Secularism, statism, and republicanismo were three of Atatürk's "six arrows,"
the guiding principles of the new state as it was forming. The other three were
nationalism, populism, and reformism.
folkloric performance is intended to highlight the evaluation of performance in terms of itself, to the synchronic assessment of performance as performance. The market, then, operates through independent (though not autonomous) fragments evaluated in terms of their ability or potential to generate display value. Performance and performance assessment, therefore, in their creative and/or destructive capacities, are the operative tropes of the market. Many of the criteria through which evaluations of performance proceed overlap with concerns of the state and the popular, as in the key concerns for expertise and authenticity. Yet here, they are oriented not towards the realization of collective desire nor reasoned legitimacy, but rather a marketable arrangement of parts. Decisions on repertoire and performance venues, for example, are largely informed by market concerns.

The state, the popular, and the market generate authoritative narratives out of which and against which people act. They exemplify what Homi Bhabha has called "pedagogic" narratives, or the guiding, defining, authoritative narratives that sustain notions of nation, empire, and race, for instance, and which operate through tropes of power. Bhabha illustrates, for example, the way that English assumed pedagogic value by enacting the powerful guise of authority in colonialism. And yet it is only through performances or enunciations of power--the colonialist verbally reminding the native of his mastery--that the pedagogic narratives and structures of authority are sustained. In Turkish folkloric performance, the competing and overlapping pedagogic narratives of the state,
popular, and market are enunciated through performance. Like Bhabha, I argue in this dissertation that it is important not only to examine what these narratives signify, but to concern ourselves as well with the processes of signification and the processes of disrupting significations, in other words, with the performative.

B) The State

[Gökalp] favored the preservation of Turkish ethnic culture and national norms, while advocating the adoption of European science and technology as a necessity of national survival. According to Gökalp, the methods and implements of civilization are almost always rational and can be borrowed at will. (Akural 1984, 144)

However, the intensification of centralized rule during the early years of the Republic was not, for the most part, a consequence of a change in the law. As noted above, a heavily centralized system was already in existence. (İlter Turan 1984, 108)

Turkish political culture inherited from the Ottoman tradition an unusually high regard for the concept of state authority. (Tachau 1984, 68)

Official state apparatuses figure prominently into many Turkish folklore activities. To a greater or lesser extent, folk dance practices nationwide are supported, directed, and/or constrained by departments of the state, including the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Tourism, the Foreign Ministry, and the State Ministry Department of Youth and Sports. These agencies extend the disciplining mechanisms of the state by functioning as socializing agents and gatekeepers, by asserting models of proper civil comportment, and by advancing the trope of reason and science through the
guidance of education, research, and training.

The Folk Culture Research Office (Halk Kültürü Araştırma Dairesi, or HAKAD) is devoted entirely to the research and dissemination of knowledge on Turkish folk culture. In 1989-90, HAKAD occupied the top three floors of a large government building in downtown Ankara. Directed by Mr. Kamil Toygar, an assistant director, and five division heads, the center researches contemporary and historical Turkish folk culture. It deals with the folk life of Turkish peoples both within the national boundaries and in other parts of the world, as well as the folk cultures of others in Turkey. For example, in 1982 they conducted research on Afgani migrants in Turkey (Tan 1985, 31) and in 1989 they researched the Bulgarian Turks who had just fled into Turkey that summer.

HAKAD is structured through five divisions: 1) the directorship, 2) Customs (Geleneksel), 3) Folk Literature (Halk Edebiyat), 4) Folk Music and Dance (Halk Müzeği ve Oyunları), and 5) Material Culture (Ethnografya). Each section has a director and a number of support staff, researchers, and technical experts. Researchers travel frequently to conduct research as well as to attend festivals, conferences, and special events, often as jury members for competitions.

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2 HAKAD, first organized in 1966 as the National Folklore Institute (Milli Folklor Enstitüsü) under a general state ministry, became a full department when it was joined to the Ministry of Culture in 1971 (İpekkan 1978). This entity is known to many more commonly as the Ministry of the National Folklore Research Center (Milli Folklor Araştırma Dairesi Bakanlığı, or MIFAD)--its title while attached to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The name was officially changed in 1989 (when those ministries were split) at least in part to reflect a broader approach--from "folklore" to "folk culture"--to the subjects at hand (Filiz Meydan, personal communication, 1989).
The center is well equipped in terms of audio and visual technology and staff, and has an impressive video and sound library. In addition to their own research archives, which include over 36,000 items, there is a sizable library (over 9,000 volumes) of published materials (Toygar 1987). Finally, the office supports publications and has itself published several series of books.

The institute is also responsible for approving requests for research on topics of folklore (such as my own) in Turkey. It is also through this office that invitations from other countries for performances by Turkish groups are processed. So, for instance, those organizing a "Turkish Week" in another country, for which films, musicians, craftspeople, and dancers might be requested, or an international folk dance festival, would operate through HAKAD. HAKAD works closely with others in the Ministry of Culture as well as with the Ministry of Tourism and the Foreign Ministry on these and other affairs. They also work closely with the state operated Turkish Radio and Television to supervise the researching, documentation, and media representation of folklore.

Each of these activities of HAKAD's points to the critical role the state plays in regulating and defining the terms of folklore. Indeed, these agendas are laid out clearly in the original goals of HAKAD: to establish folklore archives and dictionaries, to publish, to organize tours, to provide information useful for policy makers, to conduct, support and encourage research, to verify the authenticity of folklore, to support school activities related to folklore, and so on (İpekkan 1987; Tan 1985).
State support of folklore research is also facilitated through the universities. In addition to one private university, the recently established Bilkent University of Ankara, there are twenty-eight universities in the nationalized system. Of these, three universities--İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi (in Istanbul), Ege Üniversitesi (in İzmir) and Gaziantep Üniversitesi (in Gaziantep)--offer degrees in folk dance itself, and many others offer degrees in folklore. Folk dance may also be a part of the curriculum in other departments. At Uludağ University in Bursa, for example, students pursuing degrees in education and specializing in sport education may opt for a folk dance emphasis. This degree prepares individuals to teach physical education at the primary and secondary school levels (which often includes folk dance), and to coach the school's folk dance team. Completion of this degree requires eight semesters of courses in sport education with one whole year devoted to folk dance.

Though the government has not made instruction in folk dance compulsory in primary and secondary education, it is often included in the curriculum. Certain private schools, on the other hand, have made folk dancing mandatory for students. Suggesting that learning folk dances allows children to better "hold on" to their own culture (kültüremüz tutmak), one school official claimed that they made folk dance mandatory when they realized that kids "knew all about Michael Jackson and Madonna, but not about their own culture!"

Some such private schools, relatively well supported by the parents of the upper middle class and upper class children that attend them, and which have extended
the school day to accommodate for increased curriculum offerings, may be equally provoked by the effort to see that their teams are the ones chosen to perform at community events and are competitive in folk dance competitions.

Though not necessarily a required part of the curriculum, most schools prepare folk dance performance teams as of the third grade. These teams are apparently very popular. The teams perform at school events and travel to nearby towns and villages for special performances as well as compete in an annual state-sponsored folk dance competition. The winning school groups of this three-tiered competition (see Chapter Five for further discussion on competitions) not only gain recognition from their success but are often sent to tour abroad. The criteria by which these competitions are judged are designed to equalize the potential advantages of wealthier teams (see Appendix A). However, given that part of the score is determined by costumes and music, both of which require substantial financial investment, in addition to dance training, the teams of private schools may still have an advantage. These advantages, however, may be offset by the amount of time allotted for rehearsal and by the selection of teachers for the teams, choices made independently by school officials.

Thus the state functions as a socializing agent and gate-keeper through its promotion of folk dance in the educational system, both through its support of

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3 An American teacher working through the Fulbright High School teacher's exchange program at the Ankara Anadolu Lisesi, a rather prestigious high school specializing in English instruction, observed that at that high school the folk dance team seemed to receive the most attention and popularity, comparing it with American high school football teams.
research at the university level and through the competitive practice of folklore more broadly. Bilal Gürer (1990), the head of the Department of Youth Services for the National Education Ministry in Bursa, stated "according to our understanding, folkloric works and folklore are included in the traits that make the nation a nation." He explained, therefore, that the duties of his division of the government are to sponsor and encourage "scientific studies to discover the systems" of folklore with the aim of "keeping our folklore alive, spreading it through the society and enlightening it with these feelings and thoughts."

The government run State Folk Dance Ensemble (Devlet Halk Dansları Topluluğu) is the only professional folk dance troupe in Turkey. Dancers, staff, and directors of this group are full-time employees of the state. Currently the State Folk Dance Ensemble is organized through the Ministry of Culture, though its activities are closely coordinated through the Ministry of Tourism and the Foreign Ministry.

The ensemble is directed by Mustafa Turan who has been with the group since its inception. He is supported by a cadre of co-directors, secretarial staff, researchers, choreographers, and teachers. The ensemble includes a corps of approximately sixteen musicians and seventy-five dancers. Rehearsals for the Ensemble began in 1975 after the plans for the group were initiated by a council of folk dance association directors. The first performance was given March 7, 1976. Since that time they have performed in over forty countries. Since 1986 the State Folk Dance ensemble has been headquartered at the Atatürk Culture
Center (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi), a very modern pyramid-shaped hippodrome near the center of Ankara. The ensemble occupies several offices, a rehearsal space (equipped with ballet bars and mirrors), and locker rooms.

Dancers for the ensemble are selected through open auditions. Physical attributes and the individual’s age dominate the initial consideration of dancers. Candidates must be between eighteen and twenty-three years old and should be "tall, have a medium complexion (not too light or too dark), have no facial scars, not wear eyeglasses, have a good arch in the foot, and have good posture" (Mustafa Turan 1989a). They also must prove a good ear for music, though prior dance experience is not necessary. In 1989, approximately 1700 people entered the audition competing for sixteen spots.

As a rule, a two-year apprenticeship follows for those selected, though some allowance may be made for the skill of the individual and the needs of the corps so that on occasion apprentices may join the regular corps sooner. Training includes instruction in music, ballet technique, and folk dance. All employees of the ensemble also may opt to study English in a course offered exclusively to the group. Dancers commonly remain in the ensemble for up to six to ten years. At least one member of the teaching corps, however, had begun as a dancer when the ensemble was formed and switched to teaching later, thus pursuing her engagement with the ensemble with the aspiration of making it a life-time career.

As of 1989, the State Folk Dance Ensemble’s repertoire officially consisted
of twenty dance suites from different regions in Turkey (though evidence suggests that only twelve to fourteen are kept active from year to year). Such an assortment was necessary, the director informed me, "to be Turkish" in that all parts of Turkey are represented. The group performs at any event for which the government requests their official representation. They are regularly a main attraction at protocol events, ranging from entertaining visiting dignitaries to performing at national historical celebrations. They also perform at the larger arts festivals in Turkey, including the Istanbul and Bursa International Festivals, and are frequently sent to perform abroad as an official representative of the state.

The State Folk Dancing Ensemble was established in 1975 to promote our country's culture and art abroad. It is the only professional ensemble carrying out its activities under State sponsorship. I believe that it plays a productive role not only in promoting our country's values, but also in guiding other organizations in similar activities. (Mustafa Turan 1989b)

The director of the ensemble added later, "In all our activities, whether it involves an expert, instructor, or an artist, people are obliged to train within our framework" (ibid.). The State Folk Dance Ensemble, thus, embodies and enacts the disciplining agency of the state in many ways. For one, it acts as an official representative of the state when outside the country. Secondly, it operates through the promotion of training and competence, sanctioning its "professional" status and thus advancing Turkey's claims to be being a fully modern nation-state. Moreover, it is based on homogenizing principles of organization in that the folk dances it represents are equally weighted in their ability to stand for
Turkishness while at the same time it is only the ensemble of them that signifies the nation.

There is yet another axis by which the state extends its disciplinary and ideological influence into public discourses through folklore, this one through arenas more directly accessible to the general population. Government support for folk dance and related activity is extended through a whole network of folklore foundations and associations. Folklore and arts foundations (sing. vakıf) are funded at least in part by the government, with the support being channelled either directly through the Ministry of Culture or other state ministries, or through municipal funds. Foundations generally host a variety of activities, among them folk dance performing groups. Unlike the State Folk Dance Ensemble, however, these performing groups are amateur. The Anatolia Folklore Foundation (Anadolu Folklor Vakıfı, or AFV), begun in 1981, is the most extensive folklore foundation in Turkey. Centered in Ankara, the foundation has branch offices and/or members in Antalya, Bursa, Istanbul, Kars, Kayseri, Sansum, and Zonguldak. The foundation is actively involved in both research and the development of material display, including folk music, dance, theater, crafts, and other traditional folk practices. They also sponsor conferences, assemble research materials and video archives, and publish a glossy magazine with articles on various features of folklore and on the activities of the foundation. The Ankara branch hosts folk dance groups in four different levels, from a children's group to an advanced performance group. Members for the
performance group are selected through auditions and must complete a two to three month apprenticeship. Altogether there are between 300 and 350 members.

The state guides the construction of folkloric activities in yet other ways. Party politics, for instance, may influence group leadership. There was a rather public scandal of sorts in Bursa in 1990 when the director of the Bursa Culture, Art and Tourism Foundation (Bursa Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Vakfı) was replaced. The foundation, which hosted a very successful folk dance group as well as a variety of other art classes and community cultural events, had gained a rather prominent status in the community. The director, much loved and respected by the dancers in the group and the foundation staff and very active over the years in promoting folk dance activities in the area, resigned from his post as it became clear that the fifty member board of directors, comprised primarily of local business leaders, was likely to vote him out in favor of a man with no prior experience with art or folklore administration. The local newspapers hinted at what the gossip mill understood to be the cause for change: that it was the city government who wanted the old director, a member of a different political party, out.4

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4 The ousted director, the member of a local elite family with deep historical ties to Bursa, was a member (though he claimed himself not to be active at that time) of the Motherland Party (ANAP). The Bursa city government, however, was one of the (then) few places in Turkey where the True Path Party (DYP) had won local elections. There appears to be no correlation between this change and the local and/or class status of the particular individuals involved in that the new director also had deep historical ties to Bursa. The
Voluntary folklore associations (sing. dernek), as well, are influenced by state mechanisms. Financial support to such groups (minimal in comparison to that provided to foundations) is extended through access to infrastructural amenities such as rehearsal space and buses for transportation. Associations must be registered with government offices and must petition for a permit in order to be considered legal and thus to gain access to these supports. State support, however, is not unconditional. For instance, gatherings of people around particular ethnic and/or regional folk practices have often been considered potential sites for organizing and promoting oppositional political views. (Article 33 of the Turkish constitution stipulates the freedom-of-association given that there is no affiliation with political parties, no political activity within the association, and that it does not contravene the grounds of Article 13 of the constitution which sets out the restrictions of rights and freedoms for the sake of national integrity.)

Finally, both the institutional and interpretive influence of the government on folklore activities is evidenced in many of the performance sites of folk dance. Many of the opportunities for the participation of folk dance groups, and with it public consumption, such as the opening of municipal works or the commemoration of historic events, are state sponsored. Through this means as well, then, folkloric practices are sifted through state assumptions about what is general place of the foundation within the community, however, seems to be tied both to locale and class as most of the members of the board of directors were local elites with strong Bursa roots.
desirable and appropriate for presentation. To be sure, there is not unanimous consent on the actual make-up of these criteria. For instance, the states' concern for forwarding knowledgeable and trained folk dance experts through the medium of the State Folk Dance Ensemble is often in tension with the National Folklore Research Center's primary concern with authenticity. Both goals, however, image and authenticity, in tension here as they were in *kale-kalkan*, underlie the modernist impulse towards progress, truth, and reason. And both reconfirm the state's role in establishing the standards of judgement for these norms.

C) The Popular: Amateur Voluntary Groups

Turkish dancing, like the dignified pace of their walking, is slower, more contained than Greek dancing. Only the men danced. Nobody refused. I thought of warlike people before battle; I thought of what I had heard of the dervishes. Nobody refused to dance. In the center of the floor, the mayor, the chief of police, sea captains and sailors, danced their slow individual dances, until they pointed to someone else sitting at one of the tables. There was no way to escape it. There were no strangers then (Settle 1991, 23).

As testament to the democratic and participatory spirit of "the popular" and certainly to the value of an examination of folk dance in the Turkish context, there is a huge network of voluntary amateur folklore associations throughout Turkey. In 1989 there were sixty such groups in Istanbul, thirty-eight in Ankara, fifteen in Izmir, and at least one or two in other towns and cities throughout Turkey, totalling over 400. In fact, that estimate, based on the records at
HAKAD, may have been quite low as their records included only eight in Bursa when there were actually sixteen. The number of people involved in such groups further proves the magnitude of the practice of folklore in Turkey. As well as between three and eight directors, each group consists of between twenty and 400 dancers.

Associations are primarily geared toward performance (unlike, for example, the American and European systems of come-as-you-like recreational folk dancing). While the state formally categorizes folklore associations into two kinds, I think it is useful to identify three different types of associations. A group may have a dominant or even exclusive ethnic focus, or it may be a local (mahalli) group, specializing only in that area's dances. The state, consistent with its official stand on the homogeneity of the Turkish national, considers both of the above categories as mahalli groups. The popular plays out here in that essentialist ideals of unity in terms of ethnic identity and regional ties underlie the formation of these groups. Similarly, notions of a cohesive nationalist sentiment underlie the formation of the third kind of group, "mixed" (karma) groups, which prepare suites from several regions.

Of the sixteen groups in Bursa in 1989-90, there were two that fit squarely into the "mixed" category, Karagöz Halk Dansları Topluğu and Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Halk Dansları Topluğu. Each of them had a repertoire of five or more suites and approximately 100 dancers. Two other associations in Bursa were somewhat of this category. The Uludağ Üniversitesi Halk Oyunları Derneği
concentrated on dances of the Bursa region as well as those of Artvin, but was prepared to perform other suites if requested. Though the Artvinliler Kültür Dayanışma Derneği (AK-DER) was organized to sustain the folk culture of Artvin (an area in northeastern Turkey near the Georgian and Armenian borders), it was not confined to people of that region (many of whom live in Bursa and other urban centers of Western Turkey), nor did it deal exclusively in Artvin based folk material. Its folk dance repertoire included as well Bingöl, Ağır, Çiftetelli, and Pot Pourri.

Approximately eight of the Bursa groups had an ethnic or regional (often non-local and even extra-national) basis. There were four Yugoslavian Turkish associations in Bursa (Namik Kemal Halk Oyunları Derneği, Yıldız Folklor Derneği, Zafer Halk Oyunları Derneği, and Bursa Halk Müziği ve Halk Oyunları Derneği), one group representing folklore of the region of the Caucuses broadly (Kafkas Folklor Derneği), one specifically Georgian-Turkish association (Batum ve Havalısı Göçmen Yardımlı playerName Derneği), the above mentioned Artvin group (AK-DER), an association of the folklore of Erzurum (Erzurumlu Kulübü ve Dayanma Derneği), and one southeastern, especially Kurdish, association (Bursa Turizm Folklor Derneği, or BUTFOD). These associations commonly served as a focal point for members of those communities. Indeed if the group had a permanent club house, this space often acted as a center for community events and daily socializing.

And finally there are the mahalli associations. The centers of mahalli
groups also may act as gathering places for members of the community. There
are three groups devoted solely or primarily to the dances of the Bursa region.
Yeşil Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Ekibi Folklor Derneği and Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan ve Halk
Oyunları Derneği focus exclusively on the sword and shield dance of Bursa. A
third group, Bursa Kılıç-kalkan Folklor Derneği focuses on kılıç-kalkan as well as
the other main regional dance of Bursa (Bursa-Keles). They also perform dances
from Kirim (Crimea Russia), and Artvin.

The legitimating foundations of these groups is largely expressed through
an often repeated statement of their goals, that their aim is to "hold on to our
culture" (kültürimüzü tutmak) and to "possess culture" (kültüri sahibi). It is here
most clearly that the discourse of loss is implicated in the activities of folk dance.
Participants counteract the fear of losing their culture by remembering their
dances. And in many ways, perhaps, the fear is founded in that the kind of
community that is idealized in such popular representation is that which no
longer exists and perhaps never did. As my description below on the research
methods used to develop dance suites will show, and as the localized
identifications of many of the dance groups described above would suggest, there
is a kind of "village mystique" in operation, where the generalized notion of the
village is taken as an emblem of the desired community (Cefkin 1993). The fact
that six of the eight groups in Bursa were identified with areas outside the
borders of the republic of Turkey further suggests that the notions of collectivity
at the heart of the popular acts to counteract the fear of the loss of culture
through displacement.

**Group Structure:** Associations are generally structured in three levels. Typically the administrative level is comprised by a president, vice president, treasurer, secretary, and/or dance director. There may also be a board of directors or steering committee which is not involved in day to day operations. Selection of the administrative cadre may occur informally, though some groups open their selection to the vote of the members (sometimes only the advanced dancers) or to the board of directors. Administrators rarely dance in the group and in fact may not have a dance background at all. Though these positions, like the rest, are voluntary, it is not uncommon for members of the directory level to put considerable time into this work.

Teachers form the next strata of associations. Whether teachers are officially designated or whether advanced dancers act informally and according to need as teachers, varies from group to group. Where teachers are officially designated, it is they who have authority over the dances themselves. In some cases, all teachers are responsible for and capable of rehearsing all material, while in other cases a different teacher is responsible for each region of the repertoire. It also varies as to whether teachers are active performing members or not.

And finally there are the dancers/members. While some groups ask only that an individual sign-up and attend rehearsal, others require an audition to
join. Though exceptions to all aspects of the selection process are made, eligibility typically demands that individuals be at least fifteen years old, and that they meet standards of height (for women usually 165 or 170 cm and for men 170 or 180 cm). Auditions, typically held in the fall and advertised through posters, the newspaper, and word of mouth, generally include (1) a rhythm test, (2) a test of dance learning skills and presentation manners, and (3) a personal discussion with directors and/or teachers to assess compatibility and responsibility. No previous folk dance experience is necessary, though those with some background are often stronger contenders. As with the State Folk Dance Ensemble, it is common that many more individuals audition than there is room for, indeed as many as six times the number audition than will be chosen. Moreover, those initially accepted into a group may have to go through a second and sometimes third selection process, spread out over weeks or even months, before being chosen as a permanent member.

In addition to regular attendance at rehearsals, group membership may require additional responsibilities. Most associations request the payment of monthly dues. Figures for dues in 1989-90 ranged from 2.000TL (approximately $.80) to 5,000TL (approximately $2.00). Most directors, however, discounted

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5 The following figures suggest, for the sake of comparison to the amount of due payment, typical earnings and costs in Turkey during this period: laborers and service-sector workers earned approximately 300.000 to 600.000TL per month, trained nurses earned 600.000TL per month, and college professors earned from 1 to 1.2 million TL. At the time a daily newspaper cost between 700 and 1.000TL, a loaf of bread was 600TL, and a city bus ride was typically 500TL.
the importance of the dues and excused those who were financially stressed from paying them, indicating that the income derived from dues contributed only minimally to their total expenses anyway. Members were occasionally asked to rotate chores, including making tea, sweeping the floors, leading warm-up exercises, taking attendance, and organizing the costumes.

The decision making power held by individuals at each level of the group differs. Dancers are generally constrained by the decisions of the teachers and directors, though they may influence them through their attitudes and opinions. Where there is a range of material in the repertoire, for example, dancers’ opinions and their enthusiasm (or lack thereof) in performing certain selections may influence what gets done. They may also have a choice in which performance requests are accepted, though some performances, such as municipal or national protocol events, may not be open to participant choice. Yet while participants may influence decisions by giving or withholding their enthusiasm and/or availability, they must be careful not to jeopardize their reputations as team players. Being a good sport is generally valued over expressing one’s opinions, and good team players are often rewarded by being chosen for the more desirable performances and by being excused without penalty from participating in other events or performances.

For the most part, however, teachers and/or directors decide on the repertoire, performance occasions, and the selection of dancers for performance. Typically, decisions about where and how to disburse funds are made by the
directorship and/or board, often in consultation with the teachers. They control all management considerations including publicity needs, costume expenditures, and so on. The directors, moreover, commonly have the first and last say in accepting performance requests and arranging tours.

Once repertoire choices are made in consultation with the directors, dance material itself is under the authority of the teachers. Teachers guide the training of the dancers and set the tenor on defining performance goals. Other than in groups in which there is a separate arranger or choreographer, teachers are additionally responsible for staging the dances. Their manner of doing so, however, is predicated on basic assumptions about what counts as proper and improper staging.

The popular operates here through an ideal of the participatory spirit of the folk and the ideals of collective effort, teamwork, and cooperation. Despite the differential roles and statuses of participants, the group ideal predominates. Decisions, opinions, and aspirations are spoken through the language of the group and are based on understandings of group identity. Indeed, in many ways the structural differentiation promotes group identity by encouraging a sense of interdependence to create a kind of organic solidarity within the group.

**Group Make-up:** A few general statements can be offered about the sociological make-up of urban folklore associations. Individuals at the directory
level tend to be educated at least through secondary school⁶ if not through university, and many hold advanced degrees in fields ranging from management to education to engineering. These individuals are likely to be white-collar professionals or business owners. In 1990, Bursa area group directors included a textile factory owner, a member of a elite family with local land and business investments, a partner in an architecture firm, a restaurant proprietor, and a school teacher. Except for directors of groups explicitly tied to immigrant populations, directors are commonly of local origin (if not local elites or members of families long entrenched in the area). Personnel at this level range in age from the mid-twenties through the fifties and are predominantly male. Indeed I knew of only one group which had a female co-director, a decision based explicitly on their ideological support for gender and racial, ethnic, and class equality.

Teachers, too, are overwhelmingly male though women may be called on from time to time to teach or rehearse the women's parts of dances and women's suites. Teachers range in age from the late teens through the forties, with most being in their twenties and thirties. They were also likely to be educated at least through the secondary level and many had college degrees. If they did not make their living full-time as folk dance teachers (which was very rare), they were commonly employed in white-collar professional or business enterprises. Among the Bursa area teachers was a fur salesperson, an accountant, a summertime

⁶ Education in Turkey is compulsory only through the fifth grade.
resort hotel manager, and an architect. Like the directors, teachers tend to be of local origin, although there is a certain traffic of teachers from region to region, sought after for their regional expertise.

Dancers commonly ranged in age from fifteen to twenty-four years old. Most are high school or college students though some are in the work force. The dancing corps is also largely comprised of individuals of local origin, though groups formed around the communities of people from other regions commonly have more people from those areas. There was some evidence that individuals who were not of local origin, and did not join a group formed around their community of origin, tended to join mixed groups rather than mahalli groups.7

Funding, Financial Needs, and Expenditures: While amateur in status, folklore associations have sizable expenditures and financial needs, variable according to group size, repertoire, and performance goals. Infrastructural requirements demand a good portion of group funds. Most groups maintain a building to act as an organizational and social center, to provide storage space, and, if possible, to supply rehearsal space. (The government provides access to

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7 Results of respondents to surveys of place of birth are as follows: (1) HOYTUR, a "mixed" group in Ankara, showed twenty Ankara born, fourteen elsewhere; (2) Anadolu Folklor Vakfı, a "mixed" group in Ankara, showed twenty-one Ankara born, fourteen elsewhere; (3) Bursa Kılıç-Kalkan Folklor Derneği, primarily a "mahalli" group in Bursa, showed twenty-one Bursa born, two elsewhere; (4) Karagöz Halk Dansları Topluluğu, a "mixed" group in Bursa, showed fourteen Bursa born, eleven elsewhere; and (5) Batum ve Havalısı Göçmen Yardımlaşımı Derneği, an "ethnic" group (Georgian) in Bursa, showed three Bursa born and ten elsewhere.
public buildings for rehearsal space to any associations unable to provide its own.) Utility costs, not to mention mortgage or rental fees, can be considerable. Travel abroad may incur the group considerable expense. (Transportation for performances within the country is provided by the state.) Members themselves may be called on to contribute to the expenses, a matter of some tension as travel abroad is a major reason for joining associations.

Hiring musicians for performances, and if need be, rehearsals, is a major group expense. Even if a musician or two regularly plays at rehearsals at no cost, final rehearsals and performances require full musical accompaniment for which all musicians are paid. The total cost to the group depends in part on the musical demands of the repertoire as well as on the particular group's aims and goals. The level of expertise demanded of musicians and the amount of time deemed necessary for rehearsal with musicians prior to a performance depends on each group's standards of performance.

Costumes and props constitute the other major expense. The more areas in the repertoire and the more dancers on stage, the greater the prop and costume need. Swords and shields, knives, wooden spoons, clay water jugs, sickles, and braziers are common props in Turkish folk dance, all of which must be purchased. While some groups may have their members make the costumes, most have them made professionally or buy them ready made. In Bursa, the Girl's Occupational High School (Kız Meslek Lisesi) was regularly commissioned to make costumes for area groups while others were purchased from local
businesses. As with hiring musicians, choices on how to acquire costumes depended in part on the performance goals of each group. Costume unity, harmony, and authenticity are highly valued in Turkish folk dance performance, to the point of being figured into competition scores (see Appendix A). Both quality and the number of parts in a costume raise costs. The costumes for Bursa area dancing, for example, are among the most costly for any Turkish folk dance suite. A single costume can run upwards of 1.5 to 2 million TL, or about $600 to $800.

Promotional material—advertising for try-outs, performances, and annual fund raisers; and glossy brochures, calendars, and posters—also require expenditure. In addition, most groups distribute trinkets, embossed or embroidered with group logos, at festivals, to visiting guests, and while on tour. Such items include towels, key chains, lapel pins, stickers, miniature dance sandals, and replicas of local architectural landmarks.

Income is derived from a variety of sources. Many expenses are personally covered by the directors or though solicitation from other members of the directory board. In addition, contributions in cash or kind are solicited from

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8 In accordance with local tradition, the costumes for the Bursa suite are heavy and consist of multiple layers. Folk dancing was primarily a winter activity, when there was too much snow for most other activities and time was abundant. The costume is designed to reflect the traditional winter garb of these mountain dwellers. The men's costumes are made of a heavy wool, and both the men's and women's costumes have many layers and pieces, reflecting not only the climate but the traditional patterns of Türkmen dress. Each woman's costume, for example, if done "correctly" has seventeen separate pieces.
local businesses and other community members. Apparently, for most associations, it was out of these monies—from directors and local business and community members—that the bulk of expenses were met.

Performances can be an additional source of group income. Privately contracted performances may include a lump-sum payment to the group in addition to covering expenses. In one case, the performance of a single, approximately ten minute suite of dances by eight members of an association for a tourist group, earned the group about 200,000TL (or $80) in 1990.

Membership dues, ranging from 2,000 to 5,000TL ($80 - $200) per month in 1989-90, amount to a very small portion of the association’s income. As the vice president of an Ankara based association pointed out to me, even if they were to collect the dues of each member each month, totaling about 500,000TL (or $200), they would cover only half the expense of their clubhouse rent and bills (let alone the expenses of costumes, musician fees, publicity, and so on).

"Nights" (sing. Gece) are common annual fund-raisers. Held in a restaurant, nightclub, or private theater, these celebrations offer an evening of dinner, dancing, and performances (such as dance, music, theater, and storytelling). Taking "tourists" along on a trip out of the country is yet another way in which income is generated. If space on the bus allows, an association finds individuals who would like to accompany them to their destinations and who will in turn pay their own costs as well as pay a lump sum towards the transportation and other included expenses. Moreover, some groups may
themselves organize a tour for foreigners in Turkey, often with a folklore theme.

**Group Activities:** Membership in most folk dance ensembles involves a similar range of activities. Rehearsal dominates group activity. Frequency and length of rehearsals depends largely on the goals and structure of the group. For instance, Batum ve Havalisi Göçmen Yardımlaşmı Derneği in Bursa, an association formed around the local community of Georgian Turks and whose repertoire consisted of one suite of dances, typically practiced one afternoon a week for about three hours (though their rehearsal time increased in the performance season). In contrast, Karagöz Halk Dansları Topluğu, who performed extensively throughout Turkey and the world and whose repertoire consisted of six regularly performed suites, rehearsed nightly and on weekends. Evening rehearsals lasted approximately two hours, while rehearsals on the weekend ran upwards of four to six hours. For this group as well, rehearsal time increased substantially prior to major performances. A given member's rehearsal schedule was determined by what dance suites they were learning or preparing to perform.

If rehearsals require the largest time commitment, performances demand the greatest emotional investment. Occasions to perform are infrequent and sporadic in the fall and winter, but pick up substantially in the spring and summer. Performances range from the exhibiting of just one suite, as was common at local protocol events (for example, the opening of an industrial fair
or a new public works project), to full evening length programs. The emotional fervor and sensitivity, not surprisingly, tends to correlate with the perceived importance of the performance.

Socializing, whether at the association club house (if there is one) or elsewhere, is a regular part of group membership. Indeed many club houses are equipped with tea making facilities, televisions, group memorabilia, and even games, and are often frequented by members even when there are not rehearsals. Local tea-houses, as well, act as informal gathering places. Moreover, special social activities such as ski trips, hikes, and picnics may be organized for members and their friends and families.

Finally, some groups offer, and may require, special classes and lectures for their members. Education on folklore and the cultural contexts of folk dances may be extended through such courses, though even more common than folklore classes are English classes. In fact, some groups require that their members study English. The Karagöz Folk Dance Group in Bursa, for example, requires members to attend English courses in order to be eligible for tours abroad. That knowledge of English is prioritized over knowledge of the cultural and historical origins and contexts of the dances (where even in the teaching of the dances it is rarely mentioned), seems to indicate a move away from situating the popular purely in terms of the local towards a more internationalist notion.

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9 When it came time for the summer tours abroad, however, I noted that this regulation was not strictly enforced.
The organization of folk dance tours for foreigners in Turkey as well as the use of modern and non-Turkish instruments, such as the violin and clarinet, similarly suggest that the popular is being reinscribed more through voluntary interest in folklore than through inherent identities of place. In a sense, many participants may feel a greater sense of shared identity with non-Turkish folk dancers than with Turkish non-folk dancers.

D) The Popular: Dance

The dance was slow, measured, and dignified. The guests were completely silent--the Coca-Cola, the amplifiers, the Western jeans, the Christmas ornaments, the Western wedding dress forgotten. The music told us where we were: in eastern Turkey near the Caucasus, in the city that was old when the Seljuks came. I had never been in such a silent audience. When the young men--all of whom were friends of the groom--had finished, there was a storm of applause, and then the next entertainment for the wedding came out (Settle 1991, 85).

In Chapter Two I tried to expose the nature of contemporary Turkish sensibilities towards the question of place and identity within the global arena. In Chapters Three and Five I try to show, through exposure of the problematics attendant upon specific dances and dance events, just how the tensions and desires about place and identity play out through the arena of folk dance performance. Inherent in controversies over what "folk dance" does or should stand for is an idea of what folk dance is.

Consistent with Turks' acute sensitivity to place, the most commonly
acknowledged and defining feature of a particular dance or dance style is its regional basis. As with people when they first meet, though even more so, the initial thing noted about a dance is where it is from. The possessiveness implicit in the rootedness of folk dance suggests that there is a kind of cognitive and/or emotive connection between place and people through dance.

This regional basis makes the range of folk dance particularly rich in the Turkish case. It is not uncommon for styles and movement patterns to vary from village to village. The degree of exactitude with which one designates the regional basis of particular dances differs according to both expertise and context. For example, dances from villages in the Uludağ mountains are commonly referred to broadly as "Bursa." Dancers in Bursa and people with greater training might refer more specifically to the dances as "Bursa-Keles" indicating the specific village in which the dances originated. Most commonly, however, a broader appellation is used, usually that of a larger town or city in the vicinity of

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10 Another typology of Turkish folk dance is based on stylistic variation. Şerif Baykurt, a prominent scholar on folk dance, as well as others, categorize folk dances according to stylistic and/or formal features that are considered essential and unique to the dances. Karşılama dances are done solo and facing one another. Kaşkül dances are those done with spoons. The halay, geographically the most widespread, is done with dancers holding hands or shoulders in a line or semi-circle. The leader at the front of the line may execute solo moves and leads the group as they traverse the space. The zeybek, common to the Aegean region, is a solo form of dance commonly done by men and is distinguished by a proud, slow execution of moves. The bar, famous especially in Erzurum, is executed by men in a line is characterized by light, careful footsteps. When performed with knives, I might add, it is a graceful drama. Finally, the horon, common to the Black Sea, is characterized by quick jerky movements--knee bends, squats and leaps--and is most commonly done in a line with shoulder holds.
dances' villages of origin. Thus, a group's repertoire might include, for example, "Silifki," for dances of this Mediterranean seaport; "Van" for dances of the region surrounding Lake Van at the foot of Mount Ararat in eastern Turkey; and "Afyon" for dances of this central Anatolian agricultural center. Occasionally even broader regional appellations are used such as "Kafkas," for styles and dances of the Caucuses; "Trakya," for the styles and dances of European Turkey; or "Karadeniz," for the styles and dances of the Black Sea. While exact demarcations are impossible and stylistic features not exclusive, there is enough stylistic coherence within a region that with training one can generally identify the origins of dances he or she has never seen before.

There are a few dances common to folk dance repertoires that are not regionally defined, such as çiftetelli and kılıç-kalkan. Kılıç-kalkan is primarily connected to Bursa for historical reasons--because it was the first capital of the Ottoman Empire and it was there that the inspiration for the dance originated--but there is nothing regionally specific to the dance. Çiftetelli comes out of the dancing of women in the harems of the elite, and thus could have just as well been done in Istanbul as in Van. "Pot Pourri" suites, as well, are not tied to any particular region but rather are mixtures of dances from a variety of regions.

In the 1990 national competition of amateur associations there were approximately thirty regions represented (see Appendix B). This in no way indicates the full range of available or potential material. Yet while the possibility for extraordinary diversity exists, certain regions of dance are more
widely known and performed than others. Among those more commonly performed in recent years are Artvin, Karadeniz, Gaziantep, and Adıyaman. Fluctuations in the frequency of performances per area was explained by some individuals in terms of popularity. Others rejected this idea, seemingly in defense of the equal value of all dances. Speaking of the popularity of folk dance more broadly, a researcher at HAKAD asserted "the interest [in folk dance] has always been there, this is not moda"--a fad or a fashion. They more typically explained these variations in terms of access to resources such as teachers, costumes, and musicians. (See Appendix B for a comparison of the regions represented in the national amateur association competitions in 1989 and 1990).

The popular as it resides in the folk dances themselves is tied to the ideal of the relatedness between people's actions and the past, place, and community. Folk dances are folk in part by virtue of their anonymity--their origins lie not in the individual but the collective and the locale of the community. This universalizing of time through the idealism of dance--in that the dances are dehistoricized in favor of placing them geographically--suggests essentialist ideals of culture as a kind of communal spirit that lives on through dance. It exposes a longing for a past that is deemed retrievable through the continuity of place embodied by way of the space of dance.

E) The Market: Performances and Suites
The term "arabesque" describes a type of music characteristic of singers such as Ibrahim Tatlıses, Little Emrah and others. It is said to have emerged to serve as an expression of the rural man's despair in an urban setting. However, besides the plaintive music it is associated with, it also implies a very particular lifestyle equally reflective of rural discomfort in an urban setting...

A person leading an arabesque lifestyle will sit in a house that is very traditionally decorated, with a dinner table low on the ground, and listen to the latest model stereo system. Arabesque people are disturbing to people in urban environments particularly because of their relationship to Western commodities. An urban person associates with a stereo system or a Mercedes car the lifestyle that the urban population is already aware of, due to advertisements and assimilation with the West. However, an arabesque person has not yet learned "how to consume," and this, more than anything, seems to bother people in urban settings...

People who lead an arabesque lifestyle are not necessarily conscious of the fact that they have a title...Their title seems to have been applied to them by "non-arabesque" urban people, who, equally discomforted by change, must continually insist, if not on what they are, at least on what they are not. (Türköz 1989)

Performance Occasions: Amateur folk dance groups perform in a wide range of contexts. The only performances they organize for themselves are the fund-raising "Nights" described above. They may also be hired to perform at the "Nights" of other (non-folklore) associations such as those formed as migrant help groups and around occupations or other hobbies.11 Many performances come through personal relations, for example, performing at the wedding of a friend, or for other private occasions. Tour agencies, private tour organizers, and

11 Jane Cowan's Dance and the Body Politic (1990) offers a description of similar events in Greece. Not only does her ethnography offer a parallel though more detailed account of the nature of many associations and the function of the annual "Nights" but it vividly describes the kinds of political struggles that many Turkish groups express a desire to avoid.
tourist hotels and restaurants commonly hire folk dance troupes for performances, as may convention sponsors. I ran into a group at the Istanbul International Airport, for instance, who had been hired to spend the entire day at the airport in costume to greet participants arriving to attend a conference. The group members would dance for conference participants as they arrived and boarded buses. Civic affairs also offer frequent occasions for performances. Commemorations of historic events, national holidays, openings of new parks, roads, and buildings, inaugurations of occupational or industrial fairs, and other public or civic affairs are regularly accompanied by a folk dance performance.

Groups may travel for performances within Turkey both to attend civic events and for the purposes of attending regional and historic festivals. Tours abroad, as well, are taken to attend festivals, particularly folk dance festivals, folklore festivals of a broader range, and "international" folklore, sport, or arts festivals. For example, a Bursa group, Karagöz Halk Dansları Topluğu, spent three weeks in the summer of 1990 touring China as a part of the Asian Games.

Tours abroad are also taken in conjunction with "Turkish Weeks" in other countries. These affairs are designed by those countries to offer citizens a sense of Turkish and other cultures. They typically offer traditional foods, display handicrafts and other visual arts, show movies, and provide information on the economy, government, and history of the chosen country. Performances of theater, music, story-telling, and folk dance are commonly scheduled throughout the week. Many Turkish folk dance groups, therefore, arrange tours to include a
combination of Turkish Weeks and/or festivals. Such tours may last only a week while others may extend over several weeks to a month. The most common destinations for such tours (as per the host countries’ request) are the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe, though tours to Russia, East Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and North and South America are also taken.

Festivals and competitions are yet other occasions for the performance of folk dance in cross-cultural settings. As is discussed in detail in Chapter Five, it is in these sites that heightened negotiations of style, role, authenticity, expertise, and other matters most occur. Indeed, that most folk dance performance is geared toward some level of international reception either through tourists in Turkey or travel abroad constrains formulation and preparation along the way.

Performances, then, insofar as they operate within the discursive domain of the market, are determined by the context. Choices about who is asked to perform and about what a performance should include are largely guided by market concerns. Performance decisions are largely based on the criteria of the value of display. Yet tensions with the state and the popular are simultaneously also engaged: the arrangement of parts for market competition also arranges the relationship of the people (i.e., as represented by the dances) to the nation (i.e., as Turks exposing the pedagogy of nation) and to the world (i.e., as experts exposing the pedagogy of reason, progress, and humanity).

Stage Arrangement/Choreography: What does it actually mean for a
group to "do Artvin," for example? The dances that go into the making of a regional suite are understood to be distinct units. Distinctions may be based on rhythms, on the specific pieces of music that accompanies a dance, or on a particular theme or representation. For instance, a dancer could request a halay and any piece of music with the correct rhythm could be used much in the same way as one requests a waltz. Or a specific version of a halay could be requested (like asking for a particular Strauss waltz). There is often a more exclusive match-up between music and dance when the music is accompanied by a song that tells a particular story. These dances, for example, of military exploits, are often quite specific and named for a famous person or event. There is a popular number common to dance suites of Kars, for instance, entitled "Hoş Gelişler Ola Mustafa Kemal Paşa." The song originally referred to the courage of soldiers during the Turco-Russian Wars but was rewritten in 1924 to welcome Atatürk and his wife to Kars (Tan 1981, 12).

In truth, however, specific "dances" are often a particular person's arrangement of patterns and styles of movement common to an area. In the original setting, a range of the same movements and patterns common to an area are done to all pieces of music, with some regular variation based on the tempo of the music, the gender dancing, and so on.

A dance suite typically contains a variety of the styles of movement from an area. They include a range, if appropriate, of men's, women's, and couple's dances, and dances with different tempos, props, and themes. Often, a suite is
designed with some kind of internal coherency or narrative. A typical suite from Adyaman, for example, represents the activities common to the agricultural cycle, including sowing the seeds, picking the crops, thanking God for the bounty, and celebrating the harvest. Others may tell, if more abstractly, stories of courtship, love, and marriage. Still others represent particular or general military campaigns or historical events.

The ideal means for compiling a suite is for a team of researchers, representing a full range of expertise including music, movement, ethnography, costuming, and audio-visual, to go to an area to research its folklife. The local dancers most highly regarded for their skill are solicited for assistance. Area elders, who are thought to be more likely to have memories of dancing before "modernization," are especially sought out. After gathering as much information and visual material as possible (through extended stays and/or repeat visits), the team would assemble the suite after returning home. Ideally the suite is brought back to the area of origin for fine tuning and to ensure that those of the area are content with the representation. It is only afterwards that the suite is taught to dancers for possible performance.

This preferred means of developing a new region of dances is only occasionally feasible or chosen. The State Folk Dance Ensemble's repertoire was developed primarily through this means. Other groups may occasionally conduct this kind of inquiry into a new area, as do certain individuals who then "freelance" their work out to various groups. In lieu of such extensive research,
new material may be gained by bringing regional experts to the city to work with
arrangers there. In fact, this is a common method of researching folk music for
the Turkish Radio and Television. The most common means of adding a new
suite, however, is by hiring certain individuals who have either developed a new
suite of dances themselves or are particularly knowledgeable in a particular set of
dances even if they did not do the original research. Many such individuals
travel from group to group teaching suites from their area of expertise. Indeed it
is this practice, together with the proliferation of video, that accounts for the
tremendous consistency of folk dance material represented nationwide.

The value of folk dance in the arena of the market, then, begins here, at
the micro level arrangement of parts. The folk dance suite assumes a
relationship of folkloric parts (i.e., figures, steps, movements, songs, pieces of
clothing, and so on) to a whole (i.e., the village) which becomes read as an
essentialized representation of a people and a place. Yet the fragments
themselves are chosen based on their potential to generate display value. The
performance orientation of folk dance is especially noted in the process of
choreographing and arranging a suite. Arranging a suite has to do with deciding
the order of dances, the number of dancers, the particular patterns of the figures
of the dance, and stage direction. Again indicative of the assumptions of an
essential relationship between certain parts and what it represents, some dance
features are constrained by genre and authenticity, and thus may not be
manipulated by the choreographer. For example, it would be "wrong" if an
choreographer arranged the delilo\textsuperscript{12} of Gaziantep in a circle instead of a straight line, a zeybek cannot be done holding hands, and a horon should not be done with men and women intermingled.

What I wish to emphasize here is the distance between village dancing and a staged performance. Many different people are involved in the process. Interestingly, this tends to lead to a distillation of the features that are used in the dances that reach the stage. This helps explain the consistency among dance suites typically performed for the public. Short of each group doing their own research on regional dance material, they must rely on the material as they learn it from other individuals. A suite is always taught with a certain amount of choreography; at minimum, it is comprised of select dances in a particular order with some basic features (as noted above) that must not be changed. The greatest variation in the performance of a suite, then, comes from its particular staging; depending on the suite, this may include how many people are on stage, figures and formations, certain gestures, and the use of floor space. And yet even here there is a preferred lexicon of choreographic options. Thus while the popular asserts an ideal that folk dance representations display the communal integrity of an area, in point of fact, most performances seen today can be traced back to particular researchers and arrangers. Most versions of Artvin performed today are influenced by if not descended from the original arrangement

\textsuperscript{12} The delilo is a popular dance done throughout southeastern Turkey but is especially common in Gaziantep.
developed by Suat İnce, the current director of folk dance for the Turkish Radio and Television’s Children’s Day Festival. Similarly, the Bursa suites currently performed stem out of the original research and formulations of Süleyman Şaru and Salih Gökdemir of Bursa. This also accounts for why many, perhaps, most dancers in the organized groups of towns and cities know little if any dances of a region beyond the ones in the particular suites they are taught.

A group’s repertoire depends on many things. It is determined by both the focus (mixed, regional, or ethnic) of the group and the number, gender, and physical make-up of their members (for example, large, husky men are preferred for zeybek and tall, graceful women for Kafkas). Similarly, a group must consider the availability of musicians with the required regional expertise. One of the reasons expressed for the lack of suites from southeastern Turkey in the repertoires of many Bursa groups, for instance, is the difficulty in finding a satisfactory zurna player in the area. Given the numbers of rural-urban migrants living in Bursa it is easy to imagine that in fact this problem has more to do instead with what is considered "satisfactory" in terms of performance standards, and with potential musicians’ access to the local performance networks, in short, in what counts as an eligible or viable musician. Costume expenses may similarly limit repertoire options. The fact that "Bursa-Keles" is

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13 The zurna is a double reeded wind instrument. It is always accompanied by a drum (typically the davul). Though it can be found throughout Turkey and indeed throughout the Middle East and into the Balkans, it is often associated in Turkey with the village, particularly with village dancing in the southeast.
rarely done by groups outside of Bursa is often explained by the extremely high cost of its costumes. Moreover, there is the question of the availability of teachers, a choice again potentially narrowed by standards of authenticity and performance. And finally, repertoires are determined by the particular preferences of directors and teachers, and on their sense of the needs of the group. Many groups, for instance, attempt to equalize the amount of material for men and women. Thus repertoires are not necessarily reflective of the popular ideal of an inherent bind between people and place, but rather are largely determined by constraints of the parts by which they are constituted, parts which may be independently manipulated in pursuit of achieving performance goals.

F) Conclusions

Today we are faced with three kinds of music: Eastern music, Western music, folk music. Which one of them is ours? Eastern music is a morbid music and non-national. Folk music represents our culture. Western music is the music of our new civilization. Thus, neither should be foreign to us.

Our national music, therefore, is to be born from a synthesis of our folk music and Western music. Our folk music provides us with a rich treasure of melodies. By collecting and arranging them on the basis of the Western musical techniques, we shall have both a national and a modern music. (Gökalp 1959, 300)

In this exploration of contemporary practices of folk dance in urban Turkey, especially those engaged through organized networks and institutionalized formats such as schools and voluntary associations, I have
attempted to expose an interplay between official direction and private interest, and the social forces that guide them. Folklore and the arts, understood as appropriate arenas for the process of nation-building, have been consistently constrained and defined by state interests. While historically rooted as a popular folk practice, an ideal that is still strategically and nostalgically invoked, folk dance is becoming increasingly commercialized. For example, stage arrangers are commonly hired in addition to the regular teachers, and may work for more than one group at a time; certain areas and their stagings have become standardized; costumes are made to harmonize and are either bought in bulk from a particular merchant or made to order; musicians are hired; and so on. In the status market there is a highly charged traffic of dancers, teachers, repertoire, and reputation. Moreover, there is explicit intertextuality with other arenas of commerce. A mishap from a children's folk dance performance is used to advertise carpet stain remover on television, a store selling "traditional" Turkish wares in the upscale Ataküle shopping mall in Ankara is called "Otantik" ("Authentic"), and young women dressed in "traditional" costume commonly sported only by folk dance groups pick the numbers for the televised drawing of the national lottery (Milli Piyango).

Much of the debate that concerns folk dance and the image it portrays in Turkey is manifested in and advanced through the issue of amateurism versus professionalism. There is an active collective voice of individuals who feel that the true value of folk dance can only be sustained as long as it maintains an
amateur status, that as "folk" dance it betrays its roots when turned to a fully performance oriented and exclusionary rather than equally participatory activity. Group members often proudly proclaim to be amateur and seem to suggest that those that strive towards professional standards have sold out. Moreover, professionalization is seen to narrow the potential for people's engagement in culture, whereas folk dance is held up to the ideal of being a way of making Turkish culture more widespread. In contrast, however, others claim that by professionalizing they prove the artistic standing of Turks in the world. It is argued further that folk dance is a particularly meaningful means of extending this as it offers a true reflection of Turkish culture at the same time as it proves the place of Turks in advanced civilizations. And still others feel that the professionalization in folkloric arenas is insignificant, that it is trite in the opinions of advanced global societies. An amateur clarinetist in Bursa, for instance, explained that though his earning potential as a free-lance musician for local folklore groups was several times higher than what he could make as an accountant, he was pursuing a college degree and career in accounting because it was universally viewed as a more esteemed profession.

The question of the amateur or professional status of Turkish folk dancing is implicit in (or provocation to) the more internal "authentic-show" debate. In brief, at present a common typology by which folk dance groups are categorized is otantik (authentic) and şov (show). Variations along this continuum relate to goals and efforts to maintain the understood originary (read village) setting of
folk dances versus those that focus more on the qualities understood to develop a good show. Assumptions about what makes a good show are based on understandings of universal appeal as well as what would count in varying contexts. Stylistically, the groups on this continuum are characterized by those who endeavor to leave the dances as unaltered from their "natural" settings as possible, to those characterized by complex staging, quick transitions from one dance to the next, large corps of dancers on stage, shortened dances so as to avoid excessive repetition, and highly coordinated and even flashy costumes.

Many would describe the State Folk Dance Ensemble's performances, despite their expressed regard for authenticity, for instance, as "tam göv," or "totally show." "Showiness" is regarded by some as a meaningless pandering to unsophisticated appeal, interpreting it much in the same way as the drama of kâlğı-kalkan. Şerif Baykurt suggests that the new stage arrangements designed to appeal to orientalist images of foreigners, referring specifically to the State Folk Dance Ensemble's inclusion of çiftetelli in its repertoire, is especially ironic. "In a period when TRT [Turkish Radio and Television] forbids arabesk, it is interesting that the State Folk Dance Ensemble is involved in arabesk kinds of dancing" (1988, 59). Rather than seeing these attentions as a degeneration of folklore, however, others see it as proof of the viability of folk dance and its continued ability to respond to people's sensibilities.

"If society today likes and accepts çiftetelli which the State Folk Dance Ensemble presents, it does not make sense that some individuals and institutions criticize and despise this group. This takes us nowhere....In sum, our folk dance can live up to modern
stage arts that are worth watching. With the completion of other artistic elements like sound, light, stage, and costumes it is possible to create a common reverberation with the audience." (İnce 1988, 141)

There are additional markers embedded within the above debate by which peoples' positions are indicated. A key signifier of an individual's position on the roles and use of folk dance is their use of the terms koriografi and sahne düzenleme. Sahne düzenleme, or "stage arranging," suggests that while a dance may be manipulated to bring out its notable features, the only innovation that occurs is in the use of the stage. Koriografi, on the other hand, suggests that the dances themselves are created, thus moving outside the bounds of "folk." Uses of sahne düzenleme and with it halk oyunları, the traditional Turkish term for folk dances which translates in English literally as "folk plays," appeal to the ideal that the dances relate to an authentic collective past. Uses of koriografi, as with halk dansları, suggests an orientation more geared toward the international arena, in which terms with universal currency are deemed more beneficial than the constrains of authenticity.¹⁴

The commercialization, intertextualization, and professionalization of Turkish folklore, and the debates they engender, are implicated in the negotiated and contested processes of social definition. The tensions implicit in the authentic-show debate together with the debate over term use expose desires to lay claim to aspects of both Turkish and global cultures. They, moreover, point

¹⁴ I have further explored the varying responses to uses of notions of authenticity in my article "In Response to the (In)Authentic."
to the varying positions social actors adopt in their attempts to control and influence the defining of Turkish society. The role of government bodies, experts, scholars, merchants, politicians, and the folk in this process all assume varying positions at varying times, each open to constant renegotiation. Such negotiations are delimited by and constructed through the discursive arenas defined by the state, the popular, and the market. Such negotiations, moreover, occur largely through the frameworks of performance themselves, a process I will explore further in the next chapter when I consider the sites of festivals and competitions in the construction of folkloric practices.
Chapter Five

Fantasizing Festivals

*Spectacle is a phantasmagoric presentation of a phantasmagoric phenomenon—the modern world's pluralistic fragmentation.* (Manning 1992, 298)

A. The Event

The second place winner of the 4th annual Golden Karagöz Folk Dance Competition was the group from (then) Soviet Georgia. Thirteen teams, each from a country other than Turkey,¹ competed. The group from the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus won. A former "Miss Europe" (in 1984) was the emcee. The Yugoslavs belly danced. The Dutch complained. And at the final party for festival participants, the bus drivers for a local folk dance group got rip-roaring drunk off of Georgian vodka, stranding the young dancers, and me, in the mountains until they sobered up.

The Georgians came in second. They were clearly the best dancers in

¹ The thirteen teams were from Albania, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Holland, Hungary, Jordan, Malaysia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and Yugoslavia.
terms of training and technique, focus and polish. Their dance enacted a feud between two sides (Muslims and Christians? Abkhasian’s and Georgians? Russians and Turks? cousin and cousin?) over a woman. Their armed battle peaked only as the woman herself burst between enemy lines, throwing down a white handkerchief of surrender. Her plea for peace was answered. One side’s leader took up her handkerchief and gained her hand, only to offer her gallantly to the leader of the other side. Peace (and brotherhood?) was reestablished.

This sword and shield dance was accompanied by the music of accordion and doli (a hand-beaten drum held between the musicians’ knees), the instruments perhaps most characteristic of music of the Caucuses. There were nine men in beige and nine men in red. The sole woman glided across the stage with the grace of a gazelle. The men were proud, strong, and handsome. Their brave displays with the swords and shields were precise, thrilling, and impressive. Bodies leapt and sparks flew. The performance was a success.

The scene outside of the dance’s own narrative frame, however, concluded with less resolve. The competition results were seen as a minor, if predictable, scandal. Why didn’t the Georgians win if they were the best dancers? Though good performers in their own right, why did the Turkish Cypriots win if it wasn’t politics, symbolic support from big-brother Turkey, the only member of the family of nations to recognize as legitimate the Turkish Cypriot claims to kinship? Why didn’t any of the Northern or Western European groups even place in the competition?
This is the tale of authenticity, professionalism, and cultural gatekeeping, and of how they become meaningful in cultural, political, and social spheres of action. The 29th annual Bursa International Festival, during which this competition occurred, like festivals in general, embodied in performance an arena in which varying and often conflictual standards and criteria of expertise, play, beauty, entertainment, and authenticity confront and are confronted by notions and ideologies of nationalism, humanism, modernism, and identity. In this chapter I will explore how varying authoritative narratives around which festivals, both local and international, are constructed, are left unrealized and even breakdown through the actions and events of the festival itself.

A month later, gun shots were fired at a festival just an hours' drive from the sight of the Bursa Festival. This is a story of nationhood and nation-building, the story of assembly and constituent bodies, the story of, like the first, what counts in democracy, celebration, fun, and art. This festival, organized as a regional gathering of people originally from the city of Artvin (in the northeastern part of Turkey), took place in the mountain town of Keles. Groups and participants from places other than Artvin were included, among them people of Kurdish origin and sympathies. Permission had been secured for use of the fair grounds and the necessary permits received. Yet upon arrival it was discovered that another event rivaled for use of the facilities. And though this other event—a festival of traditional grease wrestling, an activity commonly associated with the supporters with more rightist and nationalist political sentiment—did not occupy
the actual fair-grounds, they had tapped the electric and water resources, thus handicapping the Artvin festival.

More serious problems arose, however, following a political discussion among a small group of participants at the Artvin Festival. Local gendarmes interceded. Matters escalated as they attempted to apprehend certain individuals. After an attempt to proceed with the scheduled entertainment, which was to include theatrical, music, and dance performances, the festival organizers asked that the participants disband. There were scuffles as people tried to board the buses. The gendarmes fired warning shots into the air. Though the fifteen or so bus loads of people were able to depart the scene, they were then rounded up just as they entered the vicinity of Bursa, approximately an hour's drive down the mountain. All fifteen bus loads of people were delivered to the police headquarters, and then on to the regional gendarme headquarters. After being held for approximately five hours they were released.

The reason for the breakdown of this event is not singular, for there is no specific, unified interpretation of the meaning of the festival among participants to begin with. Thus my telling of the story of this event is necessarily vague. My own positioning vis-à-vis this event was deeply constrained by my social standing, especially my lack of a nuanced or intimate understanding of the particular political placement of any of those involved--the promoters of the discussion, other festival goers, even the gendarmes. Was this an organized, state sanctioned move against Kurds? a locally orchestrated pursuit of particular individuals for
reasons unrelated to the festival itself? the hot-headed action of a bored gendarme? What was the relationship between these events and the festival itself? Even if certain individuals were being sought for political reasons, did that make a difference, create a different understanding, for the many large families out for a restful day of picnic, the outdoors, and entertainment?

My point in writing about this event, then, is to indicate the disruptive potential of festival. The way in which authority was mobilized on an assembled social body, presumably for the sake of another body, the national body, illustrates an obvious level of disruption. But there is in addition the disruptive potential of multiple perspectives. Disparate ideals, thoughts, and assumptions were embodied by the festival as a single event. Festivity, ethnicity, democracy, socialism, family, community, and performance are among the potential motives for participation among those who attended. Yet all coalesced in the "same" event, an event which itself imposes other ideals, creating further tensions. For at another level, the notion of festival evokes a different set of organizing principles, those of communalism, collectivity, and brotherhood, ideals especially notable in a case such as this where the festival was coordinated around ethnic, regional, and perhaps even political ideologies and identities. In other words, though the event embodied multiple perspectives, as an event it was held up to singular standards of festivity.

Both of the festivals just described expose ways in which the festival framework itself and/or the actions within it challenge and are challenged by the
authoritative narratives that underlie them. The Bursa Festival unMASKs the
constructedness of the ideal of the universal celebration of humanity and the
universality of talent, play, and aesthetics through breakdowns which occurred
within the festival framework itself. The challenges to the Artvin Festival came
from the borders of the festival, from another festival and other political actors.
In both cases, the groups and audiences who were meant to actualize the implicit
festival ideals instead ended up confronted by them.

The festivals, then, precipitated the doubling of subject and object
described by Homi Bhabha. "The liminal figure of the nation-space would ensure
that no political ideologies could claim transcendent or metaphysical authority for
themselves. This is because the subject of cultural discourse--the agency of a
people--is split in the discursive ambivalence that emerges in the contestation of
narrative authority between the pedagogical and the performative" (1990, 299).
The festival acts in both pedagogic time, standing for such ideologies and ideals
as brotherhood, ethnicity, and nationalism, and in performative time, as the very
act of enunciation, as the space of emergent practices of cultural signification.
The festival objectifies varying participants with varying perspectives who
nonetheless act (or react) as subjects. Below I will map out what the presumed
frameworks of the festival as an event are, drawing attention to the way in which
peoples' expectations, and hence preparations for festivals, presume a kind of
imagined reality of what is to be actualized at the festival. I will then explore the
ways in which the reality of this imaginary is ruptured.
B. Festival Arenas: Motives, Goals, and Models

In 1935 the first Balkan International Festival was held in Istanbul. A showcase of international friendships and relations after the First World War, in which Turkey had sided (in retrospect, "mistakenly") with Germany, this modest festival hosted teams of performers, artists, and political officials from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. The festival, followed by a second one a year later, was initiated and avidly supported by Atatürk himself.

Atatürk’s success as a statesman both domestically and in foreign affairs was perhaps best aided by the strength and sincerity with which he seemed to stand behind and promote the rather familiar, though potentially crippling, tension between the promotion of nationalist sentiment and the fostering of international regard. Following the Durkheimian sociologist, Ziya Gökalp, Atatürk promoted a model of Turkish identity that melded Western civilization with Turkish culture. The agenda of this model was to naturalize the fit

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2 Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) was a reformist active in the Young Turk movement. Gökalp determined that there was a dichotomy between the informal, natural institutions that arise among communities, and formal, contrived institutions enforced by the state. Turkey was suffering from misuse of such contrived forms under Ottoman rule. Gökalp proposed that Turkey was in the process of transforming into a true modern nation, one of the units of Western civilization. But to do so fully it had to recognize and sustain its cultural basis. Gökalp’s distinction between culture and civilization was key.

Civilization refers to modes of action composed of the ‘traditions’ which are created by different ethnic groups and transmitted from one to another. Culture, on the other hand, is composed of the ‘mores’ of a particular nation and, consequently, is unique and sui
between the changes and concerns Atatürk forwarded and the historical and cultural identities of Turks. The famous language reformations, in which Arabic and Persian were "cleansed" from the language and the alphabet changed from the Arabic to the Latin, the formation of the Society of Turkish History (opened April 1930), which was charged with preparing an authoritative version of Turkish history, and the opening of the Halkveleri, were all results of this attempt.

Atatürk was a great manager of tensions between local and global concerns and image. There is, however, no longer a leader with the charisma of Atatürk nor the impetus of a recent war of independence to catalyze the Kemalist solution to manage global-local dynamics. Despite the efforts of this model to naturalize changes advanced by the Kemalist government, there remains yet today tensions between the Kemalist version of national identity as secular

\[\textit{generis}...\]
Culture constitutes a system whose elements have an integral connection with one another on the basis of a peculiar logic which constitutes the ethos; civilization, on the other hand, is product of detachment from that logic. Civilizational elements assume meaning and function in the life of men only when they enter into the service of culture. (Berkes 195, 23)

3 The Outline of Turkish History was prepared in 1930 by a committee headed by Atatürk. In short, it claimed that Turks, before the rise of any other civilization, spread forth from their home on a Central Asian plateau to introduce civilization to the world over. In particular, the new history maintained that Turks were not Mongols, but the original Aryan race. The work was developed through reconsiderations of Western literary sources as well as research into other non-Turkish sources. New archeological findings and linguistic studies were also interpreted to support this reformulation (see also Alp 1937, Lewis 1959, and Webster 1939).
and largely western-oriented, and other versions. Islamists critique it for its
secularism and deification of Atatürk, while far-leftists critique its embrace of the
free market. Both are suspicious of its eager alignment with the politics of the
west.

Festivals in Turkey today reflect many of these tensions. Is a festival a
celebration of the local, intended to promote cultural integrity and uniqueness,
characteristics properly evaluated only in terms of cultural relativism? Or is it a
celebration of the universal, a leveling device in which excessive adherence to
detail and the local would threaten social unity? Or is it instead a competitive
arena for ranking, amenable to the measurement of culture not through
relativism and in terms of uniqueness but through hierarchy and in terms of
status? To what degree can the motivations and goals underlying festivals foster
both local pride and universalist (i.e., regional, national, and international)
brotherhood?

In one sense the festival effectively operates as a marketplace of status
and values. This is especially true of competitions (both as a part of festivals and
on their own) whose formats are explicitly trans-evaluative. Analytically, this
model of festival comes out of theories of political economy which sees it as a
marketplace, a chance for social and economic trade and commerce. (Examples
range from Stallybrass and White's (1986) analysis of old English country fairs to
Baudrillard's (1981) analysis of the art market.) Indeed, festivals in Turkey
include many elements of market fairs, from lotteries, craft displays, the sale of
food, T-shirts and other paraphernalia, to the sale of entertainment itself (through admission tickets). At a larger scale, the festival promotes international trade and export through tourism. It is in the symbolic dimension of trade, however, that the festival most clearly operates as a marketplace. Local festivals provide arenas for the establishment and exchange of leadership, political clout, and popularity. Symbolic trade is equally if not more evident in international festivals, where performance criteria and standards, status and prestige, and claims to authenticity and expertise are established and exchanged. Awareness of this dimension of symbolic trade is acute. Said the Bursa Festival organizer to a newspaper reporter in regards to his plans to organize, through the auspices of the International Organization of Folklore, a World Festival of folk dance that would host on the order of 100 groups and 6000 people: "all I want now is the Bursa authorities to influence the Minister of Tourism and to be able to get them to let it be held in Bursa. Should this happen we will bring about our reputation and be proudly known all over the world....Please let this organization be held in Bursa. Then Bursa will have a very special place in the world" (Sahin 1990).

Festivals are, nonetheless, minimally checked by, and often organized according to, ideals of *communitas* and social levelling expected of community ritual. In anthropology festival has commonly been associated with ritual, as the celebratory surroundings to specific life cycle, religious, or civil rites, or as a ritually transformative communal experience itself (cf Geertz 1973; Grimes 1982; Stoeltjie 1992; Turner 1969, 1974, 1982; and Van Gennep 1960). Through the
ritual process, participants are assumed to undergo a transformation
accomplished largely through the leveling or inverted activities of the liminal
period, hence resulting in a new awareness of social identity. Many festivals in
Turkey meet at regular cyclical intervals to commemorate pivotal points of
historical importance to a particular group (e.g., there is an annual festival of
Türkmen at Soğut to commemorate Ertegül’s move into in Anatolia) or regularly
occurring symbolically transformative moments (e.g., harvest times have been
common periods for weddings). They may include specific ritual acts (e.g. the
sacrificing of a sheep). And certainly, at a broader level, even the most secular
of large urban festivals can be shown to have transformative potential in terms of
fostering civic or national pride. "Once again the torch of peace which was
lighted in [sic] last year will the [sic] enlighten Bursa" (Festival, July 8, 1988).

Behind both of these models of festival--the festival as marketplace and
the festival as communal ritual resulting in communitas and transformation--are
assumptions and expectations of the likely actions, goals, and motivations of
those engaging in the festivals. The festival is the place where the imagined
reality of elsewhere, the guiding images that have constrained and inspired
preparations and expectations of the festival, is realized. In the process of
realizing the festival itself, however, underlying expectations are disturbed. Ideals
of "dostluk" or true friendship, for instance, are confronted by the realities of
cross-cultural interaction. The same speaker who suggested that "it is folklore
that helps the greatest friendship, brotherhood, and peace between the countries"
commented minutes later at the "disgraceful" and "primitive" behavior of members of an African group at a festival in France who "wore no shoes," "ate with their hands," and in which "the women were half naked." These kinds of tensions, some perhaps more based on stereotype than experience and many subtly or noticeably more complex, are experienced through a kind of rupture and doubling, discussions of which frame my analyses below.

C. Local Festivals: Doublings and Splittings

People joke that there are festivals for everything in Turkey. The local harvest, historical events, activities, and peoples are celebrated, marketed, and consumed from tiny villages to large cities. There are festivals for strawberries, grease wrestling, Georgians, and camels, for folk dance and films and photography and food.

Such festivals last anywhere from one afternoon to an entire week and may involve participants almost exclusively from the local area or people from considerable distances. Village festivals commonly include folk dancers and musicians hired from nearby towns and cities. Political party leaders and government officials typically attend. These festivals are often multifaceted, including not only performances but food, speeches, and prize give-aways. In the event that a festival is organized around a particular sport or activity, it takes main stage.
The grease wrestling (güreş) festival in the village of Çalı on the outskirts of Bursa was one such event. Grease wrestling is an Ottoman tradition dating from the 14th century. The point of grease wrestling is simple: by slathering the wrestlers’ bodies, clothed only in knee length (ideally leather) knickers, with a mixture of water and oil the contenders become nearly impossible to grasp and wrestle to the ground. Grease wrestling competitions, often the centerpiece of a larger cultural festival with food and fair games, occur primarily in small villages or in public grounds outside of cities. The largest competition is just outside the city of Edirne where the competition takes on a heightened importance and seriousness.

The festival at Çalı opened the season (which runs through the spring and summer) for the Bursa area. Apparently typical of competition formats, the festival began with matches between very young boys as young as five and six. Throughout the day they would proceed to older boys of seventeen to eighteen years old, and even to men into their forties. The festival arena—the wrestling grounds and food and game booths—was a flat area of cleared ground sandwiched between two hills at the end of the village. The wrestling ground itself was covered with a healthy growth of grass, and was surrounded on two sides with small sets of bleachers and on a third side a hill, all of which provided seating for viewers. The preparation area for the wrestlers was a small tent erected in one corner of the field.

A group of musicians playing the zurna and davul and dressed in blue folk
costumes typical of the Thracian regions of Turkey—şavlar, or baggy pants, a large carpet sash around the waist, a shirt, and vest adorned with trim—opened the event with a march around the playing field. Upon completion of their tour they stationed themselves upon a large truck bed resting on the fourth side of the field. Next the action moved to a large dirt area beside the wrestling field where a folk dance group performed a suite of dances traditional to the Bursa area. After that, the wrestling began.

**Doublings and Splittings**

The dancers with whom I attended the Çahi village güres festival departed almost immediately after their performance, just as the wrestling was getting underway. My expressed interest in viewing some of the event met with ambiguous, somewhat discomfited response. Grease wrestling, like kalç-kalkan, raises concerns about image and representation. How would I, a foreigner, judge the cultural and aesthetic values of Turks? Indeed many would perhaps even be uncomfortable with this discussion of grease wrestling. Certainly many Turks would deem it unworthy of scholarly, especially Western scholarly, regard (as is true, to a degree, of folk dance and folk festivals). Such events, in fact, result in a subtle sense of splitting or doubling in terms of the cultural identities of urban folk dance group members who are regularly invited to perform at them.

By splitting or doubling I mean, in a simple sense, the kind of
confrontation individuals face at moments of self-realization about the multiple facets of their own identities, the differing categories by which their identities are constructed, and their shifting judgements on these categories. Following Bhabha, however, I wish to draw attention to the ways in which this is a powered and mediated process. Bhabha argues that ideologies of peoplehood, nation, and ethnicity, for instance, require the people to whom they refer to be at once object and subject. The objects of definition, "the national" or "the ethnic," for instance, must go out and show (assert, engage, produce) their objecthood, which in turn requires their own subjectivity. Insofar as the achievement of objecthood is successful, it works by repressing parts of the subjectivity which contradict the objective ideology; insofar as it is not, these repressed aspects come back in the form of displacement thus disrupting the illusion of singularity. Such splittings occur in the space of the performative.

The güres festival at Çah acted as a space of this performativity, engaging questions of tradition, gender, and village-urban identities. As with kalıç-kalkan, the confrontation with tradition through grease wrestling threw into question the aesthetic virtue of such a representation of Turks. Whether it was the casual outdoor setting, the unadorned but greasy bodies of the wrestlers, or the serious rather than parodic or even ironic nature of presentation (in contrast, for instance, to the televised professional wrestling programs so popular in South and East Asia and in the United States), the event acted to disquiet modern urban sensibilities.
The wrestling festival, moreover, was undeniably a male event. Not only was it an obvious enactment of masculinity in ways commonly perceived as such in both Turkish and traditional Western views--combative, competitive, a matter of strength--but it was dominated overwhelmingly by male participants and viewers. The wrestlers, judges, announcers, musicians, and booth handlers who created the display were all male, as were, for the most part, those who consumed it. The bleachers and the hill overlooking the wrestling ground were inhabited completely by men. The only women on the ground level were the women of the folk dance group and me, and even then the dancers all remained in the bus until it was time for their performance.⁴

This in turn was compounded not only by being an activity about which there were already conflicted feelings, but that it was in a setting (a village) which provoked ambiguous sentiment. The same kinds of assumptions were at play here as were described earlier--that villages and home to all that is uncouth, wild, unpredictable, and backward. Remember the warning cry heralded in the last chapter: "Arkadaşlar, burası gerçekten Teksas gibi!" "Friends, it is really like Texas here!"

And what were they there to celebrate? Combat. The fighting Turk.

⁴ And yet at another level, the event as a whole was open to the female gaze as women, in groups and with many kids, planted themselves further up the mountain for a day of picnicking and watching from afar. The obstructed views and the lack of sensorial closeness, in being unable to hear the heavy breathing of the wrestlers nor perhaps the announcer, smell the sweat, and so on, would suggest, however, that the female gaze did not actively construct the event.
Faced in this instance with arm to arm combat, the folk dancers were confronted once again by the image of the barbarian Turk, the Turk who will win his way through brute strength rather than sophisticated diplomacy.

In the Artvin festival at Keles described above, another form of a "body politics" was playing out in the shape of a "political" body. The confrontation took the form of one assembly of self-conscious bodies facing off against another, a battle of festivals. This face-off challenged (and was challenged by) the very idea around which folklore is often assumed to coalesce, and which, therefore, often acts as a defining framework of "folk" festivals: that the "folk" form a unified community. It is this that is longed for and idealized in notions of the popular in folklore. "Cultural difference" exposed in different aspects of folk culture, different ideas of beauty, and different practices requires a notion of "unity through diversity" in order to realize the integrity of the folk in the ideal of the popular.

The face-off between the two rival festivals, catapulted by the events that then erupted within the Artvin festival, focused attention on issues of political, ethnic, and national identities. It revealed tensions in the roles and abilities of representative bodies, political voice, and power to perform the narratives of nation and ethnicity and their ability to disrupt them. This kind of splitting over matters of national and ethnic identities was rendered articulate in a discussion I
was party to during a separate visit with the group with whom I attended the Artvin festival. In the discussion the members of the group spoke about the problems of representation inherent in the practice of folklore. Specifically, they addressed the double-bind of wanting to sustain their difference from "official" versions of culture without being "culturally chauvinistic." This association focused on the folklife of peoples of southeastern Turkey. To be sure, they supported this choice by the claim that the purpose of their practice was to allow them to "hold on to their culture" (kültürümüz tutmak) and "possess it" (kültürümüz sahibi), and that as individuals primarily from southeastern Turkey, they were best equipped to do so. And yet they were sensitive to the problematic political stance that this kind of notion of cultural identity might engender, that of being culturally chauvinistic. Indeed it was this very sort of positioning that they strove to reject at another level; in wanting their difference recognized and represented they were rejecting the official insistence on the idea of an "essential Turk." To delimit their own representation, then, was seen as similarly essentializing, as a similarly constructed version of identity. The alternative, however, was to give up a singular "ethnic" focus and practice the folk dances of others. Yet this was precisely the official stance of the state, reflected in their

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Clearly my presence and the basic interests I expressed were among the catalysts of the discussion. In this case, however, the first real discussion I had had with members of this group, I asked only basic questions about what their repertoire consisted of, what their goals were, and how they felt about the dance kalç-kalkan, for example. They carried on to discuss at great length the issue of authenticity, its relationship to the representation of Turkish culture today, and its political dimensions.
recognition of only one people and language in Turkey (Turks and Turkish), as well as in the State Folk Dance Ensemble's "holistic" representation of Turkey through performing dances from throughout the country.

D. International Festivals: Motivations, Meaning, Genre, and Aesthetics

Since 1985 Tufag has been organizing a yearly International Folklore Festival to better introduce Turkey and its culture and also to facilitate the exchange of art and culture among countries. The international response and willingness to participate in these festivals has been overwhelming. Tufag is very happy to provide the occasion for the coming together and exchange of good will among the countries of the world. (Tufag brochure)

International festivals are hosted by towns and cities throughout Turkey. The annual Istanbul International Festival is the largest, boasting performances and displays in opera, symphony, ballet, folklore, pop music, visual art, and theater. It has attracted a range of internationally acclaimed performers, including Herbert Von Karajan, Yehudi Menuhin, the Bolshoi Ballet, Sting, the Dave Brubeck Quartet, B. B. King, Tito Puente, and the Martha Graham Dance Company. Other annual highlights of this festival include the *sema* or spiritual service of the Mevlena (Whirling) dervishes, and Mozart's "The Abduction from the Seraglio," performed in the very place the opera was set, the Topkapi Palace. The annual Bursa International Festival, too, runs a full month and offers a broad array of displays and performances. The Mediterranean city of Antalya hosts an annual international film festival, while still others devote festivals to poetry, theater, and music. A number of international festivals are devoted solely
or primarily to folk dance. The Efes Festival, famous for its folk dance offerings, takes place in the grandeur of the famous remains of Ephesus. The Bursa Festival, also among the more popular, devotes a solid week to folk dance. Even smaller communities, such as Yalova on the southern shore of the Marmara Sea, and Kartal, a suburb of Istanbul, host their own international folk festivals.

International folk festivals or festivals including folk dance abroad provide Turks with a regular opportunity to travel to other countries. Together with the international festivals in Turkey, these events provide a mixing ground for peoples and performers of many countries. It is primarily through these venues and their encounters with each other that performers' conceptions of international standards and trends are most directly stimulated and formed. Though there are other means through which notions of these standards are constructed and disseminated--media, touring, the traffic of videos, word of mouth, and the publicizing efforts of such organizations as the International Organization of Folklore--festivals emphasize the direct comparison of groups and performers by putting them side-by-side. It is also in festivals that the universalist ideal understood to be inspired by things folkloric gets challenged.

Ruptures

At the 29th annual Bursa International Festival described at the opening of this chapter, the Yugoslavian team exhibited a "pot pourri" suite of dances, a
mixed selection of dances representing all parts of (then) Yugoslavia. Such suites are always an iffy choice of repertoire in events where some claim to cultural integrity and authenticity is adhered to. This particular "pot pourri" suite, however, was especially problematic. The suite contained stereotypic portrayals of belly dance, itself considered, if accepted at all, a marginal form of folk dance. The belly dance, moreover, was performed by a woman with striking blond hair and dressed in a costume of gold lamé suggestive of Las Vegas more than Sarejevo. Furthermore, the suite concluded with a woman spinning across the front of the stage unrolling from her body a banner which read "Yugoslavia-Türkiye." Despite the audience's general enthusiasm, there was a certain discomfort, especially among more seasoned folk dance aficionados, at the unabashed (read superficial) message of this sign.

This selection challenged standards of folkloric representation, national and even politic motive, and criteria of sophistication in performance. While the same group performed a thoroughly acceptable suite of Serbian dances in the semi-finals, they again performed the "pot-pourri" in the finals. Though well-rehearsed and accomplished dancers, they ended up in last place among the six finalist teams.

There were yet further tensions. The group from Holland was angered at the judges for their failure to make it into the finals. One of the local folk dance associations refused to participate in the festival, claiming that one of the main festival organizers, the former director of a rival local group, undermined the
festival's community orientation for the sake of his own aggrandizement. And yet his own group (by the time of the festival, under new directorship) was almost kept from joining in the final party for participants of the festival, and in general felt alienated from the behind-the-scene activity of the festival. A long-standing rule of this and other international festivals in Turkey is that no locals other than the one or two (usually English speaking) tour guides provided to each visiting group be allowed in the area in which the international participants are housed and spend their free time. As if to prove the wisdom of this rule--so as to avoid messy problems between locals and visitors, especially in matters of flirtations and relationships--one local dancer, in fact, caused a scene not once but twice during the final party when two different girls he had been "courting" during the festival disappointed him in his advances. The broader community itself was provoked to feel scandalized by aspects of the festival as local newspapers carried articles exposing the amorous carrying-ons among festival participants.

This festival, then, included a whole series of breakdowns. Some of the Turks in the audience thought that the dances of the northwest European groups all looked alike, an opinion turned back on the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern groups by many west Europeaners. Here was a breakdown of aesthetics, of different notions of what is engaging, sophisticated, and beautiful. These reactions in turn conflicted with generally assumed position that all folklore has its own internal integrity and quality and thus is not comparable in any of the singular terms of aesthetics. The Soviet Georgia group was accused by some of
being too athletic and too dramatic. "Too athletic" or "dramatic" in this case suggested that they were not really doing folk "dancing," but rather theater or sports, thus exposing a breakdown of definition of the category by which the groups had agreed to assemble. Indeed some felt that the Georgian group did not belong in the festival at all. Though they held "amateur" status, everyone knew that they rehearsed on a daily basis and were trained over a lengthy period and by expert, if not professional, dancers, exposing a tension, this time, between the status of "amateur" and "professional." As was indicated in the previous chapter, this debate revolves, on the one hand, around ideas of "folk" dance as being a participatory activity equally accessible to all, and which maintains an anonymous identity rather then being the product of particular individuals (namely choreographers). On the other hand, the debate concerns that folklore be amenable to constant reconfiguration when taken up in the service of current social lives, and that it should be manipulated to make the best impression possible to contemporary international audiences.

The performance of the Yugoslavian group exposed yet another set of tensions over representation. Their seeming orientalist and insincere performance provoked questions of motivation, intent, and meaning, particularly in regards to the nation. As whom and for whom were they performing? It evoked many of the same problematics confronted in the discussion noted earlier among the members of the Bursa folklore group who were trying to balance the representative intent of their own performances in regards to cultural chauvinism
and the hegemonic ideal of homogeneity forwarded in the official version of
culture promoted by the state. To what degree was the multiculturalist, pluralist,
internationalist representation of the Yugoslavian group effective, or did it work
more to expose the artificial, constructed nature of such claims? (The fragility of
this particular attempt to represent an ideal of the harmonious nation has
become all too apparent since the break-up of Yugoslavia and the violent and
vehement ethnic wars that have ensued.)

This festival, then, exposed the constructedness of the festival and the
unrealized ideal of its equalizing, universalizing potential. I argue that it is the
form of the festival itself, as a moment when people come together in their
constitution as subject so as to realize the object, here the truth of the integrity
of folklore and its universalizing appeal, that forces breakdowns. Acting as
performer, national citizen, or global kin may in the abstract be compatible goals.
Yet in the end, these identities often require different subjectivities such that
moves to embody one narrative conflicts with another.

E. Competitions and the Politics of Evaluation

State sponsored folk dance competitions in Turkey are held for both
amateur associations and school groups. The stated purpose of these
competitions is to promote Turkish culture among school children, suggesting
that the competition offers an incentive towards remembering Turkish folklore.
Said one member of the Ministry of Culture, "If there is a competition, every school wants to participate and promote its name...However, if it were not some sort of competition the school wouldn't go to the trouble" (Çakır, 1990b). Developmentally they are designed to foster a spirit of discipline and teamwork. "So the goal of the competitions in folklore" forwarded a member of the Ministry of Education "is to encourage the groups to work harder, be more careful, and fulfill the conditions of the competition better so that they will pay more attention to the nuances of the dance" (Gürer, 1990). These goals call upon the ideals of reason, fairness, cooperation, and competition, in short, the tropes of modernism and democracy, and are equally sustained by the narrative frames of the state, the popular, and the market.

The Ministry of Youth and Sports directs an annual series of competitions for primary and secondary schools (public and private). Competition teams are organized as of the third grade and continue through high school. The competitions are organized at three levels--city, regional, and national--the whole series of which is spread out over several months. Winning at the national level brings not only status, but the opportunity to tour both within the country and outside.

Any school is eligible to enter. However there are differences in the ability of schools to compete favorably, depending largely on the financial resources of the school as well as the respective administration's attitudes towards the event and folk dancing in general. Financial investment must be
extended in a variety of ways—to pay for quality teachers (if their services are not volunteered), to hire musicians (who generally receive payment at least for the actual competition if not for rehearsals), and to equip the team with appropriate costumes. Some schools devote considerable time, and if available, resources, to the preparation of their teams. Indeed many schools begin preparing the team for the next year immediately following the current year’s competition.

These factors all play into evaluations of performances at the competition. Competitions are juried by a team of individuals selected by the Department of Youth and Sports, often in consultation with local officials from the Ministry of Culture. In attempt to avoid favoritism, jury members are generally selected from outside the local area, at least at the city level of performance. The jury accords scores in the areas of dance, music, and costumes (see Appendix A). The dancing is evaluated according to various standards of authenticity and execution. Costumes are evaluated according to 1) neatness and appearance, and 2) whether they aptly reflect the costumes of the region. Given the standards of authenticity, the later requirement could put schools with lower budgets at a disadvantage as particular costumes and many costumes parts are quite costly. However, all officials with whom I spoke claim that they compensate for this, and suggest that there are many creative ways to appropriately simulate costume parts at lower cost. Music is evaluated 1) by its representativeness of authentic styles 2) as well as by the skill and proficiency of the musicians. Interestingly, though the competition is organized as that of amateur school groups, the musicians are
typically adults, often professional or semi-professional, hired by the school for the competition.

High school groups may also compete in a private competition sponsored by one of the national newspapers, *Milliyet*. Held annually in Istanbul, this competition is known for its unique format and the unusually high quality of performances. Rather than having all teams compete equally against each other, teams compete only with other groups doing dances from the same region or of the same kind (according to the typology of folk dance described earlier, i.e., *bar*, *halay*, *kâlık*, and so on). The popularity of this event is encouraged in part because of the national press it gets through the wide distribution of the newspaper. More importantly, however, it is known and highly regarded by many folk dancers because of its alternative framework. Many people who otherwise object to putting folk dance into contest—"It is like comparing pears and apples"—do not object to this competition, claiming that its format places a higher value than others on maintaining tradition and authenticity.

Another venue for competitions is within festivals. Indeed one of the appeals of the Bursa International Festival is the folk dance competition it hosts. Most other international festivals in Turkey (including the Istanbul festival) do not offer folk dance competitions. The most famous folk dance festival outside of Turkey, the Dijon Festival in France, is also famous for its competition.

In many ways, it is the national competition of amateur associations, directed by the government, which rivets the attention of the Turkish folk dance
world. Even for those who do not enter this competition, it acts as a common measure and reference point for the state of folk dance in Turkey. Who won and what was performed are pieces of information that enthusiasts follow from year to year and is knowledge that is often possessed more broadly among Turks. For the groups entering the competition, this event dominates preparations and rehearsal year-round and fosters a major expenditure of energy.

The competition, held over three weeks in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir, is open to the public. The 1990 competition began in April in Ankara where ten groups participated. The auditorium (at Gazi University, seating perhaps 1,500-2,000) filled to capacity by the time the fourth group performed; even the corridors and aisles were filled. The audience size fluctuated over the course of the day, in part because it was comprised largely by members of the dance groups themselves. The Izmir portion of the competition, in which only three teams competed in 1990, was held the next weekend. The portion of the competition in Istanbul, held in a high school auditorium in the Fatih district of Istanbul, boasted the largest number of entrees, with sixteen groups competing. As in Ankara, the audience size waned and abated throughout the day, though it never seemed to reach the proportions nor the excitement level that it did in Ankara.

The competition is evaluated by a jury (in 1990 the jury team consisted of nine members), including representatives of the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Tourism, the Foreign Ministry, and the State Folk Dance Ensemble. The whole competition is video-taped for further evaluation and for documentation in
the case of disagreements and appeals of the results. The criteria for evaluation were similar to those of the state sponsored school competitions (see Appendix A). They evaluate the music, costumes, and dance, focusing on whether the movements, costumes, and music tempos, for instance, are representative of the region they represent. They consider as well matters of performance, looking to see that all dancers remain in unison, that the lines remain straight, and that the performers project the attitude appropriate to the dances (sadness, gaiety, flirtatiousness, and the like), and so on.

The official goal of the annual competition is to "check" groups that expect to tour outside of the country to see if their presentation appropriately represents the nation. Indeed the competition is referred to not as a "competition," or "yarsma," but by the term "denetim," which means roughly "checking." Technically, any group wishing to perform Turkish folk dance abroad must be approved by the state. Groups who do not enter the competition to receive approval, either because they choose not to or are not eligible, are judged separately by an official of the Ministry of Culture in a non-competitive denetim. According to my observations of such individual denetims, in contrast to the public competitive denetim, these events were relatively low-key and informal.

The goals of the competitive denetim are technically the same as those of the individualized "checkings", i.e., to see that all aspects of a performance, including costumes, music, and dance, present appropriate portrayals of Turkish folk dance and culture. There is, moreover, added incentive built into the
competition; the top five teams of the competitive *denetim* are sponsored by the government on select tours abroad. The specific performance abroad to which each of the winning groups are sent is determined by the final rank accorded to the relative prestige of the given performance. The top-ranked team, for instance, is usually the one selected to represent Turkey in the internationally acclaimed Dijon International Folk Dance Festival. Thus winning at the national *denetim* earns groups the right to claim official representative status. It also means that the government covers all the expenses not paid by the host. And finally, state sponsorship provides access to performances that may only be attended by way of invitations extended through the government.

**Ruptures**

I began to be less surprised that folk dance—which is so commonly promoted through a narrative of its popular appeal as a participatory, equalizing activity—was put into a competitive arena as I watched the Bariş Manço television program. Bariş Manço is a widely known popular music artist whose career has spanned three decades. He continues to sport a style reminiscent of the 60’s, with long hair and worn jeans. His songs speak of childhood, nature, and love. His tapes are bought and sold everywhere, his songs a standard on the radio, and his concerts sold out. Though in the genre of Turkish pop music, his appeal is wide, a fact reflected in the self-consciously chosen title for his Sunday television
program "7'den 77'e," or "From 7 to 77." The program has three parts: 1) a children's question and answer period, 2) a music video, and 3) a segment with a human interest report. The latter section often has a cross-cultural theme. For example, one particular series of five weeks documented his travels through West Africa in which he reported on various tribal rituals and customs, often focusing especially on their music and/or dance practices. Another segment reported on the finding of a tree in Senegal, in which, when the trunk was sawed in half, it was discovered that the common Islamic phrase "Bismillahirahmanirahim" ("In the Name of God, The Compassionate, and The Merciful") was inscribed over and over again in Turkish.6

It is the children's segment, however, that speaks to the theme of competition. About ten children, roughly six to ten years old, are selected from the studio audience to participate in a question and answer session akin to show-and-tell. Barış Manço brings the children forward one at a time and asks a range of questions: "Do you eat your spinach? Do your parents smoke? Do you tell them they shouldn't do that? What is your favorite animal? What sound does it make?" He then has each of them sing a song. The remaining chosen children then judge the child's performance, holding their score cards up in the air. The catch, however, is that the score card allotted to each "judge" has only a "ten," or a perfect score. So every child gets a perfect score--"On puan, on puan, on

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6 This finding was reported nationally in all the media. The tree was transported to Turkey and in the summer of 1990 was on display in the Topkapı Palace, one of the most visited museums in Turkey.
"puan!" ("ten points, ten points, ten points!") Bariş cries.7

In folklore (as perhaps in theories of childhood development, audience participation, and self-esteem) there is, nonetheless, much debate over the appropriateness of putting folk dance into a competitive frame. One area of the debate focuses on the comparability of folk dance ("You can't compare apples and pears!") and the question of what kind of standards can be imposed on it.

One consequence of competition and the effort to create common standards of evaluation is the application of the notion of "mistakes" to folk dance. Different kinds of mistakes result in the deduction of different numbers of points. A broken line counts off so much, a dropped prop another amount, and so on. Audience response during competitions largely focus on mistakes: "They were good but they made two mistakes," and, "they didn't make any mistakes, but I still didn't like them" are the types of comments one typically hears in the crowd. At the national competitions in 1990, despite officials' requests that the audience refrain from vocalizing responses to mistakes, the audience laughed at some of the lesser known groups' mistakes, especially in the one or two cases where their mistakes followed one after another, and when a perennially favored group made a mistake (a woman missed her entrance), the whole audience gasped. They gasped again when the group made a second mistake (another woman turned one figure too early). These particular mistakes

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7 In his live concert in Bursa in 1990 he similarly divided the audience into segments to sing the refrain of one of his songs, judging each section to have "on puan!"
were talked about for weeks, with even those who weren't present saying "I heard they made two mistakes!" Indeed, stories of specific mistakes often go down in the lore of a group or a competition. I was told several times about how a Bursa group would have won a major competition several years earlier were it not for the fact that one of their (still dancing) members dropped a spoon.

The notion of a mistake in folk dance is in tension with general ideals of folklore, namely that all folkloric representation is correct and has integrity as long as it is an expression of the folk culture from which it emerges. Commented one group's director, "I am against competitions in folklore. There can't be competitions in folklore. How can you compare an Artvin dance with a Bursa dance, an Erzurum dance with an Akçaabat dance? They are all respectively beautiful and meaningful" (Çeven, 1990). Debates also coalesce around a broader concern for the collectivizing spirit assumed implicit in folklore. The demands put on groups necessary to even enter competitions indicates that they may narrow the range of participants rather than broaden it. Indeed, while the pay-off to win at the national denetim may seem that it is a highly profitable venture, entering the competition can itself be enormously costly. Eligibility to enter the competition requires that a group perform at least four different suites of dances and that their performance last thirty minutes. Given the demand for representing four regions in a half-hour long program, a group must have invested heavily in terms of rehearsal time, hiring teachers to learn new suites, preparing enough dancers to sustain a full thirty minute
performance, having enough of the necessary costumes for all the dancers and regions represented, hiring the necessary musicians for each region represented, and so on. Over the years styles and performance demands have changed, changes likely generated through competition standards themselves. Just as Taylor (1982) observed in the *carnaval* celebrations in Rio de Janiero, the increased spectacularization of dance events (Taylor's "visual *carnaval"), has resulted in a trend towards large groups, intricate choreography, extremely polished costumes, and expert demands of musical performance. Achieving this may require rehearsing with paid musicians frequently before the competition, investing in new, professionally made costumes, and hiring noted teachers and arrangers to prepare the material. Just as the *samba* schools competing in *carnaval* parades now hire special "artists" to direct their parade, favored arrangers in Turkey are most in demand for preparing the competition material for the *denetim*. What is more, it was charged that in past years the government had failed to cover all the expenses of the trip as promised.

So the real value in winning, apparently, has more to do with the status a group may achieve than the monetary benefits it may secure. Being the first, second, or third-place amateur folk dance group in Turkey lends greatly to the group’s prestige. It, moreover, offers the potential to gain international recognition though gaining a chance to participate in events abroad. On the other hand, most groups neither have the resources nor the structure to achieve this status. Thus it is feared that fewer people rather than more will be
participating in folk dance, in turn undermining its inclusive participatory "folk" base. Indeed many object to the kinds of standards this promotes, claiming that it imposes external limits on folklore. "If people would traditionally dance the same dance for a full twenty minutes, or wear plain costumes, why should this be changed?" people reason. These concerns once again expose fears that current folk dance practices such as competitions are leading to a degeneration of authenticity.

As if to counteract the concerns voiced above about the problematic of comparing folklore and the feared reduction of its folk base, the following speaker offered the opposite opinion, suggesting that competitions act instead to bring people together.

One of the most important things I want to say is that nations on earth need to discover their real folklore and exchange and share it along with cultural values so that people living in those nations will have very positive feelings and thoughts of each other. The exchange of folklore should include going to several countries and competing there. For example, we want to watch the folklore done in America in our country, to know more about it, and we want America and other countries to bring us there so that they can see our dances. Cultural exchange is a very nice way to bring nations together. In a sport competition both teams aim at defeating the other. The spectators of each team cheer for their team. However in folklore the situation is not that way. Depending on how nice the dances are, everybody cheers for the successful team. There is more to folklore than sports. (Gürer, 1990)

A further promotion of competitions rests on the view that standards, and hence distinction, are the very markers of the desired modern identity. Concerns that proper standards of performance and expertise were not being met surfaced,
for instance, when the results of the 1990 denetim were announced several weeks after the competitions were completed and after the jury was able to tabulate and discuss their evaluations and review the videos tapes. Rather than ranking the top first through fifth place winners, they awarded five first place winners.\textsuperscript{8} There was little disagreement over the particular groups who were chosen: though one or two other teams were considered to have been strong contenders, no one seemed to disagree particularly with the selections that had been made. (Which is not to say that all supported the decisions. While some people were able to predict which groups were most likely to win based on their reputations and performances, their own opinions were not necessarily in agreement. Parred down roughly to preferences for authenticity rather than showiness, many preferred the performances of some of the groups who did not win.) What \textit{did} create a scandal was that, aside from those who conceivably benefitted from the decision (those who may have placed lower if at all), most people who had been involved and who follow the competition from year to year reacted with a sense of disbelief and cynicism. The general opinion seemed to be that the whole process had been cheapened by such a compromising decision. There was simultaneously, however, an attitude of "what do you expect anyway" or "its all politics," both expressed in yet another deceivingly simple though rich saying,

\textsuperscript{8} The winning groups were Anadolu Folklor ve Turizm Derneği (AFTUD, of Ankara), Halk Oyunları Turizm ve Folklor Derneği (HOY-TUR, of Ankara), Kartal Belediyesi Folklor Derneği (of Istanbul), Turizm ve Halk Bilimi Araştırma Derneği (TU-BIL, of Ankara), and Turizm ve Folklor Araştırma Geliştirme Derneği (TUFAG, of Yalova).
"bursa Türkiye," or "this is Turkey," a statement which offers a fatalistic suggestion that everything is politicized, and thereby cheapened, in Turkey. This decision seemed to make a mockery of the sense that sophistication in the arts, and the appropriate expression of this sophistication through judgement and evaluation, are within the proper purview of the contemporary Turk.

F. Fantasizing Festivals, Fraternity, and Freedom

The transnational dimension of cultural transformation--migration, diaspora, displacement, relocations--turns the specifying or localizing process of cultural translation into a complex process of signification. For the natural(ized), unifying discourse of "nation," "peoples," "folk" tradition--these embedded myths of culture's particularity--cannot be readily referenced. The great, though unsettling, advantage of this position is that it makes one increasingly aware of the construction of culture, the intervention of tradition, the retroactive nature of social affiliation and psychic identification. (Bhabha 1992, 47)

There is Turkey (and "this is it") and there is a world. But which, exactly, is which? One of the questions that this dissertation is centrally framed around is the degree to which investment in Turkish folk dance is really an investment in local tradition, on the one hand, or in ideologies, feeling structures, aesthetics, and so on that transcend the local culture, on the other. In other words, to what extent does folk dance act as a traditional localizing strategy or a postmodern transculturalizing one?

I have argued in this chapter that "imaginary realities" guide the underlying assumptions, structures, and goals of festival and public competition.
They are "imaginary" in the sense that these guiding forces are ideals that largely
fail to be fully realized, but are "real" in the sense that the existence of these
ideals actually influences the expectations, and hence preparations, of these
events. I have argued further that such 'gathering' events force the simultaneous
performance of multiple subjectivities resulting in subjective splittings and
ruptures. Implicit in my articulation of these processes of splitting and rupture is
a sense of conflict, opposition, and resistance. Insofar as these split subjectivities
result from the dissolution of the ideals of unity, community, universal
brotherhood, and the universality of aesthetics and taste, these senses are
appropriate. Yet they need not be so, for they are also part of a generative
process. Perhaps it was this generative potential that many an East European
and Soviet artist, in the midst of the Cold War, seized upon when participation in
international festivals afforded them the chance to defect.9

9 The founder of the Istanbul International Festival, Dr. Nejat Eczacibaşı
(1986), in extolling the success and good will of the festival, rather sidelines these
defections, ranking them among other pesky behind-the-scene difficulties.

Moreover, some performers, taking advantage of being away from
their home countries take refuge with our government or in the
consulates of other countries. The management of the festival has
always been helpless in such events. The Bolshoi ballerina who
took refuge in the American consulate in the 1981 festival was the
most tumultuous of all. The Soviet authorities were naturally, very
anxious, but there was nothing we could do. I just wish such an
event had never occurred during the festival, for the Soviets have
always shown great interest in contributing to our festival. (57)

Defections occurred among participants at the Bursa International Festival as
well, perhaps as recently as 1989.
Chapter Six
Towards the Question of Dance

It was a performance born of fantasy and these were strange creatures of an unknown world, not human beings of flesh and bone. (Moran 1936, 295)

On the question of the experience vs. desire of urban dwellers: in talking with many scholars about folk dance...I am always told I must go into the villages for my research because the folk dancing done in cities isn't authentic. There is quite a "village mystique." And in fact I think it is a "mystique" because clearly even some of the people telling me this have never really done this themselves.

The point being, Atatürk targeted folk dance...to create a national identity. This national identity still seems to be, in part, a measure of desire, i.e., the "village mystique," an essentialization that may have little to do with experience.

For example, T.V. audiences are as likely to be familiar with folk music and dance (there are often as many as two or three short slots, most of music, scheduled in a single day) as with American and British rock videos. So is "internationalism" in fact a truer experience of daily life in Turkish cities? (Cefkin, fieldwork diary notes, Nov. 1989)

In the remarks above, the reality of performance is elided by a sense of the fantastical. What is real, what isn't? What has effect, what doesn't? What is authentic? What is the real meaning of folk dance? What is the true image of Turks? These tensions have been exposed throughout this exploration of folk dance as a site of social and cultural formulation and reformulation. The point
of my argument, then, is that cultural enactments, whether dominant or resistive, creative or constraining, playful or industrious, are charged by the tensions of performativity. I have tried to unpack and/or push at the interpretive and generative potential of dance specifically, and performance broadly. I have yet to ask, however, what it is about dance that enables this. Why dance? My answer lies somewhere in the fantastical aspect of dance, its ephemeral nature.

A central (if sometimes implicit) theme of the previous chapters was that even when varying cultural and social interpretations and explanations of specific dances (for instance, kilic-kalkan) and dance events (such as festivals and competitions) are offered, there is still something that, though it might have been described, was never explained. As Taussig cautions (1992), one has not said everything by decoding meaning and analyzing social registers, in short, by "allegorizing" culture. And perhaps one has said too much. For there is a moment/form/presence, notably kinesthetic, that is more than or other to specific cultural meanings. As Isadora Duncan elegantly remarked "If I could tell you what it meant, there would be no point in dancing it" (Comstock 1974, 226). Indeed, it is this intractability of dance that I have attempted to grapple with in my efforts to write dance. How can I summarize my findings and arguments here when the point is precisely in the doing of the performance itself? That is the intractability of dance and performance (and possibly ethnography too); one

1 My efforts in this dissertation to expose the tensions invested in folk dance and the other arenas of public culture that it engages with--pop music, festival, television, grease wrestling, tourism, and so on--is clearly informed by the goals
cannot recapitulate movement, one cannot summarize enunciations, one can only review some of what was said. "I call ethnography a meditative vehicle because we come to it not as a map of knowledge nor as a guide to action, nor even for entertainment. We come to it as the start of a different kind of journey" (Tyler 1987, 216). To continue this journey, I will move to another stage of inquiry, that of the nature of dance and its relevance to the young people in Turkey who participate in it.

The dual modes of understanding dance indicated above—the social and kinesthetic, or cultural and phenomenological—underlie contesting in theories of performance and dance. Two dominant models of dance have been forwarded, expressive and movement based (or kinesthetic) theories of dance. Early studies of dance conducted from an ethnological viewpoint were often directed in reaction against earlier scholarly considerations of dance that viewed it as a phenomenon explainable in universal terms. The premise of many of these earliest studies was that the meaning of dance existed solely in the content of dance, and as a universal phenomenon could be understood without

of positioning ethnography as a mechanism of cultural critique.

Since there are always multiple sides and multiple expressions of possibilities active in any situation, some accommodating, others resistant to dominant cultural trends or interpretations, ethnography as cultural criticism locates alternatives by unearthing these multiple possibilities as they exist in reality. (Marcus and Fischer 1986, 116).

This goal, too, however, has been problematized by the tensions of performativity.
consideration of its cultural or historical context. Until quite recently the
majority of anthropologists studying dance have analyzed it, in contrast, solely in
terms of a referent outside of itself, one or another cultural or sociological
feature of society. Within this aim, to be sure, the anthropology of dance has
excelled in indicating and illustrating many of the dynamics of cultural process.
Indeed, as in scholarship on other aesthetic and/or expressive cultural forms (for
example, Abu-Lughod (1986), Caton (1991), and Meeker (1979) on Arabic
poetry, Naficy (1990) on television, Fischer (1984) on film, and Fischer and
Abedi (1990) on revolutionary poster and stamp art) dance anthropologists have
begun to be more attentive to the many subtle and complex ways in which dance
is actively involved in social play.

The expressive model of dance takes dance as a communicative device
used to articulate meanings (emotions, historical referents, social roles, and so
on) assumed to underlie dance. In this model, dance is subordinated to the
position of being an instrument used to express a message derived fully outside
the dance. It does not consider dance as a potentially generative or constitutive
domain of meaning itself. In contrast, the potential for a performative

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2 For a review of this literature, see Adrienne L. Kaeppler's article "Dance in
Anthropological Perspective" (1978).

3 The anthropology of dance began to emerge as a distinct subfield in the
early 1960's. Gertrude Kurath, Joann Kealiinohomoku, and Anya Peterson
Royce were among the early notables researching dance from anthropological
perspectives, followed by Adrienne Kaeppler and Drid Williams. More recently
the study has been expanded by such scholars as Jane Cowan, Susan Foster, Sally
Ness, Cynthia Novack, and Julie Taylor.
communicative device to give rise to new meanings is illustrated in Naficy's study (1990) of Iranian television in Los Angeles. He shows how even when specific messages are intended, "cracks" appear, themselves derived from the varying ideological and experiential positions of viewers, causing multiple, often unintended and/or invisible to the maker, readings of the images or narratives. Clearly, the meanings articulated and created through the dances and dance practices explored in this work suggest as well that the generation of meaning is far beyond the control of those engaged in the practices themselves.

To be sure, other studies of dance have acknowledged this dialogic feature of communication in dance. Analyses of dance that come out of ritual studies, for instance, expose ways in which the execution of dance is an operative feature of the ritual process. Other studies have examined the ways dance reinforces or challenges group structure. Cowan's study of dance in Greece (1990), for instance, gives sensitive regard to both the nuance of stylistic and executionary variation and the social and political tensions that underlie much of the dance activity in Greek settings. For example, she demonstrates how gender role expectations are continually challenged and often reestablished through dance.

Recognizing the ways in which dance is symbolically powerful as a medium of articulation of and access to social structures and cultural values offers a most

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4 Many studies of ritual have indicated the presence of dance as a feature of the ritual process, including Durkheim (1915), Gluckman (1963), Turner (1969), and many others. Nevertheless, it was not until Schieffelin's 1976 study *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers* that extensive attention was paid to the specific role that dance plays in ritual.
valuable contribution to both anthropology and dance studies. However, studies of dance from the anthropological perspective have yet to effectively deal with the question of what is particular to dance that allows it to be active in these ways. How is dance—as a performative movement structure—capable of such cultural work?

Movement-based or kinesthetic theories of dance attempt to avoid the idealistic impulse of expressive theories that subordinate the dancing body to the mind and emotions, to being a vehicle only for the expression of thoughts and feelings. In particular, they focus on the fundamentally experiential feedback of kinesthesia to the dancing body. As Francis Sparshott notes:

The dancer does not see his body at all, unless quite incidentally the dance calls for bits of it to come into his field of vision. So the dancer cannot see his dance: his work of art is not accessible to him as it is to his audience. So he cannot be his own first audience. (1981, 74)

A dancer’s actions are most accessible to her kinesthetically. Hence meanings and understandings of movement must be at least in part kinesthetic, as this is the fundamental means of experiencing them. As Malbourg Kim, another proponent of the movement-based theory of dance states, "the sensation of movement is inseparable from the movement because movement is the criterion of sensation and not its sign" (1986, 101). Movement is not a simple conveyor of preformulated information (be it conceptual or emotional) but instead acts as the very context in which understanding is possible. It provides the very means to organize and frame meaning.
Thus dance is a socially meaningful and kinesthetically present form. As such, I argue, it is a temporally undeniable moment that mediates, or as Homi Bhabha would have it, displaces, understandings of other realities. Dancing is an "enuncative" moment, it is simultaneously emergent and disappearing.

Bhabha elaborates this point in his formulation of the pedagogical and performative. The distinction here is between the pedagogic as idealized or desired meanings of discourse, and the performative as that which actually unfolds, is enunciated. The performative is the "fluctuating moment that the people are just giving shape to" (1990, 303), their construction in the enunciatory present. The pedagogical, on the other hand, is "sententious," "predictable," and "linear" (1992), it is the people as "a priori historical presence" (1990).

Ideals of the state, the popular, and the market function as pedagogic narratives in Turkish folk dance. Folk dance is situated to suggest that Turks are rational, modern, scientific actors who engage life through the appropriate mechanisms of order and training. Folk dance is engaged as a disciplining agent of the folk, encouraging idealizations of the people as nationals, ethnics, and community. Folk dance is harnessed for the exchange value it offers in national and international markets of artistic status and expertise.

The multiplicity of pedagogic narratives which converge in folk dance, or for Bhabha, in the people as object, is not in itself necessarily problematic. A further element in the pedagogical and performative, however, is: their simultaneity.
We then have a contested cultural territory where the people must be thought in a double-time; the people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pregiven or constituted historical origin or event; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people as that continual process by which the national life is redeemed and signified as a repeating and reproductive process. The scraps, patches, and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects. In the production of the nation as narration there is a split between the continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical, and the repetitious, recursive strategy of the performative. It is through this process of splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern society becomes the site of writing the nation. (Bhabha 1990, 297; emphasis his)

Dance too shares in this two-sidedness, it shares in the double-time of representation and enactment. The performativity of dance is essential; the identity of dance exists only in motion itself. Movement plays the role of the subject, continually reinscribing the dance. The pedagogy of dance lies in the meanings ascribed to it. Thus dancers act as performative subjects who must mediate between their subjectivities and the various social constructions dance allows. To turn, then, to the dancers, how do they experience the dance? What does it mean to them?

It can be argued that participation in organized folk dance activity truly disciplines dancers into adopting the authoritative narrative of the state, popular, and market as their own interpretive perspectives. For instance, state authority and values may be adopted and ideals of nationalism increased through the
participation of dancers in public, state-sponsored events (such as Independence Day parades) which they might have otherwise not engaged at all or participated in only privately. Evidence from the disrupted Artvin Festival at Keles would suggest that though the relationship to the state might in fact be oppositional, some sort of relationship is nonetheless established or reinforced. By joining folk dance groups, moreover, members may experience an increased awareness of their ethnic or community identity, or may in fact establish these identities where they did not perceive them before.

Dancers may be impelled by these narratives. Or perhaps the reasons more commonly given for joining such groups to begin with says more about the position dancers as subjects assume. To be sure, people propose that they join such groups for their folkloric and cultural focuses as well as for the opportunity folk dance provides for the expression of their nationalist sentiment. But they also suggest that it offers them a place to advance their personal development through physical exercise, through artistic creativity, and through social interaction. What may be at stake here is more bluntly articulated by others: ask any adult why youth join such clubs (in fact, ask many of these youth themselves) and you are likely to get the clear and simple answer that they join to travel and to meet members of the opposite sex. Perhaps no other activity in Turkey offers young people both opportunities at once. It offers them a chance
to become cosmopolitan.$^5$

Becoming cosmopolitan. Engaging in the increasingly translocal, hybridized, transnational world in which contradictory pressures are always at play and where identities cannot be stabilized. Becoming cosmopolitan. Viewing the world as a place in which things are not fixed but avoiding positions of absolute relativism; sustaining suspicions of localized essentialism while remaining aware of "particularities of place, characters, historical trajectories, and fates" (Rabinow 1986, 258). Finding a place not to stand, but to dance.

---

$^5$ I thank Hamid Naficy for this elegant articulation of what is at stake in these factors.
Appendix A

Folk Dance Competition Appraisal Document

Below is my translation of the evaluation sheet used to score the teams that enter the annual folk dance competition for primary and secondary schools sponsored by the State Ministry Department of Youth and Sports.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group's Name and Province:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of Person Responsible for the Group:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signature:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Dancers: Girls ( ) Boys ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Musicians:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructor's name and surname:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arranger's name and surname:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Region of the Dances:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of the dances in the order of dancing:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Costumes
2. a. Costumes: Costumes do not reflect the region's particularities. There are inconformities in the costumes and missing parts. 1 2 3 4 5

1. b. Costumes are not shown with care. There are excessive ornaments (make-up) and accessories. 1 2 3 4 5

Dances
8. a. There are breaks with the regional manner, style, meaning, and tempo. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
7. b. There is not conformity in the lines, steps, and form in the finishes. Forms and lines broke.

6. c. Use of the dance space was not used.

5. d. Dancers do not conform to the music. Steps are not completed in dance transitions or when finishing.

4. e. The dancers are not in unison on movements and gestures.

3. f. There are exaggerated, meaningless, and out of place movements, commands, and calls.

2. g. There is excessive repetition. Long continuous movements with like appearance were used. The dance depends on the people.

1. h. Costumes scattered, became untied, or fell during the dance. The props were not used properly in the dance or fell.

Music
3. a. There is no harmony in the performance. (Off-tune, the sounds covered up one another, there was lack of harmony, melodic conventions were discontinuous).

2. b. There are breaks in the manner and style.

1. c. Music, musical stylistic conventions, form, and tempo do not reflect the specialities of the region.

Statement of reasons: Total points 100
Scrapped points
Final points [numerical]
[Final points] alphabetical
Selection committee member name and surname:
Signature:
Appendix B

Regions Performed in the 1990 Denetim,
Regions Performed by the Winning Groups in the 1990 Denetim,
and Regions Performed by Winning Groups in the 1989 Denetim

Each year the government engages in a nationwide process of checking amateur folk dance groups who wish to perform abroad. Known as the "denetim" ("checking"), the event is held in three venues, Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. Those groups that attempt to pass the denetim through this venue (rather than by requesting a private denetim) compete for the top five places. The winners of these spots are then sponsored by the government on a select performance abroad.

Below are lists of (A) the regions represented in the selections performed by the associations from Ankara and Istanbul that participated in the 1990 national denetim; (B) those performed by the top five groups in 1990; and (C) those represented by the winning groups in the 1989 denetim.

Each region is identified by the city or town it is closest to, followed in parenthesis by the broader region the town or city is found. The numbers under the heading "total" indicate the combined number of times a particular region was performed by all the groups that participated in the denetim in both Ankara and Istanbul.

Ten groups entered the denetim in Ankara in 1990, sixteen participated in Istanbul in 1990. In İzmir only three groups participated in 1990. A total of
thirty regions were represented in the 1990 denetim, with a total of 102 suites performed.

These figures may be suggestive of the relative popularity of different areas in folk dance repertoires, the relative number of peoples from different parts of Turkey living in Ankara and Istanbul, the market of folk dance teachers with particular regions' of expertise, the state of research on the folklore of the regions represented and not represented, and so on. For instance, twenty-four of 102 of the areas represented in the denetim were from Southeast Anatolia, whereas they accounted for only one in twenty of the winning areas. Three in twenty were from the Aegean. In the 1989 denetim, three in thirty-eight of the regions performed by the winning groups in 1989 were from Southeastern Anatolia. Six in thirty-eight were from the Aegean.
A) List of regions represented in the 1990 *denetim*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ankara</th>
<th>Istanbul</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adıyaman (Southeast)</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Artvin (Northeast)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afyon (Central)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergama (Aegean)</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilecik (Marmara)</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bingöl (Southeast)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitlis (Southeast)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolu (Black Sea)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burdur (Central)</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursa-Keles (Marmara)</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinar (Central)</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Diyarbakır (Southeast)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iğdır (East)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kars (Northeast)</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Van (East)</td>
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B) List of regions performed by the winning groups in 1990 *denetim*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ankara</th>
<th>Istanbul</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aydın (including Bergama)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artvin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilecik</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolu</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burdur</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Gaziantep</td>
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<td>Iğdır</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Silivri</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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C) Regions represented by the winning groups of the 1989 *denetim*, including İzmir. (There were eight groups in top five places.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
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<th>İzmir</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Üsküd (Yugoslavia)</td>
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<td>Van (East)</td>
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1992  

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1986  

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1974

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1963

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Spencer, Paul

Spooner, Brian

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Stewart, Kathleen  

Stirling, Paul  

Stoeltjie, Beverly J.  

Supek, Olga  

Tachau, Frank  

Tan, Nail  


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Toygar, Kamil  
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Turan, A. Şekür  
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Turan, İliter  
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Tyler, Steve  
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