Dance, Age and Politics

Proceedings of the 30th Symposium of the
ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology

Edited by
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Nemzeti Kulturális Alap

ÍCTM

Hungarian Association for Ethnochoreology

Bölcsészettudományi
Kutatóközpont
**Zenetudományi
Intézet**

SZTE BTK Néprajzi és Kulturális Antropológiai Tanszék

DANCE, AGE AND POLITICS

Proceedings of the
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28th July – 3rd August 2018
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Proceedings of the 30th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology

Symposium 2018
28th July – 3rd August
International Council for Traditional Music
Study Group on Ethnochoreology

The 30th Symposium was organized by the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, and hosted by the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology (University of Szeged, Hungary), the Hungarian Association for Ethnochoreology, and the Institute for Musicology (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest).

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Sándor Varga
Editor

Foreword

The 30th Symposium of the ICTM's Study Group on Ethnochoreology witnessed another important milestone for the Study Group. Our 1st Study Group Symposium, as we know it today, took place in Copenhagen, Denmark in 1988, and our 30th Symposium, was kindly hosted by Szegedi Tudományegyetem (SZTE) – the University of Szeged in Hungary, where the Faculty of Arts, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, hosted us in collaboration with MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Zenetudományi Intézet (MTA BTK ZTI) – the Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, and the Magyar Etnokoreológiai Társaság – Hungarian Association for Ethnochoreology.

We had a very successful symposium with approximately 90 delegates participating. Paper presentations based on two themes *Dance and Politics,* and *Dance and Age,* were engaging and inspired much debate. Meetings of our four Sub-Study-Groups also occurred: 19th Century Round Dances; Field Research, Theory and Methods; Movement Analysis; and Dance and Ritual. Also, a new Sub-Study Group was proposed: Dance, Gender and Power Relations. We had several dance workshops with live Hungarian music, and other social events, which were organized for us by the Local Arrangements Committee. A particularly memorable one was the evening organized in memory of our recently deceased colleague and friend, Andrée Grau. This event consisted of music, song and dance contributions and sharings in memory of Andrée; it was a beautiful and moving tribute. Delegates also had the opportunity to visit the Historical and Ethnographic Skanzen in Ópusztaszer and the beautiful city of Szeged.

On behalf of the Study Group, I would like to thank the Local Arrangements Committee for their welcome, their hard work and professionalism. The symposium ran smoothly throughout due in no small part to the organizational skills and support of the committee, which consisted of Sándor Varga (Chair) and Vivien Apjok from Szeged, and János Fügedi and Vivien Szőnyi from Budapest.

All successful symposia rely on well-structured programmes and we thank the programme committee for their hard work in creatively putting together a rich and varied one. The programme committee consisted of Georgiana Wierre-Gore (University of Clermont Auvergne, France), Daniela Stavělová (Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), Chi-Fang Chao (Taipei National University of the Arts), Maria Koutsouba (University of Athens), and Mats Nilsson (University of Gothenburg, Sweden). Andrée Grau, formerly of the University of Roehampton UK, was originally Co-Chair of the programme committee, but sadly had passed away during the early stages of programme planning.

As Chair of the Study Group, I am also aware of the work of the members of the board of the Study Group in making symposia happen, so for their contribution to this 30th Symposium, I thank Anne von Bibra Wharton, Placida Staro, and Tvrtko Zebec.

Last but not least, I thank all the delegates – new and senior Study Group members, who came from different parts of the world to present their research in efforts to share, generate, and further knowledge in the field of ethnochoreology. A record

of some of this knowledge is available in this volume, which I hope will be useful for research and teaching purposes.

Our joint commitment to the development of the field of ethnochoreology continues and we look forward to welcoming you all to our 31st Symposium in Klaipeda, Lithuania in July 2021.

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Catherine Foley
University of Limerick, Ireland
Chair, ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology

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Greeting words

Dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me introduce myself: my name is Sándor Varga, Chair of the Hungarian Association of Ethnochoreology, and Chair of the Local Organizing Committee of the 30th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology.

I would like to welcome you here in the Szent-Györgyi Albert Agóra, the most important cultural and community center of Szeged. Let me express our thanks to the director Hedvig Orbán, and all her colleagues, who will help us during this symposium.

There are three institutions contributing to the work of the Local Organizing Committee: the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Szeged University; and the Hungarian Association for Ethnochoreology. All three organizations are committed supporters of culture, research and education.

The Institute for Musicology has a small division, which was managed for many years by György Martin, which has dealt with research into the traditional dance cultures of the Alpine-Carpathian region since 1965.

The Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Szeged University was the first among the Hungarian academic institutions dealing with the research of folk culture. It was established in 1929. Since 2006 we have had a specialisation here on dance folkloristics and dance anthropology on both BA and MA levels and we have dance research as subject among our PhD courses as well.

We are also part of a very important international Erasmus Mundus joint programme. The Choreomundus MA programme investigates dance as Intangible Cultural Heritage within the broader contexts of Ethnochoreology, the Anthropology of Dance, Dance Studies, and Heritage Studies. Our partner institutions are: the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim; the Université Clermont Auvergne, Clermont-Ferrand, France and the University of Roehampton, London, United Kingdom.

The Hungarian Association of Ethnochoreology was established in 2011. The aim of the founders was to create a platform where the Hungarian dance researchers, and the members of the dance-house movement, and stage-dancers could meet and share their experiences.

This event is a momentous one for us, for all three organizing institutes. The success of Hungarian dance folkloristics in the past was appreciated not only in Hungary, but in international forums as well. Nowadays we are in a period of change. A complete reorganisation of the Hungarian academic life is underway, making new demands on us, which we must confront, without losing the real aims of our work. I believe this is only possible within an international framework. Your presence here is very important at this moment.

Let me introduce three colleagues of mine who are also members of the Local Organizing Committee: Viven Apjok and Vivien Szőnyi, PhD students at the University

fo Szeged, and Prof. János Fügedi of the Institue for Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Three technicians among us are also our colleagues, and the assistants you have met already by the registration are or were our students as well. I would like to express my thanks to them already in advance of the work to come.

It is a great honour for us to host you here in Szeged, and we hope you will enjoy your stay and your work here.

I wish a successful symposium for every participant.

Thank you!

Sándor Varga

Editorial Introduction

This volume is based on the lectures given at the 30th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology in Szeged. Along with the paper contributions, we also publish revised abstracts of colleagues who gave lectures but could not send their full lecture text. In the last section of the book we publish the abstracts of those who participated at the symposium but did not send in a paper or a revised abstract for publication.

During the six days of the symposium, a total of nearly ninety presentations were given in the form of individual paper presentations, panel discussions and student presentations. The symposium also featured an unusual panel discussion: Andrée Grau's 'Soft Politics': Reflections on Grau's 2016 article "Why People Dance – Evolution, Sociality and Dance." The international community of dance researchers paid tribute to the memory of our recently deceased colleague. An essay-like study can be found in this volume.

During the editing, we kept in mind the coherence of the topics, so we present the different types of presentations together, arranged in two thematic blocks. The Program Committee and the ICTM Study Group board members identified the two topics in the announcement of the symposium as follows:

Theme 1 – Dance and Politics

Politics and the political are understood here broadly. Following cultural theorist Stuart Hall we recognise that political forces – emergent or established – may not always "look" political and that the political can be seen as a 'lived, decentred, disorderly domain, composed of myths and passions as much as of rational doctrines'. In this way dance can help us to think about politics in new ways, which may indeed help us redefine politics.

Presentations may be on themes such as:
·   Dance and body politics
·   Dance/ritual as sites of resistance
·   Dance, cultural diversity, and dissidence
·   Dance and the politics of knowledge
·   The politics of participation in dance
·   Dance and the politics of identity
·   Dance and the politics of representation
·   Constructing hegemonies through dance
·   Dance, hegemonies, and minorities

Theme 2 – Dance and Age

The concept of age here is understood both as a social construct, rooted in varied systems of values, as well as a biological "fact." Age is therefore seen as fluid and dynamic, as a state of becoming, often linked to discourses on the body.

Presentations may be on themes such as:
- Dance and the aging body
- Age, dance, and the presentation of the self
- Expectations, standards, limitations, canonisation etc. in dance cultures regarding different age groups
- The relationship between particular age groups in local dance cultures
- The changing of dance skills, dance knowledge, and dance "spirit" throughout a dancer's life
- The transmission of dance knowledge between generations
- Dance fashions and their associated etiquette across generations
- The relationship between age groups and different dance groups (revival scenes, dance-houses etc.)
- The relationship between the researcher's age group and the researched age group

Within the two thematic blocks, the conference papers are presented in the order of utterance at the conference.

The sub-topics indicated above or the panels of the conference could not be taken into consideration because not all speakers submitted their texts, and there were panels with only one text in our volume. At the same time, the volume is also a kind of report, so our goal is to give an authentic picture of the conference, so we have included a detailed program as well.

The volume also includes a photo appendix of moments during the 30th Symposium, which can be found at the end of the book along with the short biographies of all conference participants.

The Editors

Conference Programme

Saturday 28th July 2018

Registration

Sunday 29th July 2018

Registration | Opening Ceremony | Reception with lunch

THEME 1: DANCE AND POLITICS

Panel 1: Dance and the politics of knowledge (Egil Bakka & Siri Mæland)
If we as dance researchers are to engage in politics, questions of relevance will arise: What kind of knowledge do we produce? Does society need this knowledge? Is our research beneficial to the society, and who decides what is beneficial? The panel aims to give example of ways to handle standpoints concerning the realities and potentials of our disciplinary relevance within the communities in which we act, being educational, institutional or community based research. The panel participants, coming from and bringing in cases from different nation states in what is called Northern, Southern and Eastern Europe calls the attention to how these questions about dance knowledge are answered under different ideological ideas and/or nation states politics.

Catherine Foley The Politics of Dance Knowledge: An Examination of Irish Traditional Dance within Third Level Education
Maria I. Koutsouba Dance and the Politics of Knowledge or Politics and the Knowledge of Dance? Looking at Politics through the Teaching of Dance
Rebeka Kunej Folk Dance Knowledge and Its Transmissions outside the Scope of Research
Selena Rakočević Dance and Politics: Ethnochoreological Research in Post-Socialist Societies of Former Yugoslavia
Siri Mæland Is It Relevant to Bring Practical Dance Knowledge into Speech?
Egil Bakka Balancing Dance as Art and Culture in Education

IP 1: Dance and the politics of participation and display (Chair: Theresa Buckland)

Irene Loutzaki Celebrity Politicians: Popular Dance and the Politics of Display
Rainer Polak It's Your Dance! The Politics of Participation in Drum/Dance Performance in Southern Mali
Şebnem Sözer Özdemir Politics of Participation in *Sema*: Ritual or Dance? Encounter or Spectacle?

Ann R. David Colonial Legacies or Innovative Performances? Indian Dancer Ram Gopal's International Productions of the 1930s-50s

IP 2: Dance and the politics of knowledge (Chair: Maria I. Koutsouba)

Sille Kapper Estonian Dance Celebration and the Politics of Knowledge Transmission
János Fügedi Parallel Events, Synchronous Themes: A Comparative Content Analysis of Traditional Dance

Sub-study group meeting: Field Research

Sub-study group meeting: Movement Analysis

Monday 30ᵗʰ July 2018

Panel 2: Transylvanian 'folk dance and musical heritage' in the light of Romanian and Hungarian Policies in a glocalized world (Colin Quigley)
Much has been written about multi-sited and multi-level ethnography of the post-colonial world, but much less has been said from this perspective in the context of the former Eastern European communist bloc, especially in the literature on traditional music and dance. This panel is about redefining a fertile research field in Eastern European ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology by scholars who wish to share their insider and outsider perspectives on the Transylvanian context. Historically represented by parallel national typologies, music and dance rooted in this region have long been performed in different settings by changing communities, interacting with other local communities, influenced by state-sponsored policies and practices, and finally by the trends of the global market and media. We can build a better understanding of the status and future of Transylvanian popular culture only if we raise new questions fit to the actual situation. Csilla Könczei will investigate the historical ideological and institutional background of the Romanian and Hungarian national state policies towards 'folk dance and musical heritage' from the modernist turn until the present. Sándor Varga will be presenting the results of his research on the impact of the dance-house-tourism on local communities from Transylvania in the context of institutionalized propagation of Hungarian national culture. Corina Iosif Sîrbu will present an analysis of Romanian media policies upon 'folk dance and musical heritage'. Finally, Colin Quigley will trace the routes and bifurcations of Transylvanian traditional folk representations on the level of the global cultural market.

Csilla Könczei Ideological Foundations of Romanian and Hungarian Cultural Policies towards 'Folk Dance and Musical Heritage'

Colin Quigley Transylvanian Traditional Folk Representations on the Level of the Global Cultural Market
Corina Iosif Sîrbu The Effects of Romanian Media Policy on 'Folk Dance and Musical heritage'
Sándor Varga The Impact of the Hungarian and Romanian Revival on Dance Traditions of Villages in the Transylvanian Plain

IP 3: Dance and body politics (Chair: Placida Staro)

Theresa J. Buckland 'We Tried to Fly!': Corporeal Politics in English Revival Morris Dancing
Chi-Fang Chao Re-embodiment of Obedience? The Politics in the Contemporary Okinawan Cultural Performance of *Shurijosai*
Urmimala Sarkar Choreographing Rehabilitation: Facilitating Reclamation of Agency for Female Survivors of Sexual Violence
Cristiana Natali Choreographic Practices and Commemoration of the Dead: a Case Study from the Tamil Diaspora

Panel 3: Sites of resistance: Dancing bodies, identity, and the politics of place (Pegge Vissicaro)
Looking through the lens of a politics of place – an analytic that borrows frameworks from cultural studies, cultural geography, anthropology, and sociology – this panel will present research that investigates links between dance practices and identity formation from a diverse range of theoretical views and geographical locales. Phenomenologically, place can be defined as any environmental locus that draws human experiences, actions, and meanings together spatially. The porous, shifting boundaries of these sites, which we also locate within the dancing body, are relational, heterogeneous, and thus contested, situating place in the political arena. Through the production of place and the ways that locales come to have associations of identity, we seek to understand the place making capacity of dance as a mode of negotiation, power, protest, struggle, resistance, and resilience.
Some of the questions our research studies explore are: 1) What discourses of place emerge in dancing bodies? 2) What role does dance play in the narrativization of place and the way in which people define their relationship to local, everyday surroundings? 3) How are power structures revealed by navigating place? 4) How does place become a force of mobilization? 5) When do movement practices become sites of resistance? 6) Why, where, and how does dance as resistance emerge to effect social change? 7) How is dance as resistance a cultural marker of agency? 8) Where and how do identity formations take place in sites of resistance? 9) What relationships exist between place and ethnicity, gender, nationality, class, and other identity constructions in various locales?

Adair Landborn Radical Territory: Rocio Molina's Iconoclastic Choreography and the Flamenco Body as a Site of Female Emancipation through Kinetic Resistance and Somatic Transformation

Barbara Alge Politics of Place and Ethnicity in São Tomé through Dance
Linda Dankworth Cultural Identities Redefined in Mallorquin Dance through the Politics of Shared Public Places, Nationalism and Tourism.
Pegge Vissicaro Moving Community, Making Place: Public Square Dancing as Political Activism in Xichang, Sichuan Province, China

IP4: Folk dance and the politics of identity (Chair: Andriy Nahachewsky)

Dalia Urbanaviciene Lithuanian Folk Dance and the Politics of Identity during the Soviet and the post-Soviet times
Gergana Panova-Tekath Professional Folk Dancing as a Political Mission.
The Bulgarian pre- and post- 1989 Model
Lily Antzaka Nationalizing Greek Folk Dancing. From Non-Western to Greek only

YS 1 PhD (Chair: Chi-Fang Chao)

Kristina Dolinina Classical Indian Dance Kathak: The Issues of Representation and Domination
Yuan Wenbin New Dance of Hakka Tradition: Research on the Intangible Cultural Heritage Project "Cup Flower" as an Example
Idris Ersan Küçük Analysing Rize Folk Dances in the Context of Official Ideology
Dóra Pál-Kovács Men and Women in Transylvanian Village's Dance Tradition

Tuesday 31st July 2018

Panel 4: Politics of participation in participatory dancing (Kendra Stepputat)
Participatory dance events invoke ideas of voluntary and consensual engagement. Such idealizations, however, may obscure diverse and complex power relations among the participants. Each individual may have her/his own particular goals and interests, status and ideals, advantages and limitations. These diverse perspectives and aspirations may produce tensions, which themselves may be regulated in various ways by formal or informal rules of interaction. Regulations in participatory dancing might be initiated and enforced actively by individuals in positions of power within the community. At the other end of a continuum, regulations might be sustained by the community at large, on such an intrinsic level that members might not even be aware any rules exist.
In this panel, the speakers will present examples of politics in participatory dance forms from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds: Ukrainian, Italian, and Madagascan, salsa, swing, and tango argentino. The case studies, all based on extensive fieldwork and participant observation, address rules of participation that are based on particular cultural practices: individual ambition, gender relations, generational issues, skill, social exclusiveness, and others. Panelists and audience members will be invited to identify cross-cultural patterns in participatory dance politics.

Andriy Nahachewsky Politics in Participatory Group Dances: Three Case Studies
Placida Staro "The *Vala* is a Serious Thing"
Kendra Stepputat Restricted Participation in a Participatory Dance – Tango Argentino and its Elite Structure Politics
Sydney Hutchinson Followers Strike back! The Dynamics of Dialogue in Contemporary Partner Dance
Cornelia Gruber The Emotional Labour of Dancing: Negotiations of Gender, Age and Ancestral Affiliation

IP 5: Dance and the politics of identity (Chair: Catherine Foley)

Liz Mellish & Nick Green Politics of Representation, Identity and Minorities in Amateur Folk Dance Competitions in the Banat Region
Jeanette Mollenhauer "Irish" or "Irish-Australian", but not "British": Dance, Identity Construction and the Hegemonies of Diasporic Politics in Sydney, Australia
Fahriye Dincer An Analysis of the Place of Dance in Relation to Identity Construction Process
Barbara Čurda Controversies on "Correct Performance" of the Classical Dance Form Odissi in Bhubaneswar in India

Panel 5: National folk dance ensembles in the Balkans and the politics of creativity and representation (Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg)
By the end of the 1940s, many of the countries of South-Eastern Europe were greatly influenced by the Soviet ideology of the power of the working class and the art of the peasantry. Inspired by the Moiseyev ensemble that toured Bulgaria and former Yugoslavia in the mid 1940s, by the end of the 1940s and early 1950s Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria founded their national folk dance ensembles whose task was to represent the heritage, culture and traditional music and dance of their nations. This task was specifically complex in the Yugoslav republics since despite the idea of the imagined Yugoslav nation and identity, these institutions, along with the Cultural Artistic Associations (KUDs), were one of the few through which the republic can present its heritage (and the heritage of the minorities that lived in the country) as different from the other republics. The model of representation was based on a theatrical performance, where folk dances from the afore mentioned countries were choreographed and adapted for the proscenium stage and presented as traditional, national i.e. Macedonian/Serbian/Bulgarian.
This panel will address the political decisions involved in the creating of national folk dance repertoire and therefore national dances, based on the people who worked as dance leaders/choreographers in the national state ensembles. Filip Petkovski will address three different phases of the politics of representing the Macedonian nation through the work of the ensemble "Tanec"; Vesna Bajić Stojiljković will examine the development of the oldest Art group of the Central House of the Yugoslav Army and the ensemble "Kolo" from Serbia and its politics of creation and representation, while Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg will portray the current political situation in Bulgaria by looking at the two national ensembles.

Filip Petkovski Staging Macedonia: The Interplay of Politics and Representation through the Work of the Macedonian National Folk Dance Ensemble "Tanec"
Vesna Bajić Stojiljković Politics of Creativity and Representation in the Stage Folk Dance in Serbia: The "Art group of the Central House of the Yugoslav Army" and the National Ensemble of Folk dances and Songs "Kolo"
Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg Representations of the Nation: The Cases with "Philip Koutev" National Ensemble and National Ensemble "Bulgare"

IP 6: Dance & cultural politics (Chair: Selena Rakočević)

Theresa Jacobs "Serbska Reja" – Creative Collective Resilience
Lucie Hayashi How Much for a Dancer? Failure of Culture Politics in Japan and Czech Republic and its Role in Evolution of Dance Education, Career and Society

Panel 7: Andrée Grau's "soft politics": Reflections on Grau's 2016 article 'Why people dance – evolution, sociality and dance' (Georgiana Gore & Gediminas Karoblis)
This panel emerged out of its members' appreciation and respective readings of Andrée Grau's 2016 article 'Why people dance – evolution, sociality and dance'. It was, we believe, her last published article before she died in September 2017 as it appeared in December of 2016. It combined a number of her long-standing preoccupations, many of which grew from her close collaboration with her PhD supervisor and mentor John Blacking. These included a belief in the special powers of dance as a significant development in human evolution. We quote from the article's abstract:

> *Dance, along with song and body percussion, is contained within the body. All three therefore can be said to belong to the most elementary artistic processes. The anthropologist John Blacking believed that they were 'a special kind of exercise of sensory, communicative and co-operative powers that is as fundamental to the making and remaking of human nature as speech' (1987:60). The article engages with such an idea and examines the significance of dance in human evolution, moving away from the usual schema that presents bipedalism and the development of language as the two key moments in human evolution. It argues instead that it was the ability to move together in time that allowed collaboration among individuals, which led to the acquisition of language, and therefore culture.*

It is with these and other ideas in the article that this panel shall engage with an understanding that they are fundamentally political.

Gediminas Karoblis Political Origin of Dance / Kinetic Origin of Politics
Georgiana Gore Dancing: Experimental Politics
Marie-Pierre Gibert Discussant

Social Event in Honour of Andrée Grau Followed by Dancing
Wednesday 1st August 2018

Panel 8: The politics of folk dance in Sweden and Norway – ideologies, cultural heritage, gender and identity (Linnea Helmersson)

Dance and dancing is political in many ways. In Sweden today, folk dance is struggling with associations to xenophobia and reactionary, nationalist values, due to anti-immigrant movements highlighting traditional culture. This has turned many practioners into activists, challenging the nationalist rhetoric and manifesting pro-immigrant opinions.

At the same time, within the folk dance scene, politics are manifested in identity forming processes and the negotiation of gender and other normative values. Folk dancing in Sweden of today is political in many aspects, which will be discussed in this panel. We will also add a historical perspective of the politicizing of folk dance in Sweden. Also in Norway, the folk music and folk dancing have been politicized and was taken for Nazi values during the Second World War. Today, culture is discussed in terms of "Norwegian values" where some want to secure the national values whereas others want to open the concept for new traditions. How can the traditions be safeguarded to keep the variations in a global world without being associated with Neo-Nazism values?

Mats Nilsson The Ongoing Fight for Ownership of Folk Dance and Music
Anna Nyander Gender Structures in Swedish Folk Dance
Linnea Helmersson Swedish Folk Dance as a Contested and Politicised Scene
Marit Stranden The Politics of Folk Dance as Cultural Heritage

Panel 9: Different lens of dance and politics in Greek traditional dance (Konstantinos Dimopoulos)

In many cases, dance as an embodied non-verbal practice and "a particular form of social interaction" (Giurchescu, 2014:110) has been used as a policy instrument for various identities (national, local, gender-related), where "forms of movement and socio-political life take shape simultaneously if apparently independently" (Franco, 2006:4). Particularly, in the Greek context, the triptych of song, music and dance (movement) was used in the recent past as a mechanism "of accommodation incorporating elements of dominant powers for maintaining national identities, or expressing populist policy" (Loutzaki, 2001:127). The purpose of this panel is to introduce different aspects of the interaction between dance and politics in Greek traditional dance through three distinct "fields"-contexts and relevant approaches. In the first case, dance is used as a political "vehicle" by women, in order to confirm or question their gender role in dance practices as well as their social role within a male-based society. In the second case, a dance ritual is influenced, manipulated and directed by each ruling class, resulting, on one hand, in transformations of the dance itself and on the other hand, in the determination of participating or non-participating in it. In the third case, politics is – by definition – a crucial factor in the formation of the individual expatriated dance tradition of Greek political refugees, in participatory and presentational contexts respectively. In conclusion, the above case studies reveal the diversity of "politics" as this is reflected in the particular paradigms of interaction between dance and gender, dance and political or ethnic identities,

dance and the politics of participation, dance and minorities and, finally, dance and hegemonies.

Konstantinos Dimopoulos From Body Politics to the Politics of Embodied Action: Gender and Gender Relation Policies through the Dance Practices of a Greek Community (Megala Kalyvia, Thessaly)
Georgios K. Fountzoulas Dancing the Politics: The Case of the 'Gaitanaki' Ritual Dance at the Skala Community in Central Greece
Chariton Charitonidis Dance and Politics: The Case of Greek Political Refugees in Hungary

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Sub-study group meeting: Dance & Ritual

Excursion to Ópusztaszer National Heritage Park

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Sub-study group meeting: 19th Century Round Dances (Venue: Science Hotel)

Thursday 2nd August 2018

Panel 10: Dance, politics and representations: the case of folk dance performances in former Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 20th century (Daniela Stavělová)
The aim of the panel is to discuss the "folklore revival movement" that is activities of folk ensembles – a widespread phenomenon in the former socialist Czechoslovakia (1948–1989), which has its continuity in today's Czech Republic. The three panelists have recently been involved in an interdisciplinary project based on the methods of oral history, textual analysis and anthropological study of music and dance, aimed at exploring the ambivalence of the phenomenon and its ideological connotations. The project aims to explore, in the same way, the dichotomy of the phenomenon, and the research is expected to provide various perspectives for considering to what extent the movement was an instrument of power and to what extent it was an opportunity to implement one's own strategies. The panel reflects the representation of the ideology by folk ensembles in the former socialist Czechoslovakia from three different perspectives. The first paper deals with representation as a social conversation on how to support the ideology with choreographic means; next, contemporary texts showing the expectations of the establishment are analyzed; the last perspective is that of insiders with a focus on the way individuals were influenced by ideological pressures.

Kateřina Černíčková Dancing Through or Despite Politics? Narratives in the Process of Understanding Socio-Cultural and Political Circumstances of Cultural Activities

Daniela Stavělová Power of Representation: Stereotypification and Selectivity in Dance Performances
Dorota Gremlicová Folk Dance and Song Ensembles Guided and Appraised

Sub-study group chair reports

Panel 11: The politics of dance, representation, and identity in Appalachia, USA (Stephanie Smith)
In October 2017, the three panel members participated in a special symposium in celebration of Cecil Sharp's visit to Pine Mountain Settlement School in 1917, where he first saw and later described what he called the "Running Set." Wide-ranging opinions were expressed in response to the presentations. Some feathers were ruffled as issues of racism, sexism, power, cultural identity, and hegemonic forces were brought to light during our discussion of Appalachian folk dance and the politics of dance, identity and representation in Appalachia. This panel will describe and interrogate the controversial origins of the "Running Set," the continually evolving interpretations of this dance, and the politics of its performance 100 years later.

Stephanie Smith Setting the Scene: Cecil Sharp's "Running Set" and its Legacy 100 Years Later
Phil Jamison Cecil Sharp's "Running Set" – Diversity and Dance in Appalachia
Deborah J. Thompson More than Black and White: Negotiating the Anglocentric Underpinnings of an Appalachian Folk Dance Team

YS 2: PhD & post-PhD

Stefano Reyes The Method of Connective Context: A Choreological and Urbanistic Approach to the Study of Meeting Structures
Josef Bartoš Pressure from "above": Dancing Dissidence in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s and 60s
Zdravko Ranisavljević and Miloš Rašić Serbian *Kolo* and Politics
Linda Cimardi Polycentric Powers and multiple strategies of Representation in Dances from Western Uganda

Business Meeting (ICTM members only)

THEME 2: DANCE AND AGE

IP 7: Dancing across generations (Chair: Ann R. David)

Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin The Phenomenon of Age in Western Anatolia Local Dance Culture in Turkey
Mark E. Perry The Sardana as a Generational Practice

Judith E. Olson Intergenerational Transformation of Balkan Dance in New York: Not your Mother's Folkdance

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IP 8: Dance and aging: physical, emotional and cognitive dimensions (Chair: Marit Stranden)

László Felföldi If the "Spirit" Passes Away: Role of Enthusiasm in Dancers' Life
Leslie Hall Ballroom Dance in Toronto: A Case Study
Orfhlaith Ni Bhriain Irish Social Dance for Health and Wellbeing in Older Adults

YS 3 Masters & post-masters (Chair: Rebeka Kunej)

Natasa Chanta-Martin "Cramming" Your Way through Dance: a Matter of Legitimacy or Power Relations
Urvi Vora Performing Everyday Infinities at the Wagah-Attari Border
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IP 9: Dance and generational changes (Chair: Mats Nilsson)

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YS 4 PhD (Chair: Csilla Könczei)

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Anna Székely The Notion of Dance Knowledge in the Current Hungarian Folk Dance Subculture

Feedback session on 2 symposium themes
Closing Ceremony with Reception at Symposium Venue

THEME 1
DANCE AND POLITICS

Catherine E. Foley

THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE: AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF ETHNOCHOREOLOGY ON THE CURRICULUM DESIGN OF AN MA IN IRISH TRADITIONAL DANCE PERFORMANCE PROGRAMME

Abstract

This paper examines how ethnochoreologists can impact on curriculum design and development within tertiary level dance education. The paper focuses on the MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme at the University of Limerick, Ireland, and its establishment in 1999. Drawing on personal experience, critical reflection, relevant literature including the work of Bacon, Foucault, Nola, and ethnographic interviews with students of the programme, the paper explores issues relating to dance, power and the politics of knowledge. The paper argues that ethnochoreologists as educationalists can address these issues by highlighting the role that power plays in the representation, misrepresentation or non-representation of dance knowledge within tertiary level education and by actively engaging in designing and developing dance curricula that is inclusive and respectful of diverse forms of dance knowledge.

Keywords: Irish dancing, politics, knowledge, ethnochoreology, university curriculum

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Ethnochoreologists and dance anthropologists have long been in agreement that dance is embodied knowledge – corporeal and cognitive [Browning 1995, Daniel 1995, Foley 2013, Sklar 2008], and yet some systems of dance knowledge may be more valued than others in society. This may be due to changing socio-cultural landscapes of particular dance practices, ideological agendas, which may cultivate and promote some dance forms or dance styles over others, or the cultural and symbolic capital associated with particular dance practices at specific points in time. The question thus emerges: who are the people / institutions, who decide what dance practices or systems of knowledge, are selected as having more value than other dance systems of knowledge at specific points in time? And, what role de we, as ethnochoreologists play in our engagement with such discourses?

In this paper, I will first discuss issues relating to knowledge and power and I will then focus on my own engagement with hegemonic and ideological structures in the field of Irish dancing in Ireland and my subsequent endeavours to construct a counter-hegemonic aesthetic in designing an MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance at the University of Limerick, Ireland in 1999.

Knowledge and Power
The French sociologist Foucault states

> When I read – and I know it has been attributed to me – the thesis 'Knowledge is power', or 'Power is knowledge', I begin to laugh, since studying their relation is precisely my problem. If they were identical, I would not have to study them and I would be spared a lot of fatigue as a result. The very fact that I pose the question of their relation proves clearly that I do not identify them [Foucault in Kritzman 1988:43].

According to Nola [1998], however, the connection between power and knowledge is at least as old as Francis Bacon's[1] remark: "Human knowledge and human power come to the same thing". Nola suggests that there are two ways in which to understand this Baconiam aphorism: "we only have the power (or ability) to bring about certain effects in nature, if we know that particular causes bring about particular effects, or if we know how to manipulate causes to bring about desired effects" [Nola 1998:110].

Relating this statement to culture and to my paper, I would argue that if we, as ethnochoreologists, can "know that" particular socio-cultural or political changes can cause particular effects in dance performance / knowledge, then we may become empowered to "know how" to manipulate these causes to bring about desired effects in dance performance / knowledge.

Personal Narrative
As a young child learning to do Irish dancing, I had no idea of any political connotations relating to the dance practice. I learned Irish dancing because I loved the dance form, the music that went with it, the sociality within the dance school and other social events, and the sense of belonging and community it provided. However, as Foucault states

> People know what they do; frequently they know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does." [Foucault in Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982:187]

When later – in the 1980s, I worked as a collector of Irish traditional music, song and dance for Muckross House in Killarney, County Kerry – in the south-west coast of Ireland, my curiosity was aroused when I was informed that a particular style of traditional step dancing was no longer practised as much as it once had been in the region. In other words, it was not as culturally valued in the locality as much as it once had been; or as much specifically as the more formalised, staged Irish competitive step dance practice as was being taught by registered teachers of Irish dancing[2] to young dancers in the region.

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1   Francis Bacon (1561-1626) was a Renaissance English philosopher, scientist and lawyer and is widely considered to be the father of empiricism and the Scientific Revolution of the Renaissance period.
2   The majority of these registered teachers were associated with *An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha*, the largest international Irish dancing organisation in the world. From here on in, I will refer to this organisation as *An Coimisiún* (trans. The Commission).

My subsequent engagement with literature in the social sciences for my doctoral research – again in the 1980s, assisted in providing a lens through which I was able to examine different step-dance practices and their respective knowledge and aesthetic systems. Arising from my research I was able to understand and write about how the Gaelic League, a cultural nationalist movement established at the end of the nineteenth century in Ireland, invented and cultivated Irish dancing as a cultural signifier and embodiment of Ireland through a hierarchical system of staged competitions at local and regional levels. I was also able to argue then, as now, that the appropriation of step dancing by the Gaelic League illustrated the importance of dancing for the dissemination of the ideological agenda of the League – the de-anglicisation of Ireland [Foley 2012 [1988]; 2001; 2013]. Thus, within Ireland, as in other postcolonial nations, nationalism had been fundamental to the decolonising and postcolonial imagination, and dance had played an important role in this re-imagining [Foley 2013].

The ideological agenda of the Gaelic League was popularised and disseminated with the establishment of the Irish dance organisation *An Coimisiín le Rincí Gaelacha*, by the Gaelic League in 1930. Today *An Coimisúun* is the largest Irish dance organisation in the world, with registered teachers of Irish dance in towns and cities of Ireland, the diaspora and further afield. *An Coimisiún* came to function as a hegemonic organisation, controlling and institutionalising Irish dancing through its registration of Irish dance teachers and adjudicators, the creation of a canon of Irish dances, published by *An Coimisiún* in a booklet of group dances titled *Ár Rincidhe Fóirne: Thirty Popular Figure Dance,* and the development of a hierarchical system of staged competitions – culminating in what is commonly called the WORLDs [see Foley 2012 [1988]; 2013].

I argue that hierarchies are a manifestation of power. They can signify higher and lower ranks, prestige and influence. Wherever they occur, they reflect structures of authority and power, and thus the essence of politics. In the field of Irish dancing, *An Coimisiún* exerted its power over Irish dancing through the hierarchicised staged competitions and training in schools of registered schools of Irish dancing. A particular configuration of Irish dancing was thus developed. In *Step Dancing in Ireland* [2013], I argued that this training of Irish dancers created disciplined dancers whose technique and dance abilities were measured through the hierarchical system of competitions and through what Foucault [1977:182-183] suggested was a double-edged system of gratification-punishment where dancers' performances at a competition were measured 'in quantitative terms and hierarchize(d) in terms of values and abilities' [Foley 2013:189-192].

I would argue therefore that my research as an ethnochoreologist [Foley 2012; 2013] assisted in providing the "knowing that" part of the Baconian aphorism, and this together with my own dance training within the competitive arena, my encounters with traditional dance practices in both rural and urban regions of Ireland throughout my life, provided me with embodied knowledge and a perspective that would assist with a "knowing how" to bring about a desired effect when designing and directing an MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme at the University of Limerick in 1999.

A Counter-hegemonic Aesthetic: the MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance
The politics of knowledge and the politics of representation were present within my decision-making processes in designing the MA programme – which was the first of its kind at any university in the world. Questions arose such as: What should be represented and why? And, how should different dance practices be represented and by whom? Thus, in designing the MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance, my position was to be inclusive of different step-dance and dance practices in an attempt to construct a counter-hegemonic aesthetic to that of the existing hegemonic structures within Irish competitive dance training; and more pragmatically, to train Irish dance students for employment. Thus, in designing the programme and its curriculum, perceived marginalized step-dance practices, some world dance practices, ballet, contemporary dance principles, and indeed, techniques as developed within the competitive step-dance arenas were included. Theoretical contextualisations of these practices were also examined in seminars to engage students in political, cultural and aesthetic discourses surrounding these practices; students also underwent fieldwork to critically engage with other dance communities and to develop a reflexivity. I would argue, therefore, that the programme assisted in providing students with the "knowing that" part of the Baconian aphorism, and with an awareness and recognition for potential futures within or outside of competition culture. In interviewing some of the current students (May 2018) the following comments were made in response to a question I posed concerning the presence of politics from their university experience of doing the MA programme:

> I didn't find that. We were exposed to so many different aspects of dance, both within Irish dance and other forms of dance as well, we were able to learn different histories and different styles of dance… sean nós… flamenco, English clogging, and we got a sense of other types of percussive dances as well. And we learned about the history of Irish dancing and sean nós dancing, and it opened up all these doors, which really I didn't know existed prior to that, so I don't find it to be too political within the academy. It's an open forum really. [Student 1. Anonymous. May 2018]

Another student commented

> I think dance can be political. I have such a background with competitive Irish dance, that politics seems to go hand in hand with competition, so I would say, until I came here to the Academy, I would say that dance was political. There is always so much talk about the politics with the judging – liking certain steps better because it's a certain teacher, and coming to the Academy, I felt a lot of that went away, as a lot of different things are accepted and it's more open minded. [Student 2. Anonymous. May 2018]

When I asked students if there was a general feeling among students that there was a hierarchy within the Irish dance organisations, one student stated:

> At the beginning I had an innate reaction that somebody trained with *An Coimisiún* had a better competitive result... but by the end of the programme, there was not this reaction… I cannot get over how much of a change it has been coming here….there is not a lot of politics here, which I like. People share

their knowledge but there does not seem to be a political agenda. [Student 3. Anonymous. May 2018]

When I asked if the selection of material to be learned was political, the student selected a dance they had learned as part of Irish dance repertoire and style – *The Priest in his Boots*, a solo traditional jig, and said that it was not chosen because it was a political move, but "because it was …left out of the competitive [arena], and none of us would have experience of learning *The Priest in his Boots* in our schools". [Student 3. Anonymous. May 2018]

Another student commented

> When you look across the board, particularly in Irish dance, at all the different organisations that have developed up to this point, they all have their own political agenda in regards to dance, so what you know comes out of that organisation until you're able to broaden your horizons, and getting knowledge from other sources as well. [Student 4. Anonymous. May 2018]

These other sources refer to what is learned on the MA Irish Traditional Dance programme which includes workshops in diverse forms of dance and critical engagement with a growing literature in Irish dance studies from ethnochoreological, sociological, historical, and practice-based perspectives.

When I asked if they continue to compete in Irish dance competitions, one student had the following to say:

> I did the Worlds this year in Glasgow – with Commission. I have danced my whole life with Commission, for almost 22 years, with the same teacher. I like that I have the knowledge from that organisation, from my teacher, and that I can come here (the Irish World Academy) and learn from people who have danced with Comhdháil, people who have danced with CRN, who are just willing to share their knowledge and what they know. [Student 4. Anonymous. May 2018]

Another student said

> I don't know if I can go back to competing, even if I wanted to. I have just seen so many different avenues for Irish dance now….I stopped competing a few years ago, I toured with a few companies, I never really loved competing and I loved performing, so the programme seemed the right step for me; this art form that I love so much, I wanted to delve as deep as I could into it. [Student 3. Anonymous. May 2018]

Conclusion

Referring back to Bacon's aphorism, I would argue that "knowing that" can assist us as ethnochoreologists within the education system in the "knowing how" to contribute to deeper understandings of dance, society and humanity and to decision-making processes. This paper illustrated how this was particularly relevant within the curriculum design of an MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme at

the University of Limerick in Ireland. Therefore, I would argue that the knowledge that we discover as ethnochoreologists can potentially provide us with important insights which we can utilise to provide better understanding not only of specific dance practices, but also of political and cultural-economic processes in society, which for better or worse, dancers and others, consciously or unconsciously, engage in. Within educational institutions, where we may find ourselves, we can endeavour to expose students and others to engage with wider socio-cultural processes which may allow for individual and societal developments to emerge. In the case of the MA programme, students engaged with marginalised discourses to bring new awareness and knowledge to their practice and to assist them in developing their own dance work, which may contribute to wider understandings of Irish dance and Irish culture both within and outside of the hegemonic competition culture of Irish step dancing.

Finally, in our role as ethnochoreologists within educational institutions, we can also assist in endeavours of recovery and transmission of dance knowledge which has been marginalised. Indeed, we can aim for a more critically informed and engaged understanding of dance and our humanity and a better understanding of the role that power plays within the representation, misrepresentation or non-representation of this dance knowledge.

Figure 1. Tereza Bernardova (student on the MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme) performing sean nós dance at the ICTM's 27th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology, University of Limerick. July 2012. Musician: Ryan Murphy. Photograph by Mats Melin.

Figure 2. Mateusz Wójcik, Joey Comerford, Ashlene McFadden and Andrew Vickers
(students on the MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme).
The Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick. 2011.
Photograph by Maurice Gunning.

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Student 2. Anonymous (consultant).
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Student 3. Anonymous (consultant).
2018. Interview recorded by Catherine E. Foley in May 2018. Private collection of Catherine E. Foley. (Digital audio file.)

Student 4. Anonymous (consultant).
2018. Interview recorded by Catherine E. Foley in May 2018. Private collection of Catherine E. Foley. (Digital audio file.)

Maria I. Koutsouba

DANCE AND THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE OR POLITICS AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF DANCE? LOOKING AT POLITICS THROUGH THE TEACHING OF DANCE

Abstract

The ideal for human beings in the 21st century is the same as it has always been, i.e. the cultivation of active citizens who have been shaped as critical thinkers and consequently doers. Politics and knowledge are interwoven in this perspective. The question arises whether dance knowledge can contribute towards this aim; and more precisely, which dance knowledge can contribute towards this aim, how, and under what conditions. The aim of the present paper is to look at the transmission of dance (knowledge) in an educational context and a particular implementation strategy for supporting the development of critical thinkers and doers. In order to do this, the morphological method of the analysis of dance is transformed to a teaching method, i.e. the morphological teaching method of dance. This teaching method is then associated with Bloom's taxonomy of cognitive domains and Krathwohl's taxonomy modeled by Rex Heer in 2012. I show that the morphological teaching method of dance can support development in the cognitive domain too. Thus, the teaching of dance can contribute to the shaping of critical thinkers and doers, – to the configuration of active citizens. My example will be drawn from Greek traditional dance.

Keywords: active citizen, critical thinking, Bloom's taxonomy, transmission of dance knowledge, morphological teaching method of dance, Greek traditional dance

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Introduction

This paper constituted part of a panel entitled "Dance and the politics of knowledge" that addressed a number of questions regarding the engagement of dance researchers in politics. It was assumed that dance researchers cannot avoid questions such as: what kind of knowledge do they produce, what kind of knowledge is possible to produce, and whether their research is useful for society in the first place. This paper aimed to answer such questions, reformulated given my personal experience and interests. In particular, the starting point of this paper lies in the premise that human beings in the 21st century are ideally configured as active citizens, a desire as old as human being themselves. This presupposes the shaping of critical thinkers and doers, a situation in which politics and knowledge are inevitably interwoven.

Regarding dance, questions arise as to whether dance knowledge can contribute towards the aforementioned premises and whether this contribution can lead to a deeper understanding of dance per se. More specifically, which dance knowledge can contribute, how, and under which conditions. The aim of the paper is to look

at the transmission of dance (knowledge) in an educational context and the implementation of strategies to support the development of critical thinkers and doers. With this in mind, the morphological analysis of dance is transformed into a teaching method, called the morphological teaching method of dance. This teaching method is then associated with the development of the cognitive domain of Bloom's taxonomy of educational learning objectives as revised in 2001 and modeled in 2012. It is shown that the morphological teaching method of dance can support development in the cognitive domain too. Thus, the teaching of dance can contribute to the shaping of critical thinkers and doers, i.e. to the configuration of active citizens. My example will be drawn from Greek traditional dance.

The stimulus

I was born and brought up in Greece. I danced (and still dance) as Greek traditional dance used to be danced, an integral part of life both in rural and in urban settings (through family celebrations, weddings, village fairs, festivals, festivities, dance clubs, tourist dance groups and other cultural events) [Koutsouba 1991, 1997, in press]. Then, I studied Greek traditional dance. First, in my country, since Greek traditional dance is institutionalized in Greece as: a) a compulsory course of Physical Education in all levels of education (primary and secondary school), which I did; b) a compulsory course in all the Military and Police Academies, which I did, being a dance teacher in the Hellenic Army Academy; c) a compulsory course in dance academies; d) the only kind of dance that exists as a university Major in the context of Physical Education and Sport Science (PESS) studies, in which I earned a Bachelor degree [Koutsouba 2008a].

Afterwards, I studied dance abroad (UK) doing a Master's degree in Dance Studies and a Ph.D. in Ethnochoreology/Anthropology of Dance (which were integrated by that time) [Koutsouba 2008a, 2008b] using Greek traditional dance as my core material. During my dance studies abroad, and particularly through an anthropological approach to dance which "seek[s] to combine dance as a technical product and as a social phenomenon" [Grau 1979:3], I realized that the kind of dance that is being performed, the dance event into which it is integrated, who performs it, to whom it is performed, and why, constitute an *identity game*, the study of which can reveal the rules of the *game*, and otherwise enlighten the way cultural identities are formulated [Koutsouba 1991, 1997].

I ended up teaching dance in Greece mainly at the university level, at the School of Physical Education and Sport Science at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (including an introductory compulsory course *Greek Traditional Dance* for all students, a Major programme *Greek Traditional Dance* which includes seven courses, i.e. notation, morphology, ethnochoreology, analysis and criticism, didactics, special issues and guided practical exercise, as well as in a postgraduate programme *Dance Studies*, which involves two courses, i.e. dance studies and special issues in dance studies, plus supervision of Masters and PhD theses). In summary, I have been teaching Greek traditional dance in my country for 33 years, and with experience abroad for 23 years. I have taught students from all over the world and of all ages from 5 to 72 years old. Mainly, I teach Greek traditional dance (and dance theory after a certain point) to Greek university students.

So, for me, socially and professionally, dance is a way of living that "is not re-ducible to any other form of human activity" [Giurchescu 2001:110]; it is both a product and a process, as "a dance-text is not only a choreographic structure, but a 'frame-function' that relates a certain social interaction to a certain structure of dance elements" [Giurchescu 2001:110]. Most importantly, it can contribute to the understanding of cultures that are "maps of meaning that make the world under-standable" [Jackson to Swedlow 1998:40]. Moreover, I was always fascinated by the fact that people around the world, with about 92 potential movements of the human body, end up with such a plurality of dance genres, styles, cultures etc., with a multi-tude of ways of looking at dance, and a myriad of ways to 'play the game of politics' with dance (from individual to global level). In fact, this is what I was initially think-ing about as 'Dance and the politics of knowledge'.

So what? In the last decade or so, I have started to wonder what all this dance means, not for me, but for others and, especially, for young people that take dance lessons because they are compulsory (the obligatory university course involves around 300 or more students every year) or because they will find a job (as many of the 20–25 students do, who major in *Greek Traditional Dance* at the PESS each year) or because their parents force them, or for any other reason different than mine. Maybe it is not by chance that, at least in Greece, many people are taking Greek tra-ditional dance lessons until secondary school, then they abandon Greek traditional dance, typically returning to it only in their adulthood, an issue yet to be studied.

In many cases then, Greek traditional dance means nothing but an obligation, or one of the numerous extra-curricular activities, and not what I have in mind. Where does it miss the larger goal, then? What should I do as a dance teacher? How can I make students appreciate dance *per se* and Greek traditional dance in particular, and all that accompanies it (song, music, costume etc.), as well as the many things in the world around it (history, geography, culture etc.)? Can I use my background as a dance researcher and, if so, what exactly from this background, and how? This is how I came to realize that in order for others, and especially young people, to under-stand the power of dance, first I have to nourish people's critical minds, a desire as old as human being themselves. In other words, I have to foster thinking people that can be active citizens, as I understand the process. But, what are all these concepts and how are they associated with what I was interested in?

Active Citizen, Education and Critical Pedagogy
The concepts of citizenship and active citizenship have been discussed for a long time and from many different aspects. It is not necessary to repeat this discussion here [see for this INACED 2012 and, particularly Wood 2012]. For the purpose of this paper, I adopt the notion of citizenship proposed by Nam. According to this:

> Citizenship fundamentally concerns a particular way of being, i.e., praxis […] The classical meaning of praxis is rooted in Aristotle's idea of *phronesis* [Flyvbjerg 2001; Smith 1994]. *Phronesis* concerns practical knowledge, prac-tical ethics, or value judgment as a departure for action. It focuses on what is valuable […] Being or becoming a citizen thus entails moral and political questions and practice contingent on the particular context in which a person resides [2012:63].

I find the notion of active citizen proposed by the British Council to be useful. According to this, Active Citizens are people:

> […] who are aware and reflective of themselves and the local and global systems they are part of, and aware of how their decisions and actions impact on others and how decisions and actions of others impact them. They are actors who are contributors to their societies and cultures. They are players not spectators, taking positive social action for the benefit of their wider communities. They are influencers who are skilled and motivated to promote trust, understanding and social participation within and between their local and global communities [2014:18].

How can active citizens can be cultivated? According to the European Civil Society for Education [2018a], education is "the key to foster" active citizens. Perceiving education in a holistic way, the Society argues that "the objectives of education and training should not only be described in terms of employability or economic growth but also as a framework for personal development." This is why, since 2005, the Society developed a specific platform, i.e., 'The Lifelong Learning Platform-LLeap,' an umbrella that gathers 43 European organizations active in the field of education, training and developed networks that currently represent more than 50,000 educational institutions and associations covering all sectors of formal, non-formal and informal learning [European Civil Society for Education 2018b]. As Wood argues, "values, skills and knowledge are necessary factors for active citizenship" [2012:15], while "Knowledge and understanding… underpins active engagement" [2012:10]. Moreover, according to Porfilio and Gorlewski:

> A sense of critical consciousness, intentionally developed through critical pedagogies that reveal, explore, and extend understandings of social inequities and the forces that constrain active participation, provides opportunities for active citizenship to be fostered and performed. Critical consciousness enables (people) to perceive and expand their own agency as it relates to their communities to which they belong as well as the communities that are dominant in society. Critical pedagogies, and the consciousness they advance, empower (people) to reconcile the competing discourses that shape their social positions and responsibilities [2012:51].

Yet, how can all these positive qualities be achieved? Despite the ongoing discussion about these (see for instance Fountzoulas, Koutsouba, Nikolaki [2019] for critical thinking), Bloom's taxonomy of educational learning objectives and its further developments and revisions seem to support the above statements.

Bloom's taxonomy of educational learning objectives
Bloom's taxonomy classifies educational learning objectives in three domains: a) the Cognitive that is the knowledge-based domain, b) the Affective that is the attitude-based domain and c) the Psychomotor that is the physical skills-based domain. In 1956, he focused on one of the three domains of knowledge – the cognitive domain (cognitive skills) [Bloom 1956]. This taxonomy included six categories of cognitive skills that were knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, ordered from simple to complex and from concrete to abstract.

During the 1990s, Lorin Anderson, Bloom's student, chaired a new group that aimed to update the taxonomy, resulting in what is usually referred to as the revised Bloom's taxonomy [Anderson and Krathwohl 2001; Krathwohl 2002]. The revised taxonomy also included six categories of cognitive skills, ordered from simple to complex and from concrete to abstract. Yet in this revision the categories were re-named as remembering, understanding, applying, analyzing, evaluating and creating. As it can be seen, in this revision there were two main changes [among others, see Giesen n. d.]: firstly, the names of the categories were transformed from nouns to verbs (gerunds) and, secondly, the last two categories exchanged position (Figure 1).
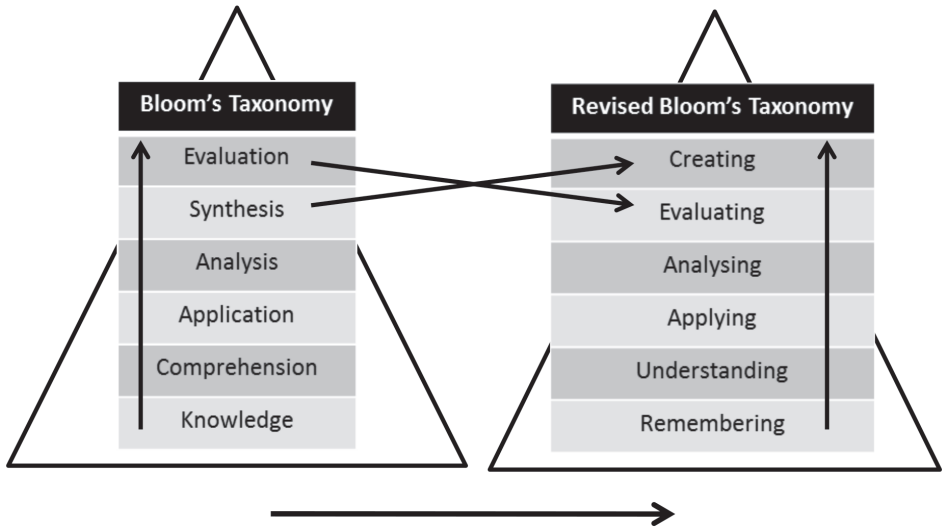
Figure 1. Revised Bloom's taxonomy.

In 2012, Rex Heer, at the Centre for Excellence in Learning and Teaching (CELT) at Iowa State University [CELT n. d.], created an updated model of the revised Bloom's taxonomy 2012 (Figure 2).

This model juxtaposed two dimensions, the Knowledge Dimension and the Cognitive Process Dimension. The Knowledge Dimension identified four major types of knowledge ranging from concrete to abstract, that is from factual, to conceptual, to procedural and, finally, to metacognitive. Learners may be expected to acquire or construct these four major types of knowledge and their subtypes (Figure 3).

The Cognitive Process Dimension represented a continuum of increasing cognitive complexity that consists of six categories, moving from lower order thinking skills to higher order thinking skills, that is remember, understand, apply, analyze, evaluate and finally create, that includes nineteen cognitive processes (Figure 4).

Figure 2. Heer's 2012 updated model of revised Bloom's taxonomy.

concrete knowledge			abstract knowledge
factual	**conceptual**	**procedural**	**metacognitive***
knowledge of terminology knowledge of specific details and elements	knowledge of classifications and categories knowledge of principles and generalizations knowledge of theories, models, and structures	knowledge of subject-specific skills and algorithms knowledge of subject-specific techniques and methods knowledge of criteria for determining when to use appropriate procedures	strategic knowledge knowledge about cognitive tasks, including appropriate contextual and conditional knowledge self-knowledge

Figure 3. The Knowledge dimension of Heer's model.

lower order thinking skills					higher order thinking skills
remember	**understand**	**apply**	**analyze**	**evaluate**	**create**
recognizing • identifying recalling • retrieving	interpreting • clarifying • paraphrasing • representing • translating exemplifying • illustrating • instantiating classifying • categorizing • subsuming summarizing • abstracting • generalizing inferring • concluding • extrapolating • interpolating • predicting comparing • contrasting • mapping • matching explaining • constructing models	executing • carrying out implementing • using	differentiating • discriminating • distinguishing • focusing • selecting organizing • finding coherence • integrating • outlining • parsing • structuring attributing • deconstructing	checking • coordinating • detecting • monitoring • testing critiquing • judging	generating • hypothesizing planning • designing producing • constructing

Figure 4. The Cognitive processes dimension of Heer's model.

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But what do all these mean? They mean that knowledge of any thing, situation etc., through remembering, leads to an understanding through which the existing variety is defined and classified. In turn, this facilitates learning (applying) since the important point of teaching is not quantity, but the understanding of composition (quality). This understanding is then related to the process of analyzing that leads to the processes of evaluating and, finally, creating.

This revised taxonomy has been exclusively developed with regard to the cognitive domain (knowledge). This taxonomy does not explicitly address the affective (social skills-feeling and emotion) or the psychomotor (motor skills) domains of knowledge, and thus its relation to dance is interesting and perhaps questionable. Is dance not associated with knowledge? This discussion goes beyond the limits of the present paper, but I can point to ongoing discussions in the literature that posit that the very nature of dance does indeed imply knowledge [see for instance, Asbury and Rich 2008; Fügedi 1999, 2001, 2003; Koutsouba 2016; Wrisberg and Ragsdale 1979].

What is the reason for describing all this? After coming in contact with these models, I wondered if it would be possible, while teaching dance in a classroom, to nourish critical thinkers and foster active citizens. I desire this not only for its own sake, but also because this perspective might be able to help people approach dance with more substance, and Greek traditional dance in particular. Further questions are raised. Where should we start from in dance, the dance text or the con-text? Considering text a prerequisite of con-text (since the absence of a dance text implies that there is no dance con-text either) [Koutsouba 1997], I was led to think of the morphology of dance and the way this has been applied in Greece [Koutsouba 1997, 2007].

Greek traditional dance as text
Emeritus Professor Vasiliki Tyrovola introduced the idea of dance morphology and typology in Greece in 1994. Developing a framework based on the 1974 IFMC Study Group for Folk Dance Terminology model, on the dance components proposed by Adshead *et al* in 1988, on the notion of support-index introduced by Martin and Pesovár in 1961 as well as on the concept of typology in dance study, Professor Tyrovola has proved that a large number of Greek traditional dances is based on a pattern called *choros sta tria* [Tyrovola 1994, 2001]. Tyrovola has also suggested that the totality of Greek traditional dances is based on two fundamental structural patterns, those of *choros sta tria* and *choros sta dyo*, and that the dance style of each region (part of con-text) depends on the local community's particular preference for how to combine them. Since then, a large number of studies have confirmed this, showing that the diversity of Greek traditional dance can be recognized as enlargements or diminutions of these patterns, as well as their combinations or combination of their parts (for an analytical presentation of these studies see Karfis 2018; Koutsouba 2016]. This approach has provided the opportunity for classification and categorization of Greek traditional dances and for a better understanding of how Greek music-dance tradition is structured overall.

Based on this, a teaching method was developed, named the morphological teaching method of Greek traditional dance [Tyrovola and Koutsouba 2006]. In particular, the morphological teaching method suggests the following stages for the

teaching of Greek traditional dance: Stage 1, kinetic motif teaching; Stage 2, teaching more complex kinetic motif compositions; and Stage 3, teaching the dance phrases of Greek traditional dances. In addition, teachers using this method analyze each of the first two stages in four components: a) the teaching of movement, b) the teaching of movement in combination with the use of time, c) the teaching of movement in conjunction with the use of space and d) teaching of movement in combination with the use of time and space [Koutsouba 2016].

Moreover, dance teaching based on the morphological teaching method ideally does not concern itself with quantity (the number of dances), but the knowledge and understanding of how they are formed [Tyrovola and Koutsouba 2006]. Thus, in this teaching method, remembering movement in time and space leads to higher levels of knowledge – understanding, by defining and classifying the existing variety of Greek traditional dance. In turn, this facilitates learning (applying) since the focus of dance teaching is not to teach quantity (the number of dances), but the understanding its composition (quality). This level of understanding leads to the processes of analyzing, evaluating and, finally, creating. This procedure reminds me of Heer's model. Indeed, all these skills can be achieved through the teaching of dance.

It seems then, that critical thinking can indeed be developed through dance teaching. In addition, I have shown that dance teaching has to do not only with movements, social interaction/communication and cultural knowledge, but also with the shaping of critical thinkers and doers, i.e. to the cultivation of active citizens. This is how I perceive "Politics and the knowledge of dance".

I find it stimulating to amalgamate Heer's 2012 model with the morphological teaching method of Greek traditional dance, even though some might argue that the former refers to the cognitive domain only. We have a very powerful 'teaching tool' at hand, a tool to teach people to think and to dance [Fountzoulas, Koutsouba and Nikolaki 2018]. This approach fulfils a Chinese proverb that I believe in: 'Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime;' and it is the lifetime that I am interested in.

Conclusion

In the present paper, I claim that dance researchers are indeed engaged in politics, since they can give answers to important questions such as those raised in the introduction:

> Does society need the knowledge we produce?
> *Yes, it does, since the dance knowledge we produce is unique.*
> What kind of knowledge we produce?
> *We produce knowledge in all the domains, cognitive, affective and psychomotor.*
> What kind of knowledge it possible to produce?
> *It is possible to produce knowledge in all domains, cognitive, affective and psychomotor.*
> Do we need to take into consideration if our research is of use?
> *Yes, we do need to take into consideration if our research is of use, otherwise why do it?*

Moreover, as Grau argued, "dance (psychomotor) is seen as powerful because it integrates intellect, our mental apparatus that engages primarily with reason and

cognition, and affect, which emphasizes feeling and emotion" [2015:241]. It seems then that teaching dance can indeed contribute both to the shaping of critical thinkers and consequently doers, and to the cultivation of active citizens, as well as to a deeper understanding of dance per se.

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FOLK DANCE KNOWLEDGE AND ITS TRANSMISSIONS OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH: SLOVENIAN CASE

Abstract

This paper presents the transmission of folk dance knowledge to the public by ethnochoreologists, employed in the Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana, Slovenia. The transmission by researchers – France Marolt, Marija Šuštar, Mirko Ramovš, Marjeta Tekavec and the author – has been influenced by the individuals' understanding of the definition of folk dance, what the purpose of research itself is, as well as financial schemes and research policy in the state.

Keywords: history of ethnochoreology, ethnochoreologist, folklore activity, Kinetography Laban, Institute of Ethnomusicology, Slovenia

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Ethnochoreology as a research discipline entered the academic space through a side door in the 1930s when the Institute of Folklore was established in Slovenia. The aim of this paper is to show how ethnochoreologists, employed in the Institute, transmitted their dance-knowledge outside academic milieu. But, in order to understand the scholarly knowledge transmission to the public, I would like to delve deeper into the past.

The preservation and revival of folklore (as well as folk music and songs) played a vital role in the efforts to establish Slovenian cultural independence after 1848. As noted by Nataša Cigoj Krstulović [2014] this was also one of the main tasks of the Slovenian Music Society (*Glasbena matica*) after it was established in the second half of the 19th century. In the search for the tradition and identity of the Slovenian people, folk songs had a representative function, and dance was only a marginal aspect of it. Collecting and publishing Slovenian folk songs was also one of the main tasks of the Slovenian Music Society. The need for systematic research on Slovenian folk music was highlighted in the 1920s and resulted in the institutionalization of ethnomusicology in the 1930s with the establishment of the Institute.

In 1934, the Music Society established a special department to study Slovenian folk music heritage, in those days named *Folklorni institut* (Institute of Folklore). The Society financially supported the work of the only researcher – France Marolt – at the Institute for six years, and then it was nationalized and incorporated into the Provincial Administration Department of Education (*Prosvetni odddelek banske uprave*).

France Marolt was the founder of the Institute, but he was first and foremost known as the founder and famous conductor of the Academic Choir, and an arranger of folk songs adapted for choirs. A concert of the choir under his leadership in May 1934, during which arrangements of Slovenian folk songs were performed, gave rise to the establishment of the Institute [Cigoj Krstulović 2014:223].

Even though his research interest was primarily focused on folk songs, his plans after the Institute's establishment also included the exploration and research of folk dance, as well as the transmission of knowledge to the public. Marolt set up the collection *Slovenske narodoslovne študije* (*Slovene Folkloristic Studies*), where he also published material and findings connected to dance traditions [Marolt 1935, 1936, 1954].

More than 'pure' research (recording dances, writing articles and discussions), he put additional effort into cultural–educational activities connected to music (and dance) folklore. Marolt gave lectures on Ljubljana Radio about folk song/dances, while he also organized the first festivals in the urban centers, in which locals participated from peripheral areas of Slovenia, where folk dances were still very much a popular social practice.

He hoped that his cultural–educational engagement would help revive the traditions even in the areas where they had already been abandoned. In the first few years following WWII, festival-related happenings were discontinued, but more efforts were dedicated to establishing folk dance groups, which got the opportunity to perform at various political rallies and meetings [see Kunej 2018].

During the WWII the Institute was nationalized, and in 1946 it was annexed to the Academy of Music as the *Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut* (Institute of Ethnomusicology). In that period, new researchers joined the institute (for dance Marija Šuštar), while Marolt began lecturing in ethnomusicology at the Academy where he also included some dance related topics, and he established and led the folk dance group, that was renamed as the Students Folk Dance Group, France Marolt (further as AFS France Marolt) in his honor after his death in 1951. The group was established with a mission to preserve "authentic dance folklore," while the aim was:

> to use the collected folklore material to reproduce games and dances purified of foreign influences and put on exemplary performances to spread the findings both in the home country and around the world, thus enhancing the authenticity, a genuine image of the Slovenians in music and movement. The ensemble was supposed to perform the dances of all five of Slovenia's most characteristic parts, i.e. Koroška (Charintia), Panonija (the Pannonian Basin), Primorska (the Slovene Littoral), Gorenjska (Upper Carniola) and Bela Krajina (White Carniola region) and also directly serve the purposes of the institute's exploration and research of the dance folklore [Vuk 1952:12].

Marolt repeatedly came under criticism as 'Slovenians had nothing but German dances and none of their own.' Eager to present 'unsullied' dances, he got carried away and started re-constructing the dance tradition, which he presented as native [see Kumer 1991; Kunej 2004]. At the same time, he avoided collecting dances in which foreign origins were very obvious. From his last discussion (published posthumously) it is clear that he was aware of influences of German, Italian and Hungarian dance traditions in Slovenian, when he cited examples of foreign dances which are danced by Slovenians: *Siebenschritt/sette passi*, *Steirischer*, *Ländler*, *Neybayerischer*, *Strohschneider*, *Krebspolka*, *Spitzpolka*, *Spazierwalzer* [Marolt 1954:16].

The second dance researcher was Marija Šuštar. She took over the folk dance department in the institute in 1945 and stayed until her retirement in 1966. At the same time, she was not only a researcher at the institute, but also the artistic leader

of the institute-based folk dance group (folklore ensemble) AFS France Marolt[1] and adviser of several local folk dance groups. Her research was marked by several milestones that left a permanent imprint on the field of ethnochoreology in Slovenia. Her main focus was collecting materials through fieldwork; she was a pioneer in this area, contributing almost half of all the records of folk dances documented in Kinetography Laban in the archives.

With regard to collecting/recoding dances, she understood folk dances in a somewhat wider sense than her predecessor Marolt and therefore also documented the dances that evidently originated in foreign countries, but were adopted by the Slovenian people, who regarded them as their own (e.g. *zibenšrit* – the seven step dance, *štajeriš* – *Steirisch*). She also included some of these dances in her choreographies for folk dance groups. Older researchers have informed me that the success of her fieldwork was measured by how many new dances she recorded (which she could put on the stage by folk dance groups).

In 1955, she attended the First Congress of the Folklorists Union of Yugoslavia (*Savez udruženja folklorista Jugoslavije*), where she became acquainted with the basics of Kinetography Laban and later, she also attended a course in Ljubljana in 1956/57. This formed the basis for introducing Kinetography Laban into the Institute's work, and simultaneously, also laid the foundation for the Institute's dance archive with appropriate Kinetography Laban scores and systematization.

The Institute got its first tape recorder very early, in 1954, after a lot of effort was put into importing such a western novelty in communist Yugoslavia. Fundamental technical equipment for dance research, such as the video camera, was purchased only in the 1990s.[2] During almost the whole second half of the 20th century, the records of folk dance were based on observation and participation in dance, bodily knowledge and Kinetography Laban scores.

Šuštar also edited three volumes of a collection entitled *Slovenski ljudski plesi* (*Slovenian Folk Dances*), in which she presented the dances of the Slovenian regions of Primorska [Šuštar 1958], Koroška [Marolt and Šuštar 1958] and Prekmurje [Šuštar 1968] and used Kinetography Laban to document them. In general terms, her research was primarily intended to be used in the work of folk dance groups and less in the academic milieu, although she also published a few scientific papers.[3]

In 1949 the Institute became an independent institution under the Ministry of Culture until 1972 when it became the ethnomusicology section of the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 1972, there was an official separation between the Institute and the AFS France Marolt group, which became an independent cultural society bringing together students and young people.

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1   For more detail of the artistic leaderships of AFS France Marolt and connections with researchers in the Institute see Kunej [2018].
2   Some soundless films inserts are stored in the Institute's archive that were, made on a private camera belonging to the head of the Institute, but the Institution could not afford a camera in that period.
3   Besides presenting papers at the Congresses of the Folklorists' Union of Yugoslavia about the *štajeriš* (*Steirisch*), spring ritual dance game *most* (bridge) and the wedding dance *kačo vit* (*snake coiling*), which were published in the proceedings [Šuštar 1960, 1963, 1968], she published ethnographical essays on folk music and dance culture in one local community [Šuštar 1977].

However, in 1966 when Šuštar retired as a researcher, Mirko Ramovš,[4] the artistic leader of AFS France Marolt, was employed in the position as the Institute's ethnochoreologist. Looking for a new folk dance researcher in the 1960s, the Institute's management attempted to find a suitable candidate among the prospective AFS members that is among those who had practical experiences rather than a formal ethnological education. This practice was broken in 2001 when I came to the Institute as a young researcher with a diploma of ethnology, but also with some experience in participating (dancing, leading) in a folklore ensemble.

Ramovš continued his predecessor's fieldwork, continuously adding new dances to the Institute's folk dance collection. In 1980, he published a folk dance anthology entitled *Plesat me pelji* (*Take Me Dancing*) [Ramovš 1980], and then in the period 1992–2000, a regionally-based seven volume collection of folk dances *Polka je ukazana* (*A Polka is Ordered*) [Ramovš 1992–2000]. All of his monographic publications were intended for members of folk dance groups/ensembles and those involved in stage presentations of folk dances, and less so for scholars. This was his way of making access to the Institute's material (Kinetography Laban scores) easier for members of folk dance groups/ensembles by publishing these together with written descriptions of Kinetography Laban scores that were more comprehensible for amateurs.

Most of Ramovš's analytical studies dealt with particular dances – often highlighting the historical development, as well as choreographic-structural perspectives. However, quite a few of the topics discussed provided a basis for choreographies or a thematic concept for the AFS France Marolt's annual concerts, although his work as researcher and as artistic leader of the folklore ensemble had been officially separated since 1972. Ramovš's choreographies reflect on his ethnochoreological knowledge, while they also showcase his artistic creativity in a subtle way. Moreover, he also collaborated as choreographer or at least adviser with a number of folk dance groups from other places in Slovenia.

The most important thing seems to be Ramovš transmission of his dance knowledge to many members of numerous folk dance groups through the organization that covered folklore activity as one of the amateur activities (Public Fund for Cultural Activities). Ramovš was a long-term member of the board of experts that manage and grant financial aid to groups for their regular activities and particular projects. He also taught lectures as part of the training courses organized for group leaders and members, and also performed selector-related functions,[5] which included selecting the 'best' folk dance groups for three-level system displays.[6]

The late 1980s and 1990s were critical for folk dance research since the political changes in Slovenia (the split from Yugoslavia, the end of the communist era, democratization, socialism replaced with a market economy) were also reflected somehow in the academia sphere. This denoted a new organizational scheme and

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4   More detailed essays about Ramovš research and engagement in folk dance groups activities, as well as his bibliography, are published in the journal *Traditiones* [Knific 2015; Kunej 2015a, 2015b].
5   The end of his engagement as a selector was more than due to his age (the last time he was a selector for the state folk dance group display was in 2017 at the age of 82). It was related to the fact that he defended his views on folklore activities that did not conform to today's cultural policy that favors the so-called *artistic folklore.*
6   For more about a three-level system of folk dance group meetings (*revija folklornih skupin*) see Kunej [2018].

also some new financial schemes for researchers, which are nowadays less under safe state patronage (stable funding), and much more dependent on international/ EU research projects. At the end of 1980s, the section for ethnomusicology (which included also ethnochoreology) became an independent institute at ZRC SAZU (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts). The national policy of funding science has been reflected in folk dance research (subjects of research) and its transmissions to public.

After Ramovš's retirement in 2001, he was replaced in his research position at the institute by Marjeta Tekavec for a short time, and after her, I took the position. Therefore, even though both employments were based on professional competencies of education attained (musician, ethnologist), even Marjeta and I were, at the time when we started as researchers, also members of a folk dance group in our free time. By the late 1990s the dividing line between the research sphere (the Institute's research tasks) and the cultural-artistic activities had already been clearly defined and separated. Today, results (outputs) of dance research are not intended directly for members of folk dance groups/ensembles and as general contribution to the society and culture, but rather to demonstrate the success of research projects itself [see for example Kunej 2012, Kunej and Kunej 2017].

From my point of view, today the position of folk dance researcher is a bit uncertain. Part of my research is financed by a 5-year research program supported by the state, and the other part is more precarious. Humanistic research, specially orientated in one's own culture, is sometimes not recognized by decision makers as a puzzling topic that can be directly linked to global contemporary society's problems (such as natural sustainable development, integration of migrants, healthcare problems). To survive as a research institution we sometimes carry out projects which, at first glance, are not entirely related to the aims and scopes of the Institute, but at the same time they allow the Institute its survival and existence. My research knowledge today is not always in close connection with dance, and folk dance as a research topic often enters such projects through the side door.

On one hand, the transmission of our knowledge outside the scope of science is still desirable. Researchers are more than welcome to transmit their knowledge to students, in my case as external lecturer at the Music Academy, University of Ljubljana. On the other hand, it is not expected that as a researcher I am automatically involved in directing leisure activities (folk dance groups). My engagement in folk dance activity is nowadays limited to observing it as my research subject rather than directing it or being actively involved in it as were my precursors.

To conclude, dance as a research subject entered the Slovenian academia through the side door. Even if during the second half of the 20th century folk dance as a research subject had a more important position, today it is again on the periphery of research topics. Dance knowledge transmission to public is often more dependent on individual preferences and competences than on assigned (and written down) tasks of a dance researcher. Nevertheless, (folk) dance is still an integral part of our culture and means of its expression.

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Acknowledgement

Irene LOUTZAKI

CELEBRITY POLITICIANS: POPULAR DANCE AND THE POLITICS OF DISPLAY

Abstract

Recent research points out the ongoing changes taking place in the perception and the representation of politics. Dick Pels, has clearly summarized this change in performance, style and perception while emphasizing the new roles of politicians, mostly due to the necessity of becoming media personalities. In the 1980s, Greek candidate politicians used dance events to create a new 'look' constructed around a body-conscious style. Parties organized by or for politicians where people recreated themselves mixing modern, traditional, ethnic dances, are now an essential part of the daily news on TV. Through political marketing "informal" dance events were transformed into *public* political events via television. As such they are used as an arena of power where all forces involved maintain or negotiate different notions of collective identities. This paper will examine the way Greek politicians in the media age shape their public personas by using dance, as a means of cultivating and advancing their image. It is known that image plays an important role in the perceived success or failure of a person. Today however, in the age of modern politics that public expectations tend to shape more often simple needs, it is more important than ever that a politician may 'polish' and control his/her image, trying to impress his/her supporters with the *presentation of an everyday self* to them. Political reality therefore becomes secondary, as other means i.e. the dancing often has replaced the political discourse. In this presentation I will look at the various ways the news media manipulate dance events, and how politicians for being more familiar to us use them. With video clips, photographs and comment extracts as guide I will examine dance in delineating the profile of the politicians focusing on gesture and body attitudes, and etiquette of the 20th-century politics.

Keywords: *zeybekiko*, infotainment, mass media and politics, *rebetika,* political communication

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This paper is an anthropological representation of two cultural forms of Greek popular entertainment, with emphasis on their dance practices: *zeybekiko* dance styles and *rebetadiko* (bouzouki clubbing). It will examine the way Greek politicians in the media age try to shape their public personas by using the *zeybekiko* dance,[1] as a means of cultivating and advancing their image by introducing to their voters a contemporary *rebetiko* culture. It is known that image plays an important role in the

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1   *Zeybekiko* (the dance of the Zeybek tribe of Asia Minor), is a solo male dance, improvised in 9/8 time, with no fixed steps but much spinning, squatting, swooping with oustretched arms, and posturing.

perceived success or failure of a person, least of all someone with such a distinctive job like a politician. Today, in the age of modern politics that public expectations tend to shape more often simple needs, it is more important than ever that a politician may 'polish' and control his/her image, trying to impress his/her supporters with the presentation of an everyday self to them. Political reality therefore becomes secondary, as other means for instance, a popular dance, often has replaced the political discourse. In this paper I will look at the various ways the news media manipulate private/informal dance events, and how politicians for being more familiar to their supporters use them. With video clips, photographs and comment extracts as guide I will examine dance in delineating the profile of the politicians focusing on gesture and body attitudes, and etiquette of the 20th-century politics.

In Greece, nearly till 1980, the private side of politicians' life has traditionally been regarded as a journalistic taboo subject. In 1980s, however, many cases have shown the abandonment of this taboo. The most popular explanation for what seemed to be a new development, one can be said, that is the spectacular victory in October 1981 when the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) march to power under the powerful slogan of "Allaghi" (=Change). Its pledge, to lead Greece down the Third Road to Socialism and dignified independence of the West. Its emblem, a green rising sun, denoting the centre-left green. PASOK's flamboyant and charismatic leader Andreas Papandreou, the complete antithesis to the austere leader of the conservative political party of Nea Dimokratia Konstantinos Karamanlis, began to promise everything to almost everyone, whipping up a frenzy of expectations. It is no exaggeration to say that PASOK really put its stamp on Greek politics and society during the post-transition era. No other party was able to channel successfully the aspirations of Greek society and mold it to its own image as PASOK did. Its ascent to power was a milestone in Greek politics. PASOK's success, as many Greek political and communication scientists argue, rested in its ability to propose an attractive political package, expertly tailored to fit a society dominated by civil servants, small business owners, independent professionals, and small farmers--what could be described as a petty bourgeois social constellation, which Papandreou inventively labeled 'non-privileged' Greeks [Kalyvas 2015]. However, in order to understand the changing representation of politicians in Greece, it is necessary first to understand briefly the mass media environment within which their action occurs.

The media-politics framework in Greece
The 1977 parliamentary elections were the first in which "politicians began to realize the propaganda power of television." PASOK had already its own director and since then, a tactic was also used in the 1980s when Tasos Birsim was the first who directed exclusively the party's election campaign introducing politics to the television season and sealing the PASOK gatherings with his own TV culture. His slogan was "good preparation and new ideas" As Birsim himself noted in one of his interviews: "together with Andreas we chose the costume, the shirt and the tie he would wear. He was also credited with the inspiration of using a synthesis of seventeen speeches by Andreas in Greek cities, giving an overall vivid image of the gatherings, of introducing a little girl, who gave four carnations to the leader of the PASOK symbolizing the "new four years" and investing musically his speech with Orff's *Carmina*

Burana and Loizos popular song Good morning Sun Good morning and his slogan "The People in Power."[2]

Greece opened up its broadcasting market for commercial stations at the end of 1980s. By then, television market was extremely competitive. In 1989, private television stations were allowed to operate, which gradually prevailed in viewing and influence and engaged in intense competition in the information and entertainment sectors. Television, and more so private television, has also had a significant impact on shaping the political scene and political controversy. Some years earlier, the tabloid as a journalistic model for popular entertainment appealing to a mass audience was successfully applied to television, producing low-brow breakfast or lunch shows. Whatever media technology may be applied, tabloid journalism seems to have become a persistent cultural phenomenon of modern Greek society as it dealt among other matters with the personal life primarily of the prime minister Andreas Papandreou and then, with the private life of many ministers of his cabinet. Papandreou himself used to cultivate the profile of the politician who was in direct contact and communication with the popular strata; as a consequence, everybody called him (friend and rival), with his little name, "Andreas."

Since 1981, television has gradually gained a greater role in political life, a relationship which seemed to perfectly illustrate the growing symbiosis of the media and political systems. At the same time, the taboo that protects politicians in their private sphere seems to be evaporating. The change coincided with far-reaching changes in the Greek media system and in the way, politicians present themselves to their electorate [Holz-Bacha 2004]. In the political scene, much has altered as well, as political parties and individual politicians have tried to find more effective ways to communicate with the voters or to use and adapt to new media techniques, communication and marketing practices particularly before and during the election campaigning period. In the 1985 campaign for example, "technical skills of media specialists were employed to organize in big cities giant rallies which they turned into TV spectacles," [Yannas 2002:83], "probably the largest of their kind in Europe" [Featherstone 1990:110], by introducing separate partisan 'green' and 'blue' coffee shops, the widespread use of party flags in visible places such as cars and apartment balconies, posters and cartoons, and many others.

The political framework
Recent research points out the ongoing changes taking place in the perception and the representation of politics, and in the expectations addressed to politicians [e.g. Corner and Pels 2003; Fairclough 2001; Holly 2008; Wodak 2006, 2008, 2009; Holly 2008]. Dick Pels has clearly summarized this change in performance, style and perception while emphasizing "the new roles of politicians, mostly due to the necessity of becoming media personalities: On the one hand, political leaders shed their elitist aura and try to become, one of us. On the other hand, distance is reasserted by the remoteness of the star who, while dwelling constantly in the public eye, is still seen as untouchable and as, living in a different world. In this sense, politicians increasingly share in the extraordinary ordinariness which characterizes the modern democratic celebrity" [Pels 2003:59].

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2   On Greek political culture see Demertzis 1994; 1997.

Although political communication has always been present in Greece, the methods and intensity have changed. In the past, political campaigning meant home visits, friendly meetings, treats, family connections, cartoons, poems, rhymed libels and patriotic hymns. These were all orchestrated by professionals in 1981 on, the use of professionals has increased in the sense that politics is subjected to the rules of television. 1980s, much has altered as political parties and individual politicians have tried to find more effective ways to communicate with the voters or to use and adapt to new media techniques, communication and marketing practices particularly before and during the election campaigning period. In the 1985 campaign for example, "technical skills of media specialists were employed to organize in big cities giant rallies which they turned into TV spectacles," [Yannas 2002:83], "probably the largest of their kind in Europe" [Featherstone 1990:110], by introducing separate partisan 'green' and 'blue' coffee shops, the widespread use of party flags in visible places such as cars and apartment balconies," posters and cartoons, and many others.

In this context and in a parallel way, 'informal' dance gatherings were organized in indoor places such as private homes, Night Clubs, Bouzouki Clubs or *Rebetadiko* where socialist politicians recreated themselves mixing modern/popular, traditional/ethnic dances. Being an essential part of the daily news on newspapers, periodicals, radio and finally (from 2000) on TV news and other programs, these 'private-like' events gradually received increasing media coverage either to serve the 'public interest' providing entertainment rather than serious political information, or to respond to consumer demands, giving the public what it wants for their own ends (i.e. Media organizations' profit). What actually Greek socialist politicians have pursued with the organization of these dance events? Did they try to create a new 'look' constructed around a body-conscious style?

As politics on TV starts to resemble show business, and it becomes a spectacle for the 'infortainment' of the public, the image of the politicians has acquired an added significance in an era characterized by the TV-induced the personification of politics [Yannas 2002:74] or the visualization of public discourse. In this sense, politics becomes equated with the manner with which political figures present their viewpoints on the television screen. Here, again, the emphasis is on style (what the onlookers can see and perceive), not on content (what the politician can say). Therefore, the individual dancing identification and the politicians mediated by mass media and TV became highly public and visible.

In general terms, academic studies suggest that many political matters are universal in liberal democracies. Everybody can understand that political communication is the central function of political marketing, as communication exclusively provides a connection between the voters and parties (Newman 1999). In addition, the quality of the communication messages used in political campaigns is the most important factor in winning an election, along with the availability of campaign funds and the extent of partnership in a district. However, when social scientists, not only in Greece, face dance matters in connection with the politicians none believes, at least up to now, that the image of a politician who dances a heavy zeybekiko is a serious subject for research. Let's see some comments: "It is very bizarre to see a politician dance on the screen," "this doesn't happen anywhere in the world," "A politician may join in for a fraction of a minute, but it is not polite, to do the kinds of ridiculous movements that we see so often," "Politicians look like clowns," and many others.

All the above and much more negative comments very, very rarely have it ever been reported without the adjectives "awkward" and "embarrassing" included at some stage. However, in our case, it seems that the zeybekiko dance as a form of political communication plays a central role in PASOK political marketing and one more thing, that with PASOK and its practices, Greece has come to the end of privacy, as our private lives have been winnowed away the realm of the shameful and secret.

As TV techniques – message shaping, message salience, message credibility and message framing – became a systematic component of government communication, [Esser and Spanier 2005:43] the image of a person in position of power, or a person who stand high up on the political chain even in a dancing state, can be filtered into the journalistic narrative of politics What a socialist represents on the TV stage is a vivid image, memorable, as it is accompanied by a distinct melody based on the 9/8 beat. This image is relevant for the target audience and is presented as a repetitive expression, idea, or purpose, something like a moving slogan which may summarize the party's goals, aims and identity, and may reflect the long-term visualization of its strategies. Is the image of the politician simply an affective state of pleasure and that we as onlookers we love to see politician's dancing? Can this type of dancing be considered to be political or not? It is known that in the execution of a "choreography" the body carries aesthetics, meanings, and politics, especially in cases when politicians are open minded or astute in discovering ways to win the hearts of people. Greece has a great tradition in dancing, musicking and singing which are audible and visible expressions of "Bread and Spectacle or Bread and Circuses,"[3] a concept related to the Marxist *Dominant Ideology*, whereby the lower classes are kept in place by disseminating the idea that that's their "natural" lot in life and there's no sense fighting it. In a metaphorical way, Greek socialist politicians by using the popular dance zeybekiko in public spaces such as *rebetadika, bouzoukia clubbing, taverns* etc., (either in vivo or through TV) they set out to expose themselves in the traditional Greek way by offering a 'show' very familiar to the populace. As we have already seen, Greek politicians come not only colour-coded but also musically coded [Gauntlett 1990]. In this context, the zeybekiko have virtually become the signature dance of the 'green' sector of Greek politics.

The art of political persuasion is difficult to analyze, because it is so often fragmented (Rank 1988). People usually see bits and pieces on the daily news, they are incomplete, not sequential, and usually edited by others. Furthermore, as receivers, people also are biased: every-one approaches a political message with his or her own set of attitudes, ideas, emotions, and opinions, often randomly inherited from their early environment. Additionally, the content of political persuasion is more complex-and more emotionally and ideological charged-than any other piece of art advertising.

Certainly, candidates with a strong background in TV exposure do have a leading role over others. More often than not, these candidates are important personalities in their own right who at some point in their life decided to substitute a political for a professional career. The added advantage that these personalities have over their competitors is their continuous exposure to TV cameras and the familiarity which

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3   This concept comes from Roman poet Juvenal's metaphor and can be applied to any civic or governmental entity in which the masses willingly accept short-term solutions to ease their discontent.

their name evokes in the TV-viewing public. And it seems to me, their dancing is their declaration, "I am PASOK." Is dancing simply a new form of the opiate of the masses? Or we can say, they are all politicians after all, who by using this kind of political marketing, i.e. the dancing, promote folk/modern dancing as a medium and at the same time enable them to communicate directly with their voters. However, this process can be seeing as 'informal' dance incidents which via mass media were transformed into public political spectacles. As such they are used as an arena of power where all forces involved maintain or negotiate different notions of collective identities.

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Rainer POLAK

PRESENTING YOURSELF THROUGH DANCE: PARTICIPATORY AND PRESENTATIONAL ASPECTS OF DANCE PERFORMANCE AT LOCAL FESTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN MALI

Abstract

Drawing on fieldwork carried out between 1991 and 2019, this paper studies local festivities held on the occasion of community celebrations in southern Mali. I offer thick ethnographic descriptions of the situational context and some interaction routines characteristic of these events, e.g., a systematic turn-taking in dance performance. Participatory and presentational aspects of dance performance in this context appear to not only coexist but profoundly interrelate and mutually reinforce each other. The paper thus takes issue with the theorization of the participatory and the presentational as opposite, polar concepts in the fields of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology.

Keywords: participation, presentation, dance, performance, festivity, celebration, Mali, West Africa

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Here is a little anecdote about the social urge to present yourself through dance in a participatory performance context. People in southern Mali associate multiple layers of social, ethnic, regional, professional, kinship, age- and gender-related connotations with the repertoire of drumming rhythms, songs and dances performed on festive occasions [Polak 2004, 2012]. In the afternoon of a day-long wedding celebration taking place in a residential area in Bamako in August 1997, I was performing with a *jembe* drum ensemble when suddenly the lead drummer – the master to which I was apprenticing – took up the drumming rhythm called *fula-fòli*. This piece of repertoire is associated with an ethnic group known as *fula* in the local languages. Both my musical master and my long-term host identified as belonging to that ethnic group and, by extension, they ascribed that identity to me, too. This is a very common, half-joking approach to integrating foreigners in southern Mali, which does not go without serious implications for social interaction, however. One such implication is the social expectation that you will follow specific routines in the ubiquitous greeting rituals that you will likely engage with many times a day. Another one concerns behavior in public celebrations: As specific pieces of music can address specific segments of the community gathered for celebration, the performance of *fula-fòli* at the wedding celebration was recognized by my colleagues as "my" piece, which made them expect me to respond by dancing. The publicity of my being addressed then was further amplified by somebody who threw me a scarf, which is a formalized and conspicuous gesture of explicit personal encouragement. The only appropriate response to the situation now would be to take the scarf and dance. It

was clear to me that if I would not meet the expectation, people would find it weird, at least, if not perhaps arrogant. I was a bit shy, however, and therefore preferred to stick to playing the drum; pretending that taking my job of playing the drum so seriously that I couldn't leave the post was a sufficient excuse. When a few pieces later I passed the drum on to a co-apprentice who took over for me, however, he reproached me – again only half-jokingly: "Hey, what's wrong with you, are you sick? Why didn't you dance to your own rhythm, show yourself to the gathering, show that you belong to us?" In southern Mali, therefore, the presentation of oneself and the performance of one's own identity is associated with taking part in a participatory dance context.

Aims and methods

This paper studies local festivities held on the occasion of community celebrations in southern Mali. I hope to show that participatory and presentational aspects in this context not only coexist, but profoundly interrelate and mutually support each other. The paper's objective is to critically discuss the theorization of the participatory and the presentational in the fields of ethnochoreology [Nahachewsky 1995, 2017] and ethnomusicology [Turino 2008, 2009] as oppositional, polar concepts.

The paper offers thick ethnographic descriptions of the situational context and some core interaction routines of celebration music and dance performance, illustrated by a fieldwork video recording of a celebration sponsored by a peasant woman's association in a village in southern Mali,[1] plus some photos. The study draws on thirteen periods of fieldwork I carried out in southern Mali between 1991 and 2019, summing up to a total of three years that I have spent in the country. Beyond my own ethnographic experience, the paper also reads the rich literature on performance and celebration in southern Mali and the neighboring countries.

The polar conceptualization of participatory and presentational dance

The conceptualization of participatory versus presentational modes of performance as a pair of opposite concepts has an intellectual history in musicology. German scholars, in particular, have contrasted functional music (*Gebrauchsmusik* or *Umgangsmusik*) with presentational music (*Darbietungsmusik*) [Besseler 1925, 1959], trying thus to conceptualize the differences between music for dance, work, or liturgy on the one hand and the concert performance context of art music on the other. Recently, Thomas Turino has popularized the theoretical opposition between participatory and presentational modes of performance in anglophone ethnomusicology. He regards these modes of performance as defining distinct "fields" of music making and conceives of the participatory field as particularly valuable because of its ethos of cooperation, sociality and fun, in contrast to the aspects of competition, hierarchy, and artistry that he associates with the presentational field [Turino 2008, 2009; for a review, see Keller 2010].

In the field of English-language ethnochoreology, Andriy Nahachewsky has introduced an analogous opposition in a seminal 1995 theory paper entitled *Participatory and presentational dance as ethnochoreological categories*. In the following, I

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1   The twelve-minute video clip is available for streaming from YouTube. I will cite this clip in the text as Polak 2018 (see list of references for details). Further ethnographic fieldwork footage is available at my private website [Polak n. d.].

will use Nahachewsky's lucid work as reference framework; let me thus quote from his essay in detail.

> In participatory dances, the focus tends to be on the dancers themselves. The process of dancing is important. A good dance differs from a less successful performance based on how it feels. Presentational dances tend to be perceived more as a product than a process. The success of a particular performance is judged by how it looks. Participatory dances take place at social events where a particular community comes together to celebrate. This may be on the village green, at the house of a key participant, in a ballroom or in a dance bar. Presentational dances are often performed on formal stages and in other locations where the physical and cultural distance between performers and audience is greater. When comparing these two kinds of dance, I speak of them in opposition. Some readers may imagine that these categories are distinct in practice, creating a dichotomy or division in dance phenomena. Indeed, this is far from true. These two conceptual categories are idealizations, opposite poles on a theoretical continuum [Nahachewsky 1995:1].

In contrast to the predominantly critical approaches in musicology and ethnomusicology, Nahechewsky does not associate any positive or negative valuation with either of the categories he proposes. Specifically, he neither deplores (from a romantic perspective) a lack of socio-cultural authenticity in the staged folk dances, nor a lack of aesthetic, artistic value in the community events (from a modernist perspective). His intention is to develop analytical categories which can serve to recognize systematic similarities and differences between various types of dance performance. However, he is careful to avoid the idea of participatory or presentational performance modes as constituting discrete classes of events, so that any single performance would be expected to neatly fall into one of the two categories. Rather, Nahachewsky regards these two poles as a continuum, along which real life dance performances may be differently located.

Nahachewsky recently applied this pair of concepts in a richly documented analytical paper on dancers' gaze. He demonstrated that the different ways in which Ukrainian folk dancers fix their eyes are systematically related to the issue of whom they mainly address: Participatory dancers mostly watch each other and "use an unfocused gaze, or diverse glances to 'take in' elements relevant to their experience," whereas presentational dancers search for eye contact with their audiences and use their gaze "actively to 'give out' information, while their glances to observe and coordinate their dancing bodies are actively downplayed" [Nahachewsky 2017:44]. A key methodological move in this analysis was to "purposely choose examples that are situated near one or the other pole of the complex participatory/presentational continuum" [Nahachewsky 2017:44]. In the following two ethnographic sections, I will take a different approach. I will not juxtapose, say, vernacular wedding events

and more theatrical genres[2] or staged versions of folk dance[3] in Mali with the intention to highlight their particularly contrasting qualities. I will focus on only one performance context instead, namely, local vernacular celebration culture, and highlight that both participatory and presentational facets contribute equally to its complex characteristics.

Participatory performance in southern Mali

The constellation of multiple expressive modes and a participatory ethos have been described as key characteristics of much traditional performance culture in West Africa [Drewal 1991; Nketia 1988; Stone 1988, 1998]. Local festivities in southern Mali almost inevitably involve song, percussion ensemble music[4] and dance. The events are organized by members of local social groups or networks such as families or village youth associations on the occasion of rites of passage (name-givings, initiations, weddings, etc.), agrarian or religious holidays, the honorable reception of an important guest, or just for the fun of it. The participants emphasize their experience of amusement and pleasure and conceive of their participation as a form of sociability, entertainment and play [Arnoldi 1995; Brink 1982; McNaughton 2008; Modic 1996; Polak 2004]. Various ethnographers working in the region have proposed that a core function of participatory performance in the context of celebrations lies in social integration and the construction of community through the shared aesthetic experience and meanings and values attached to the performances [Charry 2000:193–241; Jackson 1989:129–39; McNaughton 2008:250–52].

Typically, the people attending a celebration consist primarily of members of the organizing unit and their guests. In the case of a wedding, for instance, this would involve family, neighbors, colleagues, and friends. Furthermore, a large number of self-invited youths and children, too, usually gather and expand the ranks. Depending on the occasion, many, especially urban celebrations are predominantly organized and visited by women, while others are predominantly male or less gendered.

As a rule, the crowd is dense yet not at all diffuse. The seated or standing participants form a circle or rectangle which marks the festive ground (see Figure 1). Everybody in the circle is oriented inwards, towards the center. Next to the regular participants, the singers and drummers, too, make part of the circle. Whereas the circle is accessible for anybody to enter from the outside, it bounds and closes off the inside of the circle from the outside. This is where the dancing takes place, which is the focus of everybody's attention (see Figure 2).

2   In the context of certain ritual frameworks, particularly spectacular types of more theatrical dance performance, such as masked dance [McNaughton 2008], puppetry [Arnoldi 1995], trance dancing [Gibbal 1982], and acrobatics [Brink 1982], are the domain of specialists or precisely defined segments or subgroups within local communities in southern Mali.
3   From the 1960s, folk dance troupes, addressed as *ballets,* have thrived in several of the young nation-states in francophone West Africa, e.g., Mali, Guinea, and Senegal. These institutions represented state-sponsored efforts to construct cultural identities for administrative units through the choreographic appropriation and staging of *danse folkorique* [Cohen 2012; Mark 1994; Polak 2000]. Today, they mostly operate as private enterprises.
4   In the following, I speak of drumming for the sake of simplicity, even though in some regional styles xylophone ensembles are used for dance music.

Figure 1. The dance ground for a wedding in an urban residential area is prepared in the early afternoon by placing some dozens of rented chairs, watering the ground (see the woman in the left side) in order to reduce the amount of dust the dancing will raise and setting up a PA system for the singers' microphone (see the loudspeakers in the background). Bamako, 18 January 2019.

Figure 2. In the late afternoon, an ensemble of five professional drummers (foreground center) and a singer (with microphone, foreground left) engages with a female guest's dance performance (center), which is observed both by the hired wedding filmer (center right) and the gathered community sitting in the chairs. Bamako, 18 January 2019.

The spectators in the circle play an active role that goes far beyond merely looking and listening. They often sing along or clap along with the music, dancing along with the dance performers and vigorously cheering on them [see Figure 2 and the video sample accompanying this paper, Polak 2018 9:42–9:53]. This can greatly contribute to enhancing the festive atmosphere, which is necessary for a celebration to succeed – the affective "heat," as they say in the local languages. However, the point I would like to emphasize here is more radical still: The spectators' response to the performance frequently and systematically extends to joining the performance themselves. It is the members of the community who perform the core of the dancing that takes place in the center of their own gathering.

Most pieces follow a clear-cut two-part structure. A piece usually starts with a singer taking up a song and drummers quickly taking up the corresponding rhythm, or the other way round. Shortly thereafter, some participants start a slow-paced dance performed in single file that moves round concentrically within the circle of spectators [see Polak 2018 0:50]. Individuals who want to take part simply rise from their chairs or leave where they have been standing, one by one or in small groups, and walk towards the inner ground and join the line. This first part of a piece is characterized predominantly by the song and the formation dance, while the drummers still mostly confine themselves to modest accompaniment.

After some time, the tempo and atmosphere pick up and the concentric line of dancers dissolve into either a smaller semi-circle or back into the larger circle [ibid. 3:00–3:15]. Typically, one or two women at a time will now start to break out from the semi-circle or the larger circle in order to vigorously dance directly in front of the drummers. When a dancer has performed a certain move or a sequence of several movements for a while, she is sometimes cut off by the lead drummer with a drum break; in some styles, the dancer synchronically performs a closing gesture. She finally heads off sideways and bounds back to her place in the circle again, thus giving way for the next solo dancer or dancers to come in for their turn. In summary, the second part of a piece typically is marked by the drum ensemble's loud and rapid rhythms and a swift succession of energetic encounters between the drummers and dancers who come forward, one after the other, individually or in pairs, or sometimes in a less orderly fashion, for a short solo performance [ibid. 3:20–12:10].

To summarize, attendees at a celebration in southern Mali are allowed and invited – if not sometimes even urged – to join the dance performance. It is rare and disputable even for a particularly excellent individual performer to monopolize the dance-ground for very long. The key characteristic of these events is that participants take turns in dance performance. Singing and drumming are the domain of specialists, by contrast, who conceive of their performances as work in service of the participatory community event. Remember that the musicians' position is in the circle, thus joining ranks and sharing perspectives with the spectators. It is the highly accessible role of dance performance which takes place center-round and thus constitutes the primary focus of attention. This suggests that the participants taking turns in dance performance is what local festivities in southern Mali mainly are about. Participatory performance is at the core of this context of celebration culture.

Presentational aspects of participatory dance

This section argues that the participatory performance as discussed in the previous section comes along with an equally relevant presentational aspect. The first point in support of this proposition is that the majority of participants appear to care a lot about their looks. This becomes particularly evident by a comparison with the specialist drummers, who mostly appear in everyday work clothes. Note that the drummers conceive of their performance activity as a form of labor and a service to the celebration; they rarely conceive of themselves as being in the focus of attention during their performances [Polak 2004]. By contrast, the guests typically wear the most representative dress they currently have available. Sometimes, several of them appear wearing dresses made of the same cloth, thus expressing special respect for the social occasion by having agreed upon investing considerable money in a common uniform (see Figure 3-A/B). One may object that the guests dressing up does not necessarily have to do with whether their dancing is presentational or not. However, it is unlikely to assume that people would care about their appearance while watching other people dancing but not when they dance themselves. Indeed, recent conversations and interviews gave that participants in celebrations in both rural and urban southern Mali certainly are aware of being in the focus of the crowd's spectatorship when they dance.

Figure 3-A. Guests at an urban wedding perform a dance in single file. Several of them clubbed together and invested in dresses made of the same cloth. 3-B. Other guests observe the single file-dance. Bamako, 27 January 2019.

A second aspect which is indicative of the presentational character of the dancing is the distribution of gaze in the festive situation. Typically, everybody's eyes are following the dancers most of the time (see Figures 4-A, -B).

Figure 4-A/B. The participants (background) in a village celebration keenly observe the encounters between drummers (foreground) and individual or pairwise solo dancers (center). Dogoro, 5 February 2019.

As Patrick McNaughton observed in his study of a village celebration south of Bamako, which centered around a spectacular masked dance performance yet also featured phases of participatory dance performances by the regular villagers: "Participation places performers directly in the scrutinizing gaze of others" [McNaughton 2008:40]. "It is an opportunity to demonstrate capacity and to be admired and remarked upon by others. Dancing is for pleasure, but it is also communication" [McNaughton 2008:56].

A key information that a participant can communicate through participatory dancing is her personal commitment to the social event and organizing community. "It amplifies an individual's intellectual and emotional involvement in an event through sensual engagement, and it manifests the value of a focused collectivity" [McNaughton 2008:56]. Another type of information concerns the dancer's own identity, as when the most senior person in a group performs her seniority in public by taking the lead in a formation dance [Polak 2018 1:40]. Furthermore, individuals are eager to demonstrate their personal skills as good dancers. Yet communication never is a one-sided affair. It is the activity of spectating and perhaps cheerfully responding to a performance which generates its publicity and transforms it into a social statement – and this concerns participatory performance in southern Mali as well as any other performance. The role of spectatorship in socially constructing the reality and relevance of an expressive utterance is independent from the existence of an audience in the sense of a discrete group of people strictly separated from the performers. This is evident in the turn-taking of listeners and speakers in everyday conversational language use as well as in the celebratory turn-taking in dance performance that is concerned here. The fact that the community members invest so much effort, commitment, and systematicity in spectating suggests that they recognize the presentational aspect of their participatory performances. By contrast, an activity understood to be non-presentational or only weakly presentational would not require and would be unlikely to permanently attract the attention of community members.

A third argument in support of the presentational nature of participatory performance is related to the second one. Spectating not only requires the spectators to invest their time and energy in this activity, but it also necessitates a situation that offers a clear view of the ongoing dance performances. I argue that clear sight of the

center is among the main reasons why a crowd of people gathered in a circle tend to keep the interior of the circle clear. A hardly differentiated space, where people keep distance only to avoid disturbing each other, would serve perfectly in case of non-presentational dance activities. According to the idea that physical co-presence and density tends to excite the individual participants' moods and collective experience of community [Durkheim 1915], an unstructured crowd would even appear particularly advantageous for non-presentational dancing. Celebrations in southern Mali indeed can become confused sometimes, as when too many eager participants at the same time go forward for a drum/dance encounter themselves. The situation can even dissolve into near chaos for a moment when the gathering's level of enthusiasm momentarily rises to such a degree that the whole party starts pressing inwards to get closer and closer to the focused action (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Cheering for two senior males dance performance, the joyous crowd starts to move inwards and seize the dance-ground.

If everyone is in the center, then no-one is watching from the bounding circle: this is the end of spectatorship and performance alike, as well as of ordered, focused interaction. Sometimes this activity is licensed at the final minutes of a celebration. When it happens in the course of an ongoing event, however, the song, dance, and music will briefly come to a halt, and the situation will break up by everyone taking his or her place again amongst much laughter. Yet the occurrence of this kind of total participation in an imploding situation is an exception. As a rule, the situation remains fairly stable for long hours, despite the often heated and exalted interaction. While it certainly can occur that three, four, or more participants come in for a dance-drum encounter at the same time, after a while an experienced community member would typically remind everybody that dancing one-by-one or in pairs is

the norm. When disorder arises because of people pressing in, typically someone will push people back [Polak 2018 0:20, 1:30, 2:10] or pull a branch off the nearest tree and drive the inward-pushing crowd back in line by threatening to whip the foremost members' legs [ibid. 10:35–10:50]. The role of this "master of the dance-ground" is sometimes officially allotted to a member of the team of organizers, yet can also be spontaneously assumed by a member of the drum ensemble or the singers' party, or indeed by any participant experienced local celebration culture. In a nutshell, the spatial situation of a circle of people who preserve the boundary of the interior of that circle is ideal for spectatorship of that privileged activity which alone can take place there.

Finally, the community sometimes explicitly reminds the dancers that they are on display for spectatorship. Recall, for instance, my introductory anecdote, in which somebody tossed me a scarf in order to persuade me to dance. Similarly, in the video recording that accompanies this paper, participants very frequently throw scarfs to co-participants who have entered the center ground and are about to dance already.[5] This gesture indexes the scarf thrower's appreciation and encouragement of the dancer's performance. It reminds the performer that she is being watched and empathized with, and at the same time draws public attention both to the dance performance and the empathic spectatorship. The gesture thus marks both the dance and itself as performances, in the sense of "showing doing something" [Schechner and Brady 2013:28].

Discussion

Let me prepare the discussion with a brief summary of the ethnographic study's main findings. Vernacular festivities in southern Mali are community-based and community-oriented events, which are conceived of by the participants as entertainment and play. The participants take turns in dancing, which is the central mode of performance and focus of attention; they switch roles between watching their co-participants' dancing and going center-ground to dance themselves. Performance and audience roles are not stably assigned to discrete groups of people (*the audience* versus *the performers*), but assumed by the same people at different times. However, the participants persistently and enthusiastically observe each other's dancing and the situation is perfectly well designed for such spectatorship. As latent performers themselves, the majority of participants manifestly watch the performance, thereby explicitly encouraging their co-participants to dance. This suggests that the participatory dance performances are carried out not for the sake of the performers' self-experience alone, but as a presentation on display for others to look at and empathize with as well.

Before suggesting some conclusions, I would like to briefly discuss a methodological limitation of the study. While I am experienced in observing participatory dance performance in Mali from up close, my perspective is biased by identifying as a drummer and music researcher, and not a dancer and dance researcher. I have frequently drummed, but only rarely danced, in Mali. As an ensemble member of a hired crew of specialist drummers, what I look at, listen to, and feel, will decisively

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5   See Polak 2018 4:01, 4:36, 5:20, 5:40, 5:48, 6:40, 7:05, 7:20, 7:58, 8:12, 8:21, 9:23, 9:48, 9:53, 9:56, 10:21, 10:53, 11:12, 11:37, 12:02, among other instances.

differ from the experience of a community member attending the same event, whose two main forms of action are to dance and spectate others dancing. Moreover, I have shared my everyday life and carried out interviews generally with drummers, and not dancers. This is why this paper does not speak of dancers' experiences, their views of dance skills and aspirations to become skillful dancers, the criteria by which they evaluate their dancing, and so forth. For instance, I have often observed that most dancers at celebrations in Mali tend to avoid eye-contact with spectators. During the individual solo dances, in particular, when everyone looks at them, their own gaze mostly is directed to the ground or into the sky. While this could indicate that they are focusing on their own experience of feeling the dance, it may also have to do with their intention to not show any sign of self-consciousness in public. While I would love to say more on these issues, I am not yet capable of doing so. The present paper thus is an incomprehensive anthropological exercise that requires completion by more dance-focused, ethnochoreological work, which I hope to carry out in the future.

That said, the ethnographic observations and my interpretations reported above seem to suggest some conclusions. In an earlier paper, I elaborated on Ruth Stone's observation that "the audience in Africa is active, merging in and out of performing roles" [Stone 1988:8]. I argued that performance and spectatorship are mutually constitutive of each other and thus equally characteristic of the celebratory interaction in Mali [Polak 2007]. Here, I make the related claim that the participatory and the presentational aspects of dance performance are equally relevant to the gathered community.

From the point of view of participatory and presentational dance performance theorized as *polar* categories, local celebration culture in southern Mali, which shows characteristics of both categories, would appear as an empirical case lying midway in between them. On principle, an approach such as Nahachewsky's [1995] would certainly allow for such intermediate cases, as it aims to distinguish analytical models rather than to classify empirical cases into discrete categories. However, there is more to the metaphor of oppositional poles than the idea that you can draw a line between them and locate an infinite number of positions on that continuum. Poles represent opposite forces; a midway position involves an equilibrium of two opposing forces balancing each other out. Specifically, a polar conception of participatory and presentational dance means that a gradually more participatory type will be less presentational by the same degree, and vice-versa; you cannot shift a point on a line towards one end without at the same time distancing it from the other. The midway position of the Malian case thus would indicate that it is half-participatory and half-presentational in character. This is where I sense a problem with the polar conception. It would be misleading, in my view, to interpret the dance festivities in Mali as only half participatory because of their presentational aspects. What could be more participatory than everybody in a group of people to take turns in doing something one by one, until the last has had her share? Analogously, it would be misleading to describe these celebrations as only half presentational because of their participatory aspects. It is a prototype – an archetype even – of presentational performance, I suggest, to have a circle of people from where individuals one after the other step into the center for doing something special which is attentively spectated and cheered on by everybody else.

From this perspective, the participatory and the presentational aspects of the dancing do not represent oppositional forces and would not be located as opposite poles on a single dimension. I would rather propose that they represent two different dimensions that both are highly relevant and certainly interact with each other, yet are not directly coupled in an inversely proportional relation. This would allow for a dance context to be more presentational yet not automatically less participatory than vernacular celebrations. For instance, spectacular masked dances in southern Mali characterize contexts of more presentational performance, which nonetheless are experienced as tremendously participatory events by the spectating communities [see Arnoldi 1995; McNaughton 2008]. This suggests a concept of participation that goes beyond considering only the dancer's own experience of how it feels to dance. I here follow (ethno)musicologist Christopher Small [1998, 1999] who persuasively argued that the meaning of music performance lies in the relationship that it establishes between the participants and that it is one's personal involvement rather than one's specific contribution which generates the participatory experience and ethos. Next to performing, to spectate others performing, support the performance logistically, provide board and lodging for the participants, among other things, all can count as valuable contributions to the joint generation of participatory experiences.

Similarly, there are contexts of dancing where the participatory aspect appears even more radical yet no less presentational than at the social celebrations studied in this paper. For instance, I have observed extremely small spontaneous celebrations held by just half a dozen of adults or children, where participation is total insofar as each and every individual takes a turn in dance and one round lasts exactly as long as it takes for everybody to have one turn. On such playful, rather than socially prestigious occasions, where literally everybody is performing, the core mechanism still consisted of each performer taking a turn in the midst of a circle of spectatorship and cheering [see also Lancy 1974:218] formed by everybody else. In other words, to participate still meant to present yourself through dance.

West African celebratory practices seem to share some features such as community members gathered in a circle taking turns in dancing in the center ground, which make it particularly obvious that, in this context, the experience of the dancer and the view of the spectator are two sides of the same coin. The presentational aspects of dance performance in a participatory community context, which I highlighted in the present study of festive interaction in Mali, has received equal emphasis in ethnochoreological work on, for instance, drum-dance performances at local celebrations in neighboring Senegal [see Neveu Kringelbach 2007; Seye 2014a, 2014b]. By contrast, the categorization of specific styles or performance contexts of music or dance as presentational in general tends to be applied primarily to staged art or staged folklore presented to discrete audiences more or less separated from the performers. The case of West African celebration culture suggests that more capacious conceptualizations of the presentational are theoretically advantageous. In its broadest sense, all public behavior is presentational in the sense that people routinely engage in behaviors according to social roles and habitus, thereby "playing" or "performing" or "practicing" aspects of their own identities [Bourdieu 1984; Goffman

1959, 1966; Schechner and Brady 2013].[6] From this perspective, any performance is presentational in that it is meant to be attended, witnessed, and acknowledged by others. For instance, the performance of a speech act becomes an utterance in a conversation only through somebody else taking on the role of listener. Thus understood, my argument that participatory dance at celebrations in Mali is profoundly presentational does not mean much more than to claim and take seriously its status as performance. Seen from these broader theoretical perspectives, the integration of participatory and presentational aspects of performance in West African celebration culture does not represent anything peculiarly African or exotic, but rather a typical feature of human interaction and communication.

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6   Related views have recently gained prominence in the cognitive sciences, claiming that the key distinctive feature of human cognition is its being social cognition [Henrich 2016; Tomasello 1999, 2014]. In particular, proponents of the so-called theory of mind such as Wolfgang Prinz [2012] claim that the human capacities for agency and intentionality are developed by observing and understanding the actions of others and the mirroring process of recognizing one's own behavior as being open to be perceived and understood by others.

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Sille KAPPER

ESTONIAN DANCE CELEBRATION AND THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION

Abstract

Estonian Dance Celebrations date back to 1934, and they are highly appreciated today by very large audiences. For Dance Celebrations, single traditional dance elements are used in the creation of original choreographies. Movements are stylized as choreographic ideas and standardized according to the institutional *truth regime* that rules the whole folk dance movement. My participant observations provide lots of data to show how selectively dance knowledge is preserved and passed on during the Dance Celebration process. In the selection, the unifying force of folk dance is promoted while the plural, diverse, and intrinsically multicultural nature of local traditions is left in shadow. I have also argued earlier that the dancer's personal agency is not supported in the Dance Celebration process. In this paper I am going to analyze the relations between structure, agency, and *habitus* and discuss the power issues revealed in the context of Estonian Dance Celebrations.

Keywords: agency, choreography, dance analysis, Estonian Dance Celebration, habitus, stage folk dance

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I consider myself a teacher and researcher of traditional dance and folk dance. In Estonia, when someone wants to use the expression "folk dance," one of his or her first tasks will be to position herself in relation to another much more definite concept that is called "Dance Celebration." This is because the mass events called Estonian Song and Dance Celebrations constitute the most dominant phenomenon on the folk dance scene in Estonia today. With their thousands of folk costumed participants moving around in complex expressive patterns in a stadium, Dance Celebrations are familiar to anyone in Estonia while knowledge of local peasant dance traditions has mainly disappeared. The venue and typical appearance of a dance celebration are presented on Figure 1, 2 and 3.
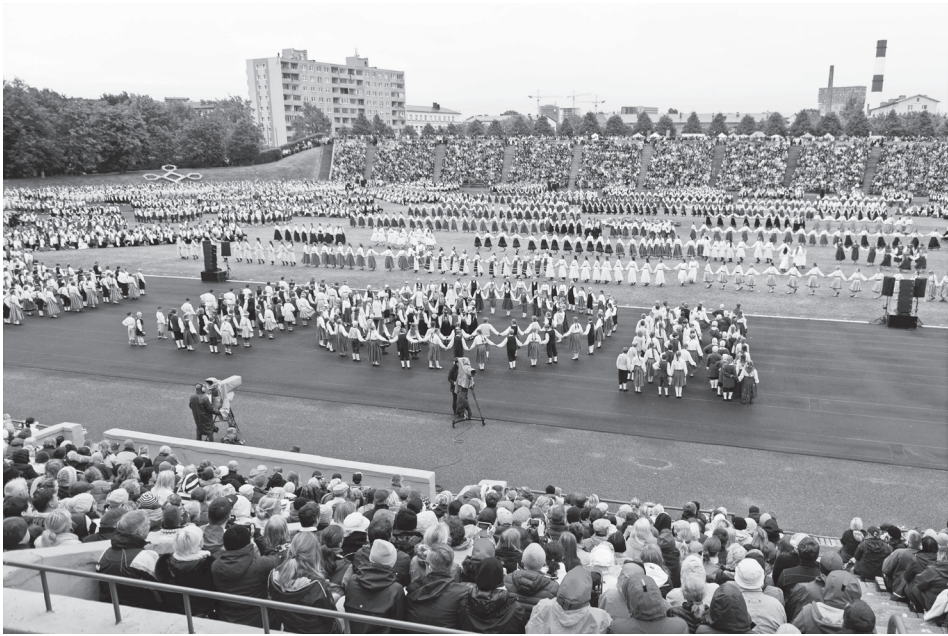
Figure 1. Stadium patterns created by dancers. Third show of XII Youth Dance Celebration "Here I'll stay", Tallinn, Kalev stadium, 1 July 2017. Photograph by Raigo Pajula.

Figure 2. Stadium patterns created by dancers. Third show of XII Youth Dance Celebration "Here I'll stay", Tallinn, Kalev stadium, 1 July 2017. Photograph by Raigo Pajula.

Figure 3. Stadium patterns created by dancers. Third show of XII Youth Dance Celebration "Here I'll stay", Tallinn, Kalev stadium, 1 July 2017. Photograph by Raigo Pajula.

The choreographic material performed is not the easiest one and there is competition between folk dance groups for the right to perform at a dance celebration, so they really strive and struggle to achieve the best performance with their compulsory repertoire. Therefore, not much energy is left over for other kinds of dancing such as social folk dance or choreographies different from the most widespread stage folk dance style, at least during those rehearsal seasons that come to an end with a dance celebration. Estonian Song and Dance Celebrations take place every five years, and in between there are Youth Song and Dance Celebrations, also every five years, three years after each general one.

I personally have been active in Estonian Dance Celebration process since 1984 in the roles of a folk dance group member, a group teacher, and also a stage director for a set of groups. At the same time, I consider myself a traditional dance researcher and teacher of traditional culture, including genuine traditional dancing. My main job is analysis and re-embodiment of traditional dance material, and teaching local dance traditions from different parts of Estonia. Besides this main activity, I contribute to the Dance Celebrations process because this is the largest field in Estonia where traditional dance knowledge can be used at least to some extent, sometimes also visibly presented. Last time, in 2017 I was the assistant stage director for the Youth Dance Celebration, a moment of which you could see on Figure 1. The performance was titled "Here I'll stay" and carried a deep meaning focused on the connection of the young generation with its land, culture, and parents.

Dance Celebrations are structured as comprehensive theatrical productions, based on a central idea and message since the last quarter of the 20th century. Before

that, they were rather like concerts where independent dance pieces were presented, although connected into thematic paragraphs. The total tradition of Dance Celebrations in Estonia dates back to the beginning of the 20th century. The first time, a mass presentation of three Estonian folk dances took place in the framework of a gymnastics festival at Kadrioru stadium in Tallinn in 1934, and this is considered the first dance celebration now, although some joint performances of several folk dance groups had been organized even earlier.

Today, the mass productions called Dance Celebration are highly appreciated by very large audiences on the spot and via the media. The number of participant dancers is between 8,000 and 10,000 usually. In the stadium stands the audience number is 11,000 for each show and usually three shows are given plus an open dress rehearsal, so the number of people who are involved at the stadium might be over 50,000. More than 150,000 people (2017 peak quarter hour 171 k) usually watch the show on TV – that is quite a lot considering the total population of Estonia, which is only 1.3 million. Therefore, one could say, Dance Celebration is one of the most visible dance events in Estonia at the moment. As such, it is also very influential in the field of traditional and folk dance and on the Estonian dance scene in general because it works as a contemporary display of traditional peasant culture. Therefore, I think it is important to analyze the Estonian Dance Celebration as a cultural process, paying special attention to the politics of knowledge transmission that takes place during this process.

In the creation of Dance Celebration shows or spectacles, the choreographers base their compositions on Estonian national stage folk dance, which means that single movement elements or motifs of traditional folk dance are used in original stage choreographies. Movements are stylized as choreographic ideas and standardized according to the institutional *regime of truth* [Foucault 1977; Viik 2011] that rules the whole folk dance movement in Estonia. Under a regime of truth, I mean here thought patterns and movement standardization rules that started to take shape in the romantic and nationalistic beginning of the 20th century, developed well during the soviet period, and have not changed much after re-independence. It is ourselves who create those institutional regimes of truth which tend to promote certain mainstream ideas while overshadowing different alternative knowledge, although also important for the preservation and sustainable development of local and regional cultures. A typical stage folk dance in Estonia today is an idealistic display of historical peasant life, embellished and "ennobled" [Kermik 1983:186] with rather sophisticated, visually attractive, expressive movement vocabulary, mainly with an aim to attract the audiences.

Dance Celebrations take place every two to three years in the format of huge stadium spectacles, but they are based on continuous processes carried out in local dance studios and cultural centers by thousands of hobby folk dancers' groups and their teachers. Dancers usually gather twice a week, some very dedicated high level groups also three times a week and some lazier groups just once a week, but the main idea is that dancers meet regularly for exercise and rehearsals. It is even supported by the state – folk dance groups who continuously participate in the dance celebration process get a small allowance from the state so that they can cover a tiny part of their operating costs such as dance studio rent or folk costumes. During this

continuous exercise and rehearsal process, specific knowledge on folk dance, mainly on the above-described stage folk dance, is created, re-created and passed on.

My participant observations provide lots of data to show how selectively traditional dance knowledge is used and preserved or, more often, changed in that process [for further examples see Kapper 2016a]. Some choices made by the choreographers are connected with the patterns that the stadium is covered with and with the distance necessary for the audience to see them. Much of the energy of Dance Celebration choreographers goes to addressing the audience in the stadium stands, physically far away from the dancers. Today, drone cameras are loved by the creators as well, while using close-up cameras has been much less popular so far. In this way, logically, bigger movements that are visible from far or enable quicker repositioning of dancers turn out to be more useful and therefore are loved by the stage folk dance choreographers more than mime details or other small elements that would reflect sincere emotions or personally peculiar behavior of individual dancers. As a result of this selection, the unifying force of folk dance is promoted while the plural, diverse, and also the intrinsically multicultural nature of local traditions is left in the shadows.

I have also argued earlier that the dancer's personal agency is not supported in the Dance Celebration process. At our last symposium two years ago, I discussed the issues of dancer's agency in relation to bodily knowledge connected with traditional dancing and stage folk dance. An unexpected action by more than a thousand young (mainly teenage) dancers during the 12th Estonian Youth Dance Celebration in July 2017, made me to turn back to the questions of dancers' agency again, and also to revise my conclusions.

During a Dance Celebration usually three performances are given. This time, it was the Youth Celebration, participants 7 to 21 years old, school children. And the weather, unlike a usual beginning of July even in Estonia, was terribly cold and rainy. We had our dress rehearsal and then the first show of Friday evening, half of it in total rain and it was really cold and windy, too. Two shows were supposed to be given on Saturday, a day performance and an evening performance, the latter also to be broadcasted on national TV. Saturday, early in the morning, the rescue and medical services decided to cancel the daytime show in order to give the wet children time to recover from the previous night's cold, dry their costumes and stay in warm accommodation schoolhouses until the afternoon when the weather was also supposed to get better. The third, the last show, was to be held at any event. So the
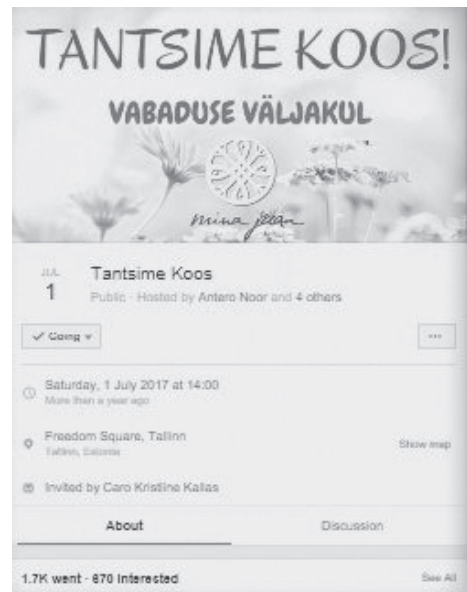
Figure 4. A screenshot from about a year later shows about 1,700 participants, obviously there were more.

decision by operational staff, the rescue and medical teams, was of course made for the wellbeing of children and although everyone was sad for the cancelled show – everyone, I mean dancers, teachers, the stage director team, parents and audience, who had got tickets to that second show, they were sad but also very understanding.

And then, a small group of young dancers, in the beginning just two or three of them, and later an initiative group of six to eight, decided they still wanted to come together and do the performance. First, they created an event on Facebook. Within a few hours hundreds of dancers responded.

There was also an opportunity provided for the participant dancers to do some traditional folk dancing in a social format instead of the cancelled show – a celebration of musical instruments that took place near the dance stadium was supposed to follow the daytime performance, but now when the dance show was cancelled the concert turned out to be an independent event. Estonian young stage folk dancers can usually do some very basic movements necessary for social traditional dancing; they sometimes enjoy it and probably many of them would have been happy to dance a bit more in social participatory settings after the celebration show. But in this very case now, the social format was not enough for most of the dancers. In Facebook posts, some young dancers argued for going to the concert of musical instruments and dancing there instead, but the majority did not want to, they wanted their performance.

The young initiative group communicated that self-propelled event as "We just want to dance together" and more than a thousand dancers shared their post to spread the message. Actually, what they wanted was to dance this specific Dance Celebration spectacle – do all the choreographies they had learned, do it to the music especially composed for the Celebration, and do it together with as many companions as possible because this was the idea of a Dance Celebration for them – a mass event with well-prepared meaningful choreography and expressive patterns. There is the power of dance knowledge to be seen – the youth wanted to do this kind of dancing they had been taught and they had learned during the school year before and for the Celebration. The content of this dance knowledge also included making stadium patterns and drawings the way they had rehearsed for a week all together just before this cold and rainy weekend. Soon the young organizers also emphasized that the event was not to express any protest against the decision to cancel the performance or to anything else, but came from their sincere desire to be together and do the best dancing they felt possible in these circumstances.

Surprisingly, there was no real intention to address the audience. In the text of the Facebook-event and in posts of participants there was no invitation to come and watch what they do but there were lots of emotional invitations to dancer friends to come and do what they were supposed to do at the stadium. The content of the message they spread demonstrates that they really wanted to do the show together, to support each other in that somewhat sad situation. Showing-off wasn't any aim. Nevertheless, the audience came – parents, teachers, and other people who had caught the quickly spread message and came to support the "guerilla" dance celebration [Vaitmaa 2017], as the event was later named by the press. However, that label is not quite correct considering the dancers' own attitude. The stage director and members of the actual artistic production team of the 12th Estonian Youth Dance Celebration in 2017 were also supportive but did not interfere in the preparations.

It was impossible to use the usual stadium for this spontaneous event as it was also closed for grass recovery. At first, there was an idea to dance behind the gates of the stadium, but soon the organizers realized that there was not enough space for the number of dancers who were interested in coming. So, the youth decided to gather on the Square of Freedom, the main square of Tallinn city. Fortunately, the city administration was also very understanding and able to react properly: Although it was Saturday morning, the city officials could be contacted and the spontaneous event was allowed as a legal public gathering. The area was also quickly and quietly safeguarded by the police, medical help and rescue department. Everything the youth had prepared in a couple of hours was allowed to happen without any excess bureaucracy.

And the young dancers really did the whole show, from the very first introduction dance to the great finale. Props were brought from near the stadium, sound equipment was organized, in the beginning some scenic instructions and direction signs already familiar to all dancers from stadium settings were given, and the full 1,5-hours piece was danced partly in folk costumes, partly in just comfortable or rain clothing.

Figure 5. Skillful completion of stadium patters on town square. Tallinn Freedom Square, 1 July 2017. Photograph by Andres Putting.

Figure 6. Skillful completion of stadium patters on town square. Tallinn Freedom Square, 1 July 2017. Photograph by Andres Putting.

Figure 7. Emotional atmosphere created during the performance. Tallinn Freedom Square, 1 July 2017. Photograph by Aivar Pihelgas.

Of course, not all children came. Many of younger children who depended on their teachers or parents did not have the opportunity to join in, but the majority of teenager and high school student folk dancers from all over Estonia were there, on Tallinn Freedom Square, on 1 July 2017.

Using this happening as an example, let us look at the relations between structure, agency, and *habitus* [Bourdieu 1998] in the folk dance movement in contemporary Estonia: Folk dance teaching that is organized in standard size and age-specific folk dance groups forms a structure necessary for the sustainability and development of the Estonian Dance Celebrations as a continuous cultural process. The spontaneous Freedom-Square Dance Celebration demonstrates how our young generation has internalized the idea this structure spreads – the idea of dance celebrations as choreographed mass productions. This generation of young dancers now used their personal agency to recreate, reinforce and develop the tradition they consider their own. By this spontaneous event they confirmed to themselves and showed to the rest of the world that the process of Dance Celebrations is in their hearts and hands, and that stadium dance celebrations – mass productions with meaningful choreography – are a valued part of their own culture and tradition that they want to keep alive. Besides the social traditional folk dancing with dance forms from 19th century, the contemporary functions and meanings of which are also of some interest for young individual dancers, Dance Celebration turns out to be the mainstream that young folk dancers appreciate and carry on, partly deliberately and partly unconsciously.

The event also proved that the schoolboys and -girls even know how to make a dance celebration performance happen. The Freedom-Square event was actually not done in two hours as it may seem at first glance. It was done during all those years (at least 85) that we have had Dance Celebration format events in Estonia. It was done during all those hours of stage folk dance exercise and rehearsals that have designed the physical as well as mental *habitus* of young folk dancers, their knowledge, understanding and ideas about what a folk dance, good for dance celebration must be like, how to do it and also how to organize a concrete performance of dance celebration. The only thing they did not do yet was to create and produce an original choreographic or scenic composition, but all the technical part was done. After the Freedom-Square dance celebration, experienced dance celebration directors and organizers repeatedly expressed their satisfaction to know that the tradition of dance celebrations is in good hands. They said that in addition to motivation and will, the youth has the knowledge and capability to do it.

Less attention has been paid to possible threats that could be seen in the situation. As we know from earlier research [Kapper 2016b], Dance Celebrations do not support the spread of the idea and knowledge about the plural and diverse nature of traditional culture. It is understandable because their principal output, the mass productions, are not designed for that purpose. Dance celebrations have other strengths, and also other requirements in connection with their specialty to address large crowds at rather long distances. This format of dance celebration is well suited for highlighting the idealistic and unified values of national culture but not its individual and locally or regionally different traits. As I have also written before [Kapper 2017], the dance celebration process does not enhance the personal agency of participant dancers because most choices are made by the artistic production teams

and age group or level group leaders while the dancers' main task is to obey the rules. I have also argued that this could be seen as a point of concern because low agency, meaning here unwillingness and poor ability to make intended individual decisions, may easily lead to alienation from the values important for the tradition of dance celebration itself and Estonian national culture as a whole. This argument took place two years ago.

Last summer, the Freedom-Square Dance Celebration revealed young stage folk dancers' agency in a new situation, from a new angle – their agency in the role of carriers of a new culture, the tradition of Dance Celebration that has its very specific, usually idealistic inclination in its relation to the historical peasant culture people often want to consider the basis of their own national one. We have to witness this cultural change, and admit that the structure connected with the process of Dance Celebration has developed into a very powerful channel of dance knowledge transmission. Dancers' agency might not be low, but it is used to carry on exactly these values that are taught during the preparation period for a dance celebration, usually a season (a school year) or a bit longer. Which once more stresses the importance of selections made during this process and the huge responsibility of the creative teams of future Dance Celebrations.

The tradition of Dance Celebrations has been reproducing itself for decades. Politically and ideologically this self-production has been approved and supported as a desired situation to ensure the continuity of the tradition. But the self-reproduction, in the sense that new stage directors and producers always come from among folk dance group teachers and members, also leads to some encapsulation. Choices and decisions remain similar from one celebration to the other. The usual *regime of truth* is carried on well in knowledge transmission while little innovation gets in thanks to the developed structure and *habitus* of dancers, and in spite of changes that take place in the cultural environment and society in general. This analysis of the reasons for the evolved situation shows that an attempt to make dance celebrations change would be rather unfeasible, maybe also unnecessary because of the above-mentioned strengths that the dance celebration, with its wide reach, also has. But still, for a good balance in the politics of dance knowledge transmission, other festivals or events that promote different and usually more shadowed values of traditional culture would need much more support and attention in order to at least survive beside the dominant Dance Celebration.

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Adair LANDBORN

RADICAL TERRITORY:
ROCÍO MOLINA'S ICONOCLASTIC CHOREOGRAPHY
AND THE FLAMENCO BODY AS A SITE OF
FEMALE EMANCIPATION THROUGH SOMATIC
TRANSFORMATION AND KINETIC RESISTANCE

Abstract

Traditionally, flamenco dance practices have maintained or reinforced heteronormativity as a central construct of Spanish society. This paper discusses the iconoclastic choreography, performances, personal choices and public statements of Rocío Molina, a rising star in the flamenco world today, who is disrupting social norms, defying aesthetic standards, and embodying feminist resistance on the flamenco stage. Through descriptive analysis, Molina is shown to take two approaches: first, the disruption of flamenco's traditional female dance forms and, second, the innovative domination of flamenco footwork techniques traditionally considered a male domain. Molina's performative revolution challenges flamenco's aesthetic standards and behavioral expectations for women, paralleling the changing attitudes of contemporary Spanish society.

Keywords: Rocío, Molina, flamenco, feminist, male gaze, *zapateado*, transgressive

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Choreographic innovations are currently challenging, disrupting, and enriching the traditional movement vocabulary of *baile flamenco* (flamenco dance). Many of these innovations, devised by both male and female flamenco dance artists, actively defy Spain's conventional gender roles and behavioral expectations. This paper focuses primarily on feminist experimentations within the embodied realm of traditional female flamenco dance performance; it notes that while such rule-breaking experiments may disrupt artistic norms, they also can have real world impact in the lives of both female performing artists and the members of an audience. These transformative shifts in flamenco arts and traditions may both reflect and hasten the changes to gender norms now occurring in contemporary Spanish society.

Flamenco traditions commonly reproduce, impose, and/or reinforce heteronormativity as an important cultural value in Spanish society. Spain's socially constructed delineation of two sexual categories, male and female, enforces standards and expectations regarding the bodies, roles, and behaviors of Spanish men and women. The resulting intensity and tension between opposing sexes underpins and drives many flamenco performances. "As embodied practices, flamenco dance traditions contribute to the public construction and stabilization of Spain's heteronormative gender identities" [Landborn 2019]. In Spain, it has long been an accepted view that

men should dance in a masculine way, just as women should dance in a feminine way. Thus, flamenco dance often functions as a performative means through which to demonstrate one's conformity with gender norms and reinforce one's gender identity and sexuality, both within intimate social contexts and in the public sphere.

In "Gendering the authentic in Spanish flamenco," Timothy deWaal Malefyt investigates two contrasting realms of activity that Spanish social conventions assign to flamenco men and women. He asserts that "gender categories form a separate but complementary framework for social organization and spatial distinction" resulting in differences in how the flamenco arts are practiced and appreciated in public versus private settings. In the context of Spanish cultural norms, he discusses "the male domain," relating it to "public display and social inequality," and discusses "the feminine [realm]" and its strong associations to "domestic enclosures and intimate relations" [Malefyt 1998:53]. Conformity, dancing within these norms, is a safe strategy; however, today some male flamenco dancers risk dancing with raw emotional intimacy and some female flamenco dancers are turning Spanish social conventions inside out by moving their most interior private lives into the public sphere through creative and performative means.

Spain's socially constructed binary categories, referred to as *macho* y *hembra* (male and female), are also sharply defined in traditional flamenco dance movements. Flamencologist Donn E. Pohren writes that personality, sensuality, and emotional depth are expressed through the female dancer's arm and torso movements, which symbolize "femininity and passion," while flamenco footwork, associated with masculinity, is interpreted as "a symbol of strength and virility" [Pohren 1984:60]. While Pohren's published views appear extremely rigid and old fashioned by today's standards, they may simply reflect a set of ideas about gender and behavior that were commonly agreed upon at the time. Pohren asserts that "the condition that men be men and women, women, or at least appear to be, is an absolute necessity in the *baile* flamenco if it is to be effective" [cited in Washabaugh 1998a:42]. This conventional attitude emphasizes a gender-based division within flamenco dance aesthetics; put into practice, it results in distinctive movement territories for female and male dancers. While these rigid social conventions seem to leave little room for artistic gender play, they may actually end up inviting rebellious experimentation by establishing confining rules of acceptable behavior for creative performing artists to push back against. Many examples of performative play in relation to flamenco's gender norms exist, often emerging in informal improvisational contexts.

In his article "Fashioning masculinity in flamenco dance," anthropologist William Washabaugh describes male flamenco dancers performing stylized movements generally associated with female flamenco dancers, asserting that such performative moments of transgressive gender bending add "inconsistency and self-contradiction" and therefore "irony" to the flamenco performance [Washabaugh 1998b:47]. In an improvisational context, such moments of experimental nonconformity may occur as fleeting expressions with both interpersonal and intrapersonal significance. In some of flamenco's modern choreographic works, nonconformity may occur as a deliberate and repeatable artistic transgression against societal and aesthetic expectations. It seems that the very clarity of these gendered territories provides a clear road map for any flamenco artist interested in confronting or defying social conventions. Many contemporary flamenco choreographers gain notoriety and

success through strategic rule breaking in theatrical settings. To truly appreciate the artistic (and social) revolution underway, it is useful to examine the traditional boundaries, conventional rules of behavior, and aesthetic values that performers of different genders are charged by tradition to uphold as they dance.

Traditionally, female dancers perform wearing flamenco dresses with a long train, known as a *bata de cola*, while male flamenco dancers emphasize uprightness and self-containment as they perform footwork. Male flamenco dancers are expected to demonstrate speed, strength, aggressiveness, and mastery. The aesthetic standards by which female flamenco dancers' performances are assessed include dance technique and personal style. However, the attractiveness of a female dancer's costume and ornamentation, her physical beauty and pleasing figure, all constitute important visual elements that will significantly affect any aesthetic judgment of her actual dance performance. Over time, these gendered *macho y hembra* territories have become iconic, even reified; they uphold performative ideals through which flamenco dancers assert a sexual identity on the public stage and establish individual femaleness or maleness within their social group.

These values are generally upheld in the southernmost region of Spain, Andalusia, a region that is both source and center of flamenco's music and dance traditions. Traditional Andalusian culture maintains these socially constructed norms of femaleness and maleness through long-entrenched aesthetic standards and close monitoring of social behaviors. Nevertheless, it is from these traditional roots that one contemporary female flamenco dancer, Rocío Molina, has emerged to radically challenge flamenco's gender conventions. Molina is a native practitioner of the flamenco arts, born in 1984 in the small town of Torre Del Mar, Málaga, Spain. Knowing its traditions well, Molina sees the potential beyond flamenco's conventional boundaries and is courageously challenging flamenco performance norms through her artistic gender experimentations. A radical iconoclast, Molina deconstructs notions of femininity by violating limits inherent in flamenco's most traditional female dance forms; Molina also conquers the male domain by dramatically expanding the flamenco footwork technique, *zapateado*, associated with notions of masculinity.

In a 2017 TEDx Madrid presentation, Rocío Molina said, "It could be considered that I am an impure flamenco dancer" [TEDx Talks 2017]. In the context of flamenco traditions and aesthetics, this bold statement amounts to a personal manifesto through which Molina asserts her desire to be understood as a rebel, a feminist, and a contrarian in relationship to flamenco's ongoing controversy over ethnic purity and enduring regard for artistic traditionalism. Molina belongs to a new generation of female artists who are navigating restrictive social structures and contesting artistic limitations rooted in patriarchal expectations. Before innovating however, artists must first master traditional flamenco forms; mastery of tradition frees artists to innovate with undeniable authority. This legitimacy is hard-won; it is based on the development of virtuosic technical ability, extensive musical knowledge, and exceptional artistry. Once an artist attains such mastery, their innovative decisions have the potential to influence flamenco traditions and impact the wider society.

Molina is a rising star; her onstage performances provide her with a public platform from which to broadcast a manifesto of feminist principles. She radicalizes the territory of the stage as well as the somatic territory of her own embodied presence through creative risk taking and performative transformations. Two

of Molina's artistic choices exemplify kinetic embodiment of female emancipation: first, she destabilizes the female domain by irrevocably changing what is permissible in female flamenco performance; second, she conquers the male domain by fundamentally transforming the parameters of its most important movement vocabulary, *zapateado*.

Some choreographers produce works of cultural and artistic reiteration, demonstrating mastery of conventional forms and, perhaps by inference, compliance to social expectations. Others may employ slight artistic innovations to expand aesthetic options and gradually influence the development of a dance tradition without causing significant disruption. Occasional novel or unusual artistic choices may be used to revitalize dance traditions that are stable or codified, or have become stagnant or stale. Alternatively, a choreographer with the spirit of an iconoclast will choose to radically disrupt norms, challenge standards, and thus, at least figuratively, shatter the social values embedded within their dance tradition. Staging an intervention, upending a power structure, redirecting a society's conversation: these constitute a type of iconoclastic cultural work that artists like Rocío Molina undertake.

Traditionally, the *bata de cola* signifies the female domain, "private and intimate, with a sense of hidden mystery and interiority," and wearing a *bata de cola* inherently creates "a performative space for the display of physical beauty and uniqueness of personality" [Landborn 2019]. Here, in the female domain, a dancer is judged for how she measures against conventional standards of beauty, whether she is or is not *guapa* (beautiful). In this performative territory, successful female flamenco dancers are deemed to be *una maja*, a nice, good looking, classy woman, or *la reina*, the queen, regal and aloof. In both instances, dancing while wearing the long *bata de cola* dress*,* one is expected to be dignified and pristine, untouchable, haughty, and elevated – the essence of femaleness rarified and placed on an impossibly high pedestal.

Performing her choreographic work, *Caída de cielo* (Fallen from heaven), as part of Dance Umbrella 2017, Rocío Molina devises a new movement vocabulary for the *bata de cola*; barefoot, she brings flamenco's lofty female icon down to earth. Wearing a traditional *bata de cola* dress, Molina, writhes while lying on the dance floor, rolling, swirling, and rising without losing her earthbound quality. Like other iconoclastic feminist artists, such as Belén Maya, Rafaela Carrasco, and Pastora Galván, Rocío Molina renounces flamenco's requisite participation in the male gaze that constantly judges the beauty of female dancers. Women living in patriarchal societies are themselves socialized to actively participate in the male gaze habit of critically assessing female appearance. Interviewed in 2008, flamenco choreographer Belén Maya asserted, "We have to renounce beauty. You don't have to be beautiful or marvelous all the time. There are many other things to think, feel and create. We are the *anti-guapas*" [Hayes 2009:171].

In Spanish life the word *guapa* is used profusely and in a variety of contexts. Audience members may shout "*¡guapa!*" during a live flamenco performance, freely commenting on a female dancer's body and appearance. Male passersby on the street may murmur "*guapa*" to express admiration for a woman, but this may also constitute a form of harassment, an incessant reminder that, as a female, one's appearance is being judged at all times. Yet *guapa* is also used positively as a form of endearment and greeting between girlfriends [Hayes 2009:167]. Given the prevalence

of the word and its power to enforce social norms for female behavior, choosing to repudiate beauty, to perform and actively participate in the *anti-guapa* aesthetic, is a radical choice for female flamenco dancers on both professional and personal levels.

As a body extender, the *bata de cola* lends "a sense of grandeur, drama, weightedness, reserve, importance, dignity, and an expanded sense of presence" even as it creates "unique restrictions and difficulties" [Landborn 2015:169–170]. Anthropologist Joann Kealiinohomoku points out that a person's body image is transformed when he [or she] adds a body extender, because it affects the way the person moves and behaves, despite habituated body postures and movements. Body extenders also tell other members of the culture something about the person who has added a body extender, and this feeds back to the person's own self image [Kealiinohomoku 2008:215].

This process of somatic feedback means that, while Molina's innovative *bata de cola* performance signals radical nonconformity to audiences and others within her social milieu, her performance also becomes personally transformative. It reflects new information back to Molina about her own capacities as a person, performer and creative artist; her dancing confirms and reinforces Molina's spirit of radical rebelliousness by providing her with direct experiential evidence of the power and efficacy of her own agency.

In *Caída del cielo*, Molina choreographically rejects the vertical remoteness that characterizes the *bata de cola*; she reclaims her human capacity for earthiness and exposes the messiness and contradictions of female reality. In contrast to classical body aesthetics, Molina takes on the grotesque, moving past the polite boundaries of social inhibition to demonstrate a stark rawness of female being. In her 2017 TEDx Madrid presentation, Rocío Molina calls herself out, saying "Boxer, creator, body, woman, impure, passionate, frisky, bland, annoying when necessary, shameless, imperfect, incorrect, unstoppable. Less gypsy than an olive tree. I don't evolve. I am" [TEDx Talks 2017].

Molina goes even further in her feminist project, upending the norms of flamenco performance by devising innovative footwork techniques to demonstrate her virtuosity and complete mastery of *zapateado*, a key identifying feature of flamenco's male domain.

Laying claim to the virtuosity of the lower body, a traditional flamenco male dancer performs footwork as a tour de force, generating and defending his selfhood, authority, and strength through the dry, hard, assertive, uncompromising rhythms of his footwork [Landborn 2019].

"As an apparatus, footwear affects a dancer's relative mobility and stability, range of motion, balance, posture, and stance" [Landborn 2019]. The surface beneath a dancer's feet, a wooden floor or stage, also constitutes an apparatus, one that either invites or inhibits different types of percussive contact and sound production [Landborn 2019].

In 2010, Rocío Molina challenged the foundation of flamenco's socially-constructed gender narrative by showcasing female technical proficiency, creative agency, solo artistry and virtuosic *zapateado* in the flamenco concert *El sol, la sal, y el son* [AESTAESS 2010]. In this performance, which was televised by CanalSur, the public broadcasting company of Andalusia, Molina introduced entirely new technical challenges within the *zapateado* tradition by reconfiguring the flamenco dance floor as

an apparatus. She performed footwork inside the tight constraints of a wooden box-like structure inlaid within a wooden dance floor surrounded by a ring of sheet metal flooring. These structural innovations expanded the percussive sound possibilities and significantly increased the technical difficulty by adding new spatial dimensions to the sides, front, and back. With this virtuosic footwork performance, Molina dominated the male domain, invading, conquering, and ultimately transforming it.

As a rule, flamenco dance traditions reinforce heteronormativity; sexual identities are showcased in performances of sinuous beauty for female dancers and powerful footwork for male dancers. This embodied performance of conventional gender identities stabilizes cultural values and shields gender norms from social change. However, as Rocío Molina and other female artists push beyond tradition, employing contemporary movement vocabularies and investigating feminist aesthetics, their performances reflect a wider social transformation based on new information about diversity in the biological expression of sex, the social construction of gender identities, and the actualities of sexual preference [Landborn 2019]. Molina's choreography and performances confound expectations, transforming flamenco's feminine dance traditions and dominating the masculine kinetic territory of flamenco footwork. Rocío Molina does not offer herself up to the male gaze of audiences as an objectified female being. Rather, she demands that audiences bear witness to her uninhibited intentionality and fierce agency in the world.

Molina's most recent flamenco work, *Grito Pelao*, focuses directly and honestly on her personal experiences as an adult woman. While traditional flamenco performances steer clear of such topics, considering them inappropriate, off-limits, and unseemly, Molina uninhibitedly explores female sexuality, pregnancy, birth and motherhood as choreographic themes. Reviewing the *Grito Pelao* production for the online magazine *De Flamenco*, Silvia Cruz Lapeña points out the obvious, saying "reality is changing: never before has a flamenco told her story of being a single lesbian who is going to have a daughter by means of artificial insemination" [Lapeña 2018]. Molina shares that "it was something I'd been dreaming of for five years. If I prioritize my dance over my personal life, everything loses its meaning, and I wouldn't feel inspired or motivated" [Espoz 2018]. For Molina, seeing her life through an integrative feminist lens, this combination of the procreative and the creative is an organic expression of a seamless space between the personal and the public. *Grito Pelao* emerged from Rocío Molina's personal desire to be a mother. However, only an artist capable of exerting rare iconoclastic feminist agency would dare to dance about the private process of becoming a mother and do so publically on the flamenco stage.

In "Throwing like a girl: A phenomenology of feminine body comportment, motility and spatiality," American political theorist and feminist philosopher Iris Marion Young outlines the inhibitions and truncations of movement typically present in the movement patterns of "women situated in contemporary advanced industrial, urban, and commercial society" [Young 1980:140]. Young describes how the experience of being on the receiving end of the patriarchal male gaze may negatively impact a woman's sense of self, lessen her self-confidence, reduce her ability to assert strength, and inhibit full use of her potential range of motion. Young attributes these significant inhibitions, hesitations, and reductions in movement to an underlying

ambivalence felt by women who are living a contradiction, living with the tension between "subjectivity and being a mere object" [Young 1980:141].

In a performance context, female flamenco dancers must negotiate their way through numerous psychological complexities, including this conflicted ambiguity of being (and dancing as) both subject and object. Fighting against internalized oppression, a contemporary female flamenco dancer may strive to satisfy the opposing goals of asserting her agency in public while simultaneously inhibiting her behavior so as to remain pleasing to an audience. Knowing that she is being judged as a visual object under the collective male gaze of her community can cause her to feel alienated from herself and hesitant to completely fulfill her artistic objectives.

Molina's choreographic strategy is to provide stark, grotesque or contradictory images to ward off the visual objectification of the female form that dominates flamenco's traditional performance contexts. Rocío Molina asserts her personal creative agency, validates her own embodied subjectivity, and refuses to be deterred by external judgment or alienated from her own power. As Molina lays claim to her personal power, artistry and choreographic authenticity, the feminist imperative that drives her performances also frees audience members to reexamine conventional assumptions. Molina's iconoclastic choreography and groundbreaking performances reaffirm an exciting and deeply invigorating feeling; they seem to confirm that, both in the flamenco world and in Spanish society, as expressed by De Flamenco dance reviewer Silvia Cruz Lapeña, "reality is changing."

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Linda DANKWORTH

CULTURAL IDENTITIES REDEFINED IN MALLORQUIN DANCE THROUGH THE POLITICS OF SHARED PUBLIC PLACES, NATIONALISM AND TOURISM

Abstract

I examine how the concept of place in the midst of a crisis of Spanish nationalist politics impacts on Mallorquin dance as a site for redefining public and personal cultural identities. For the Mallorcan people declaring an allegiance to one of two factions of political views, either for the Union of Spain, or its counter-part for Independence of Catalonia, dance as a social activity brings a sense of normality but also a means to stand together as a community in uncertain times. The Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca, one of my field sites, has now included *contradansa* (Mallorqui/Catalan spelling of a term used to describe country dance) in their repertoire of traditional improvised Mallorquin dance, even though it bears many influences from England. Under the category of *contradansa*, lost dances are being collected as part of a project of recuperation that are being taught, performed and popularized by the local community at a time when the majority of Mallorcan people are becoming more aligned with the Spanish peninsula. An exploration is also undertaken on how the use of banners, emblems and slogans reinforce symbolic sites of identity in demonstrations on the streets of Mallorca, a Catalan speaking region with an autonomous status.

Keywords: independentists, *contradansa*, nationalism, Mallorquin, tourism, place, banners, identity

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In the shifting situation of regional instability in Catalonia, and the hostility shown towards tourism on the Island of Mallorca by left-wing groups in October 2017, I discuss the political environment that evolved in both Mallorca and Girona in Catalonia. I examine how the concept of place in the midst of a crisis of Spanish nationalist politics impacts on Mallorquin dance as a site for redefining public and personal cultural identities.[1] For the Mallorcan people declaring allegiance to one of two political views, either supporting the Union of Spain, or its counterpart for Independence of Catalonia, dance as a social activity brings a sense of normality but also a means to stand together as a community in uncertain times.

I have carried out research on Mallorquin dance over a number of years and have a close association with the Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca (School of Music and Dance), one of my field sites. This school has now included *contradansa* (country

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1   Due to the excessive numbers of tourists invading the island throughout the summer, tourists became a target of Left-wing separatist group, *Arran*, who attacked them in *Mar de Nudos*, a restaurant on the sea front. A local daily newspaper reported, "Confetti was showered over clients and their food." Flares were let off and banners contained messages such as "Tourism kills Majorca" [Home News 2017b].

dance) in addition to their repertoire of traditional improvised Mallorquin dance, known as *baile popular* (popular dance). I use the term *contradansa* (Mallorcan/Catalan spelling) as it is described and taught by Gabriel Frontera, the director of the Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca to define the type of dance. The Spanish spelling is contradanza. He refers to *contradansa* as dance performed in patterns of lines, circles or squares, that reflect English social dance.[2] He emphasizes that they are part of Mallorca's heritage because they were performed in the past in Mallorca, arriving there in the late 18th century.

An exploration is also undertaken on how the use of banners, emblems and slogans reinforce symbolic sites of identity in demonstrations on the streets of Mallorca (a Catalan speaking region that was made an autonomous community of Spain in 1983). I adopt Pierre Nora's [1992] model of two different types of symbols, imposed (official) and constructed (unforeseen mechanisms) in an analysis of the relationship between nationalist ideology, dance and identity. I argue that imposed symbols in my definition here are officiated by government institutions and include national flags, whereas constructed symbols represent the voice of the people including marching in solidarity shown by impromptu mass demonstrations, such as the ones that I observed in Palma (pro-Spanish) and Girona (pro-independence) in 2017. Nora argues that the distinction between imposed and constructed symbols is not artificial but covers the whole spectrum of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory), because it permits a transition from what would otherwise be "a mere category of objects to a category of intelligibility for contemporary history" [Nora 1992]. I believe that commemorative events resonate with individual's personal memories, particularly in their social representation and historical appropriation of the past. In this sense, its social representation becomes a symbolic memory of a distant event that continues into the present as an object worthy of the past.

Nationalist symbols: banners, emblems and slogans
After the celebration of the fiesta de la patrona de la Guardia Civil (the fiesta of the patrons of the Guardia Civil) on the 11th October 2017, Mallorcan residents of the island turned out in great numbers to call for the national unity of Spain on the Dia de la Fiesta Nacional de España (Spain's National Day) on the 12th October 2017. This gathering was to show support for the Spanish government in Madrid and resulted in a pro-Spain march through the streets of Palma to honor the Spanish Constitution and the state security forces.[3] It commenced at Plaća Major and ended at the Consolat de Mar headquarters. At the front heading up the long procession of people were families, friends, and political groups. Mallorca was pro-Franco supporting the nationalist forces under the Falange during and after the Spanish Civil War (1933-36), unlike Catalonia which became a Republican stronghold.

Men and women were either carrying the Spanish flag aloft or wore it draped over their shoulders. The local newspaper reported the march as "being reminiscent of a party atmosphere" [Home News 2017a:5]. I thought the opposite though and that there was a steely determination on the peoples' faces that showed they were

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2   Country dances, of which contra dance is one form, are figure dances that use group movements and patterns for their expressiveness and are social dances originating from the British Isles [Dart 1995].
3   National Day, Dia de la Fiesta Nacional de España is an annual public holiday held on October 12th throughout Spain and also commemorates Christopher Columbus's first arrival in the Americas in 1492.

solid in their commitment towards supporting Spain and the Spanish government. The notions of national memory and identity were entwined here on the streets of Palma as the march took the theme of Muévete para España (get moving for Spain). Other slogans included "Soy Español" (I am Spanish), "Viva España" (Live Spain), "Viva La Constitución" (Live the Constitution), "Viva La Policia Nacional" (Live the National Police), and "Viva la Guardia Civil" (Live the Guardia Civil) [Home News 2017a].

Nora describes official state symbols as imposed symbols and the method of decoding imposed symbols he argues is to recount their history. They are closely tied to national identity and an integral part of the national memory, such as flags, national anthems, memorials, monuments and national holidays [Nora 1992]. Nora argues that in France, constructed symbols include Joan of Arc, Descartes and le cock Gaulois (Gallic cock). He contends that these symbols show how unforeseen mechanisms, such as human effort through the passage of time, are transformed into important durable symbols of Frenchness and represent the nation as opposed to the state [1992]. I am suggesting here though that human effort through the passage of time relates to how the nation as opposed to the state may transform constructed symbols to more durable official symbols of identity. In the Mallorcan demonstration, these imposed symbols however – banners and slogans – represented Spanish national identity and the state rather than Mallorca or Mallorquiness.

Most of the people marching feared the consequences if Mallorca joined together with Catalonia in support of a separation from Spain.[4] Mallorca did not hold an independence referendum in 2017 as they are a separate region from Catalonia. Often what happens politically, culturally, and socially in Catalonia can later influence the policies in Mallorca, such as in the education system. The Mallorcan people had recently observed Spanish national police using batons and rubber bullets to stop Catalans voting in the secessionist referendum that was held on Sunday 8th October 2017 in Barcelona. The Catalan president, Carles Puigdemont had fled to Brussels to avoid arrest by the Spanish government. Spanish Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy in Madrid had declared that the referendum was unconstitutional and had tried to ban it [Home News 2017b]. Rajoy had also accused the Catalan Chief of Police, Josep Lluis Trapero of failing to protect Spanish national police from Catalan protesters.

Dipesh Chakrabarty argues that,

> What is effectively played down, however, in histories that either implicitly or explicitly celebrate the advent of the modern state and the idea of citizenship is the repression and violence that are as instrumental in the victory of the modern as is the persuasive power of its rhetorical strategies [2000:44].

Nora states that the symbolism associated with a place of memory has a direct bearing on the relation between memory and history [1989:8]. Many Mallorcan nationals, particularly men in their 60s and 70s, were proud to be Spanish over and above their Mallorcan heritage. Their first culture was Castilian as Catalan was only reinstated as an official language in 1983. A Mallorcan academic and political activist, Marc Morrell, however, believes that there is a minority like himself who feel

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4   Former Spanish Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy in Madrid had declared that the Catalan referendum was unconstitutional and had tried to ban it [Home News 2017b].

that the Balearics are part of the same nation as Catalonia, entitled Països Catalans (Catalan countries). He discussed how the crisis has developed for the Catalan independentists and the result of the secessionist referendum.

> The new Catalan Republic is against kingdoms and against the very same economic oligarchies who are leaving the region. The answer to the declaration of independence of Catalonia was unstable, by the issue of it being forced upon the people. Everybody wanted a freely agreed referendum, which was denied time after time by the Spanish government and resulted in direct rule approved by the Spanish Senate [Morrell 2017].

In contrast to the Mallorcan people coming out and supporting the Union of Spain in Palma, which was portrayed in a more silent and steely manner, in the City of Girona on the mainland on the 17th October 2017, hundreds of people were marching through the streets demonstrating for Catalonia's Independence from Spain. The atmosphere was overwhelmingly passionate with a cacophony of sounds emanating from the crowd. They were chanting, "Els carrers sempre seran els nostres" (The streets will always be ours). The protest ended with a rousing and emotional rendition of Catalonia's official national anthem, Els Segadors (the Reapers), reflecting Nora's definition of an imposed symbol from its initial construction as a constructed symbol representing the nation not the state (originating from when Catalonia declared independence for the first time from the Spanish monarchy from 1640–1652) with candles held aloft shining in the dark night. Both the Mallorcans and Catalans had used imposed symbols at these demonstrations but had used different symbols representing two separate nations and regions of Spain.[5] The feelings of the marchers were put quite succinctly by one woman who stated:

> The rest of Europe has abandoned us. We are on our own. England agreed for Scotland to have a referendum, you are good people. I am a teacher and the Catalan teachers have been accused of indoctrination of school children by the Spanish government [...]. Also, everyone is fed up with eating tomato *panboli* (bread and tomatoes), as there is no time to cook anything else because we are marching nearly every night [Personal Communication from a person in the crowd 2017].

As Spanish nationalism continued in Mallorca and independentists marched in Catalonia, I was curious as to why Frontera had included *contradansa* in the school's traditional Mallorquin repertoire. Some of the dancers at his school believed it was because he had begun to notice different folk cultures while working as an adjudicator at international folkdance festivals, and so began his own investigation into the origins of *contradansa* in Mallorca. I also believe that funding by the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics provided the means to establish this research project as part of an educational forum that resulted in the publication of a book on their findings.

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5   Since that point, a new secessionist pro-independence leader, Quim Torra has been appointed as President of Catalonia in May 2018, which means that "article 155," imposed by Rajoy creating a direct rule from Madrid will be removed.

Contradansa as part of a Collaborative Project of Research and Recuperation initiated by the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics

Frontera coordinated a project of research and recuperation of *contradansa* in Mallorca as part of a programme initiated by the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics (Institute of Balearics Studies) for the promotion and diffusion of culture in the Balearic Islands. I consider the symbolic implications of adding *contradansa* to the Mallorquin repertoire, and if its place in history will survive. Francesc Vallcaneras, a Mallorcan musicologist and ethnologist who worked on the research and recuperation project, considers that the first document of great importance that mentions *contradansa* in Mallorca is provided by a French writer, André Grasset de Saint Saveur [2018] in an 1807 travel book on the Baleares and Pitiüses Islands.

> Every evening, from San Juan until the month of September, the streets of the city of Palma present a very pleasing spectacle. All the inhabitants of the neighborhood are proud to decorate windows and doors with lanterns of different colors. Musicians recruited among the different bodies of the garrison in an altarpiece (relates to military troops positioned behind the church altar) and who also perform contradanses.[6] [Grasset cited in Vallcaneras 2009:160].

Vallcaneras also states that "we must bear in mind that contradansa disappears from Mallorca in the middle of the 19th century"[7] [Vallcaneras 2009:176]. Xavier Carbonell, another key person in the project of recuperation of *contradanses* in Mallorca, interpreted a notebook by Mallorcan composer, Miquel Tortell (1802–1868) [2009] that included Tortell's manuscripts of music for *contradansa*. Carbonell explains,

> The revelation of the notebook was one of the highlights of that search and concerned three points; the document confirmed a legendary aspect of the musical formation of the great nineteenth-century composer, illuminating the knowledge about the family and cultural environment of the author's musical heritage […]. The notebook is made up of twelve stitched leaves with an oblong arrangement and has a good state of preservation.[8] [2009:104].

He concludes that two brothers, Jaume and Miquel Tortell, participated in creating the notebook, which was most probably copied in at least three places, Muro, Palma and Valldemossa [Carbonell 2009:105]. The collection of dances collated in the notebook names fourteen different forms of dances including waltzes, minuets, boleros, *fandangos* and *copeos*, as well as hand written scores of seven *contradanses* for violin and guitar.[9] It represents a repertoire exclusively of early 19th century fashionable dances, and collected for personal use by the copyist Jaume Tortell [Carbonell 2009:108]. It appears that Jaume was more involved with dance and Miquel composed the music.

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6   Translation by Linda Dankworth.
7   Translation by Linda Dankworth.
8   Translation by Linda Dankworth.
9   I found that the boleros signified a period of nationalism throughout Spain at the beginning of the 19th century and reflected a broader representation of Spanish nationalism of that period [Dankworth 2013].

Contradansa's place at the Ballada

Frontera's investigation into the roots of _contradansa_ in Mallorca certainly popularized a little-known English-origin dance on the island. In a similar vein as his predecessor, Bartomeu Enseñat-Estrany who revived the Mallorquin traditional improvised dances in the 1970s. Frontera who is pro-Spanish was keen that the recuperation of _contradansa_ in 2010 would make them accessible to the public at the ballada, a social dance event. Ensenat's goal in the 1970s was to remove dance from the exclusivity of the Sección Femenina's Coros Y Danzas (Women's Division of the Chorous and Dances) and place them back in the domain of the local Mallorcan people.[10]

Vallcaneras, states that,

> We do not think that these dances should replace baile popular of the streets and the squares, as this is not the goal. It is a matter of having a place at parties and meetings and an opportunity to learn from a belief that it can bring a new element of knowledge [...] and recover this dance as the treasure of our traditional folk culture [2009:176].

I felt a certain irony in the fact that I had initially come from England to study Mallorquin traditional dances fourteen years ago, and now I was confronted with Frontera's choreographic variations of English country dances. At first, I felt slightly hesitant to become involved. Where, for instance, did I fit into this changing scenario and did my place as a foreigner and outsider change status as I was now observing these dances more from an insider's perspective [see Koutsouba 1999]. I did not think so, as I was seeing some of these dances for the first time.

I attended a ballada arranged by the school held in Santa Pagesa in Palma on the 21st September 2017. _Contradansa_ was introduced in a workshop forming part of the ballada. Frontera later explained that a particular dance that they performed there was one he had seen at a wedding in Amesbury, near Salisbury in England and called it _contradansa rodona_.

> This _contradansa_ we have not recovered in Mallorca but we have incorporated it into our repertoire, because it is very simple and easy to learn. As the steps are very similar to those we dance, I decided to adapt it to teach it at the school or when we do ball a _plaça_ (dance in the town squares) [Frontera 2017].

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10   The Sección Femenina (1939–1975) (Women's Division of the Falange Party) functioned as a specialized agent in the indoctrination of women during the entire Franco period [see Casero-Garcia 1999:79]. Women were only allowed to perform dance by belonging to one of the many folkdance groups of the Coros y Danzes of the Sección Femenina. Restrictions were imposed on men to stop them from dancing.

Figure 1. Gabriel Frontera teaching contradansa as part of a workshop at a ballada held at Santa Pagesa, Palma (photograph by Linda Dankworth, September 2017).

As I watched a group of people joining the *contradansa rodona*, the dancers on the platform performed it in a circle linking hands and began by facing into the circle executing a simple *pas de basque* step (3 alternating bouncing steps, RLR – down up down).[11] A member of the school's performance group, Miquel Àngel Mas Lloret explained that the dances are more complicated, and include quadrilles, in their choreographic composition for displays. He explained that there are two ways to dance Mallorquin dance:

> The academic way whereby there is a certain amount of technical training, and the popular way when the public perform dance at the ballades [Mas Lloret 2018].

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11   The directions are as follows: 4/4 time-signature and *pas de basque* steps (3 small bouncing steps – down, up, down) are performed throughout the dance. Face into the circle, move forwards starting with the right foot and perform two *pas de basque* steps (RLR, LRL), and then move backwards twice and repeat all (8 counts). Then members of each couple dance around their partner in a circle, and as you pass at the halfway point your shoulders are backing them and then change direction – repeat facing them (8 counts). Link arms with your partner and turn in a clockwise circle, then repeat in an anti-clockwise direction (8 counts) before facing your partner moving towards them and away four times in total (4 counts) and changing partners with the man allowing his partner to pass under his arm moving to the right (4 counts).

I believe that Frontera is in the early stages of creating new dances, quite in line with Mary McNab Dart's description of the 1970s contra dance scene in New England, America. Dart considers that when she first became involved in contra dancing in the 1970s, "the dances were made up of simple figures and transitions" [1995:preface].[12] The Mallorcan stage dancers now have exquisite costumes replicating the 19th century dress code of the Mallorcan upper class society. These ballgowns are only worn to perform *contradansa* as they have different costumes for the Mallorquin repertoire of dances, representing both upper class and peasant dresses. The ballgowns were appreciated as a nice change by some of the female dancers who are happy to be photographed wearing these exquisite dresses. The *contradanses* are not performed for a particular event, such as festivals but mainly when the director believes it's appropriate to perform them at the ballada or at a concert. A few of the dancers of the performance group, however, stated that they do not particularly enjoy performing the *contradanses* and prefer their Mallorquin traditional dances. One said that she wanted to "defend the cultural traditions of Mallorca and of the Catalan people" [Personal communication from a dancer at the Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca 2017].

Conclusion

In conclusion, Mallorquin dance has undergone a change with the project of research and recuperation of *contradansa*. Its inclusion in a ballada event reflects Frontera's strategy to teach dance classes to help the Mallorcan public access new repertoire for themselves. Whether *contradansa* will survive as a constructed symbol of Mallorca's cultural heritage initiated by the institute is yet to be decided by the people. I believe that it cannot become an official symbol because it does not have Spanish or Mallorcan roots. The main idea of promotion of an unknown English-origin dance by the Institut d' Estudis Baleàrics in collaboration with the Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca is to add to the knowledge base of culture on the island. If, as Nora argues, the symbolism associated with a place of memory has a direct bearing on the relation between memory and history [1989:8], then *contradansa* in Mallorca bears little relation to the present associations and past memories of its people. It is not a national treasure, but only a distant part of Mallorcan culture promoted by the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics as they strive to stimulate culture in the Balearic Islands. Nor is it rooted in the hearts or semantic memories of the Mallorcan people in the way that the boleros and jotas and other Mallorquin traditional dances are, the latter being held in esteem and serving as symbols of their regional identity and Mallorquiness.

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12   In the mid-1990s, however, Dart states, the dances became more complex and faster paced because of the creativity of the contra dance callers and composers who arranged new dances in the contra dance tradition [1995].

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Pegge VISSICARO

MOVING COMMUNITY, MAKING PLACE: PUBLIC SQUARE DANCE AS POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN XICHANG, SICHUAN PROVINCE, CHINA

Abstract

Research conducted from 2015–2017 on *gu*ă*ngch*ă*ng w*ŭ or public square dance performed by the Liangshan Dance Group in Xichang, Sichuan Province, China illuminates the power of dance as cultural practice to manifest social and political transformation. The concept of place attachment – the sense of place or the emotional bond between people and an environment – frames this inquiry of community building through *gu*ă*ngch*ă*ng w*ŭ as a place-making strategy that counteracts disenfranchisement among women, the elderly, and ethnic minorities impacted by urbanization and other socio-economic factors.

Keywords: China, community, dance, difference, place, public square

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"Cultural practices are never outside the play of power" [Hall 1996:301]. This statement by theorist, Stuart Hall provides an important lens to study dance culture – a signifying practice that influences and regulates behaviors. All signifying practices function to produce meaning that define "what is 'normal,' who belongs, and who is excluded" [Hall 1997:10]. According to Hall, highly influenced by the work of linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, people use principles of similarity and difference to establish relationships between concepts or to distinguish them from one another and make meaning. These relationships and attachments to meaning often have political implications.

> They mobilize powerful feelings and emotions, of both a positive and negative kind. We feel their contradictory pull, their ambivalence. They sometimes call our very identities into question. We struggle over them because they matter – and these are contests from which serious consequences can flow [Hall 1997:10].

It is interesting to note how Hall's ideas about signifying practices and the production of meaning connect with anthropologist, Joann Kealiinohomoku's approach to the study of dance culture as a microcosm of holistic culture. She suggests that fully understanding the entire conception of dance within the larger culture requires equal consideration to both positive and negative measurements [Kealiinohomoku 1974:100]. Answers to questions such as where, when, and why dance does not occur highlight differentiation between selective criteria. While her approach to studying dance culture is comprehensive, it brings attention to dichotomy and the probability of contested representations, which Hall's theories about meaning-making as a process of negotiation support. This dynamic tension illuminates the complexities

of dance culture study, especially since dance produces meaning each time it is performed [Giurchescu 2001:110]. Knowledge of power relations – an inherent part of emergent, decentered, and unstable meaning production – is central to the design of a theoretical framework for analyzing dance culture in public squares.

Fieldwork conducted from 2015 to 2017 in Xichang, Sichuan Province, China focused on the Liangshan Dance Group and *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ, a term used to describe any public square dancing in which people come together for exercise and diversion. One major catalyst fueling its popularity beginning in the 1990s was China's changing demographics, impacted by an aging population and policies forcing early retirement for women. With time on their hands, an interest in staying healthy, and a desire for social affiliation, middle age and elderly women embraced this dance practice that seemed to counter inequity and oppression in a largely male-oriented society. Today there are more than 100 million *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ participants nationally.

The Liangshan Dance Group has over 1000 members. Some dance daily or occasionally; many enthusiastic followers just come to watch. The sheer size and continued growth of this group provides evidence of its power to claim space, attract attention, and assert identity. While female participation greatly outweighs male involvement in most *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ ensembles, what makes the Liangshan Dance Group unique is its inclusivity. People representing different ethnicities, genders, social statuses, and movement skill levels dance in the open and accessible urban space of the public square. Intergenerational interaction also is uncommon in *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ however, for the Liangshan Dance Group, approximately 40% of the membership is under the age of 50, which surprisingly includes many children and teenagers.

Besides health benefits and evoking youthful memories, expressivity through choreographed movement offers variation from the routine of everyday life. Additionally, a vital purpose of *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ is to build community, which promotes safety and security. Women and men from the Liangshan Dance Group, explained in interviews that community connectedness is highly regarded; although observations and data analysis suggest that theirs is not a traditional community, which would be characterized by closed membership. Since anyone can join the Liangshan Dance Group, differences among participants are vast and celebrated. This communal social structure encourages dialogue so that everyone by their mere presence has a voice contributing to the greater whole. The group draws strength from its diversity, which inspires interaction with difference.

During *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ, group members follow the leader through a series of 12-15 short dances that vary in tempo, style, and gesture – each dance does not exceed 3-4 minutes. Various body types, arranged in rows, face a small platform where recorded music blasts from the speakers to ensure even those farthest away hear the sound. Not everyone knows the repertory of all 70+ dances but there is plenty of repetition within each dance and over time, participants may learn the complete repertoire.

Every night at approximately 7:00pm, unless it's raining, the Liangshan Dance Group commences *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ, which lasts about one hour. A logical assertion is that the evening offers most people the best opportunity to assemble. Members also say that they travel long distances to attend, suggesting this is not a neighborhood community based on proximity. Instead, participants gather to perform *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng

*w*ǔ for the significance they give to Moon Square. This special meaning brings the notion of place into existence; space is transformed and made more powerful in the minds of the Liangshan Dance Group.

Geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan explains "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" [Tuan 1977:6]. He refers to this affective bond between people and setting as topophilia [Tuan 1990:4], a term that literally means place of love. One important element in topophilia is reverence for the past. Moon Square, surrounded by a few trees and buildings filled with stores, stands out as an icon of peace for Xichang, a relatively small city of less than 600,000. The roundabout at one end of the square features a large stone statue of two men – a Communist Army Han general and a Nuosu Yi leader – that is meant to symbolize a political alliance formed between two ethnic groups during the Long March conflict.

A deeper analysis of Moon Square with its emblematic monument reveals how varying interests and power relations embedded within meaning-making processes shape experience for the citizens of Xichang, specifically members of the Liangshan Dance Group. The statue marks an obvious presence of the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP); it signifies a turning point in China's history that serves as a constant reminder of CCP's governmental authority and control. The modern public square introduced after 1948 and originally based on Moscow's Red Square "replaced the closed spaces of imperial China with the 'people's' space at the heart of the city" [Wu and Gaubatz 2013:248]. Today as urban development continues to accelerate due to China's rising economy, multifaced public spaces provide the growing population numerous opportunities for recreation and social interaction.

Moon Square reflects another key interest as part of the ancestral homeland claimed by ethnic Nuosu Yi, representing one of China's 56 ethnic groups. It is relevant to point out that 92% of Chinese people are ethnic Han, while the other 8% are ethnic minorities. Xichang is the seat of Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province – an isolated area of the country where the percentage of Nuosu Yi slightly exceed Han. Although all China's minority groups have been historically marginalized, Nuosu Yi and Han relations are friendly, demonstrating benevolence and cooperation, which the statue in Moon Square makes visible. After all, it was this geographic region in 1935 that the Nuosu Yi permitted access through to help the Communist Army evade pursuit of an opposing military force.

Further study of Liangshan Dance Group cultural practices sheds light on what negotiation and contestation of meaning and place-making in Moon Square looks like. The concept of place attachment offers one theory for understanding Moon Square as a site of belonging. Social psychologists M. Carmen Hidalgo and Bernardo Hernández define place attachment "as an affective bond or link between people and specific places" [Hidalgo and Hernández 2001:274]. Naturally, Nuosu Yi members of the Liangshan Dance Group have a visceral response to Moon Square. Yet, it is interesting that the majority of participants are actually Han; other dancers include ethnic Zang, Tu, Hui, Mosuo, and Man. Regardless of ethnicity, all dancers wear traditional Nuosu Yi clothing. The apparel creates equanimity within the Liangshan Dance Group and distinguishes them from other *gu*ǎ*ngch*ǎ*ng w*ǔ groups in Moon Square. In addition to empowering Nuosu Yi and acknowledging their familial ties

to the area, it also enables those with different ethnic backgrounds to experience Nuosu Yi heritage.

"Places function as centers of value" [Tuan 1977:18]. This concept is evident from interview data in which Liangshan Dance Group representatives of other ethnicities explain that wearing Nuosu Yi attire makes them happy. They imbue special significance to their costume with its distinct black, red, and yellow gold design. Twisting torsos and swinging arms accentuate movements of the voluminous fabric and accessories, giving weight to each step. The clothes also reinforce feelings of cultural pride for Nuosu Yi members, who pay homage to their ancestors and honor their history of comradery with diverse ethnic groups. For all members, the use of traditional apparel generates affective relationships that form between each individual and the dance area to deepen place attachment. Place-making manifests as these relationships endow physical places with emotional meaning and personal experience.

The Liangshan Dance Group exemplifies how dance culture as a microcosm of holistic culture influences and regulates behaviors in which the production of meaning has explicit political implications. The reoccurring practice of *guǎngchǎng wǔ* mobilizes feelings and emotions as members negotiate and reconfigure power relations. A sense of place develops through the embodiment of Nuosu Yi traditions, symbolic of values ascribed to Moon Square where expressive interaction creates a community of goodwill towards difference. This participatory process of place-making empowers disenfranchised women, the elderly, and marginalized ethnic minorities to strategically rehearse and enact Moon Square as a site of belonging. *Guǎngchǎng wǔ* – a tool of passive resistance and civil disobedience – challenges widespread oppression in Chinese society by advocating equal human rights. For Liangshan Dance Group members, the power of place counteracts and grounds emergent, decentered, and unstable meaning production to effect positive social change in this period of China's rapid economic development.

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Gergana Panova-Tekath

PROFESSIONAL FOLK DANCING AS A POLITICAL MISSION.
THE BULGARIAN PRE- AND POST-1989 MODEL

Abstract

Professionalizing of folk dances was part of the state policy of Bulgaria in the years 1950–1989. However, did the professional dancers and choreographers view their work as a political mission? How did this novel genre of the performing arts in Bulgaria serve to boost national identity by combining diversity with homogeneity, and spontaneity with intention? The instrumentalization of folklore and the changed understanding of authenticity is illustrated by the first professional ensemble for folk dance and songs, the Philip Koutev Ensemble. Its dance troupe established a role model for the phenomenon which grew immensely and became a business card of the country. With the advent of democracy, innovative ideas emerged in the field through Neshka Robeva's troupe, "East Wind," "Chinary" and "Bulgare." In the model of pluralization, Bulgarian professional folk dancing responds to the free market. Its experiments reflect on the old myths of monoculturalism and offer insights into new hybridity. The phenomenon still participates in the dynamic contemporary processes of national identity design. Using reflexive participation as a research method, the author determines three central political missions of professional folk dancing: cultural determination, intercultural reconciliation and transcultural inspiration. They all relate to the ambassadorial role of the phenomenon and the power of its symbolism. Professional folk choreography survived the transformation in the history of Bulgaria, constructing a social frame for individual and collective memory, establishing the cultural uniqueness and aligning it with the world.

Keywords: Bulgarian professional folk dance, central missions, symbolic border, power of inspiration

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Instrumentalization sometimes sounds like manipulation. Maybe that's why in 1993 many Bulgarian professional dancers and choreographers viewed my interviews devoted to their folk dancing during the totalitarian regime as an accusation of naiveté and puppetry, and even as an attempt to write off their happy childhood and youth. Zhelyo Zhelev had long since compared communism with fascism and was already the first democratically elected president of Bulgaria. However, when the outstanding political issues relate not only to theories, but to one's personal history (biography), silence prevails. Especially if you had lived more in the realm of art rather than the real world of a rejected political past. Especially when you had loved what you were doing, with your whole heart, soul, and body and you were convinced that you

were creating something beautiful and praiseworthy. Especially if until recently you were being rewarded worldwide with flowers and applause. How could you accept that all of this was either unreal or inappropriate?!

I do not want to equalize totalitarian regimes, but all literary initiatives in Germany had to wait a full generation before the ordinary people would start speaking about WWII. There was first the "communicative silence" and then the European dream.[1]

The only thing which helped me to receive honest replies to my awkward and provocative questions was the fact that I was accepted as an insider. Even more, my informers respected me because I had attained the maximum in their area and was a friend of renowned choreographers and composers.

I have considerable evidence of how important my personal involvement in the phenomenon was for my interviews. For instance, I made the following experiment: in 1993 I sent my questionnaire to a professional ensemble[2] in my capacity as a researcher at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences without signing it. I received the questionnaire back unanswered, with a note from the manager of the ensemble, saying: "The performers do not want to engage themselves with answers to political questions".

And thus, from the very start of my scientific career 25 years ago, I began to search for the capabilities not only of the well-established anthropological method of participating observation, but of the reflexive authenticity in my own professional dancing, choreographing and lecturing. It is for this that I call my method reflexive participation. Thus, notably in all of my questions I used "we" and got some very exciting answers to "Was the dance we danced a folk dance? Do you think we were manipulated?"

Theoretical reflections

Professional folklore dance is an oxymoron. At first sight the contradiction is greatly reduced if folklore is replaced by *folk* and is supplemented with information for the country of nativity. The term then (professional folk dance from a certain country) informs us that the phenomenon binds the village with the town and the past with the present by deliberate and purposeful creativity. The tension though persists: the combination of professional and folk speaks of the construction of an ethnic or national image. Thus, the term betrays that the dance in question serves a specific cultural policy and consequently – its paradigms and ideas for identity.

Bulgarian professional folk dancing has a long (almost 70 years) history, which can provide us with interesting examples and allow us to make generalizations regarding the dance-politics connection. As in the case of every dance its protagonists are wholly dedicated to the emotion (the Firstness[3]) and to their actions (the Secondness) and very rarely intentionally associate the motions of dance with mental conclusions (Thirdness). Yet they are far more involved in discussions of authenticity

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1   For a view about the "communicative silence" and the role of its ending for the European dream see Assmann [2018:42–43, 101–103].
2   I will refrain from mentioning names.
3   Using the terminology of Charles Sanders Peirce.: [Burks 1958:CP 8.329; Hartshorne and Weiss 1932:CP 2.87]

than in other dance areas. By their perfectionism, professional folk dancers try to reverse the "natural artificiality" of man[4] in artificial naturalness.

The phenomenon belongs to the top level of organized dancing before an audience and is a nonverbal communication par excellence. Professionalism denotes the highest possible quality and the availability as well of a market, compensation and the realization of third party requests. Hence, within the framework of the general aesthetics of the times and the context of its sources of financing, all professional dancing is, by presumption, politics.

While analyzing the individual and cultural aspects of the Bulgarian phenomenon, I have determined three central political missions, which can be adopted as universal connecting lines between dance and politics. They relate to the representational or even ambassadorial role, which traditional dance nowadays fulfils for a given ethnic group, people or nation. In them we can find cultural, intercultural and transcultural significance.

1) The first mission is the act of self-determination and affirmation of cultural identity, which can be subdivided into a process of unification within the cultural space and demarcation when outside of it.
2) The second mission concerns the potential of dancing to balance and synchronize people. It refers to reconciliation in the case of confrontational situations and setting an example for peaceful co-existence.
3) The third is the mission of inspiration, which is related to the uplifting of the spirit and the provision of a youthful replenishment of the cultural strata and the winning of friends, followers and fans outside of it.

I strongly believe that professional folk choreographies actively participate in contemporary processes of cultural identity design. This includes both the drawing of contours and the continuation of flexible relationships. In the following, we will see how the phenomenon in Bulgaria developed a specific symbolism before 1989, thereby creating new boundaries of the national "semiosphere" [Lotman 2005]. As the most important performing art in the country, it served the "social framework" (as Halbwachs [1991] understood it) and became the link between individual and collective memory. On the other hand, the changes in the genre underline the importance of exploring alliances[5] and moving "away from the problematic 'authentic/inauthentic' dichotomy" [Giroux 2018:93]. All this reveals the dynamism of the professionally created Bulgarian national dance image and shows its power in intra- and intercultural communication.

Thus, two political epochs, aligning Bulgaria in diverse ways with the rest of the world: One stage art, which shows how history transforms dancing, at the same time allowing it to rewrite history itself.

The Bulgarian example
A. The model of the golden years (1951–1989) – Nationalization
The inspiration after the performances of the Igor Moiseyev dance troupe in 1946 and the Russian folk choir Pyatnicki in 1949 in Sofia prompted the decision of the Communist government of Bulgaria to set up a representative state ensemble, which

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4   In the sense of the phenomenology of Helmut Plessner [2003:383–392].
5   As we know, this is slowly becoming a tendency in ethnomusicology in the 21st century. See Diamond [2007] and Giroux [2018].

would include a choir, an orchestra and a dance troupe. On February 1, 1951, Margarita Dikova, who was experienced in folk dancing and was trained in Russian ballet choreography, was appointed chief choreographer. Assisted by the managing director and renowned composer Philip Koutev, folklorists, musicologists and artists, she made a selection of the most talented and attractive village dancers from all parts of Bulgaria.

The new patchwork family celebrated its scenic christening in Bulgaria on March 1, 1952 and its first performances abroad in 1953 – immediately gaining great enthusiasm everywhere. It became the business card of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and established step by step a new genre in the performing arts. Let us take a look at how the first ensemble combined diversity with homogeneity, and spontaneity with intention in the myth of the Bulgarian nation.

The two main principles of the so-called "Bulgarian folk choreography" were and still are: 1. faithfulness to the specifics of Bulgarian folklore; and 2. respect for the universal laws of the scene. The combination of these principles helped the genre to create a new symbolism. It determined cultural remembering and forgetting in the country and organized communication with the world through the power of inspiration.

Dikova used to share with me that she based her creations on real images/personalities in the dance troupe and memories from old folk events [Dikova 1990]. She and her assistant Kiril Dzhenev analyzed and classified the variety of ethnographic movement styles in Bulgaria and researched the heritage in its uniqueness and universal human meaning.[6] Thus, the novel choreographies acquired character and consistency, with the help of which they made a presentation of the peaceful, colorful, normal and merry life in Bulgaria. They grew into folk dance theatre. From a political point of view the professional dance performed an inspiring and reconciliatory mission. Bulgarian audiences enjoyed and rediscovered the ties between the agrarian part of the population and the urban proletariat, whereas the audiences abroad felt as if invited to a friendly feast.

But how in the world were the first choreographers able to unify the very diverse authentic master-dancers from the villages into a well-structured city group? One of the very first such dancers – Vancheto – tells me: "We, the ones from the Shopluk part of the country, were more easily able to adapt to the diverse styles of the other parts of the country, because our folklore is more complex, but don't ask me how to make a dancer from the Dobrudzha region jump up and down as we do. Mother Dikova came up with the idea of ballet exercises. We hated it, but it turned out to be a very helpful practice." [Bozhilov 2018]. Even in everyday life outside the scene, it was necessary to improve and urbanize the appearances of the troupe members. After their first visit in Western Europe in 1955 they were awarded prize money by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to buy formal clothing and suits of their choice. Smiling, Vancheto remembers: "It was because we had looked very shabby in our village attire when we travelled to the West." [Bozhilov 2018].

All the professional dancers and choreographers I have interviewed over the years felt a sense of pride at being the ambassadors of their homeland. On the one hand they saw the chance to demonstrate the beauty of our heritage and the extent

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6   Parlamov made a similar conclusion [1992].

of the Bulgarian people's genius, whereas on the other – to show the West that there is no need of a "Red Scare."

Gradually, professional folk dance became a key performing art in Bulgaria and the best one in the politics of participation.[7] There were not only thousands of amateur groups following the role model of Philip Koutev's ensemble, as a result of its huge success, but also the Socialist State set up another 19 professional ensembles (one for each administrative district of the country and two ensembles in army organizations), three specialized high schools for the delivering of their cadres and elite university courses for their leaders.[8] Departments for Bulgarian Folk Dances have existed since 1956 in Sofia and for Bulgarian Folk Choreography and Directing since 1975 in Plovdiv. In the Soviet era, the candidates for admission to both departments and for job placement exceeded the available positions by twenty to one. The motivation of subsequent generations of dancers was not based on ties to folklore, nor on pure love of the dance movement. Being employed in the national or a regional ensemble up to 1989 was a very well paid and prestigious occupation and offered one of the very few opportunities to travel to the West. All of my interviewees speak of the Socialist period as the golden years of Bulgarian folk dance. We were the witnesses of an extremely clever win-win-strategy of Communist cultural policy.

In my opinion, the professionalization of traditional dancing was the strategic step with which the cultural policy in Bulgaria and the other countries of the Eastern Bloc differed from Fascist Germany, Austria and Italy; it achieved much better and lasting results in the instrumentalization of folklore. In the long run, the brilliant Bulgarian professional folk choreographies united proletariat and villagers, young and old in a national musical-dance identity and uplifted the spirits of the population of the developed socialist state. Besides the political mission of self-affirmation, they included decoupling abroad. It is precisely in this that I see the subtle political counter-message of dancing the Bulgarian way in its Soviet model. Our professional and master performers achieved mind intoxicating successes and won prestigious prizes at different international festivals, routinely outstripping amateur dance groups from capitalist countries. The choreographies repudiated more convincingly than any political pronouncements the existence of oppression in Bulgaria and demonstrated the happy socialist way of life.

The professional folk dance troupes trained very seriously daily, were permanently on concert tours and enjoyed significant support from the communist government. The words that the head of state Todor Zhivkov addressed to the first ensemble in 1976 explain the political logic behind it: "Your high artistic achievements have won recognition and glory for our country far beyond its boundaries... You, in the most convincing way, show to what heights this creativity can ascend in a socialist environment." [Zhivkov 1976].

In actual practice, even though commission arts are devoted more to the mission of peace-keeping and inspiration, rather than to the combative spirit of competition. Even Dikova herself was fascinated by the peaceful encounters with the outside world at the Expo in Japan or America [Dikova 1991]. So, concluding this review of the rather homogenous model of nationalization, I would like to emphasize

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7   See more about performing arts as politics of participation in Turino [2008].
8   The phenomenon in Bulgaria was similar in other countries but grew much more. For comparison see Shay [2002].

that the performers understood their role not as representatives of a regime, but as peace-makers. Many of them idealized Bulgarian folk dance theatre, which Dikova, her first assistant Kiril Dzhenev and their students gradually established, as an alternative to the raging Cold War. There was both an appeal to the local people in the West, as well as to Bulgarian political émigrés, who had not seen their motherland in decades. Of course, I recognize an ambivalence in this romance, but that is the subject of another discussion. The fact is that it was professional dancers and choreographers who paved the way for real communication between people on both sides of the Iron Curtain and served the purpose of an inspiration for hundreds of dance teachers and hobby-dancers who created the American model of dancing the Bulgarian way.

B. The model of the democratic period – Pluralization

The development of democracy brought two significant changes into Bulgarian professional folk dance: commercialization and pluralization. After the admission of Bulgaria to the EU in 2007 they coexist, accompanied by manifestations of patriotism.

Because of purely financial constraints, the newly emerging private dance companies found it hard to establish themselves, and those which survived over time, more often than not performed without live music. These private groups are extremely multifarious, since the control on the artistic aesthetics, expressiveness and content exercised by the totalitarian regime no longer exists. Their choreographic experiments correspond to the diversity in Bulgarian society. They allow us to reflect on the old myths of monoculturalism while offering us insights into new hybridity.

The famous gymnastics trainer Neshka Robeva connects professional folk dances and sports under new headings and develops a kind of transcultural aesthetics. "East Wind" wants to sound global, having been obviously influenced by the Irish River Dance and other classical dance ideas. Ensemble "Bulgare" proclaims Bulgarian uniqueness, calls for national self-esteem and encourages the middle and right political space. "Chinary" which came into existence as a very small corps de ballet for pop-folk singers, has grown by leaps and bounds and has become a media attraction. Its recent premiere extended the modern interpretations of Bulgarian folklore with international dances created by a Russian choreographer.

In addition to pluralism and neo-patriotism, a commercial spirit and, accordingly, a much stronger competition appeared, associated with the emergence of a free market economy. State ensembles are an exception in this respect and maintain their old hierarchy and communication through joint concerts and reviews. Although many cadres of the state ensembles have engaged in the establishment of private companies, the relationships between the two streams in the professional field are strained. Maybe one of the reasons for this is the conflict between the past residuary authority of the state ensembles and their new state of penury. Tyanka from Koutev's Ensemble shared with me: "Currently, in state ensembles participate only those who are deeply in love with art or are devotees, who had never had the chance to partake in the 'golden years' and who support themselves by lecturing in dance clubs." [Ivanova 2018].

Since, in the course of the past ten years, we are witnessing a boom of amateur folk dancing both in Bulgaria and in the youthful Bulgarian diaspora, professional

dancers and choreographers are experiencing a surge of respect. They have regained their eminence, which was lost in the years leading to 2007.

But it is still not enough to make the profession of folk dancer as attractive as it was before 1989. Nevertheless, the professional dance companies strive to preserve and even improve artistic quality by updating the national image, which would assure the Bulgarians of an honorable place in the multicultural world.

Conclusion

As you can see, very few of my examples from Bulgaria disclose the negative taste of the instrumentalization which I had mentioned in the beginning of this paper. This is due partly to the balancing function and the promotion of peaceful coexistence through folk dances.

Along the lines of the central political mission, with reference to the affirmation of cultural identity, Bulgarian professional ensembles transfer only existential ethnocentrism. None of them before and after 1989 has crossed the line to the ethnocentrism which we consider as pathological. Even during the totalitarian regime, the counter-idea presented to the foreign world is accepted by most people as normal and the necessary politics of identity. This is based on the centuries-old attitude of Bulgarians toward traditional dance as a means for self-preservation and survival. It is not surprising that after 1950 the phenomenon discussed herein was recognized as the most important professional performing art in Bulgaria. It was created as a role model for the politics of participation and was highly supported as a business card for intercultural communication.

In the current democratic political environment, the most professional companies continue to serve the politics of identity and try to heighten cultural self-esteem in a small, disoriented and economically weak country. The phenomenon has become experimental and is not centralized but the national image is still its main driving force.

It is a matter of fact that professional folk dance transmits prearranged messages that can come from a high political level. Because of the degenerated Thirdness, it can be especially manipulative not only for the audience but also for the performers. Thus, we have to hope for and rely on the ethics and responsibility of the choreographers.

For this reason, I do not believe that the positive past of professional folk dancing in Bulgaria provides a universal summary. However, the power of inspiration in the performing arts is linked with flexibility, which can be a degree of freedom.

We can criticize by saying that the authenticity in professional Bulgarian folk choreography lost its conservative meaning linked to the solid culture.[9] But this helped the fluid culture to accept the alliances and to organize the tradition as continuity. According to my interviewees, authenticity became a personal question of talent, fascination and fulfillment.[10]

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9   Using the terms of "solid" and "fluid" in the sense of Aleida Assmann [1991].
10   In this relation the current choreographer of Koutev's ensemble, Ivaylo Ivanov, confirmed in 2018 his definition from former times: "There is no authentic or not authentic Bulgarian folk dance! There is just talented or not talented art!" [Ivanov 2018].

In this way, professional Bulgarian folk choreography gave and still gives vitality to politics in cultural determination, intercultural reconciliation and transcultural inspiration.

The Bulgarian phenomenon not only supported a dictatorship, but also mitigated it. Today, it is not just a reaction but also an action of democracy. Thus, it survived the transformation processes in the history of Bulgaria as a symbol designer for national identity and as a social framework for the individual and collective remembering and forgetting – still researching, fixing, connecting, developing and publicly representing the deepest feelings and qualities that make the culture special.

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Lily ANTZAKA-WEIS

NATIONALIZING GREEK FOLK DANCING – FROM NON-WESTERN TO GREEK-ONLY, AND FROM RURAL TO NATIONAL

Abstract

This paper presents two cases from the late 19th century in Athens, Greece, that show how music and dance can be an indicator or even a tool for national politics. In the first case, a music deriving from the multinational urban Ottoman background established in public venues called *café aman* functioned as an expression of opposition to Europeanization. The feeling of a common Non-Western tradition collapsed some 20 years later under the national rivalries in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. In the second example, rural dances that had been introduced to ballrooms under the same conditions as Western dances were arranged and stylized and eventually became part of school education.

Keywords: Greece, *café aman* music, ballroom dances, Greek folk dancing, national politics, national education

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Since its independence in 1830, Greece, like other countries on the European periphery, has been struggling to accommodate the Western idea of ethnicity and nationalism in cultural realities formed by its belonging to the multinational former Ottoman Empire [Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010; Mazower 2000; Todorova 1997]. Classicist education was regarded by many as the main tool to catch up with the West, and since Europe had long accepted antiquity as its foundation, going antique would mean meeting with the Westerners, and vice versa [Herzfeld 1982; Jenkyns 1980; Todorova 1997]. The Greek upper class opted for European ways, an attitude reinforced by the influx of cosmopolitan Diaspora Greeks and by the annexation of the Italian-influenced Ionian Islands in 1863 (Figure 1), which enhanced the Western impact on arts and particularly music [Romanou 2006]. There were many however, especially among the middle class, who objected to a total surrender to Westernization. As for the lower classes, they largely stuck to their local traditions (as proved by a rich bibliography on ethnography and anthropology).

Figure 1. Territorial expansion of Greece. (Mapsof.net n. d.).

In the last decades of the 19th century, Athens grew more and more urban, and organized public entertainment multiplied and diversified. Besides the theaters for high society, there were now open-air theaters in the suburbs for petty bour-geois audiences. Among the new fashions – music cafés appeared. These included the scandalous *café chantant*, where scantily dressed German ladies sang Viennese

and Parisian couplets, but there was also the peaceful and serene *café aman*[1] which played Oriental music [Chatzipantazis 1986:79–80].

The repertoire of the *café aman* consisted of Turkish and Arabic tunes sung in Greek, Turkish, Armenian or Arabic languages and represented mostly urban traditions, but included Greek, Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian rural songs as well.[2] The musicians were Ottoman Greeks, but also Armenians, Jews, or Gypsies, and the stars were the female singers. They, or other women, also performed dances described as Oriental, Arabic, Turkish, Greek, or Romanian, sometimes mentioned by name such as *hasapikos*, *karsilamas*, *tsamikos*, *zeybekikos*. Some of the dances were staged and dramatized. Sources mention knives used for the *manly zeybekikos*, and a solo *tsamiko* which suggested images of battles, rifles and horse tramping. The *café aman* repertoire was structured as a performance, and music was not played on demand for the customers to dance (as is often the case today in venues with live music, or at village feasts). Importantly, although the *café aman* musicians were perfectly capable of performing songs in western scales, everybody involved was conscious about belonging to another, non-Western musical world [Chatzipantazis 1986:57–78]. The *café aman*'s audiences were not only the petty bourgeoisie of Athens and the initiates to non-Western music, like Greeks of Ottoman provenience or cantors of the Orthodox Church, but, at times, also young intellectuals. The latter, though, turned away, alienated, as soon as the *café aman* reached the proletarian neighborhoods of Athens and Piraeus, where it became associated with drunkenness, brawls and police involvement [Chatzipantazis 1986:81–92].

In a short period of some twenty years of development, popularity, and decline (1873–1896), the *café aman* reveals the social, cultural and ideological changes that occurred in Greece in the last decades of the 19th century. The illusion of a national culture embracing all social classes reached its peak in the momentous project of the Athens Olympics in 1896 and began crumbling in its aftermath. The subsequent catastrophic war with Turkey (1897) and the growing national rivalries in the Balkans [Todorova 1997, 2004] caused a collapse of social solidarity, and also doomed the general idea of an Oriental or non-Western musical culture which would include the traditions of the various nations of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans [Chatzipantazis 1986:94].

At that point, the Orient was defamed and equated with Ottoman Turkey, the former tyrant. *Greek* needed to be defined anew, not only as opposed to Oriental, but also as different from the other Balkan nations. The claim for a national art followed the same recipe as for all National Schools, where elements and motifs drawn from popular culture were incorporated into structures of a Western character [Psychopaidi-Frangou 1990]. This brings us to our second example.

Members of the cosmopolitan Greek upper class socialized at dance events in the late 19th century, where a European repertoire dominated unquestioned. A series of dance handbooks, issued in the last three decades of the 19th century, reflects aspirations of the bourgeois class for climbing up the social ladder. Up to this point, I have encountered 13 titles, issued in the existing and developing centers of urban

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1   *Aman* means in Turkish "mercy, help God." It is also used as an exclamation when celebrating and getting sentimental. In Greek, *café aman* is a phonetic parallel to *café chantant*.
2   This musical practice, including its repertoire, developed in the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, mainly in Constantinople, Istanbul. This paper does not deal with this part of the *café aman* biography.

Greek life.[3] Written by dance masters trained in Western Europe, they contained instructions in the *quadrille*, *pas de quatre*, *boston*, *waltz* and related dances, also teaching proper behavior at receptions. And then, some of these dance books included Greek rural dances as well.

The earliest known case [Pingas 1893] includes the rural dances *syrtos kalamatianos*, *ballos*, *tsamikos* and *trata*. The influential dance teacher Argyrios Andreopoulos [1897, 1905] included the above dances plus *syrtos nisiotikos*, *pidiktos megaritikos*, *koulouriotikos*. Geographically and historically, these rural dances originate in the initial Greek territory of 1830 (Greek Kingdom since 1832, dark gray on the map in Figure 1), but through these books and their recontextualization in the ballroom, they become urban and (pan)Greek symbols more generally. They are explicitly placed into the context of the ballroom, their music to be played by the same musical ensemble that performed for the rest of the evening, and with the same social behavior expected. Moreover, the Greek dances needed to fit into the Western idea of an accomplished form, and this subsumed, among many other aspects, the coincidence of musical and dance form.

This latter factor was a problem since, in popular Greek dance music, musical phrase and step sequence can develop independently to one other, the rhythm being the connecting feature. A song in 4/4 meter, for instance, cannot come together with a step sequence on 6 equal beats, at least not in a structured and systematic way. This non-coincidence of music and dance sections, found in traditional music all over the Balkans and far beyond, was viewed by the revivalists as an anomaly, as a corruption of the music and/or the step sequence [Katzarova 1960; Kavakopoulos 1978].[4] This was also the view of the early Greek dance masters, who felt a subsequent urge to *restore* things to their assumed original form [Andreopoulos 1897, 1905, 1932; Sakellariou 1940].

Albeit unspoken, the corruption theory proved to be the most important dogma ruling Greek folklore dancing for about a century, up to at least the 1980s, and it led to innumerable *normalizations* and arrangements, usually by stretching the step sequences [Andreopoulos 1932; Sakellariou 1940]. Another important dogma was that Modern Greek dances originate in Greek antiquity [Andreopoulos 1897, 1905; Sakellariou 1940], a feature that would reliably differentiate them from the dances of the other Balkan nations that couldn't possibly claim such pedigrees. Greek folk dancing, more or less restored and purified, was then established by pedagogues as a major element of national education [Gartzonika-Kotsika 2016; Koutsouba 2012].

Final remark on the two cases presented: The American anthropologist Michael Herzfeld has developed two contrasting schemes to describe the ideological discourse in Greece in the last two centuries. He speaks of a *Hellenist ideal* stressing continuity since antiquity to modern times, developed by Westerners and adopted by Greek elites, and of a *Rhomeic ideal*, which relates to the Byzantine Empire, the

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3   Tafras 1872, Tripolis; Gongos 1875, Ermoupolis; Lykiardopoulos 1879, Athens; Alivizos 1879, Patras; Alvertis 1889, Ermoupolis; Masouras 1890, Nicosia; Krakaris and Choumis 1890, Patras; Tafras 1892, Athens; 1893 Pingas, Athens; Andreopoulos 1897, Athens; Giannopoulos 1898, Athens; Giraudet and Chryssospathis 1899, Athens; Andreopoulos 1905, Athens. An even earlier handbook, Konofaos 1835, addressed the social education of the officers of the Greek army.
4   Not so Hoerburger [1953], who speaks of a phenomenon "older than polyphony" and eventually calls it "dance contra rhythm" [1960].

Orthodox Christian legacy and the Ottoman experience. The latter would more often correspond to the Greek emic experience [Herzfeld 1982]. *Café aman* as an urban Ottoman music practice, adapted successfully in the context of the Greek nation-state to express local culture as opposed to the West, fits into the *Rhomeic* paradigm. On the contrary, *Greek dances in the ballroom*, and later at school, represent the *Hellenist* approach, as they connect an acknowledged national or local element both to the West and to antiquity.

Still, Herzfeld's duality, as an attempt to understand the long process of Europeanization in its contradictions and regressions, needs to be complemented in any investigated example with the specific historical and social context, especially with regard to the active agent. Nationalism is primarily a middle-class issue. Investigation into music and dance practice reveals, perhaps better than other sectors, how crucial the role of the educated middle-class was, not only in *discovering* popular culture among lower classes, but also in *teaching* it to upper classes as an element of patriotism opposing cosmopolitanism.

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İdris Ersan KÜÇÜK

ANALYSING RİZE FOLK DANCES
IN THE CONTEXT OF OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY

Abstract

There are two different *horon* styles performed with *tulum* and *kemençe* in Rize. While *horon*s are described as emulating nature according to some sources, on the other hand according to some researchers some of them are related to the agricultural products of the region. In addition, the *horon* dances have an important role in the identity of Rize society. The *horon*s can also sometimes be ideological because of effective politicians who are from Rize. The place of official ideology and political formations in the Rize folk dances is both in parallel with, and divergent from, the Turkish folk dance paradigm. Despite the establishment of the Ministry of Culture for the first time in Turkey in 1971, the cultural policy of the state was carried out within the Ministry of National Education from the first years of the Republic to the present day. From this point, folk dances were taught in the context of official ideology, in addition to the natural environment of the dance culture. The Çayeli district of Rize is thought to be a cultural border in terms of folk dances, and the dance culture of the region is considered in two categories. This study aims to make deductions about the folk dances in the context of official ideology by starting from the cultural history of Rize.

Keywords: Rize, folk dance, official ideology

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Introduction

Rize is a province known for its tea production and rainy climate in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey. The city, which has experienced many administrative changes in its history, has developed politicians who effective in the management of Turkey. The position of folk dances in the age of today's rapid communication, in which political identities influence the finer details of social life, is also worth investigating in this context. According to the Ottoman registries, Greek, Armenian, Hamsheni and Laz people lived in Rize. While the Lazs living today are partially protecting their languages, it is not possible to say the same thing for the Hamshens of Rize. According to the 1486 and 1534 registries, there are 31 villages in Rize and the Muslims who are immigrants from Çorum, Amasya, Tokat, Sivas, Karaman, Maraş and Elbistan are settled in these villages [Albayrak 2010:149]. While the nationalist conservative publishing houses reference the official historical narrative of Turkey, dissident left-inclined publishing houses published written sources based on foreign official history accounts in Turkish that discuss the culture and traditions of these peoples who lived in Rize [Aksamaz 2003:229]. According to these accounts, the Hamshenies were Armenians, the Lazs were Georgian, the Pontics were Greek, and the Turks came from Central Asia. For this reason, it is difficult to learn the cultural

dimension of folk dances in Rize in an objective way. Therefore, reading the history of the region from different sources and acquiring information directly from local people seems to be a better way.

Villagers in countries where a large portion of the population were peasants, formed the social base of the reforms of nationalist elites. As the nation-building process progressed and the need for symbols and references increased, the interest in the village also increased. By the end of the 18th century, the first researchers could not find almost any material in the village on tradition and culture, but by the end of the 19th century there was a rich folklore in Europe that many nations were proud of [Başbuğ 2013:22]. Folk dance in Turkey, brought together the Central Asian origins of government with the form of the Republic in 1923 and initiated research in order to keep Anatolian folklore alive in the period of transition and this was presented as one of the new national symbols and described as old tradition inherited from the Ottoman Empire [Öztürkmen 2001:139]. The first known folk dance research in Turkey was made in Rize, Trabzon, Erzurum and Erzincan regions. However, the data of this research is still not available.

Ideology is placed in political and social life through the symbols and language which it produces itself in this process. The language and symbols used are the elements that take place in the world view and perform very important social functions. This view, which serves to understand and make sense of the world that surrounds it, emerges in the entity of culture and directs daily life with the teachings such as good-bad, we-they, right-wrong, etc. [Başbuğ 2013:172].

At the beginning of the process of nation-statehood, the Turkishness was positioned as an upper identity in Turkey. The music revolution that came with the Republican revolutions tended to ignore the music of the Greeks and Armenians. In later years, it was claimed that many of the melodies were not Turkish which identified by researchers such as Muzaffer Sarısözen, Sadi Yaver Ataman and Halil Bedi Yönetken [Ertaş 2014:205].

Rize folk dances

Çayeli district is a cultural border for Rize folk dances. In the eastern part of Çayeli it is generally preferred to play *tulum* as an accompaniment to *horon*, in the western part *kemençe* is preferred. Even though Rize folk dances are known by the players of *tulum* and in the tradition of staging Turkish folk dances in Hemşin region, *kemençe* has an important place in the cultural identity of Rize. For example, a myth related to *kemençe* is as follows:

> A young girl and boy who are the members of two feuding families had fallen in love in Rize. Families are not willing to allow them to marry because of the feud. The young couple understand that they cannot convince their families, so they agreed to escape. They hide in the forest and the girl's family starts looking for them. They realize that they cannot escape from the forest where they are hiding, so the young couple embrace each other and pray to God: God Almighty, get us out of here. Let's be a tree and chat, let's be a music instrument and sing. When they look back, they see that they have both taken root in the soil, the girl was a plum tree, the man was a boxwood. They hug each other with their big arms. After a while the boxwood turns into a *kemençe*, plum tree

turns into its bow. Since that day, they chat as a music instrument and make love [Gedikoğlu 2008:144].

7 Turkish folk songs and *horon* melodies which were performed by Rizeli Sadık Aynacı were recorded by Ahmet Adnan Saygun and published as the 15th book of the İstanbul Conservatory [Duman 2004:77]. According to another source, Sadık Aynacı collected 12 records and Ahmet Adnan Saygun documented these songs and *horon* melodies in 1930 in his book which is called "Yedi Karadeniz Türküsü Bir *Horon*." These pieces are as follows: Yeni Tonya, Çember, Fadimem, Yenge Kızın, Can Can, Kaptan Havası, Ay Vuruyor, Maçka Oyun Havası [Gündoğdu 2016:193]. There is no clear information that the Maçka Oyun Havası mentioned in this source was performed in the Rize region.

There are two type of *horon*s that are danced in Rize. Although these *horon*s are structurally different, there is no different nomenclature due to the identification and classification problems of Turkish Folk Dance. Generally, Hamshen *horon*s are usually danced with *tulum*, on the other hand in the center of Rize, the *horon*s are danced with the accompaniment of *kemençe*. While Hamshen dances are usually performed in 2, 5 and 9 time, 2 and 7 time Rize *horon*s are widespread in the region which is located on the coastal side of Çayeli from the east to the İkizdere-İyidere line. The Hamshen *horon*s are seen from the highlands of Çayeli and include east, Hemşin, Pazar, Ardeşen and Fındıklı districts, as Küspeci notes [Fehmi and Ak 1999:82]. The density of the Laz and Hamshen population in this region is noteworthy.

According to one source, one of the dances in the Laz region was attributed to the village of Bakoz, whose name was changed to Yamaçdere. The name *Bakoz* was given to this dance because almost all *tulum* players are from that town and they dance *horon* during the weddings until the morning, In the same source, it is mentioned that when there is a wedding in Bakoz, the young people in the neighborhood come here as pedestrians to dance *horon* and the bachelors have the opportunity to see the *horon* dancers and see their betrothed, according to Kabaoğlu [Fehmi and Ak 1999:131]. Since the *horon*s are danced for a long time, there are interval resting parts which are called *fora*. In this section the movements are simplified, the tempo falls and the song is sung. The songs can be sung in the form of two groups, also being led by the director of the *horon* called *hovarda* who sings, then the lyrics are repeated by the community. For the rhythm, the person who play *tulum* knocks his heel on the wooden wall, or one of the ensembles draws sound from hard objects such as wooden floors, boilers, or hives thus the enthusiasm of dance is supported. *Horon* is usually performed with a group, but this is explained in Laz society by the saying that "dancing *horon* by holding the bush" so it can be danced in any situation because of the passion for *horon* [Topaloğlu B. 2001:14–15]. The *horon* is danced in almost every wedding in Rize. The dances names are like these; *Alika*, *Rize*, *Noktalı Anzer*, *Anzer Titremesi* (*Anzer Horonu*), *Bakoz*, *Sarişka* and *Sıksaray* [Kabaoğlu 1999:131].

The dances in the Hemşin districts are called *Hemşin* and *Yüksek Hemşin*. According to some opinions, *Yüksek Hemşin* is only a performance of the Hamşin dance with the arms raised and it is not a different dance. The Laz and Hamshens usually dance the same dances [Kabaoğlu 1999:131]. Only the commands given during the *horon* change according to Lazish or Hamshen language. While *tulum* is an

important instrument for both Lazs and Hamshens, *kemençe* is not very common among the Hamshens.

Weddings are the natural environment for the *horon* performances. According to the traditions surrounding the central district of Rize, the only household left in the men's house is at the end of the wedding night. Older men would have been removed from home if possible. They would stay somewhere else in that evening. In this period coinciding with the evening prayer, some of the wedding houses had a *horon* which is called *Kaynana* (Bride or Grooms Mom) *Horonu*. The mother-in-law, groom, bride, sister-in-law, *elti*es (wives of brothers call each other *elti*), and a few close relatives would participate in this *horon*. In a certain part of this *horon*, the *kemençe* player stops playing the *kemençe* and demands money from the groom. While stopping *kemençe* s/he lies the *kemençe* down on the ground. After this *horon* the bride and groom enter the nuptial chamber [Fehmi and Ak 1999:17].

The biggest entertainment of the wedding day was the shooting with guns, eating food and dancing *horon*. The adult women used to dance with teenage girls at village weddings. In some parts of Rize, the *değenekçi* directs and disciplines the *horon*. Priority was given to the bride's family in the *horon* because of the fact that she was a guest. The timing of the *horon* was held by the *tulum* or *kemençe* players. Men usually dance *horon* outside the house, women in the house. In addition, men dance *horon* outside in summer and dance in another room in winter. Sometimes women and men dance *horon* together in the corridor of the house called *hayat* or *sçalomona*. Women dance *horon* with men they know. The person who ruled the *horon* would make people silent and would not take the recruits into the *horona*. İbrahim Kotil who is from the Aşıklar (previous name: Asrifos) village of Çayeli was known as a *horon* master and he gives advises to dancers about performing well while dancing. Shooting with a gun in the *horon* and having a good gun was seen as good for reputation. In addition, engaged men hold their fiancee's hands and they have guns shot at them. During the *horon*, boys and girls sing ballads and *mani*es in response to each other. After the singing of songs, the bride and groom are invited to the *horon*. The *tulum* players take turns every two hours, so the *tulum* is never silent. In order to dance *horon*, the groups wait their turn at the neighbors' house and tea is served to them. Those who participated in the disturbance in the Hamshen area were called *pişma*. They gather money among themselves and buy a ship and attend the wedding [Topaloğlu İ. 2006:135–140].

Official ideology and Rize folk dances
According to Adorno, pop music adapts the audience to its own existence within contemporary capitalism, particularly in that it emphasizes the authoritarian power of the rhythm [Edgar and Sedgwick 2007:271]. A case study, which supports this view, is the interpretation of the regional melodies in techno style in the album Nurcanım (2001) by singer Davut Güloğlu who is from Rize [Girgin 2015:103]. Thus, traditional music is integrated into the modern capitalist city life via popular culture. Accordingly, it is observed that criticism increases with such changes as the high tempos in dances, sharpening of movements and distancing from local characteristics. The most widely accepted opinion is that the people of Turkish origin from Central Asian also challenge us in the explanation of Rize folk dances. This view is based on official historical data. According to Ali Taşpınar's book [2004] which is

called "Rize Tarihi," one of the documentary films of the Japanese national television team observed that the *düz horon* at Rize Hemşin was danced with the same characters and figures among the Central Asian Turks. He explained that the "Git ta Kırıl" commend in the dance is a military term, the yelling "Hayda iii hii" is still alive among the Central Asian Turks and is also similar in Japanese culture [Yılmaz 2015:163]. This information supports the idea that the inhabitants of Rize may have come from Central Asia and carried the dance cultures from there. At this point, it can be an illusion created by the official ideology to think that the dances thought to have moved from Central Asia to Anatolia have survived to the present in a pure form without being affected by ancient cultures such as Indian and Persian. On the other hand, according to some folk dancers, there is no political or ideological aspect of *horon* however, some written sources mention the Armenian-Russian struggle in the Cold War years under the title of Rize Hemsin folk dances and the administration of the Orthodox Patriarchate. In the light of information that is not available to verify its accuracy, most sources try to prove that the Hamshens and Hamshen folk dances in Rize are not related to the Armenians [Yılmaz 2015:161].

While the official sources touched on the discussion of origins, the official organizations aimed to teach the public their own culture. From the first years of the Republic of Turkey until today, it is a frequent occurrence in official organizations to direct the artistic appreciation by the initiative of the people. As one example from Rize, it was mentioned that during the period when Mesut Yılmaz was the Minister of Culture (1986–1990), the public officials in Rize were brought to a concert with an obligation. Today, similar attitudes continue [Dağdeviren 2017]. In the official ceremonies, new heroic stories are created and the performances of folk dances in these ceremonies play an important role. It would be wrong to say that the official ideology in Rize folk dances has special influences on the movement, but it can be seen in the aim of the performance. Throughout the history of the Republic, Rize Society did not separate from the political correctness and showed a model citizen profile that was approved in each political period. During the WWII, people living in the east of Rize migrated to nearby Samsun due to the anxiety caused by the Russian occupation. The people who witnessed that period reported:

> The bread was given according to the certificate, the sugar was very little. Canvas, *duvetyn* and printed cloth fabrics were given by certificate also. Since the government collected supplies for the soldiers, the peasants had no seed and corn. For this reason, a negative approach has been developed among the local people towards social democratic managers since that time [Koçiva 2012:27–28].

Again, according to the same source, the author mentioned the existence of the *Republic Balls* from 1933 to 1950 when she lived in Rize. It is stated that the city governor and officials participated in these balls. These *Republic Balls* were a part of the westernization policy and were known to be prevalent throughout Turkey. It is not clear whether western dances had an impact on the traditional dances of Rize in this period. In addition, in the years mentioned, there was one radio, the cafe, which is called Şevket'in Kahvesi in Rize center so the difficulty of being aware of the outside world is emphasized. It would be useful to research what the regulars of this cafe transferred to their grandchildren in order to explore the Rize Peoples' audio

memory background. However, the limits of this study are not sufficient to convey these details.

The effects of official ideology are not directly considered in the *horons* danced in Rize however, it becomes apparent in the context of gender and also the most concrete feature of official ideology is not directly visible. For instance, the question of whether men and women can dance *horon* together is still current in Rize, where the political Islam has achieved steady success over the past two decades. In addition, some implications are made about the *horon* and morality via the female body. For example; when the woman dance the *horon*, there are opinions that hold that the breasts of the woman will be shaken or that when the woman raises her arms in the *horon*, the appearance of the underarm will be a sin, or, in other words, it will be a shame. The prevailing lifestyle, blended with Turkish-Islamic synthesis throughout Turkey, is more prominent in Rize. The fact that the political leaders of this movement are from Rize is also felt to have an effect on this situation. From the early years of the Republic of Turkey until the 2000s Turkish folk dance was seen as a parallel line with the idea of nationalism. For about the last ten years when *The New Turkey* discourses have been developed, the comments for about folk dances have been transformed from nationalist discourses into those which emphasizes the richness of ethnic diversity. However, this situation can often change with periodic political winds and those who perform folk dances in the stage dimension are usually placed apolitically in this case.

Another issue that directly influences folk dances in Rize is the question of whether *tulum* is a sin. Some of the descriptions about *tulum* by educators and imams claiming that it is a sin, brought the *horon* and *tulum* to the brink of extinction in various villages. The same debate has been going on for a century not only about the *tulum* but also about the kemençe. For instance, the kemençe player Sadık Aynacı who is from Rize born in 1888, began to play *kemençe* in his youth, but his *kemençe* was broken several times by someone because playing *kemençe* was a sin. He continued his performance by making himself a *kemençe* and released a record from the Sahibinin Sesi record company [Duman 2004:77]. In contrast to this view, another dialogue in Ardeşen is as follows: A person who is from Ardeşen meets a friend. After greeting, he starts to complain about his son: "Undutiful Child! *Tulum* has been hanging like a bell on the wall. He does not play this but goes to mosque for prayer *Ettehiyatu* (A kind of Arabic Prayer)" [Koçiva 2012:113]. Although the examples given are at the extremes of opposing views, the most general evidence for the Rize people is that *horon* and worship are an indispensable element of the practices of daily life.

Folk dances are not only a propaganda tool of official ideology, but also in some cases are an expression of dissenting ideas in Rize. According to some informants, while the *horon* is being played, the shouting beautifies the dance. It is stated that these shouts have a purpose like being able to make their voices heard because of the mountainous geographical structure of the Black Sea [Koçiva 2012:105]. In Eastern Black Sea dances, shouts are re-constructed politically. For example, instead of "*omuz omuz kızlar domuz*" (shoulder shoulder girls are pig), "*evrim evrim tek yol devrim*" (evolution evolution the only way revolution), instead of "*A, B, C sabah ettuk bu gece*" (A, B, C we will stay awake all night), "*A, B, C, devrim olsun bu gece*" (A, B, C get revolution tonight). Thus the dance takes its place in the opposition of official

ideology [Kızmaz 2017:271]. As an indication of the synthesis of traditional culture and political action, one of those who defines himself as a revolutionary among the *horon* dancers in a tavern in the town of Rize in Ardeşen, shouts "*Allah'ına kurban tek yol devrim(Sacrifice to God, The Only Way is The Revolution)*" and the repetition of such situations in similar environments tells us that Rize folk dances have turned into an anti-action to the official ideology [Kızmaz 2017:272].

Conclusion and evaluation

In the light of the evaluations and discussions, we see that Rize folk dances encounter various ideological factors in both the stage and the natural environment. These factors do not directly affect the movement, but may lead to indirect evolution of the movement. In other words, factors such as religious reasons, gender perceptions or politicized folk songs can create individual situations in the performance of the movement. If there is an ideological or non-ideological finding about *horon* in Rize, it is the trigger for emotions of euphoria and unity. This feature is affirmed by every ideology and used as a tool to support ideas.

According to Louis Althusser, ideology provides a conceptual framework through which we interpret and make sense of our lived material conditions. Therefore, ideology produces our culture as well as our consciousness of who or what we are. This study tries to explain the culture of dance in Rize. Ideology in Marxist formulation is seen as a kind of veil over the eyes of the working class, the filter that screens out or disguises their real relations to the world around them. If the function of ideology is to construct a false consciousness of the self and one's relation to history, it is possible to see these kinds of examples in Rize especially to explain the ethnic roots of dance. Nevertheless, however many written sources are scanned, more extensive studies should be based on extensive field research.

Our research and fieldwork have shown that *horon*, *tulum* and *kemençe* are perceived as sin in some villages of Rize. Therefore, some dance cultures are on the threshold of disappearance, especially women's dances usually that refer to patriarchalism. We see how the traditional dances are influenced via political wings in Rize. According to political tendencies development criteria can change, so dance is not a development item any more for shifted official ideology in Turkey.

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Dóra Pál-Kovács

THE *CSÁRDÁS* OF MAGYARÓZD VILLAGE AS AN EXAMPLE OF TRANSGRESSING SOCIAL NORMS: TOUCHING

Abstract

Hungarian research on folk dance has not yet dealt with women, gender roles and body politics. I examine how gender and sexuality operate as social constructs in a Romanian, Transylvanian village society, particularly in the dance tradition in the 20th and 21st centuries. According to my hypothesis, dance as a social phenomenon can include all the gender norms that have a place in the society. In this paper, I explore the question of whether dance involves only gender norms of everyday life or can it function as a context where behavioral standards are different, and social borders can be crossed. As an example, I focus on the acceptability of a particular kind of touch during dancing. In what ways are dance interactions different than the situations of everyday life?

Keywords: Transylvania, women, men, gender, touching

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Introduction

In the course of my university studies, it often caught my attention that in Hungary, the relations between men and women have never been clearly defined, analyzed and interpreted, neither in Hungarian dance folkloristics, nor in folk dance education, which are based on a historical-geographical and structuralist research approaches. Historically, Hungarian dance research has been man-centered – androcentric,[1] therefore, most of the informants were men. A man can never experience the situation or the role of a woman, and vice versa.

According to the hypothesis of my doctoral research, dance may include all those gender norms that are present in the whole society. The question is: which social expectations apply? In other words, how are the images and the roles of women and men constructed? This leads me to the question of whether dance situations maintain everyday gender norms or do they sometimes involve their own peculiar boundaries. Touching limits can serve as an example. While dancing, the dancers are allowed to touch each other in ways that would not be allowed in other social contexts. Insofar as dancing situations differ from common circumstances, how can dance be seen as adding something to everyday life? Which indications or signs in a dance can be interpreted as expressions of an individual's sexual identity and role? Is it even possible to interpret these signs and understand them? I seek answers to these questions during my PhD studies.

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1   *Andros* means *man* in Greek [see Hylland-Eriksen 2006:164].

I am going to introduce briefly only one relevant aspect of the above questions: the problem of transgressing a social norm. A more detailed analysis and description on this topic is given in my dissertation, the complete analysis would exceed the limits of this paper. I am aimed at answering the above-mentioned questions on the basis of the dance culture of a Transylvanian, Hungarian-populated village in Romania, Magyarózd (Romanian name: Ozd).[2]

Literature

Reviewing the Hungarian studies in dance anthropology and dance folkloristics, it becomes immediately apparent that the analysis of dance and its social contexts has not yet paid enough attention to the men and women who compose couple dances.

Judith Lynne Hanna published a relevant book in 1988, under the title "Dance, sex and gender: Signs of identity, dominance, defiance and desire." According to her, we can understand each other by the terminology of socio-cultural gender. She argues that there is an under-recognized opportunity in dance, which "tells us" what it means to be a woman or a man [Hanna 1988:3]. Hanna does not consider the gender expressions of dance to be intentional, she regards them as sometimes unintended [2010:212]. In other words, dancing is an action during which the gender roles and symbols become clearly visible, but the individuals do not apply them deliberately.

Judith Lynne Hanna, professor at the University of Maryland, notes that dance and sexuality use the same instrument, that is, the human body, and she considers dance and sexuality to be inseparable. However, the gender expressions of a dance are sometimes unintentional and unintended [2010:212]. Consequently, dance can be interpreted as an intimate movement (compared to the social interactions of everyday life), as an expression of affection and, to a certain extent, sexuality. If we would like to understand how this intimacy gets articulated in dance, we have to identify and interpret those phenomena that can provide us with additional information.

In her 1990 book, Jane K. Cowan dwells on the question of how non-verbal communications, especially the body-related forms, can be interpreted. She also attempts to understand the codes necessary for interpreting the human body [1990:25].

Márta Belényesy, a Hungarian dance researcher, regards the Székely dances of Bukovina as follows: "Both types[3] of dance events used to be the most natural forms of interactions between the two sexes: [...] for the two chosen youngsters, this became the most uninhibited and free opportunity to interact." [1958:78].

In my opinion, consistent with Judith Lynne Hanna's position, taking into consideration dance life in the village, it is clear that dance and dancing are deeply connected with sexuality. I do not, of course, claim that sexuality comes to the fore to the same extent in each dance of the repertoire, nor that drawing the attention of the opposite sex is the main function[4] or role of every dance. However, observations confirm that couple dances and sexuality cannot be separated.

I generally agree that dance in this culture is an intimate moment (compared to the social interactions of everyday life) an expression of affection and, to a certain

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2 For more about the village, see Fügedi 1990, 2005, 2006, 2007.
3 Sunday's dance event and balls.
4 Vivien Szőnyi deals with the function of the traditional dance in Moldova region, Romania [2014, 2018].

extent, sexuality. If we want to explore nuances and meanings related to this intimacy, we must develop methods for dance analysis that have not yet been used in Hungarian dance research.

I participated in and observed dance events in Magyarózd, conducted interviews and had informal chats with local and revival dancers to compare the attitudes of these two groups. I also felt it was necessary to extend the pool of my informants to understand this particular situation in context of a wider spectrum of Hungarian folk dance cultures. In addition to the Magyarózd locals, I conducted interviews with dancers from the revival movement who frequently danced with local informants, as I expected that their female /male experiences can help me to understand this issue more broadly. In my dissertation, I provide a detailed explanation of differences between the two contexts, but in this paper, I indicate only a few characteristic divergences and trends.

Csilla Könczei turned my attention to several issues relevant to the above-mentioned informant groups during the analysis and interpretation, as she told me that the urban female researchers of the 1980s were experienced by the villagers as very unusual. She even supposes that men conceived these women to be scantily dressed due to their urban style summer clothing, e.g. shorts and tops that were unconventional in the village in that time. In addition to that, female researchers behaved differently than women customarily did in the village. I mean, they initiated conversions, asked questions to the locals, and they may have differed in their confident demeanor from the typical and conventional females in traditional roles. What Sándor Varga told me during one of our conversions is also significant: it was unusual that the members of a certain age group danced with someone who belonged to another age group, as during his fieldwork conducted from the 1990s, he and his colleagues always asked the elders to dance in order to learn from them. The female revivalists that I interviewed were often younger than the village men they danced with.

Touching as a possible transgression of social norms

To reveal the intimacy of couple dances, it is crucial to observe and analyze the different ways of touching. Rules of physical contact are socially determined, and these principles are known and applied by the members of each society. In Transylvania, couple dances performed in close hold provide an opportunity for touching the partner. Now the question arises whether only those touches are present in a dance which are integral parts of the movement process, or these gestures bear such additional meanings that are not absolutely necessary for dancing but they are still frequently performed.

According to one of my informants from Magyarózd, all touches were natural and organic elements of the dance. If it is so, then the movements I considered to be transgressing were legitimized by the society, the village community. Is it even relevant to discuss that a border crossing move is accepted by the community? If it is, can this move be regarded as border crossing?

In dances performed in close hold, dancers touch each other's entire arms and body from the back till the hip lines. Women informants from the revival movement mentioned several times during our conversations that when they were dancing with Transylvanian local informants, their partners (their male partners in most cases) touched their breasts, and this happened to all of them. "We don't get it like

this, but in a completely different way. You do not take it as an offence or, I don't, something like that [...]" [Á. M. 2018].

I tried to discuss about this theme with some male informants from the village and from the revival movements too, but only one man answered to my questions, the others ignored the existence of this phenomenon, and one of them said to me "I have no opinion and experience of this touching" [Sz. Sz. 2018]. The one man who answered me mentioned stories and situations about these transgressions, so he was the only one, who did not deny it.

Analyzing these movements, it is crucial to examine whether these gestures were one-way border crossings, or did women sometimes touch the intimate parts of men while they were dancing. A revival informants told me about a rural situation:

> I don't know, I don't remember a story like that. It was more harshly judged also among women, when someone touched a man in a different way. [...] Then I always saw that women were falling for the musicians. It was somewhat admiration, so they did such things that the musicians liked. Being a handsome man was not necessary, but I don't remember if women were in high delight for anything. /How did this manifest?/ In the way they hosted the musicians. They paid special attention to them by serving food and drinks. [...] I don't know why this came to mind now. Or their gazes, or they were kind to them, but, of course, it happened that they were not [T. B. 2018].

Sándor Varga discusses that at the weddings in Visa, village (Transylvania, Romania) women were allowed to behave freely in the early morning hours. It frequently happened this time that "women kissed the musicians' lips or they pasted banknotes to their foreheads in the heat of entertaining" [Varga 2007:93].

In relation to the musicians, border crossing was observable for women. "A musician who provides service for the dancers has always been regarded highly valuable for the traditional village community." [Pávai 2013:80].

I attempted to introduce in nutshell the border crossing movements of dance (non-exhaustive list).

As their name indicates, my revival informants learned dancing within the frame of this movement in an urban atmosphere, where the dances of different dialects are taught by dance instructors during assemblies, so the learning process was different than in traditional villages. Consequently, they acquired the entire dance repertoire, but they did not learn about the society and environment to which a given dance belongs. These dances were taken out of their original context, so the hidden meanings and the moves or gestures of metacommunication were lost. These aspects can bear additional meanings only if their original socio-cultural frame is known or they appear therein.

In short, touching a breast or a bottom belongs to the 20th century dance culture of Magyarózd in which these acts are acceptable in certain situations. The local informants did not express any distaste while we were talking about this topic, though an open discussion would be inappropriate. If we still regard dance as a part of the society, it means that people living in a certain community learned the frame and the boundaries of a given dance supposedly without being aware of this. Of course, these boundaries are not fixed and settled borders, as they are constantly being negotiated.

Informants from the revival movement were socialized in a completely different society in which different boundaries for appropriate touching were set for dance and society, but they still wanted to acquire the peasants' dance culture. When the revival informants, who were socialized in a different way, start dancing with the locals, these different sets of norms encounter each other. It happens that an act perceived to be insolent and inconvenient for someone who comes from the urban milieu can be experienced as a normal element of dancing by the traditional dancer.

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The Tunnel Dance (Tunel)

The first example comes from Brazilian-Ukrainian communities in the state of Paraná, in southern Brazil. I observed the "tunnel" dance several times in 2010, most intensively at a large festival in the city of Prudentópolis.

Let me first describe the tunnel as a dance phenomenon. The tunnel is a common figure in participatory dances in many parts of the world. Dancers form two lines facing each other, hold hands with their partner across the set, and raise their joined hands to form an arch. One couple at the end of the set then travels down the "tunnel" formed by these raised arms, moving from one end to the other. When they reach the far end, they join the set and raise their arms to extend the tunnel, while the next couple begins their journey.

I propose that the dance movements and body language captured on the video can reveal a great deal about individual and group intention in specific situations. Advantages of the video recording include the possibility of multiple replays, revealing elements that were not noticed at first. When the camera lens was set to a medium-wide zoom, good quality video allows me to focus closely in on very specific details when relevant, and also to see much of the broader context. I have placed edited excerpts of the videos on the internet entitled *Detourning Participatory Dances – Tunnel* [ukrfolk, Tunnel] and *Detourning Participatory Dances – Shake* [ukrfolk, Shake].

In the video analysis, I start with the observation that fewer individuals choose to participate in some particular dances while more joined in others. I use this cue to try discover something about their motivation. Indeed, I found that the recordings captured many particular moments when people chose to join the dance (or not), and chose to perform in certain ways rather than others.

Joining the Tunnel

The first example is set in a large Ukrainian settlement area in the State of Paraná in Brazil, in the village of Marcondes, recorded in 2010 [Nahachewsky 2010:10:22-28]. Peasants from what is now western Ukraine settled there some 125 years ago, carrying many cultural elements with them, including the tradition of Easter dance-song-games called *haivky*.[3] The repertoire of song-games in western Ukraine included hundreds of *haivky* in thousands of variants [cf. Hnatiuk 1909; Dei 1963]. Perhaps fifty have been documented in Brazil [Zinko c1962; Nahachewsky 2010], though the current active repertoire seems to encompass less than 10 songs.

In Paraná, in the early years, children played in open areas along the stretched out chain villages – *colonias* – extending along a road cleared out of the jungle, rather than in the tight centuries-old cluster villages of their grandparents' homeland. New motivations of loneliness and nostalgia motivated some parents to encourage their children to join the dance, and also to participate into adulthood themselves, longer than they might otherwise have. In Brazil, *haivky* faded over time in some localities, while they continued in others for several generations. The Ukrainian Catholic church sometimes supported the tradition of *haivky* as a community and parish-building activity, heightening the Easter holy days, and sometimes because it strengthened ethnic consciousness [Zinko c1962:1].[4] Especially in the decades after World War Two, Ukrainian Catholic priests and nuns organized special events after Easter for performing *haivky*, giving them a formal administrative structure, teaching repertoire that children no longer transmitted directly, and filtering the tradition according to their priorities. Reverend V. Zinko published a collection of *haivka* texts, which was used as the authoritative source for almost all songs in 2010 [c1962:5]. The next generation of leaders, including a schoolteacher and musician

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3   *Haivka* in singular, sometimes called *hahilky*, *vesnianky*, *khorovody*, and other names.
4   The Ukrainian Catholic Church (Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Byzantine Catholic, Uniate Church) was dominant in western Ukraine, the source area of most emigrants during the period of mass emigration at the end of the 19th century. The church remains important in many Ukrainian diaspora populations, especially in Brazil. Emphasizing Ukrainian identity helped this church hierarchy survive in the context of the dominant Roman Catholic Church in the pre-war Habsburg Empire, in interwar Poland, as well as after migration to Brazil.

called Samuca, absorbed this clericalized tradition and internalized these motives, committed to pass it on as intact as possible.

On 6 April 2010, *haivky* were the focus of an annual afternoon field trip assembling some 300 students from several schools. Samuca organized the event, sang with several other teachers, and played the accordion most of the afternoon, giving instructions over the microphone as needed. I observed that numerous pre-teens enjoyed the *haivky* as a group activity, as a series of physical activities and games, because of the possibility of choosing friends as partners, etc. In one segment [ukrfolk Tunnel 0:09-0:51] a young man much taller than most other participants was pulled into a *haivka* called *Adam i Eva* by his little sister. She selected him to dance with her as the leading couple inside a larger circle. He cooperated playfully, though at several points he looked and called out beyond the game to a group more his age, using his body language to communicate his less-than-complete comfort with the situation [ukrfolk Tunnel 0:10, 0:43, 0:49, 0:54, 0:59].

For the first part of the afternoon, only some 10%-20% of the attendees participated in the *haivky*. Older teenagers especially participated less, preferring to mingle and chat, perhaps buying something at the canteen, or hanging out around the parking lot at the distant end of the large churchyard. Motives of reinforcing Ukrainian ethnic identification or religiosity were important for the organizers, but apparently not for the school children and young adults. Neither did the older students find it "cool" to play

Figure 1. Tunnel, Marcondes. Photograph by Andriy Nahachewsky.

what they saw as childrens' games any more. Indeed, the low participation level and general tone suggested strongly to me that the youth were comfortable expressing this dissonance between themselves and their teachers. They actively demonstrated their lack of motivation and asserted their own priorities.

The fifth *haivka* started about an hour after the beginning of the event, when Samuca announced the song "*De ty idesh Romanochku*," [Where are you going, Roman?]. "Tunnel," as this *haivka* is often called in Marcondes, was at core a very simple dance game, in which participants faced each other in couples and held hands high in an inverted "V" shape. When many such couples arranged themselves side by side, their joined hands created the roof of a long tunnel. The end couple then bent forward and walked under the others' extended arms to the far end of the column, followed by the next end couple, and so forth. When they had travelled through the entire tunnel, each walking couple stood up, joined hands again, and reformed the column's structure so that the tunnel was constantly getting shorter at the back end

while getting longer at the front, progressing gradually around the whole church-yard. Like the other *haivky* performed that afternoon, the song, melody, and movements of *De ty idesh Romanochku?* were generally consistent with historical Ukrainian sources. Nearly identical texts and melodies of this *haivka* have been recorded in the 19th and early 20th centuries, in the region from which Brazilian Ukrainians emigrated [Hnatiuk 1909:12-13, and musical example 146; Mykhan'ko 1922:19; Lys'ko 7:example7077; Dei 1963:171-172]. Many documented *haivky* involve walking under gates or tunnels created by pairs who raised their joined hands [cf. Golovatskii 1878:2:695; Hnatiuk 1909:21, 36-42, 55, 118, 125, 131, 135-139; Mykhan'ko 1922:5-6; Kylymnyk 1959:2:19, 43, 103-105, 165-171]. Related forms are known in traditional cultures in a broader geographic range.

Well over 100 participants soon joined the game, including a large proportion of high school age and a large number of males, most of whom had not joined in any of the previous games. This *haivka* deserves attention for how it may reveal something of their motivations and interests.

The standard version of tunnel involved some possibility for social mixing and perhaps flirtation among girls and boys as the participants chose partners and held hands to create the tunnel. In the last decade, a variation in the game has increased the focus on flirtation and partnering substantially. Whereas most participants continued to enter the tunnel with their partner, certain people ducked under the extended arms alone [ukrfolk Tunnel 1:29, 1:40]. Each solo traveller probably enjoyed walking in this special space, but it was clear his motivation was almost always more than that: as he passed below the overhead couples, he "stole" a partner from one of the existing couples along the way. He did this by reaching up and taking hold of her hand, then pulling her behind him [ukrfolk Tunnel 2:13, 2:42]. The girl's initial partner was left to stand alone, perhaps holding up his empty arms until the tunnel end came up to him. At that point, he might choose to find another partner, enter solo himself, or stop playing. Most often, a solo boy stole a girl from a mixed couple, though the video also documents girls stealing boys [ukrfolk Tunnel 1:08, 1:14]. Clearly, the attention of the game has shifted strongly to this partner-changing element. Some (such as a young man with a light blue shirt in the video example) focused almost exclusively on stealing partners, and immediately entered solo again whenever they found themselves partnerless [ukrfolk Tunnel 2:25-2:30]. The video documents occasions when a boy smiles proudly when stealing a girl [ukrfolk Tunnel 2:15], a girl rolls her eyes when she is stolen by a boy she deems too young [ukrfolk Tunnel 2:21], and sometimes a girl stealing her close friend from a boy who she deems inappropriate [ukrfolk Tunnel 2:52]. This version of the tunnel game was prominent in each of the four *haivka* celebrations in Brazilian Ukrainian communities that I attended that year [Nahachewsky 2010:10:1-5, 16-17, 22-28].

It is notable that this innovation did not involve a radical change in the movement elements of tunnel. Many traditional *haivky* texts and movement descriptions contain elements of flirtation in their texts and in their actions; choosing partners, naming best friends, capturing individuals from one team to another, etc. Though I have not found any documentation of individuals stealing partners exactly as in the version of tunnel described here, this variation is strikingly consistent with traditional movement themes. The feeling, nonetheless, was subversive.

Organizers and other adults were not particularly supportive of this variation of the tunnel game, commenting that it was not the normal version, and that if too many people were stolen, then the shape of the tunnel itself would break up, and the game would fall apart [Nahachewsky 2010:10:5]. Indeed, this was the case near the end of the Marcondes *haivka* event, and one can easily imagine that the new variant is only viable if a majority of the participants play by the older rules. On the other hand, the organizer of this event clearly anticipated the special status of the tunnel game, leaving it for last in the repertoire, and supporting it by playing the appropriate music for about an hour, in comparison to perhaps five minutes each for the other songs. The event organizers measured success by the number and energy of the participants, and in this respect at least, the new version of tunnel served both subgroups' purposes. In other respects, as we have seen, many of the students had different ideals than their teachers and the church leaders. The participants were clearly "détourning" the *haivka* event to make it more interesting for themselves.

Shake

Svitlana and Vasyl's wedding in the village of Toporivtsi, Chernivtsi province, in western Ukraine on 5-6 August 1995, was quite large, but otherwise not unusual for that time: one group of musicians played for the dancing in her family's yard, and another simultaneously in his family's yard, about a kilometre and a half away. They each played from about 11:00am on the Saturday until about 3:00am, and again all day Sunday, more than 40 hours in total. The musicians that played for the bride's family's celebrations were specifically hired because they were popular locally for their modern repertoire. This was important to the Svitlana's family, as the allure of the music significantly influenced the success of the celebrations. Most of the dancers at the weddings were unmarried young people. Girls generally stayed at one wedding, while boys typically traveled in groups from one location to the next, looking for the one that appealed to them the most. Since there were three weddings that weekend in Toporivtsi (thus potentially six dance events), the music, the girls, the food and the drink might attract more boys to one wedding rather than another. Svitlana's family hoped that their wedding would be the most popular. Wedding guests were well dressed and well behaved. People spoke to me about the importance of honouring the family and themselves, which carried connotations of elegance and pride.

The dance repertoire in that village involved a formal ceremonial dance *rus'ka*, as well as the less formal *molodizhna rus'ka* [youthful *rus'ka*], waltz, polka, "shimmy," a "one-step," and shake [or *modernyi* – the modern dance]. All the dances were couple dances, except *molodizhna rus'ka* and shake.

An apple tree grew near the middle of Svitlana's parents' yard, and it functioned as the centre of a stretched-out doughnut-shaped dance area.[5] Young men, eligible dancers, clustered around the tree in the centre, smoking and chatting. Young women stood in a long row around the outside circumference of the dance area and waited. When a man wanted to dance a waltz, for example, he walked across the open area in the direction of the woman he would like to dance with, asked her to join him, and then they proceeded together to dance [ukrfolk, Shake 0:30-1:45]. This moment

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5 The groom's wedding dance area was also conceptualized as a doughnut shape, with men standing in the middle. I understand this was standard. The formal *rus'ka* dances in Svitlana's family's yard were danced literally around the doughnut with the apple tree in the centre.
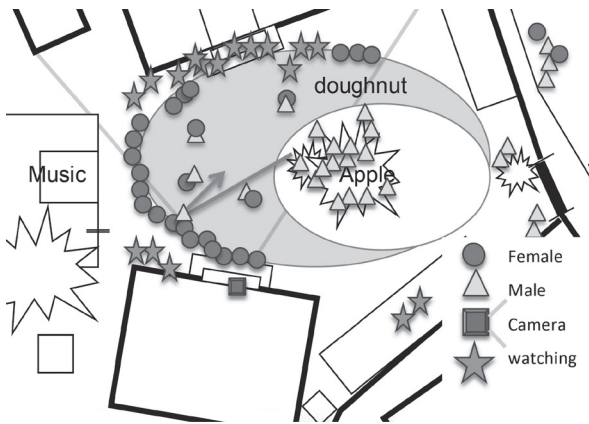
Figure 2. Layout of Svitlana's family's yard for a couple dance, with women standing around the circumference of the doughnut-shaped dance area.

was potentially stressful for the participants, as hundreds of eyes followed each young man while he made the crossing, including those of the women he could potentially invite, watching to see who it will be. During a typical waltz or polka in the late afternoon, perhaps a dozen couples danced, while most other guests watched. Occasionally, two women danced a polka together, but most women remained standing with linked elbows around the circumference, waiting to be called.

The shake was notable because it was danced in a large circle with no explicit partners. The circle formed on one side of the doughnut shape, near the musicians and where there was a larger open area. When music for the shake was performed, more people participated than for any of the other dances, and perhaps three quarters were women. Practically every young woman participated, showing that they were indeed motivated to dance. Some of the men danced as well, while others remained other under the apple tree.

The name "shake" makes an explicit reference to a British fad dance with this name, popular for just a few years in the mid-1960s [Rust 1969:113-119]. This was a period in which western youth culture penetrated into the Soviet Union in spite of disapproval and suppression by Soviet authorities. The Toporivtsi shake shares a number of features with rock-and-roll from the 1950s and 1960s, involving a very simple and flexible footwork structure, reduced emphasis on partnering (no clear leader/follower, no physical contact, and sometimes no partner at all), emphasis on a strong musical beat. On the other hand, whereas the shake in Britain was a "highly individualistic dance in which the feet hardly moved but the legs vibrated, the hands gesticulated, the shoulders swung and the head quivered and twitched" [Rust 1969:113], the quality of the movements in Toporivtsi in 1995 contrasted strongly. The Toporivtsi shake was much smoother, performed with a relatively motionless head, and consistent with the values of elegance and honour that were explicitly valued at the Toporivtsi wedding. In these respects, the dance and motivation for performing it were far from the aesthetics and "mod" styling of the original shake.

Most "beat" dance styles in Britain, including the shake, started as partner dances and could be performed in couples, individually, or in groups. By contrast, over 10 hours of video in Toporivtsi did not record a single example of shake danced by a separate couple. This dance was clearly and uniformly a group dance. Shake was standard and stable in weddings in this area, well integrated with the structure and

style of the other elements of the event. The bride's father danced quite often, including the shake on occasion (though in a smaller circle with the bride).

As I understand, this dance was less patriarchal and more gender neutral than the rest. In this community, shake seems to have developed into a medium which reflects a long-term sea-change in the community's gender perceptions. The women clearly had the motivation to dance beyond the men's prerogative, and as they integrated shake into their culture, they adjusted it to provide themselves the opportunity.

Détournement

In both tunnel and shake, we can identify tensions between the authorities and the participants themselves. In the case of tunnel, the *détournement* is clear. The values of the youth appear to have differed from the values of the authorities – the priests, nuns, and teachers of the older generations. The young people asserted their influence by not joining the dances, or in the case of tunnel, by changing the rules so that the dance became more interesting for themselves. The authorities in this case recognized that the *haivka* tradition could only be viable as a grass-roots activity, so they did not try to coerce the dancers, but rather tolerated the change. While détourning the dance, the participants did not introduce new movements into the tradition, but only adjusted the rules to allow a refocusing of the traditional elements. The *détournement* did not lead to direct conflict during the event, though the feeling of subversion was definitely in the air.

In the case of shake, the situation is more complex, and I propose that at least two moments of change in the tradition have taken place. The first transformation of the weddings occurred some half a century ago, when the Soviet authorities were suppressing rock-and-roll. People who chose to join the shake at that point were most likely making a definite statement about their generational and aesthetic values, in some defiance of authority. They were détourning the traditional wedding repertoire from the perspective of the government. In this case (unlike for tunnel), the innovations involved a striking set of new movement elements. Shake still stands out in the wedding repertoire of Toporivtsi as the only dance, which involves expressive use of the spine and hips, non-contact, and no prescribed footwork pattern. Though the form of shake remains very unusual in these respects, the anti-authoritarian connotation has faded almost completely. Indeed, the official Soviet ban of rock-and-roll music and dance was not particularly successful. The commissars gradually loosened their proscriptions as time went by and as they saw it was a losing cause. By the late 1980s when the USSR was falling apart, and certainly by 1995, the issue was moot and such dances were normalized. Performing shake forty years later no longer constituted a *détournement*.

A second significant change may be identified vis-à-vis the authority of the initial British generation that danced the shake. I am not sure if this shift should be called a *détournement*, because I am not convinced of a sense of antagonism to the original –part of the particularity of the concept of *détournement*. The spirit of the original shake communicated a certain anti-aesthetic in mod culture, quivering and twitching, "rebellious and individualistic" [Rust 1968:113, 119]. Perhaps this was the case in villages like Toporivtsi in the early years as well, but over time, the participants had generally dropped this quality and the dance assimilated strongly into

the more elegant and upright aesthetic expressing honour in that community. It was danced simply as one of numerous options in the repertoire, alternating during the wedding with polkas, waltzes, and the traditional *rus'ka*.

Perhaps more importantly, the Toporivtsi participants seem to have détourned their own patriarchal tradition through shake. I do think the term *détournement* is apt here, as the subversion is clear, even if it may have been nonconfrontational. Shake seems to be additionally viable in the context of this traditional dance culture because it liberates females to decide more for themselves if they want to participate in the dance.

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Placida STARO

"THE *VALA* IS A SERIOUS THING"

Abstract

The fieldwork material is the dance of *Vallja* and *Tarantella* in the Arbëreshë communities in Calabria observed between 2000 and 2009. During the fieldwork research we experienced the problem of conflicts between different communities and within the different communities. This became explicit in the subject of ritual dance. The participation in different events or the way to enter the dance team and the dance floor is strictly linked to clan, parental linking and political party. Modification of the body through dresses and postures, male and female participation and age involvement are matter of generational and family conflicts. This confrontation permits them to underline the changes of the symbolic function in the different way of joining into the dance. The different evaluation criteria related to participation in dance highlights the social and symbolic value attributed to the different genres.

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Figure 1. Waiting for the Vallja in Civita (Cosenza). Photograph by Placida Staro. April 18th, 2006.

In Southern Italy there is a *nation* called Arberia: 119,000 people who migrated from Albania between the 13th and 17th centuries. They live in 71 towns; in particular 54,000 peoples live in 44 towns in Calabria. Since the year 2000 I have worked on a

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research project in 17 towns. The main focus was a ceremonial event – the *Vallja* – that Arbëreshë people consider an identifying marker of their belonging.

From 2006 to 2008 I interviewed 625 people in Cervicati, a village near Cosenza with 997 inhabitants who did not speak the Arbëreshë language any longer. 109 people said that the most important reason to spend time and money on research on the *Vala* was because "a *Vala* is a serious thing".[1] What they mean by *serious* become evident when describing the way people in this country participate in the different dances. I will compare some aspects of participation in *Vallja* and *Vala*[2] with traits of the other local – Italian – ways of dancing.

Quadriglia

The *quadriglia* is a form of dance practiced by both Arbëreshë and Calabrians during weddings and street festivals. It happens in the central space of the festival and each *quadriglia* can be between 15 and 20 minutes long. A *mastru a ballu* (master of dance) invites people to take part in the dance, forms the couples and calls the figures. In weddings the bride starts the dance and during *contact* or centripetal figures she is encircled. In street festivals, children and the elder couples are in the center.

In the *quadriglia* people dance recalling stereotypes of childhood. The relative lack of interest towards the control of movements, the jolly and childlike behavior patterns and spatial figures called by a leader characterize the participation in the dance.

People *enter* the *quadriglia* leaving behind their personal responsibilities being protected by the *mastru a ballu* who protects the focus, flag, person or saint. Sharing uncontrolled energy in order to focus it on a spot, the individual participation reaches a peaceful and demonstrative value at both levels: communitarian and individual. The participants express their belonging, entrustment, joy, happiness, lightness, carefreeness and change. Participation is forced, position, path and figures are ruled by a head; quality of movement is free. In parties the *quadriglia* is danced as a play, but becomes a serious, ritual dance in the ceremonies.

In the Arbëreshë *Vallje / Vale* the link with marriage rites, the hierarchic participation, the use of simple patterns of movements, the childish attitude of male tails of the *Vala*, the ritual capture and some figures of the *quadriglia* – winding line, spirals, arch, underpass – are also found.

Tarantella

In Calabria men and women dance *tarantella* as a social dance, in private and public contexts. It can assume a ceremonial value that is demonstrative and representative.

Traditionally one person invites another one to enter the *tarantella* becoming a couple while they dance. One couple a time dances *tarantella*, while the audience is active in looking, screaming, playing music or singing. In a familiar, private setting participation is disciplined by shared behavior rules regarding times and ways of entering the dance that are directly proportional to the affection and link of respect with the honored woman or person.

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1   It is possible to watch to the video documents related to the dances cited in this paper on the YouTube page of Placida Staro [2018].
2   *Vala* is the name following the Italian dialect from Calabria. *Vallja* is the name in the Arbëreshë idiom.

Bystanders, physically touched by the dance take an active part with words and acts. Every dancer pays homage to the other one trying to enhance his/her characteristics. Every movement is ruled and starts from a communal vertical rhythmic impulse. The gestural dialogue and movements are ruled starting from a mutual contest to reach complementarity based on the principles of symmetry. The gestural expression limits the area to one's own body sphere both for men and women.

Publicly *tarantella* is danced in a circular space defined by bystanders and musicians. The dimension of the space is restricted during ritual occasions; it is enlarged in demonstrative performances. A *mastru a ballu* organizes the entrance and the challenges between dancers of the same or different gender, and forms *friendly* or contrasting couples. While the emotional dialogue between the partners searches and reaches balance, the dance can go on; when the *mastru a ballu* verifies imitation, assimilation or lack of communication, he substitutes one dancer with another, creating a new couple.

In dancing *tarantella*, the movements that originated from a vertical trembling impulse corresponding to rhythmic pulse, are organized in spatial patterns based on the communicative reciprocity with the partner. Communication, learning, agility, strength, ability, competence, beauty and mutuality are the feelings that males ascribe to the *tarantella*.

In Arbëreshë towns only the male population has absorbed body models and gestural languages from the Calabrian dance. In *tarantella* Calabrian women dance with precise executions and stereotyped postures, centralizing the attention and reporting sensations of emancipation and power. On the other hand, Arbëreshë women use the tarantella as a merry expression of liberation from the obsessive, hypnotic activity of the *body of the Vala*, or from the everyday repetitive working activity. Moving patterns and dance phases are performed either following fixed frameworks, when it is a demonstration, or without a specific communicative objective when performed for fun. In any case game, joke, amusement, freedom and exceptionality are the feelings expressed by Arbëreshë women. In *Vallja* we will find again: women centered participation, founded on an affective and honor hierarchy and underlining family and clan borders, with gestures limited to the individual body sphere.

Scherma

In Puglia a fencing dance was typical of a few clans and of the Italian gipsy families but there is a *neo-scherma* revival. In Calabria men dance *scherma* (fencing) as a ceremonial expression of fighting and challenge only during ritual occasions and reserved contexts. Sometimes very competitive dancers shift to the *scherma* while dancing the *tarantella*. The study of facial expression compared to gestures can clarify if the fencing is serious or only for playing. *Scherma* uses the same musical paradigms of *tarantella* with rhythmic variations. In *scherma* the continuous vertical rhythmic impulse is substituted by a swinging on the vertical and sagittal axis that is more or less regular depending on the choreutic phase – encirclement, facing or contact. The aim is to surprise the partner over and over again invading or reducing his personal space. When moving, the phases on the spot and the relations in straight lines intersect the circle according to a fencing logic. Gestures alternate with moments of closure in one's own personal body sphere and moments of coming out that correspond to lunges and parries taken from the practice of fighting using knife,

rod or sword looking for a result of non-symmetry. Challenge, risk, satisfaction, demonstration, reciprocity and effectiveness are the feelings reported by dancers.

Arbëreshë families reject *scherma* dancing or diminish it as a joke. But men boast in informal conversations. This is why it has been explicitly prohibited to show publicly pictures from films of *scherma* to avoid connecting the protagonists to the initiation custom of the gangs of the Calabria *'ndrangheta*. Clearly in the families of the *'ndrangheta scherma* is part of the initiation being a common familiar practice, but it is false to say that all those who dance fencing are *mafiosi*. Participating in fencing is reserved to the explicit and approved purpose of cold steel training, prohibited by the Borboni police and by a law of the Italian government.

We will find in the execution of the male lead of the *Vallja* in some cases: challenge intention, asymmetry, swinging on the vertical and sagittal axis, facial expressions and gestures coming directly from *scherma*.

Neo-trad

Figure 2–3. *Tarantella* a San Martino di Finita (Cosenza), Photographs by Placida Staro, August 6th, 2006.

Since the year 1990 the young perform *neo-tarantelle* and *neo-pizziche*, in the breaks during the Arbëreshë parade events and in the meetings. These are couple dances that use motoric and childish stereotypes, skipping, racing, and obsessive rotation, that nowadays are common heritage of central and southern Italy. Participation is informal with many couples, and demonstrative as, one couple dances in a circle. In both cases the choice of the partner depends on friendship or it is made to demonstrate benevolence, and personal or team authority, involving weak, older and extraneous elements in a sort of celebrative self-representation.

Emancipation, joy, amusement, joking and playing are the feelings reported by those who dance *neo-tarantella* and *neo-pizzica*.

In the villages the young dancers declare this is a play, in the big towns and festivals they use this as a group marker. The elders unfortunately involved *si mettono scuorno*, that means that they feel they can be used in a possible disaster being put in a situation that is not theirs. In the same way the Arbëreshë elders consider these *juvenile outbursts* during *Vala*, carnivals and parades as a reduction in the national spirit before the Southern Italy *koiné*.

Vallja

Figure 4. The *Vallja* of Santa Caterina. Cervicati (Cosenza), photograph by Placida Staro, August 8th, 2006.

The *Vallja* is a spring ceremony that is a symbol of the Arbëreshë identity. The *Vallja* and/or *Vala* are intended to be a ritual ceremony with acting of four elements: the *besa* (a ritual negotiation), the Arbëreshë prosody or singing, the procession or dance, the flag or handkerchief. It is a chain in a winding line that metaphorically represents the flowing of time, told as a myth of the coming out from the underworld, and every year it reinforces the *besa*, the eternal alliance agreement among families and heads of the household.

Every winding line crosses the village stopping to pay homage to relatives and notables, who respond by offering food and drinks. It captures young married couples wishing them, in this way, happiness and fortune.

The *Vallja* is nowadays institutionalized and represented in parades and festivals. Women are chosen because of their merits and ancestry, it is guided by men negotiating with one another and with institutions, deciding the route of the *Vallja* across the town. Men participate as *flamuroi* (those who carry the flag, previously the torch). Starting from the last century in most of the towns they participate in the female dance by leading the line and the singing, in most cases the *Vallja* they do not dance but walk or run.

All the *Vallja* have similar figurations: counter posed proceeding, winding line, spiral, arch and underpass. In the approximately thirty towns visited there are three different dance patterns of the *Vallja*.

A. A winding line choreutically and melodically guided by men where women proceed and respond in a counter posed chorus.

B. A winding line of women who proceed singing counter posed chorus choreutically guided by silent men who can dance and emit animal calls.

C. A winding line of women guided choreutically by silent men, melodically by women, harmoniously and rhythmically accompanied by men at their side.

This contradicts the Arbëreshë myth of a univocal origin from an ancestor who arrived from overseas. It confirms, indeed, that the present day form is the syncretic bequest of dances that were once different in form and function:

Participating in the *Vallja* assumes the value of individual acceptance and familiar new confirmation of Arbëreshë identity. The elements evaluated as indicators of *authenticity*, *purity* and *fidelity* are the presence of inherited costumes and jewellery, the correct comprehension and performance of the prosody in Arbëreshë, the quality of proceeding and behavior, the resistance.[3] Each participant becomes representative of the community, so participating gives a confirmatory value of his/her social role. Resistance, strength, belonging, value, esteem, pride and beauty are the sensations expressed by women; those expressed by men vary depending on the type of *Vallja* and their role.

Men claim that they impose their presence in the dance and in the singing because the warrior's male dances and the *pure* Albanian women's step patterns were lost. In the name of nationalism men stole the women's role and song, they hide their body by leaving aside their dance as being *not serious enough*. They argue that this masculine control reflects the patriarchal society imagined as typical of Albanian culture better while the previous feminine hierarchy and dance had been contaminated with italic culture. They refer to the Cervicati's *Vala* as a negative example.

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3   Proceeding means to proceed walking in a line; Behaviour means the proper relation to other participants and the public during the ceremony and the entire process; resistance means how long one can drink, shout and dance and walk before collapsing or having a hysterical attack.

The *Vala* in Cervicati

Figure 5. The *Vala* parade in Cervicati (Cosenza), Photograph by Placida Staro, August 8th, 2006.

In Cervicati, the identity is a legacy fused in a mixed community. That is the reason why in 2006 I saw eight *Vale*, six in 2007 and ten in 2008. It was a surprise that is the whole city, (956 inhabitants) were involved. They lasted three nights and one day during carnival; there are *rich Vale* and *poor Vale*, and you can participate only if invited and called by the women first through their mother-in-laws and then through the chosen *head* master of the *Vala*.

The first bride in the house or the first daughter asks the mother-in-law or her mother permission to call a *Vala*. Then she discusses with her and with her grandmother the choice of the other seven women for the *Vala* body and the man who will be the head. The women have to be linked by parenthood, godparenthood, blood friendship, or neighborhood. The man can be a brother, an uncle, or a very good friend. He will choose the other three men who make up the head and tail of the *Vala*. The women and the head decide the path of the *Vala* in the village negotiating with the other families and *Vale*. So every year the *besa* among clans is reconfirmed, updated and visualized in the street and home ritual. Every year, even today, the participants and the paths visited allow everyone to visualize the power divisions taking place in the country on the basis of clans, censuses, memberships and political divisions, dividing the country, in the days of the Carnival, in roughly corresponding areas to the different *gjtonje*.[4]

Every *Vala* is evaluated according to behavior of the Head and Tail as persons, but the *body of the Vala* is evaluated as *a whole generational totality*. The *Vala* of Cervicati represents the motoric and gestural stereotypes of the two genders that build up humanity, the male head and tail and female body that by giving birth renews the eternity of humanity both in a symbolic and formal way. The *Vala* belongs to all the women because they create, produce and represent their own clan. It is the dance of the entire community and everybody considers it more than *dance*: rather a calendric and recurrent revolving of the community. The central focus on the feminine as the clan maker and the masculine as clan protector and fighter reflect the matriarchal attitude of the Italian society. This is considered the origin of the civil agreement.

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4   Neighborhood with friendship ties established during childhood.

In Cervicati the *Vale are* the social body and they believe they do not *represent* it, but they *form* it testing and *improving in dance* the rules of participation in the civil society. As a consequence of the clashes between *Vala*s that literally submerge the bystanders and the town during Carnival night, the vital energy of the human community emerges and spreads outwards. This happens because, as Salvina Ruffo from Cervicati has claimed "the *Vala* is alive and must breath, the *Vala* is a serious thing" [Ruffo 2006].

In the juvenile *Vala* the *head* master uses body schemes, postures and models of steps from *tarantella* and fencing dances, while the tail uses animal-like and childish postures and movements.

Since the end of the 1970s the heads of *Vala* have required the participation of friends and the fiancé as musicians. They stress the percussive impulse, that follows and reinforces the vertical wobbling impulse of the male movements. By this way they force women to change the winding and dragging movement and the body posture. For the same reason women must shout to overcome the sound of the instruments and *the body of the Vala*, according to the comments of the elders, is visually hidden by the partners and *cannot breathe*.

The new symbolic dynamism created by the new rules of participation is made of four elements: the female strength intended as uncontrolled sexual energy, the Head, controller and warrior of territory, the wild animal Tail, as limiters and finally the male relatives at the side as a support and control crew. According to the elders in 2007 this meant a depreciation of feminine power, leaving the dynamics between genders to the external control of men.

In social etiquette the changing of postures and motoric patterns corresponded to a variation of the internal dynamics in the relation between genders in a regressive, violent way, testified in actual life by the trend of looking for partners outside the community and therefore the premonition of breaking up the social agreement. This premonition is confirmed ten years later: the population is drastically decreased.

Even if they shout to contrast the tambourines, women dancing the *Vala* of Cervicati, in addition to the sensations of the dancers of the *Vallja* of the other communities, feel essentiality, a loss of identity, solidarity, hyperperception, inexhaustibility, resistance, value, openness of breath and of sight. The feelings of men are conflict between care and power, responsibility, fatigue, gratitude and solidarity.

Seriousness and ritual: some conclusions

According to the Arbëreshë men/women that speak Arbëreshë, and who preserve the religious ritual and the original language, the *Vallja* is a private ceremony, absolutely serious, its name means *dance*, but some people do not agree. In other towns where there is cohabitation and integration of both communities – Arbëreshë and Calabrian, where it is much more antique, the *Vallja* or *Vala* belongs to all those that are invited and everybody considers it *dance*.

Comparing the participation modalities of *Vallja* or *Vala* with those of other Arbëreshë and Calabrian dances it is clear that seriousness is a characteristic connected to motoric patterns that are used and to its factual connection to community life.

Connective traits of seriousness in Calabria dance are:
1) Purpose of the dance: representative, ritual, ceremonial, actual.
2) Form of participation: reserved.
3) Times and ways of regulating participation: preceding the dance event, programmed by family heads (females for the *vala*, males for fencing and *tarantella*).
4) Choice of space: circumscribed by bystanders/participants.
5) Clothing: disguise or ceremonial clothing for men and women.
6) Objects: handkerchief/weapon.
7) Model of motoric organization: basic iterative prescriptions.
8) Motives of displacement and gestures: experts and repetitive for women and for male heads.[5]
9) Postural models: prescriptive/selected as disguise.
10) Dance structure: phases in customary reactive succession.
11) Figures: circle, gallery, arch, spiral.
12) Correspondence between sound-movement: rhythmic motif versus compositional motifs of displacement; non-correspondence between musical phrase versus choreutic phase.
13) Phase regulation: negotiated.
14) Learning mode: evolution from infant motoric models, imitation + reserved training.

The Arbëreshë of Calabria have a connotative index of seriousness that indicates only some of these traits; but *Vallja/Vala* and *quadriglia* have all of those traits, the other dances have some of them if they are ritually executed. That is why the meaning of *serious* is completely corresponding to *ritual*.

It is clear that the main discriminating elements of seriousness are the access to, and the procedures of, participation. Male *tarantella* and *scherma*, and women's traditional *tarantella* are considered important and serious in a private or ritual context because they test the individual adaptation to their phases of growing up and to their social role involving all those present. They are *serious* because, and when, they are the effects of shared life of the community; otherwise they are plays, sports or theatre.

Vala is a serious thing for everybody because it visualizes and actualizes the belonging of the individual and of the community to the human species: unlike the other dances, the *Vala* starts, develops and ends with a balanced team, and has its origins in a social agreement which modifies the community and the individual attitude in body and spirit. For participants the body of the *Vala* is as beautiful as the town and it is as immortal as the clan links – the *besa* – are.

When it *leaves* home it already includes the formula of eternity and tends to form a balance between the human community, the territory, festivities and epochal changes that have to be renegotiated every year. The comparison – the clashes with other *Vala* will ensure eternity for the whole community confirming through negotiations and aggressiveness the belonging to the human species as something natural.

In the words, the phrases and in the statements about the Calabrian-Arbëreshë *Vallja/Vala*, four nouns were always present: the body, the agreement, the time and

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5   Heads are named the male leaders of the chains.

the territory and two adjectives: beautiful as the body of the *Vala* and the territory, immortal as the breath of the *Vala* and the agreement of civil support.

A beautiful *Vallja* is a benefit shared by the whole community; it is a tangible evidence of the cohesion reached in the village which is power in front of the cyclic incoming of seasons and problems. The *Vala* of Cervicati and some *Vallja* are serious at the highest degree because:

- Everybody in the community is eligible for participation;
- Everybody participates once or more times in their life;
- Body stereotypes, spatial figures, movement patterns, and sound patterns are recurring in natural life and are shared by everybody including animals from the age of childhood.

We have to admit that the *Vallja* and the *Vala* are as Italic as *tarantella – quadriglia*.

We can say that *Vallja/Vala* includes gestural and motoric patterns shared with the entire Mediterranean area, it does exist in the Italian culture, once called simply *Danza*, then *Nio*, *Covo* and finally *Quadriglia*. This dance genre is attested from ancient time and is depicted in ancient frescos as a metaphor of passage between different natural or metaphysical or civil statuses. *Vallja/Vala* indicates the passages of humanity in the natural and supernatural world in seasonal rituals, the *quadriglia* the changes of state in individual and common social life in civil rituals.

The Arbëreshë who reclaim the *Vallja* as a specific ethnic marker have added their own historicized narration in the text of the rhapsody that is sung. Then they have controlled the bonds of clans and the stability of forms through the limits for participation. The continuous periodic updating of the ritual, still present in Cervicati, has become in the *purist* towns a celebrative-demonstrative representation. This evolution has the body of women as a field battle: the movements reduced to displacements, the body hidden in its gender character, the narrative voice transformed in screaming. It reflects the tendency to contrast female power roles in order to create a hierarchic pyramidal social model much more functional than the totalitarian economic models which are operating now. Everywhere there are claims for adding musicians or male singing, while women claim to head the *Vallja* by themselves.

That is why in Cervicati the *vala problem* has become a matter for the Municipal Councils. In order to make breathing *A Vala* they asked for a research that would be shared publicly. But finally, after sharing results and discussions with the entire population they never allowed the publication of the films and results. In fact the breath/spirit of the *Vala* has to be secret and transmitted body-to-body thorough direct sharing during participation in order to be protected, because it is a serious living thing, and has not to become a dead monument.

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Sydney Hutchinson

FOLLOWERS STRIKE BACK! THE DYNAMICS OF DIALOGUE IN CONTEMPORARY PARTNER DANCE

Abstract

Much literature on social partner dancing considers its dynamics to be inherently patriarchal due to the association of the leader role with men; the female follower is assumed to be responding to male cues in a largely passive way. Yet such a model belies the personal experiences of many followers, who feel themselves to be active participants in the partnership, as well as the growth of role-reversing practices in recent years. This paper reconsiders the dynamics of partnering in contemporary social dance, arguing that many such dances are in the midst of a sea change with regards to gender constructs. By analyzing swing and salsa dancers' discussions of terms like backleading, hijacking, and follower's voice in online fora and ethnographic interviews and placing these into dialogue with my own kinesthetic experiences as a salsa dancer and fieldwork on salsa in New York and beyond, I argue for a model of conversation rather than domination while demonstrating the complexity of partner interactions, the agency of the follower, and the potential for partner dance to create social change.

Keywords: salsa, gender, partnering, social dance, leading, following

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I moved to New York City in 2000, having recently completed my master's degree in small-town Indiana and itching to pursue my interest in performing as a salsa dancer. Not long after arriving, I was lucky enough to find an experienced partner, Ivan, who was willing to train me in the New York style, as well as a cheap room in a house shared by two other dancers, Mikie and Jill. They were best friends from childhood and had always lived within a few blocks of my new home in Sunset Park, Brooklyn. Both Latinos, Mikie was gay and Jill straight. Neither they nor the friends who often stopped by to practice were restricted by typical gender roles. Mikie and Jill were so comfortable dancing both lead and follow that in the course of a single song they could switch roles multiple times, and do it so seamlessly that it was hard to tell who was leading at any one moment.

I was astounded by their conception of partnering, which was totally new to me, and was inspired to begin learning to lead, myself. Years later, as I began to research the topic, it appeared to me that I had been witnessing a part of broader changes in

social dance, just then beginning to take shape in New York salsa.[1] Many women have since assumed what were formerly male roles in the salsa world – becoming, for instance, company leaders and top-billed instructors. On the dance floor, too, they are leading, and men are following, both enjoying this new challenge.

Detailed analysis of lead-follow interactions is largely lacking in social dance scholarship, and this paper presents only preliminary findings; however, I believe that this kind of analysis will demonstrate that there is more to leading and following than meets the eye, and that social partner dances allow and even create space for both exploration and reconfiguration of gender roles. In addition, my own and others' research on new kinds of partnering, like that demonstrated by Mikie and Jill, is showing that changes in partnering protocols not only reflect societal change, but also have the potential to contribute to a new gendered politics of participation on the dance floor.

Rethinking lead and follow

While social partner dancing is an area that remains undertheorized, writing on the topic has tended to emphasize the imbalanced power relations between the leader and follower roles, respectively associated with men and women, and to proceed no further. Salsa, in particular, has long been viewed as contributing to patriarchal domination and the naturalization of female subservience, possibly because of stereotypes about Latin American machismo [see, e.g. Aparicio 1998:97; Pietrobruno 2006:173–175]. Such views are only partial truths. Patriarchal relationships are certainly a part of salsa's history, but they are not essential to the dance itself, and the partner dynamic is much more complex than a simple model of command/obey. Dance changes according to context, and dancers (both male and female) continually find ways to transform that context, to subvert the expected power relations, and to adapt and even contribute to societal change. In salsa, men and women are commonly – but not always – taught to use their bodies in different ways through gender-specific styling classes that in many ways confirm the impression of stereotypical machismo. Yet dancers understand these as staged performances and reaching a higher level of expertise also frequently brings a desire to challenge expected roles. Role-switching dancers, woman-led dance companies, LGBTQ salser@s, and increased same-sex dancing even among heterosexuals[2] are just a few factors in contemporary partner dance that call traditional gender protocols into question.

Even in conventionally partnered salsa, followers play an active role in creating a conversation. In fact, men who assume too dictatorial a position when leading are

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1   New York-style salsa or mambo dancing is commonly described as "on 2" salsa, indicating the count on which the dancers break or change direction. There are two different methods of dancing on two, the one developed by Eddie Torres and that of Razz M'Tazz [RMT] founder Angel Rodríguez. Razz M'Tazz New York is currently mostly inactive because Angel is focusing his energies on developing RMT Italia from his new home base in Milan, while Addie Rodríguez, the other former director, has returned to her teaching job. The Eddie Torres method is now the more widely disseminated worldwide and is sometimes termed "New York 2," while the RMT method is sometimes called the "Palladium 2" after the ballroom that was home to the 1950s mambo, since its count more closely matches that of early mambo. Torres and Rodríguez were both pioneers in establishing two of the city's earliest salsa/mambo companies in the 1980s. See Hutchinson [2004, 2013] for detailed description and analysis of these styles.
2   Researchers have documented same-sex dancing among heterosexuals in dances as diverse as lindy hop [Wade 2011], salsa [Hutchinson 2007], and Swedish *polska* [Kaminsky 2011].

frequently shunned by potential partners until they demonstrate they have better learned the rules of this conversation, which include the necessity of responding to follower-initiated cues. While the dissimilarities in the two roles can and often do breed inequality, the view of male-led social dance as domination is an oversimplification that disavows many women's experiences of social dance as empowering.[3] Dancers' resistance to gender hierarchies runs from subtle actions like followers' corrections of leaders' mistakes all the way to actual lead/follow role reversal, now practiced in many different dance genres, or even a total dissolution of lead/follow division.[4]

While such developments might seem surprising if one were to rely on scholarly accounts of partner dance only, role changes and female leading are now fairly common practices in dance communities from salsa to tango, and especially swing.[5] Swing dancers frequently point to the fact that their dance's open hold allows the followers more space in which to insert their own ideas, express a willingness to experiment with the traditional lead-follow relationship, and value women's creativity, referring to adept dancers as "artistic" [White 2011] or "creative" followers [Anonymous 2015]. Perhaps New York salsa's frequent use of the open hold and breaks in which both partners do *shines* or solo footwork is one factor that has allowed for similar developments in that scene. Salser@s discuss such issues at length on sites like SalsaForum. There, dancers' descriptions of their subjective experience of pleasure in partnering emphasize dialogue or "discovery" [SmartAlx 2009] as essential components of their dancing. In their own descriptions, both leaders and followers experience dialogic interaction as a mutual act of creation, a "two-way energy flow" [Babybarbarella 2009].

Backleading, hijacking, and followers' voices
How does this dialogue take place? The principal and nearly constant point of contact is between the hands (usually leader's left and follower's right); another one is present between the leader's right hand and the follower's back when in closed position. Pressure on the follower's back indicates direction and duration of movement. Arm tension and position; finger, hand, and wrist motion; and relative movement or stillness all communicate information between partners' hands. Even mere physical presence and weight is enough: for instance, a step towards a partner will generally require a corresponding step back, whether or not their bodies touch. Eye contact may also be used, but is relatively infrequent. Each of these techniques can be and are used both by leaders *and* followers to indicate intention.

The concept of conversation is preferable to monologue, control, or command when analyzing partner dance because followers are expected to respond

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3   In fact, many women in dance styles from tango to swing express the impression that in fact they are the ones leading – the men just don't notice this. While such statements indicate some degree of complicity with patriarchy, they also indicate a subtle means of resistance, ways of inserting followers' intentions that allow women to maintain the appearance of what in some communities is a feminine ideal at the same time as they have a subjective experience of control and power.

4   Wade has described lindy hoppers who have abandoned lead/follow division.

5   This might be surprising when one considers that many participants in the 1990s California swing revival got involved with the dance precisely because they valued more traditional gender roles [Usner 2001:90]. Either they tired of this schema, or there was a generational shift as the population of dancers changed over between then and now.

intelligently to a leader's cues, which in the insightful terms of one lindy hopper are best described as "suggestions" a follower can accept, reject, or transform [Wade 2011]. And followers sometimes take yet more active roles in the dance, to the point where on multiple occasions the leader is not really leading at all. Practices in which followers' intentions take precedence are theorized among salsa and swing dancers using the terms *backleading* and *hijacking*. Often these are assigned different moral qualities, with backleading seen as a bad practice that often occurs without the consent of the ostensible leader, possibly for the duration of a dance [e.g. Wikipedia 2011]. Yet followers may view backleading more positively, as a way to help an inept partner out of a sticky situation and produce a more successful dance experience for both, perhaps even without the "leader" noticing. For example, a more experienced follower can subtly pull or push to indicate a movement change; she can force a change of foot in order to correct faulty timing; and she can break the partner hold in order to take a solo. These techniques maintain the illusion of male control; only the follower is not fooled.

Hijacking, on the other hand, is typically evaluated as a positive activity. It is a momentary role reversal done by consent, a section in which the followers' intentions usurp those of the leader. Today swing dancers even teach hijacking moves in workshops for advanced dancers; their use of the term seems to predate that of salser@s', perhaps indicating an influence of the former on the latter. In a two-year-long discussion on SalsaForum, dancers found that both backleading and hijacking were ways for women to demonstrate dance knowledge, but hijacking allowed more leeway for exploring followers' creativity and was more socially acceptable. In describing hijacking, dancers used terms like "intention" [Noobster 2008], "resisting" and "taking over" [MacMoto 2010]. For backleading, verbs like "assume" [SmartAlx 2009] and "correct" [MacMoto 2010] were more common. Thus, hijacking is a means of creative resistance on the part of the follower, usually a woman, while backleading is a corrective act that implies a negative judgment on a usually male leader's abilities. Leaders thus resented backleading but often appreciated hijacking [Vin 2009].

A follower can use different means to assert this control, often for reasons of musicality. She may place a hand on the leader's chest to stop his motion and initiate her own. She may turn in the opposite direction after being led in a turn one way [Sorensen 2015]. She may block a lead by locking arms, grabbing the man's left forearm [Tom 2009]. She may simply squeeze his hands to signal a change [Geminisalsero 2009]. Or she may "soften the connection" between their hands and "root" herself in place. In the best case, one salsera continued to explain, "the leader responds by letting me have my moment, then pick[s] up a cue from what I've just 'said' with my body and incorporate[es] it into the dance, reflecting it back to me and creating a playful conversation" [Noobster 2008]. A leader may even invite a hijack by using what male dancer Sweavo calls a "neutral lead" [Various; post on May 1, 2010].

Hijacking is still only a momentary role reversal, and as such does not offer a sustained challenge to entrenched gender politics. But dancers like Mikie and Jill, who prefer to switch leads mid-dance, actually disrupt binary gender hierarchies entirely. According to New York-born Amanda Cardona, a former RMT dancer who does both roles, "In nirvana, you end up with partners who interpret the music in a complementary way- where musicality and timing and interpretation of the music add together vs. interrupt one another" [Cardona 2011]. While backleaders and

hijackers are already a highly skilled group of dancers, those who describe them-selves as both leaders and followers are an even more elite group. Let us now see how they conceptualize styles of partnering in which gender is not a determining factor in the rules of participation.

Dancing both ways

In recent decades, many dancers in different genres have come to the realization that the correlation of gender with partner role is only a convention, and thus can be changed. In the salsa world, such a transformation was underway in 2003, when I performed with Razz M'Tazz Mambo Company at the World Salsa Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico. That year, our choreographers decided to include all four possi-ble partner combinations in our routine (male lead-male follow, male lead-female follow, female lead-female follow, and female lead-male follow). While they did not describe the dance as a subversive statement on gender relations but rather as a demonstration of our advanced partnering capabilities, in fact, it reflected more general changes then in progress. And the skills we practiced for the performance altered our day-to-day dance practice, as well: we began more often to switch roles just for fun in our three weekly practices, in the workshops we taught, and even sometimes in our social dancing at clubs.

The technical aspects of lead-follow switching can be challenging and are picked up through experimentation rather than formal learning. In working with different partners, "Mikie" Rosado, my old roommate, explained, "both people need to know how to relinquish control. It's like you have to know when to be aggressive and when to be submissive on the dancefloor" [2008]. In SalsaForum a male dancer suggested switching leads by changing positions and then backleading the new leader through simple moves [SmartAlx 2008] – an interesting suggestion, given how female back-leaders are typically criticized for such actions, but one that shows how backleading can be an effective tactile teaching tool. Reasons cited for role-switching included enjoyment, challenge, musicality, and self-expression.

How far back do these practices go? We have only anecdotal evidence to trace them, but salsa web columnists documented the beginning of the phenomenon in the late 1990s-early 2000s [e.g. Salsawhore 2000]. Guyanese-American salsero Seaon Bristol is credited as a pioneer, since he began attracting attention as a follow-er in New York in the late 1990s. Following was the first role he learned, after watch-ing male-male partnering at a gay salsa club, and it was only his desire to become an instructor that drove him to learn to lead. Following some initial resistance, hetero-sexual men began to accept Seaon and other men in following roles.[6] Today Bristol is a popular teacher of both men's and ladies' styling. On his teaching DVDs (author's collection), Seaon distinguishes between male and female movement vocabularies, but he also makes clear that both styles – and both roles – are open to either gender. While further research is needed, the fact that gay men appear to have danced salsa since early in the genre's New York history suggests that such practices may have existed earlier, but were confined to certain spaces and communities.

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6   Bristol reports that the climate gradually eased in the early 2000s [Espinoza n. d., "Seaon"]. Indeed, in 2000 one reader posted, "It is starting to be 'cool' now for two guys to dance together, thanks to or due to Seaon Bristol" [reply to Salsawhore 2000].

Conclusions

Although patriarchal gender roles reflecting outdated ideals are certainly a part of salsa, as in other partner dances, the discourses and practices I discussed here illustrate dancers' resistance. In the urban-cosmopolitan dance environment, where being able to dance both roles is interpreted as technical superiority, the focus on skill functions as an incentive for uprooting even deep-seated habitus. It is not far-fetched to imagine that learning to embody different roles in dance could translate to a similar breakdown of binaries and hierarchies off the dance floor, enabling new kinds of participation, although further study would be required to prove if this is indeed occurring. What I hope to have shown is that partner dance dynamics are not inherently repressive, and social dancers have therefore been able to change dance practices in accordance with their increasing discomfort with the reproduction of traditional gender hierarchies through partner dance. It is noteworthy that in the SalsaForum discussion I quoted, several dancers' identification with both roles was so complete that it was quite difficult to discern their gender from their posts alone. I would argue that the changes I've described are not only a reflection of greater tolerance for and increased participation by feminist and/or queer dancers. They also contribute to that acceptance by allowing – even forcing – dancers to experience alternative proposals in their own bodies.

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POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION, IDENTITY AND MINORITIES AS PORTRAYED THROUGH LOCAL DANCE IN THE BANAT REGION

Abstract

This paper will examine the politics of representation and identity as portrayed through dance by the co-located ethnicities in the Banat region of Romania using three main parameters, the *representation* that the dancing is portraying, the *context* in which the dancing takes place and the *adaption* of the dancing to the context. Theoretically it drawn on Barth's work on ethnic identities, Hall's "counter politics of the local" and Harrison's expressive differentiation through "symbolic practices". Through ethnographic examples from the authors' fieldwork among the co-located ethnicities it reveals that in social contexts local dances predominate, whereas as in presentational contexts the material presented ranges from presentations of local dances of their ethnicity, to drawing on their national *image*.

Keywords: Romania, Banat, dance, ethnicity, identity, representation

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Introduction

This paper explores the politics of representation and identity as portrayed through dance by the co-located ethnicities in the Banat Plain in south western Romania in different dancing contexts; through their participation in local amateur dance competitions, festivals in Romania and beyond, and during social gatherings where dancing takes place. It considers three main parameters: the *representation* that the dancing is portraying, the *context* in which the dancing takes place, and the *adaption* of the dancing to the context.

Szeged marks the northern point of the historic region of Banat (Figure 1) that is now politically divided between the three nations of Hungary, Serbia and Romania. Romanian Banat is divided into the plain and mountains zones. This paper concerns the Banat *Plain* zone that was settled in a planned colonization during the 18th and 19th centuries. Despite subsequent population movements, this zone remains multi-ethnic where local inhabitants take pride in their ethnic tolerance and peaceful co-existence [Adam 2008:11]. This multi-ethnic and multi-confessional ethos underlies local political representation in Romanian Banat and was a central focus in Timișoara's successful bid for the 2021 capital of culture. One of the premises of this bid was the various cultural events, local and international festivals in which the various ethnicities participate; including the international Festivalul Inimilor (Festival of the Hearts) in Timișoara, ethnicities festivals, minorities' festivals, children's

festivals, and competitions for local folklore.[1] Within Romanian Banat the main local ethnicities are represented by umbrella organizations that coordinate with the event organizers, and also organize their own events. These include the Union of Serbs, Pro Folk – Bánsági Magyar Hagyományőrző Egyesület, Uniunea Bulgară din Banat, Asociația Social Culturală a Romilor din Banat, and Forumul Democrat al Germanilor din Banat.

Figure 1. Map of the Banat region.

Nationalism centralism versus local

In the current context in Romanian Banat the focus is on the local rather than centralist politics. This contrasts with the influence of centralist nationalist politics of the pre-1989 period often discussed by Anca Giurchescu that influenced Romanian dance both in the social (participatory) and presentational contexts.[2] However, in recent years, in Romania, a growing regional awareness has emerged as a reaction against the centrality of the nation prior to 1989 and the increasing influences of

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1   For more detailed accounts of events in Timișoara see [Mellish E. 2013; Mellish L. 2014a, 2014b; Mellish and Green 2009].
2   See for example Giurchescu [1987, 1990, 2001].

globalization. This is not unique to Romania, as Harrison comments "[i]ncreasing transnational flows of culture seem to be producing, not global homogenisation [rather] heterogeneity and local distinction" [Harrison 1999:10]. This renewed focus on the local, as Stuart Hall observed allows the locals to "reclaim some form of representation for themselves" [1991a:27]. This trend in Romania is reflected in the structure of the organization of folk production that has since 2005 been revitalized from a *bottom up* locally focused motivation that emphasizes regional and micro-zonal differences. This does not mean that there is an absence of various manifestations of politics, more that these operate on a smaller micro (geographical) basis, which we would term as "local decentralised politics of representation" or what Stuart Hall calls "the counter politics of the local" [1991b:41], in place of a unified top down national agenda.

In the following sections the authors use three main parameters: the *representation* that the dancing is portraying, the *context* in which the dancing takes place, and the *adaption* of the dancing to the context, to examine the politics of representation and identity portrayed through dance among the co-located ethnicities in the Romanian Banat Plain region. Illustrations are provided using ethnographic examples from the authors' extended and ongoing fieldwork at cultural events in the Banat region and with groups from this region when they travel further afield to take part in cultural events. Table 1 shows a brief summary of the following discussion of these parameters versus the representations and identities portrayed through dance.

	Local	Regional	(Inter)National
Context	Local participatory Local presentation	Festivals	International festivals
Representation	Local identity	Banat identity	National identity
Adaptation	Shorter and arranged version of the social	Stylized and accepted by the locality	National stylized and disconnected from the local

Table 1. Summary table of parameters versus the identities portrayed through dance.

Representation of identity through dance

In considering ethnicity as an *identity* where identity shifts and merges and acculturates, the version of a collective identity performed to *represent* an ethnicity depends on the occasion (context) and what those involved in the organization deem is most appropriate. During our (the authors) fieldwork in Banat we have observed that the identity represented through dancing can be 1) a local identity, 2) a regional *Banat* identity or 3) an ethnicity's assumed *national* identity.

However, following Barth [1969], in Banat ethnic identities as portrayed through dance can be flexible, multiple, situational and a matter of personal choice and it should be born in mind that the long history of multi-ethnic ethos and pride in Romanian Banat [Adam 2008:11] has resulted in a less well defined concept of identity with many mixed ethnicity marriages where decedents ascribe to an identity of choice. Based on insider information this fluidity of identity can be illustrated by the videos examples referred to in this paper which reveal that; one of the dancers in the Bulgarian video from Vinga is ethnically Romanian and for some years has been the

rehearsal leader for this group, and the leader/choreographer and musical arranger of the Serbian group from Sânnicolau Mare are also long term members of the Romanian students' ensemble Doina Timişului.

Dancing contexts

Following the view that the representation of a collective identity portrayed through dance is context dependent we have identified three main contexts in our fieldwork in Banat where dancing might be considered to reflect a group's ethnicity or identity: 1) during social participatory dance events, 2) in the local presentational dancing at festivals including competitive festivals held within Banat, 3) at national and international festivals. There are of course other contexts, and contexts may overlap.

Local social (participatory) context

Prior to the more recent revival, Giurchescu commented that "the thread of tradition[al dancing] though fragile, is not broken and dancing and music-making are still functional" [2001:118]. She was able to verify her own observations during the fieldwork sub-study group visit to the village of Sviniţa, in southern Banat in 2013, after which she commented,

> Almost all young people […] took part with great enthusiasm and an impressive energy at the village dance, demonstrating that the current dances of the traditional repertoire are still an integral part of the youth dance culture. The survival of dancing as a social practice is due to its capacity of transformation and adaptation to new and constant changeable circumstances and aesthetic norms due to the impact of globalization [Giurchescu 2015:29].

Adam commented that "celebrations played a special part in interethnic relations in Banat. They were, at the same time, a way of maintaining ethnic identity, but also a way of establishing interethnic relations" [Adam 2008:116]. In the majority of villages on the Banat Plain (and also in the Banat Mountains) the village mayors organize Saint's day celebrations (known as *Ruga* or *Nedeia*) and village days (*Zilele*) where local musicians and singers play for informal social dancing. These events may be notionally organized by a specific ethnicity or confession but in practice they are open for all who wish to attend. As Miroslav Tatarici, a prominent choreographer born in 1931 recounted, "During my childhood in the Banat Plain village of Dejan […] the young people went to dance at the village balls organized by all the various ethnicities, Romanian, Serbian, German, Hungarian" [Tomoiagă 2018a].

Events where the village specific form of local dances for each co-located ethnicity were danced continued until recently and are still within living memories. In the past decade many Saint's day events and balls have been revitalized by village mayors as traditional events, although the music and dance has moved on with the times; the dance is simpler and more homogeneous over the wider Banat area and the interpretation of the local music has changed to reflect current popular trends. Nowadays the style of the social events is determined more by the musicians and singers that are booked to play at the events rather than ethnic allegiances, in particular Serbian musicians are often hired to play at Romanian Saints' day in the Banat Plain villages.

Local presentational contexts – festivals and competitions
Local presentational contexts include gala performances, non-competitive and competitive festivals and other events with short performances that are followed by social dancing. In particular the local folklore competitions in Banat, such as Lada cu Zestrea (the dowry chest) organized by the Timiş County Centre for Culture and Art, encourage the presentation of local cultural material that includes portrayals of local customs involving dance and the revival of dances in the latent repertoire. In order to encourage participation these competitions usually include many categories of prizes including specific ones for local ethnicities [Mellish L. 2018:259].

The following discussion, and links to video examples, regarding dancing by various ethnicities in Banat gives an illustration of their different portrayals of ethnicity during presentational and social events.[3]

During presentational performances and local competitions the local Romanian dance groups usually dance a shortened version of their local social dance cycle,[4] with some choreographic ordering of the figures that allows movement around the stage area and organization of the dancers for viewing by a non-participating audience. The video example of the local Romanian couple dance *soroc* first shows the Datina group [eliznik 2018a], a recreational dance society from a village just outside Timişoara who maintain the latent dance repertoire. This is followed by the Timişoara students' ensemble, Doina Timişului, who are expected to perform as an ensemble using some form of regional stylization. On this occasion they have invited older generation village dancers to start the performance. Members of both groups also regularly take part in dancing in the social context in Timişoara where they only dance the basic figures together with others at the event.

National presentation and international festivals
Urban Romanian ensembles portray a regional identity when dancing within Romania, including some choreography and stylizations in line with the local audience expectations, but still can be the same dancers and basic repertoire as is danced within the local context. However when presenting outside Romania at international festivals or events, the majority of Romanian ensembles, such as Doina Timişului see their role as representing their *national* identity in choreographed form (see Table 2), hence include dance suites from other regions of Romania where they have no connection to that region's *local*. This contrasts with the smaller local dance groups, such as Datina, that represent *Romania* by their local, but rarely travel long distances to take part in events.

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3   The video clips showing examples of the participatory and presentational dancing by various co-located ethnicities were shown during the presentation of this paper at the ICTM Ethnochoreology Group symposium in Szeged in July 2018. These videos clips can be accessed using the links provided in the text or using the QR codes at the end of the paper in Figure 3.
4   The local dance cycles danced by Romanians in the Banat Plain comprise the large circle dance *hora*, the syncopated stepped couple dance *soroc* which can also be a form of the solo lad's dance, then faster couple dances in straight time such as *ardeleana*, *de doi* or *pre loc*.

	Social context	Performance context	Outside Romania performance
Doina Timişului	Plain and mountain dances in social form at parties, Ruga etc.	Stylized, choreographed, but with connection to the local	Representing Romania
Datina dance group		Latent repertoire social dances	

Table 2. Two examples of Romanian dance groups based near Timişoara.

The Banat Germans, mainly German Swabians, still retain the dance repertoire that they brought from Germany when they moved to Banat in the 18th century. Despite the significant reduction in their population since WWII there are currently German dance groups in several Banat Plain villages.[5] During festivals and competitions they perform set formation dances, often including a maypole dance with ribbons, whereas during social occasions polkas and waltzes predominate. The presentation of these groups has recently become more orderly since Hansi Muller, a Banat German whose biography includes being a professional footballer, a professional dancer in Lord of Dance, and football mascot for Bayern Munich, returned to Romania and took control of the groups [Both 2017].

At the local Saints Day events there are often a few couples of Roma dancing their more upbeat style to *ardeleana* music. Roma groups also take part in the local competitions and festivals, particularly during the various ethnicities' festivals, where they mostly dance improvised Roma dancing to music from one of the Roma *formaţii.* The video example shows the Roma *formaţi* from the village of Măguri which is the only majority Roma village in the county [eliznik 2018b].

Adaptation (stylization) of the dancing connected to the context
In studying the *local* we are interested in the connections and disconnects between the local dancing and the presentational form. Our observations in Banat are that the local participatory context and the local presentational context often include the same dancers and the way of dancing is similar with minimal adaption for presentation. This is still true for the regional urban Romanian ensembles who portray a *regional* identity when dancing within Romania using choreography and stylizations in line with local audience expectations, but they still can be the same dancers and the same basic repertoire as in the local context.

However most often, even for the small rural groups, the dancing during presentations includes elements of stylization. In this context *stylized* (stylization) is taken as referring to the manner of micro-structure of the dancing that has taken on traits of the dominant form of stage dance technique. In addition the macro-structure has been arranged and extended for the context of a performance situation with an attentive non-participating audience who have their culturally determined expectations for the content of the performance, often involving an expectation of an artistic work. This concept of *stylized* is complex, but when presented and consumed

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5   German dance groups: Timişoara (Banater Rosmarein and the children's school group Nikolaus Lenau), Deta (Edelweiss), Variaş ("Warjascher Spatzen"), Biled (Billeder Heiderose), Sânnicolau Mare (Buntes Strausschen) and Jimbolia (Mini Hatzfelder şi Hatzfelder Pipatsche).

in the local population it very often becomes an *icon* of the region and is accepted in parallel with the local social form.

When considering the *stylized* dance form of a local region there is the complexity that *stylization* can lead to presentation of a region that is *foreign* to the people from the actual locality, but is considered representative nationally. This has led the authors to suggest the idea of presentational forms that are connected to the locality in contrast to those presentational forms that are disconnected from the local and are not accepted by the locals. This is complex in terms of a choreographer (or producer) who is an outsider (locationally separated) and the concept of the *locality* that they are attempting to represent. It is additionally complicated by the time progression of music and dance within a locality that can leave the staged presentation routed in a different place, or choreographic or political time in the past. This is particularly pertinent to Romanian Banat dance performances where the past national stylized form, and/or non-regional ensembles attempts at dances from Banat, are met with a local view that only Banat groups can dance Banat!

Local social	Local festivals	National and International festivals
Local dancing	Local presentation	
	Stylised regional	
	Disconnect	
	Stylised regional	
		Choreographed "national"
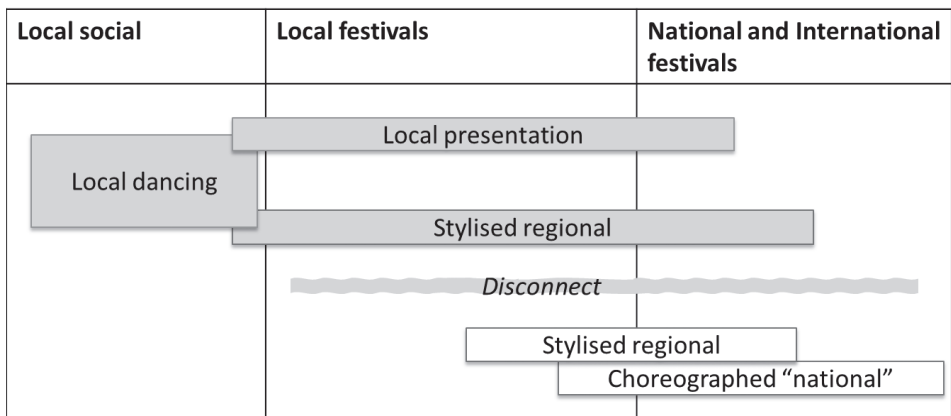
Figure 2. Dance performances disconnected to the *local*. Graphic by Mellish and Green.

This concept of disconnection (Figure 2) between the parallel *local* music and dance may have more relevance to Romanian dance performances than to dance performances by other ethnicities that are present in Banat events. In general the *local* social dance forms have continued in many Romanian communities so there is a strong attachment between the local participatory dancing and the expectations for performative forms. For other ethnicities the performing groups are very often presenting a certain *stylization* of dances that have been choreographed from a repertoire that has faded beyond the latent repertoire in the original locality, or give a performance representing a locality to which the dancers have no direct relationship. For example, when taking part in local dance competitions, for some ethnicities, the tendency is to present a choreography based on the material that is considered to be representative of their *nation* rather than their local ethnicity.

In north western Banat there are several villages that were settled by Catholic Bulgarians in the 18th century who still maintain a distinct ethnic identity. In the social dance situation they dance a version of the local Romanian dance *ardeleana*

and have a version of the (Romanian) men's dance *soroc* in their latent repertoire (see Table 3). For presentational events these groups generally perform dances from the Bulgarian national repertoire, even at the local competitions where groups are encouraged to present their *local*. The video example shown during the symposium presentation shows the Banat Bulgarians from the village of Dudeştii Vechi dancing basic Bulgarian folk dances with some stage arrangement [eliznik 2018c], and the group from the village of Vinga dancing the local social *ardeleana*, and *soroc* from the latent repertoire followed by a performance of the central Bulgarian *buchimish* that they were taught by a visiting choreographer and, as we were told, still enjoy dancing as it gives them a, "sense of being Bulgarian [...], and it's fun."

Bulgarian	Social context	Performance context
Dudeştii Vechi – "Palucenka"	3 measure Pravo	Local *ardeleana,* basic Bulgarian folk dances
Vinga – "Balgarce"	*ardeleana* ("*kotromana*")	Local *ardeleana* and *"sorocul de Vinga"*, *shopski* and *buchimish,* Banat Romanian suite, Hungarian suite
Timişoara – "Slavjak"		*shopski*

Table 3. Bulgarian dance groups in Banat.

The Union of Serbs provides an effective support network to the Serbian groups based in many small towns and villages in Romanian Banat. The list in Table 4 includes a selection of these groups who have participated in recent local competitive festivals, and the region represented in the choreography they presented. This shows that about half of these groups did not performed local Serbian Banat dances, but a choreography that is from their *nation* rather than their *local* identity. The larger groups also take part in competitions outside Romania, for example Sveti Sava ensemble from the town of Sânnicolau Mare won a commendation at a 2016 competition in Portorez, Slovenia, for their choreography of Banat dances. The video example of the Serbian groups shown during the symposium presentation included first social contexts [eliznik 2018d]; the Serbian festival in central Timişoara, and a Serbian Saint's day is a small village, followed by a minimal choreographed entry in a local competition, and lastly Sveti Sava's choreography in Portorez.

Ensemble	Locally presented
Sânnicolaul Mare – "Sveti Sava"	2016 competition – Central Serbia
Sânmartin – "Kruna"	2016 competition – Banat
	2016 ethnicities festival – Morava region SE Serbia
Deta – "Sveti Nikola"	2016 competition – Banat
Cenad	2017 competition – SE Serbia
Sânpetru Mare – "Plavi Delija"	2016 competition – Banat
Jimbolia	2016 competition – Serbia

Table 4. Serbian group presentations at local competitions.

During cultural events organised by the Hungarian community around Timişoara that the authors have attended they have seen very little social dancing. This was the case, even in the adjacent village of Dumbrăviţa, a predominantly Hungarian village, when a Hungarian band was playing music during a Saint's day celebration and only a few couples danced a simple *csárdás*. The Hungarian dance groups in Timişoara (Eszterlánc and Bokréta) and the Banat Plain villages of Tormac and Jimbolia have had long term close links with the Szeged ensemble, whose instructors have been responsible for teaching dances from both Hungary, and Hungarian dances from Transylvania. The reasons given for this repertoire in a recent interview with the director of the Szeged ensemble, (and confirmed by Sándor Varga [2018:83]), is that there is not any local Hungarian dance material to draw from as; "the Hungarian Banat folklore is not authentic [...] because the Hungarian villages were colonized [and] they did not retain their traditions and costumes from where they came from" [Tomoiagă 2018b].

Conclusion

In this paper the politics of representation and identity as portrayed through dance by the co-located ethnicities in the Banat Plain region has been examined using three main parameters, the *representation* that the dancing is portraying, the *context* in which the dancing takes place and the *adaption* of the dancing to the context. The strategies used by the different ethnicities have been analyzed by drawing from ethnographic examples including video clips from the authors' fieldwork. This reveals that the dance repertoire included in both social participatory and presentational performances by the various ethnicities is variable depending on the context and appears to be influenced by various strands of local dance politics rather than any centralist politics.

Drawing on Harrison [1999:10] "[i]n seeking to differentiate themselves from each other expressively" through "symbolic practices" the dance groups of the co-located ethnicities draw on a range of different strategies. In social contexts they dance local dances, whereas in presentational contexts they choose from presenting local dances of their ethnicity, or draw on their national *image*. The choices made differ according to the context, the cultural support provided to the group and the availability of material.

Banat Bulgarian dancing	Banat Roma dancing	Banat Romanian dancing	Banat Serbian dancing
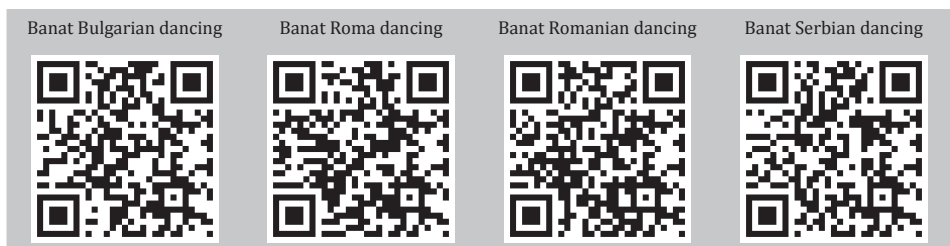
Figure 3. QR codes for the video examples shown during the presentation.

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IRISH OR *IRISH-AUSTRALIAN*, BUT NOT *BRITISH*: DANCE, IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND THE HEGEMONIES OF DIASPORIC POLITICS IN SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

Abstract

In this paper, I provide an historical overview of the situation for Irish immigrants in Australia. Data are largely drawn from the digitized newspapers of the colonial and early post-colonial eras, and illustrate the importance of traditional practices such as Irish dancing in facilitating community cohesion and pride. The general socio-political situation of the Irish community was often reflected in the context of dance. Thus, the story of Irish dancing in Australia contributes to the overall narrative of migration, settlement and identity construction.

Keywords: migration, politics, identity construction

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Although Australia had been inhabited by Indigenous people for centuries, chronicles of Australian history generally begin with the arrival of the group of vessels known as the "First Fleet" in 1788. These ships were occupied by British military personnel, whose tasks included surveying the new surroundings, supervising the construction of dwellings and controlling the convicts who had been banished from homes and loved ones to serve their custodial sentences on the other side of the globe. The eleven ships contained approximately 1500 people, some of whom were Irish [NSW Migration Heritage Centre 2010], thus making the Irish one of the original immigrant groups to reside in Australia. Between 1788 and 1868, 39,000 prisoners were sent from Ireland to various locations in Australia before the abolition of transportation [National Archives of Ireland ≤ 2018]. Further to this, 100,000 people left Ireland voluntarily between 1851 and 1860 when they heard news of the discovery of gold in Australia and another 200,000 had arrived by 1914 [Australian Government 2015]. In the most recent population census in 2016, Irish ancestry was the third most commonly-listed, following "English" and "Australian" [Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017] the latter of which may disguise the presence of more people with Irish ancestry.

Although Irish were one of the largest immigrant groups present in Australia throughout the colonial era, which extended from 1788–1901, they were also treated with widespread contempt. Upon arrival in Australia, both prisoners and free settlers were subjected to ostracism and marginalizing attitudes which were generated by the British colonial overseers. This may seem incongruous within the context of the 21st century, but during Australia's colonial era, most Irish immigrants (whether convict or free) were from the working classes and so they exhibited two highly significant markers of difference from the British: they spoke the Irish language and

SHE MISTRUSTED THE UNIFORM.

Mr. Mulligan (*at the races*): "*Faith! I'll back it, and I suppose these two gintlemen in red coats are good enough to do it with, onyway.*"

Mrs. Mulligan : "*Have a care, Moike ; you can niver trust them sogers. They were a bad lot in the Ould Country.*"

Figure 1. Cartoon depicting the purportedly simian features of the Irish man at the front. [Trove 1895].

they were Catholic,[1] a religion which was viewed, at that time, with considerable suspicion by the largely-Protestant British [O'Farrell 1986].

Multiple examples of the marginalization[2] may be found amongst historical records, including that "[the Irish orphan girls] are the most stupid, the most ignorant, the most useless and the most unmanageable set of beings that ever cursed a country by their presence" [*The Argus*, Melbourne, 1850, cited in McConville 1987:9]. Historians Hall and Malcolm [2016:4] record that business owners would frequently advertise for positions vacant by including the caveat "No Irish Need Apply." Perhaps more startling is the way in which Irish immigrants were portrayed in pictures and cartoons. Developed from the 19th century discourse about race and evolution, the discipline of physiognomy spawned the notion that a large jaw (which was attributed to Irish people) indicated the simian origins of the Irish as a "race," and hence multiple drawings featured depictions of Irish men, women and children with ape-like facial features [Hall 2014; see also Figure 1].

So, within this environment where social prejudices added to the difficulties of the harsh geography of Australia, the development of community cohesion, facilitated in part by the practice of Irish dancing, became vital for Irish immigrants. Many researchers, writing about dance praxes in diasporic situations, have noted that traditional dancing is a vital means through which community bonding and cultural identity may be established and perpetuated. I suggest that the principles of dance acting as a catalyst of community bonding [Shapiro-Phim 2008], an assertion of personal identity as an immigrant [Klein 2005] and as a marker of difference [Tabar 2005; Wilcox 2011] are just as applicable in the context of the archival records of Irish dancing in Australia.

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1   Irish Protestants also came to Australia and made important contributions to the developing nation but for the purposes of this paper, I am concentrating on Irish Catholicism.
2   The Irish were not the only group to be treated this way; much has been documented about the treatment of Indigenous Australians as well as other immigrant groups such as the Chinese [Stratton 1994].

The cultural salience of Irish dancing[3] within Ireland has been discussed in extant literature [Brennan 1999; Foley 2013], and the situation within the Australian context was comparable. Irish dancing was one mode of differentiation from others in the colony and, in particular, from the British authorities. Certainly, the stimulus was congruent in both situations: the suppression of Irish identity and ridicule of the Irish way of life by the ruling British authorities. However, while within Ireland the aim and purpose of propagating and perpetuating interest in traditional dance, along with language, music and sporting activities, was to move towards independence and self-rule, those who had migrated to Australia had a somewhat different aim: to develop a distinctive Irish-Australian identity in order to contribute to the independent nation of Australia.

Foley [2013] writes that the diverse meanings attributed to the practice of Irish step dancing are moulded by the socio-cultural contexts within which the dancing is practiced. The pattern of replication, of Irish identification through cultural organizations and traditional practices in Australia, is strong; generally, whatever was established or inaugurated in Ireland was repeated soon after within the Australian situation. Step dancing in Ireland had been taught by itinerant dance masters who each had a designated area within which to ply their trade [Brennan 1999; Foley 2013]. Then, in the latter part of the 19th century, the Gaelic League was formed and one of its activities was to coordinate the appropriation of Irish dancing for the promotion of a confident, respectable Irish identity which was independent of the influences of the British establishment [Wulff 2009].[4]

In Australia, a number of religious and political organizations had been established from the earliest days of Irish settlement. The foundations for the Catholic Cathedral in Sydney were laid in 1821 [Catholic Enquiry 2017], and social welfare organizations included the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, founded in 1880, which aimed to "cherish the memory of Ireland and to foster loyalty to Australia, their adopted home" [Catholic Enquiry 2017]. In 1875, a meeting was held with the purpose of setting up a Celtic Club in Sydney and an anonymous letter in the "Freeman's Journal" states that the author believes that "there exists sufficient patriotism amongst Irishmen and their descendants in New South Wales, to give practical proof of their undying love for Ireland" [A Celt 1875].

With reference to step dancing in Australia, the most important organization has been, by far, the Gaelic League, mirroring the situation in Ireland. "National Dances" describes an Irish community gathering at Hunter's Hill (a suburb of Sydney), at which Cardinal Moran spoke of Irish dancing as "enjoying a renaissance owing in great part to the influence of the Gaelic League" [Trove 1908]. Irish dancing was also often connected with events organized by either the Catholic Church or one of the Irish community organizations previously mentioned. Examples include the step dancing competition which was listed amongst the events at the "Excursion of the Holy Guild of SS Mary and Joseph" [Trove 1863] and the Irish entertainment at a concert which was sponsored by the Hibernian Society [Trove 1875]. In the early part of the 20th century, "Irish dancing [was] still a feature of Monday evening meetings"

3   This paper mainly focuses on solo step dancing, one of several genres which are indigenous to Ireland.
4   There were still dancing masters who practiced their profession well into the 20th century but the inauguration of the Gaelic League was the first step towards homogenization and centralized control of step dancing.

of the Irish National Association [Trove 1916] while the Gaelic League assured Irish immigrants that "none but genuine Irish dances were taught or allowed at Gaelic League meetings; we barred the 'sets' and everything else of foreign or doubtful origin" [Trove 1918].

One prominent feature I have found within the archival material is the imputed connection between the practice of Irish step dancing in Australia and memories of dancing in Ireland, and this has been expressed in the newspapers by both dancers and audience members. This connection represents a reflection of the Irish national sentiment which the Gaelic League sought to foster in the homeland context; affective links with Ireland were operating in Australia, but this time they were transnational in nature. Some of the more explicit references to remembrances of Ireland are as follows:

> [...] doubtless those who hail from Erin will fully appreciate the dancing, bringing back as it does remembrances of the social jovialities of youthful days [Trove 1885:2].

> What the public wants to know is, what style of Irish dancing is in accordance with the traditional canons of the art and the spirit and character of the Irish times of which the various step and figure dances are the physical expression and why? [A Mere Irishman 1927:32].

Space does not permit inclusion of other examples, but the repeated theme in the newspapers is that Irish dancing was a potent symbolic reminder of the Ireland which was still remembered and loved by its emigrants. Thus, it served an important purpose in promoting intra-community bonding.

This affection for Ireland was exhibited in a particularly strong manner with reference to the Irish jig. The jig, in 6/8 time, is one of the common rhythms to which step dancing is performed. However, there is also an *Irish jig* which is a Scottish Highland dance [Duncan ≤ 2018]. While there is much evidence of both Scottish and Irish dancing having been performed at numerous events and competitions across Australia, the nature of this dance caused considerable consternation amongst the Irish dancing community. The dance is a parody, as current Scottish dancing websites freely admit:

> The Irish jig is a parody of Irish dancing...and "temper" [Duncan ≤ 2018]: Eliminating the stiff torso of the Irish dance, the very emotional Scots dance more energetically using arms and hands and shaking of fists to express anger [Scottish St Andrew Society of Greater St Louis ≤ 2018].

Some confusion arose when Irish people would arrive at a Scottish-run competition expecting to dance the jig, only to find themselves barred from competing, mainly because they did not have the costume required for the Scottish form of the *Irish jig*.[5]

Worse, however, is that this parody caused Irish dance enthusiasts to feel that they were the victim of prejudice in dancing as well as in life. Michael Purtill [1897], a step dancer of renown in Sydney, wrote that while he and three other Irish men

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5   I have not located any evidence of Scottish competitors being barred at an Irish-run event.

had been barred from competing in the Irish jig section at the Highland Games, at the St Patrick's Day Sports,

> [...] both the sword and the fling, two Scotch dances, were awarded by Irish judges to Scotch dancers; from these facts you can perceive a Scotchman will receive justice and a prize from Irish judges but *no Irish need apply* before Scotch judges.

Here, Purtill directly referenced the phrase used in job advertisements of the era, as described earlier in the paper, to highlight the dance-based discrimination experienced by Irish dancers.

On the same theme, Hibernian [1908] lamented that

> The customs and traditions of every people are very dear and sacred to them... How is it the Irish people, of all other races, are alone treated this way? [...] It is not necessary, surely, to butcher Irish national feelings, and sentiments, and self-respect to make a Caledonian holiday.

These vocal criticisms about choreographical mimicry may, again, be better understood within the wider social context. From the 1880s, the Irish in Australia had begun to rebut the racially-based criticisms [Stratton and Ang 1994] in forums such as the public newspapers and by the beginning of the 20th century, their economic status had grown to equal that of their English and Scottish counterparts. No longer were Irish immigrants confined to menial employment, but they were achieving high status in business and professional roles [Campbell 2002]. Thus, the complaints about the dancing problem reflected the growing unrest amongst members of the Irish community concerning the attitudes of the rest of the population.

Australia became a nation with a federal government in 1901, and the Irish community saw the benefits of Australian nationhood while maintaining membership of the British Empire, and it is on this point that they differed from their relatives and friends still in Ireland, who fought for independence from British rule [O'Farrell 1987:259]. Those Irish-Australians who became politicians adopted an official position of support for Irish independence but only within the boundaries of the Empire [Reid ≤ 2018]. Thus, from a position of marginalization at the hands of the British administration in colonial Australia, Irish immigrants moved to a recognition of the benefits of contribution to the development of the post-colonial nation in spite of its continued allegiance to Great Britain.

Over time, the term Irish-Australian was appropriated by the Irish community, long before scholars of migration, acculturation and transnationalism began to adopt hybridized taxonomies. The shift to hybrid identification is an important one, because while the Irish community in Australia demonstrated broad support for the movement towards independence and Home Rule in Ireland, there was also a distinctive sense of increased responsibility towards the development of the Australian nation. Once again, this change was reflected in the context of dancing: an example is: "...entries have been received from natives of every province of Ireland, and from not a few Irish-Australians" [Trove 1898]. At the Shamrock Club Ball in Melbourne in 1913, some of the Irish dancing attendees grouped together to wear costumes

representing themes such as "Advance Australia," "Wattle"[6] and "Australian Celtic," thus pictorializing the links between Ireland and Australia [Trove 1913].

In the years which followed, many Irish immigrants and their descendants became significant figures in Australian public life, but they never forgot their Irish heritage. The Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne in the early 20th century, Daniel Mannix, was influential in opposing conscription in the WWI, and his challenges to British hegemony created division across the fledgling nation [Finnane 2007]. He also promoted Irish cultural activities in Australia, including dance. At a Communion breakfast, held regularly by the Irish Dancing Teachers' Association in Melbourne [and which, incidentally, shows the ongoing close relationship between Irish dancing and the Catholic Church], Mannix stated that "as an Irishman, he was thrilled that Irish dancing should make such an appeal to young Australians" [Trove 1950]. An eminent Irish-Australian judge, John Vincent Barry, wrote that "we…are better Australians by reason of our veneration for things Irish" [cited in Finnane 2007:41.8], and Finnane concludes by observing that "being Irish gave one a historical language which could also be called on to explain the experience of being Australian" [2007:41.11].

In the sphere of dancing, Irish Australians believed that they could make a valuable contribution to the developing nation. "The Irish Music Festival" [Trove 1926] stated that "in placing at the disposal of the Australian people the most interesting and educative phase of Irish culture, the music and song of the Gael, the promoters of the [Irish Music] Festival are rendering a patriotic service to Australia, and making a worthy contribution to its future nationhood." Of course, the extent to which Irish dancing and music actually contributed to nation-building processes is unlikely to have been large, but the point is that this statement represents the beliefs of Irish immigrants at the time, and their perceptions and experiences need to be privileged in any historical account.[7]

As the 20th century progressed, then, Irish immigrants were assimilated into the majority population sector. As Ronan McDonald, former Professor of Irish Studies at the University of New South Wales, has said: "The Catholic Irish were assimilated into Australian life when other threats seemed greater…later waves of immigrants from eastern Europe, the south Mediterranean and Asia made Irish Catholic otherness seem less pronounced. Suddenly, the Irish did not seem so different" [McDonald 2015]. The journey from the margins to a position of acceptance was long and arduous, but Irish Australians persisted in their commitment to their adopted homeland, simultaneously perpetuating a love for Ireland and its traditional art forms.

Irish dancing was employed as a communal focal point during the colonial and early post-colonial periods in Australia's history. This paper has presented an historical narrative which shows the parallel paths of Irish identity and Irish dancing praxes in the Australian context. Irish identity in Australia was established through dancing, just as it had been in Ireland, but when the dancing is interpreted within its Antipodean context, it illuminates the contextual structures within which it was practiced and shows the symbiotic relationship between dance and the broader socio-political milieu.

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6   The golden wattle is the national flower of Australia.
7   This reference provides a good example of the methodological challenge in archival research, when there is no opportunity to seek further elucidation from research participants.

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Fahriye Dİnçer

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PLACE OF DANCE IN RELATION TO IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION PROCESSES

Abstract

This paper intends to analyze the place of dance within different identity construction processes. On the basis of fieldwork, it focuses on the experiences and practices of two marginalized communities in Turkey. While the first one is on the ritual movements of an unorthodox religious community (Alevi), the other one is on the dances that appear in the annual festivals of the African Turks. Although both groups are marginalized, their historical experiences, and mostly related to that, the meanings that dances/movements have acquired in their identity processes, are distinct. After a brief historical review, the findings of the two fieldworks will be analyzed comparatively.

Keywords: identity, Alevi, *cem*, *semah*, African Turk, Calf Festival (*Dana Bayramı*), *zeybek*

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This paper draws on two of my fieldworks and aims to compare their findings in order to reconsider the place of dance in identity construction processes.[1] The first fieldwork (that took place in the second half of the 1990s and early 2000s) is concerned with the ritual movement (*semah*) of an ethnically diverse, unorthodox religious community (Alevi),[2] who constitute about 10% to 25% of the population in Turkey.[3] Most of the Alevis define themselves as Muslims, but their practice of Islam differs from that of orthodox Sunni Muslims, especially in terms of the five pillars. As dominant religious practices do not include dance in rituals (and, do not approve ritual movements to be performed separately on other occasions, for that matter), the *semah*s refer to the Alevis' demand for recognition as people whose belief system differs from that of the majority.

The other fieldwork which has continued since the beginning of the 2010s is on the dances that are performed during the Calf Festival (*Dana Bayramı*), which has been revived by the Turkish citizens of African descent within their identity construction process. In Turkey, their presence has been recognized only recently, even though their history in the Ottoman Empire/Turkey goes back for about five centuries. The Calf Festival, that has been celebrated in and around Izmir (in the western part of Aegean region) since 2007, has contributed to African Turks' demand for

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1   Because of this reason, some of the data that I used and/or reinterpreted in this paper have been previously published in the works that I have cited in the reference list below [Dinçer 2004, 2014, 2017].
2   In Turkey, there are Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic speaking Alevis. The figures of Turkish and Kurdish speaking Alevis can be tentatively suggested in percentages respectively, as 75 % and 25 % [Shankland 1999:136].
3   They are registered as Turk and Muslim. Other official or statistical data is not available on this issue.

recognition. Music and dance are present during the parades and the picnics of this festival. While African music and body movements provide means for the community members to imagine Africa, traditional Aegean *zeybek* dances seem to signify that African Turks are among the inhabitants of the Aegean region.

Although both Alevis and African Turks are marginalized groups living in the same nation-state, what comes to the forefront in terms of dances within their efforts to reconstruct their identities is not the same. Questions like "which dances play a part in this process," and "how," seem to have different answers for each group. In this paper, after a short history of the two communities and presentation of the dances that have significance within their identity construction processes, I will go through a comparative analysis in order to give various answers to such questions.

Alevis, their rituals (*cem*s) and ritual movements (*semah*s)

Since the formation of *Aleviness*[4] back in the 16th century, Alevis were considered as heretics, and marginalized by the major religious authorities of Islam in the Ottoman Empire. The State's, and Sunni majority's pressure on the Alevis was reduced with the foundation of the Republic in 1923. However, with a law (No. 677) enacted in 1925 [*Resmi Gazete*], the new regime abolished all religious brotherhoods and sect lodges, and banned ceremonies and meetings of the orders.

Until the 1950s, Alevi communities mostly lived in their local places and tried to keep their religious belief system alive within close community structures. Their ritual, called *ayin-i cem* (*cem* will be used from here on), took place secretly in indoor places, mostly private houses. Starting in the 1950s, close community structures of the Alevis started to dissolve due to several reasons: Rapid migration movements to large cities and abroad to find new employment and educational opportunities, and construction of roads in many parts of Turkey that increased relationships between rural and urban parts of the country are among the most critical ones. Since the 1960s, urban Alevi organizations started to be established and efforts of adjusting *cem* rituals to their new conditions took place.

In terms of the Alevi belief system, *cem* gathering is structured around a set of practices called the twelve services [Öztürkmen 2005:252] and *semah* is carried out only if all of them are being served. In the 1940s some well-known folklorists discussed whether *semah*s were ritual movements or folk dances [Salcı 1941:18–19; Yönetken 1944]. That was an early stage of evaluating *semah*s apart from the *cem*, but remained mainly as an issue of the folklorists and intellectuals. The performance of *semah* out of *cem* started to gain legitimacy within the urbanization process of the community. The *dergâh* (lodge) of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, which had been closed due to the aforementioned law in 1925, officially reopened in August 1964 (as a museum) and an annual Hacı Bektaş Festival has taken place since then. Although the ban on Alevi rituals was still in effect, the festival hosted many *semah* groups apart from the ritual. Moreover, in the 1960s and 1970s many Alevi people, especially youth, identified themselves not with *Aleviness*, but political, mainly leftist, ideologies and criticized the religious practices. However, they (and many others) embraced the ritual movements and music of this marginalized community as cultural representations

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4   *Alevilik* is used for the belief system of Alevis. Alevism or Aleviness are other terms that are in use.

of their opposition in secular environments.[5] These developments, that took place in both Alevi and secular circles, marked the beginning of a growing interest in *semah*s that paved the way for the formation of various *semah* performance groups.

However, it was not until the late 1980s that *semah*s were performed frequently in the public sphere and attracted the close attention of people in Turkey. This development was in a close relationship with the Alevi revival of the period that demanded legal acknowledgement of the Alevis and their belief system. The reconstruction process of the Alevi identity, this time, embraced its religiosity and accepted *semah* as kind of a symbol of identity [Dinçer 2004]. The following decades witnessed the foundation of many Alevi religious/cultural organizations (*cemevi*)[6] and the number of *semah* groups increased. It almost became ordinary to see *semah* performances on stage, on tv, and in video clips.

On the one hand, the style of the popularized *semah* performances represented similarity with folk dances in Turkey [Öztürkmen 2005], which have been utilized to emphasize not divergent, but shared feelings and values among its citizens. For the most part, those *semah* performances produced a similar tendency[7] and in a way that disregarded the diversity (ethnic, *ocak*-based,[8] etc.) within the large Alevi community. This style was the mainstream one among others; it reached more people and turned out to be almost the most effective one in the public opinion.

On the other hand, *semah* was still a ritual movement and from the point of view of religious orthodoxy, it could represent a deviation on behalf of the Alevi belief system. Therefore, public acknowledgement of *semah* in relation to the Alevi identity could have paved the way to the acceptance of this identity, with its distinctness. In late 1990s and early 2000s, even my informants who had some reservations regarding public performances of *semah*, still approved them due to their capacity to highlight the survival of the Alevis, with a different belief system [Dinçer 2004:Chapter 4].

The years that followed did not generate a fruitful platform to work on these critical matters; on the contrary, the Alevi issue became more complicated. In the second half of the 2000s, a democratic opening process was initiated by the government to resolve the problems of the marginalized groups in Turkey. An "Alevi opening" within it, continued for about two years, but failed to provide substantial solutions to the demands of the Alevis [Massicard 2013].

After 2010, Turkey has entered into an atmosphere which is inclined to favor a centralized state with a dominant Sunni Islamic discourse and practice. It intensified

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5   However, this festival, which became the country's major left-wing cultural festival during the 1970s, started to depoliticize in the 1980s, and received government patronage in the 1990s. For more information, see Ocak [1999:147–156].

6   In their names *religious* could not be used, because the law does not recognize *cemevi* as a place for worship.

7   The values that the folk dances tried to produce is strengthened with uniformity and standardization. In the *semah* performances, too, these could be observed especially in the movements and songs, and their order in the performance and costumes. Likewise, they were performed mostly by trained *semah* groups that are composed of young people. For a case study on the tendency of uniformity in *semah* performances, see Stokes [1996:189].

8   *Ocak:* literally hearth; bases on sacred lineages.

the historical reservations[9] of the Alevis and in terms of *semah*s, paved the way for their partial disappearance from the public sphere. Today, it is still possible to see Alevi groups that perform *semah*s; but in order to watch them, instead of TV, common places or stages, one usually needs to visit the Alevi festivals and organizations, or social media channels. In local *cem*s that appear on social media channels, it is possible to observe new trends. Although the influence of the mainstream performance style is still dominant, some performances of elderly people, who usually move with rather local and/or personal styles can also be seen, and Kurdish verses that accompany *semah*s can also be heard.

Afro-Turks, Calf Festival (*Dana Bayramı*), and traditional *zeybek* dances

Since the late 15th and especially early 16th centuries, African people had been brought involuntarily to the Ottoman lands, mostly for the purpose of enslavement.[10] While the slave trade terminated during the second half the 19th century, the general manumission process started a few decades later. It is documented that the state provided temporary support in terms of housing, employment, or supplied land to cultivate during the transition period, but evaluations of the success of those efforts are lacking.[11]

Historical research on slavery in the Ottoman Empire has been fruitful only in the last four decades.[12] However, there is still much to uncover on the history and also, present conditions, of the African Turks. Available studies indicate that there is a great difficulty of finding official data on them.[13] While their population is undetermined, their presence is unknown to most people in Turkey, except some of those ones who are very familiar with the Western Aegean region and the Mediterranean coast,[14] because, a sizable population of Turkish citizens of African descent has been living in those regions, notably in rural sites.

In fact, it was in those places that interest in, and passion for learning about, the past and present situation of African Turks, and the initiation of a platform to make their voices heard, has started. The initial steps owe much to Mustafa Olpak, who wrote a book on his family [2003][15] and founded the Africans Culture, Solidarity and Cooperation Association (Afrikalılar Kültür, Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği

9   Starting from the time of the Ottoman Empire, Alevis had difficulties and unpleasant encounters, either with the authorities or some groups from within the religious majority. The incidents that took place in Malatya (1978), Kahramanmaraş (1979) and Çorum (1980) just before the Alevi revival and also in the beginning of the 1990s in Sivas and Gazi Osman Paşa are still very much alive in the memories of many Alevi people. Therefore, historical hesitations are influential on their behavior [Bozkurt 2000:91–117].

10   Şaul [2015] provides data on African people who came to the Ottoman Empire. He includes examples of those people who came not within the framework of enslavement, but voluntarily for business, or other reasons.

11   For detailed information on the general manumission process, see Erdem [1996]:Chapter 7. On the guesthouse in Izmir, see Martal [2000].

12   See the works of Toledano [1982, 1998, 2007] and Erdem [1996].

13   In the census, they are registered as Turks and Muslims. Güneş [1999:4] adds that they do not exist in yearbooks (*salname*), directories, statistics or other official documents. However, Andrews mentions a category called Sudanese, who lived in Adana, Antalya, Mersin, Izmir, Sakarya, Balıkesir and some of their towns and villages [1989:107–109, 331].

14   In the Aegean region Izmir, Aydın, and Muğla, and in Mediterranean coast Antalya and Adana are the primary provinces. See Tarih Vakfı [2008] and the texts of Durugönül [2003, 2008, 2011].

15   Olpak's maternal parents had come from Kenya. His book was about his family's past, and published through his personal efforts in Istanbul.

(commonly referred as Afro-Türk Derneği) in 2006. A research carried out by Esma Durugönül in 2003 in Antalya [2008, 2013], another one undertaken in the western part of the Aegean region by Tarih Vakfı (2007–2008) with the help of the members of the Afro-Turk Association [2008], and a more recent study on color discrimination initiated by the Afro-Turk Association and conducted by Lülüfer Körükmez in Izmir and its towns [2014] have been productive in illuminating the conditions of the African Turks.

The Calf Festival, which has been organized by the members of the Afro-Turk Association, has been almost the most influential step towards bringing visibility to Afro-Turks. Since 2007, it is celebrated annually in and around Izmir. It is a revival of their old festival, which had been celebrated in Izmir in May, between the 1880s and 1920s. Its appearance in the public sphere coincides with the dissolution of slavery, while its disappearance is associated with the same law that outlawed the Alevi rituals in 1925. Organized by the leaders of African-Ottoman/Turkish communities, it served to solve the urgent problems of the recently freed community members. Finding relatives, helping the poor people among them, developing solidarity and finally having an enjoyable festive time all together, were the main functions of those festivals.

Today, this festival has been organized through modern ways of communication by the members of the Association. Regrettably, it is intended to solve almost the same problems after a century, meaning that a great deal of the earlier difficulties continues to survive [Dinçer 2014, 2017]. Today, among other problems, the Afro-Turks complain about color discrimination, which is associated with not being "visible,"[16] which prevents them having equal political and socio-economic opportunities with the rest of the population. The Calf Festival provides Afro-Turks a certain degree of visibility and a kind of acknowledgement – although not officially, and relatively local in scope.

The revived festival usually lasts for two days and includes a panel, a parade on the streets of Izmir and a picnic in one of its towns or villages. During the picnics, Afro-Turks accompany music with dances. They usually begin with *zeybek*, which are the folk dances of this region; and continue with various folk, as well as popular dances. Since 2012, an African group or a singer performs on the stage. This occasion helps the Afro-Turks to develop a kind of relationship with their long-forgotten past, as well as to open a channel for imagining themselves as part of a large community.[17]

The last two years welcomed a new trend within the same structure: a special emphasis on *zeybek* dances. In 2017, the stage of the Calf Festival opened with an audio record, telling the story of the "Afro-Zeybeks," the Ottoman/Turkish *zeybek*s of African descent.[18] In 2018, the mini-panel of the festival welcomed a paper[19] on the place of Afro-Turk *zeybek*s within the *zeybek* culture. It was followed by a short stage performance: beginning with a eulogy to *zeybek*s – "[...] we, the people of Aegean

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16   What makes them invisible is their visibility, a skin color that is identifiable, but not within the "normal" skin color range in their country. Due to this reason, their demands and problems become invisible [Dinçer 2017; Durugönül 2003].

17   Stuart Hall discusses the significance of this process for the African people with reference to B. Anderson's "imagined communities" [1990:especially p. 232].

18   Among the other ones, "Koca Arap Zeybeği" has a priority; because, it is considered as a dance, dedicated to a black *zeybek* (Koca Arap). See Karademir [2015].

19   Historian Ali Özçelik presented "Afro Zeybekler."

region, are all *zeybek*s […]" – an Afro-Turk dancer performed two *zeybek* dances. Hence, in the last two Calf Festivals, Afro-Turk *zeybek* culture and staged *zeybek* performances acquired specific prominence, indicating that Afro-Turks are among the local peoples of the Aegean region.

Comparative remarks

Alevis and African Turks inhabited the same country (the Ottoman Empire and Turkey) for about five centuries, their rituals were abolished in the same period (1925) and their movements for identity recognition emerged in a period which welcomed many identity movements locally and globally. However, their historical dissimilarities created various differences in their identity construction processes. Many Alevis have an autochthonous position, while Afro-Turks have been considered as foreigners; even though immigration was not their own choice and they have been living in Turkey much longer than many other groups or people. In the history of Turkey, Alevis frequently claimed a rightful position for themselves by referring to their services during the War of Independence (1919–1923), the war that paved the way to the foundation of Turkey. However, their belief system has never been approved officially. In the end, their presence was known but, as briefly indicated above, challenged at times. African Turks, on the other hand, have survived under forced silence, and continuous distress of not being visible, for a very long period of time. Alevis' and African Turks' historical experiences have some significant impacts on the formulation of their more urgent demands.

When these communities started to revive their rituals or festivals in order to make their identities recognized, the dances which appear in those occasions provide partial clues about each one's relatively immediate needs. In the case of the Alevi, *cem*s and *semah*s, were modernized over time according to the needs of the Alevi people and in relation to the socio-political conditions. *Semah*s started to be performed out of their ritual context, first within the Alevi festivals and then in secular milieus in the 1960s and 1970s, during a politically charged period. During the process of the Alevi revival, which started in the 1980s, *semah*s started to feature in relation to the religious identity of this marginalized community. Throughout this journey, *semah* performances borrowed many elements from the folk dance tradition in Turkey. This form achieved certain recognition and served to construct a religiously distinct, but otherwise compatible image for the Alevi citizens of Turkey.

Yet, in 2010s, due to the socio-political situation in the country many Alevis became more hesitant in emphasizing their religious belonging apparently. Live *semah* performances in the public sphere were minimalized, and almost limited to Alevi-only milieus. However, many *cem* rituals and *semah*s, including the local ones, can be watched via social media channels. New trends which provide not a large, but a noticeable place for diversity started to develop. They did not change the folk dance style that has now been employed for decades,[20] but started to present a potential to create cracks in its framework and to embrace the Alevi identity with various differences among its members. Yet, it is too soon to make further deductions.

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20   It is necessary to recognize that today, it is almost the only *semah* style that many Alevis know of, especially the middle aged and young ones.

In the case of the African Turks, the Calf Festival has been revived with very little information. It was absent for decades and had no chance to evolve in time. Today, it strengthens the presence of the community and provides them visibility. It reaches out to other people from other parts of Turkey and abroad (Afro-Turks, researchers, neighbors, anyone who is interested) and some news about it appears in the media. However, as of today, it is still local and known by a relatively small number of people.

As mentioned earlier, African dance and music has also been present in the festival since 2012. This has the potential of opening a channel for Afro-Turks to imagine African identity more globally. However, for the moment the relative priority of the *zeybek* dances opens a ground to think about the urgent needs of the African Turks. *Zeybek* dances are from the folk dance repertoire in Turkey. They are very important in the Aegean region and function almost as an identity marker.[21] The prominence of *zeybek* dances in the Afro-Turk festivals, therefore, can be considered as an emphasis of their local Aegean identity. Moreover, since the history of *zeybek*s goes back to the Ottoman time, these dances strengthen the long-term presence of Afro-Turks in this region and adds a historical dimension to it. It seems that in this introductory step of their identity construction process, *zeybek* dances help them to establish that African Turks are not foreigners but have been on this land for a long period of time; and today, they are citizens of this country, who have a common culture with others around them.

Alevis, on the other hand, have tried to survive as a marginalized religious community for a very long period of time and maintained this with reasonable success. Not emphasizing their differences from the dominant Sunni Islam would lead to the dissolution of their belief system, as well as their community. So, by emphasizing *semah*s – although not as much as the earlier several decades – they continue to insist not on their similarities, but their differences from the majority of the population in Turkey.

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21   As a person who was born in Izmir and who lived there for about two decades, I personally know the importance of *zeybek* dances for people of Izmir and the Aegean region. They were performed in all of the ceremonies. I also thank Prof. Dr. Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin for sharing his recent observations about the significance of *zeybek* dances in identity issues. According to his findings, today, *zeybek*s are very important in confirming somebody's identity in terms of their city (İzmirli) or region (Egeli) identity. See Özbilgin [2004].

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Barbara ČURDA

CONTROVERSIES ON *CORRECT PERFORMANCE* OF THE CLASSICAL DANCE FORM ODISSI IN BHUBANESWAR IN INDIA

Abstract

The dance form Odissi is considered by the Indian government to be the classical dance from the Indian state Odisha. In Bhubaneswar, the capital city of Odisha, dance presentations regularly trigger vigorous controversies revolving around the question of correct performance. However, choreographers who stand at the center of such attacks often seem determined to resist their detractors. While being accused of *destroying* what is represented to be the *real* tradition of Odissi by their *incompetence*, they may highlight the *innovative* qualities of their productions and emphasize the quality of the training through which they acquired their expertise as dancers and choreographers. Which social order do they aim to reinforce or to resist? How are they positioned in relation to genealogical affiliations in Odissi? And in which ways are their productions actually different from choreographies that seem to be more easily accepted? In order to assess the fieriness of local controversies and analyse what stands at the centre of the reproaches in a dance production, this article examines the case of a particular controversy that took place in Bhubaneswar in 2009.

Keywords: dance, Odissi, India, controversies, know-how

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In October 2009, in the town Bhubaneswar, capital city of the eastern Indian State Orissa,[1] an article appeared on the front page of a local newspaper after the public performance of a production of Odissi dance, with the title: "SriJagannatha, please forgive them." [Anonymous 2009][2] It accused the dancers of the troupe of having held an effigy of the locally acclaimed divinity Jagannatha, with bare hands, during the performance. The reproach concerned a particular moment of the choreography which depicted on stage a very popular yearly religious event of the town Puri, an important pilgrimage site situated at about 55 kilometers from Bhubaneswar. In order to represent a specific moment of the event in which the huge wooden idol of the deity comes out of the temple, lifted by many temple servants, and is placed on a big wooden chariot, dancers had carried across the stage an icon of the divinity, which corresponded in size to the effigies that are often placed downstage left during Odissi performances. These are much bigger than the statuettes people usually keep in

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1   In 2011, the government of India modified the spelling of the State, which until then was named Orissa. It is still being referred to under this name in a lot of literature. In this article, it will be cited in its former spelling in quotations from the period preceding the change.
2   *SrīJagannātha, emānanku kshyamā karantu.*

their houses, and still small enough to be carried by two or more people. By pointing out that the dancers had thereby committed an offense, the news item directed the public attention towards the choreographer of the production, a woman whom in the following lines I will call Ahalya.[3]

While the tone of the newspaper article aimed at providing an impression that something exceptionally shocking had happened, the controversy it unleashed around Ahalya's choreography actually constitutes one example of the mediatized aspect of Odissi dance activity routinely experienced by the public. According to my observations of Odissi dance circles in India since the 1990s, Odissi dancers consider urban Odisha, and especially the capital of the State which is an important center for this dance, as a particularly perilous place for their performances. Some of my interlocutors thought that the criticism was legitimate – for example, one female Oriya performer told me in an informal conversation in the late 1990s that while performing in Bhubaneswar, one was prone to being criticized by "the seniors."[4] Others rejected it: in informal discussions during a seminar on Odissi choreography organized in 2003 by a major governmental cultural institution,[5] several choreographers and dancers expressed their rebellious thoughts while sharing how frightened they were to present their compositions in Bhubaneswar – according to one of them, dancers were "showing their old stuff in Orissa, and their own productions outside." The particular news item on Ahalya's choreography however links choreographic action to a divinity in a way that may appear intriguing from an outsider's point of view. We shall therefore, in the following lines, analyze different elements that are constitutive of this controversy. But first, it is necessary to place this particular occurrence into the broader context of Odissi dance activity.

Tensions in Odissi dance circles

Odissi dance is one of the *classical dances of India.* This performance genre was officially established by the government of India in 1952 [Shah 2002:128], shortly after the independence of the country, and promoted in order to highlight the new Indian Nation as "a representative of ancient heritage and high cultural rank in the world of new nations" [Erdman 1996:293]. In accordance with the nationalist agenda of this period, dances belonging to this genre were understood to "reflect regional traditions" [Erdman 1996:294]. Odissi, therefore, is officially considered to be the *classical dance* which is representative of the cultural identity of the Indian State of Odisha.

A tension arises from this fact itself, since as a result, Odissi is apprehended to be representative simultaneously of an encompassing national culture, and of a specific regional culture. Practitioners commonly agree that being *classical*, the dance is very refined; and they agree that it reflects *Oriya culture*. But at the same time, they hail from various backgrounds: a fraction of them grew up in rural areas of the State of Odisha, others in its urban centers, and others again in the big metropolitan cities of

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3   I have chosen to maintain the anonymity of my collaborators in the field. They have therefore been given fictional names.
4   Unless specified otherwise, the quotations of practitioners that appear in the article are excerpts from my ethnographic data.
5   Seminar *Performing art traditions of Orissa with reference to Odissi Dance*, organized by Sangeet Natak Akademi, 11th to 14th of May, 2003.

India. They further belong to contrasting prestige groups, ranging from modest rural to urban elite backgrounds. And they deploy their activities in various places, including Bhubaneswar, India's capital Delhi, and other major Indian cities like Kolkata or Mumbai – all of which provide a very different scope for the development of Odissi dance. So while practitioners rather unanimously agree that displaying *Oriya culture* is central to their dance, they have various conceptions of what this may actually mean.

Differences of opinion on one or several points that seem highly relevant to a particular group of people do not systematically result in tensions. Bloch notices that some societal groups appear to be keen to reflect on existential issues through elaborate debates, and do not seem to find it important to agree on them, while others practise modes of communication which are vague, and though they are unable to discuss their beliefs, manifest great displeasure when these are not unanimously acclaimed. He proposes that the inability to debate on opinions, beliefs, values, would be stronger in societal groups in which ideological schemes play an important role in legitimizing hierarchies [Bloch 1985:35–36]. A look at the news item presented above confirms that while it places the stress on the reader's agreement, it does not provide any explanation for what to an outsider may appear to be a rather mysterious rule. At the same time, the genealogy of the dance proposes a very structured, hierarchical portrait of the dance community: it presents male Oriya practitioners as the legitimate transmitters of the dance, while female practitioners – who may be Oriya or not – are its performers. Publications about the dance destined for a general public, such as "Odissi – Indian Classical Dance Art" by Kothari and Pasricha [1990], reinforce this representation of the career structures. Furthermore, the observation of the activity in Odissi dance schools in Bhubaneswar shows that dance masters commonly present their male Oriya disciples as future teachers, and the females as future performers.[6]

This social order does however not find unanimous acceptance amongst practitioners. Some of them protest against being assigned specific career paths, as this does not suit their individual situations and/or aspirations. Some feel that individuals are not rewarded according to their merit and are victims of unfair treatment. The following statement by an Odissi musician[7] in Bhubaneswar provides us with a sense of the emotional charge that can accompany the everyday life of Odissi practitioners: when asked in a non-official situation in the early 2000s whether his daughter was learning the dance, this man replied in the negative and spontaneously blurted out: "Don't I see the politics that are going on?"

Amongst the practitioners who manifest some measure of disagreement with the genealogical order, some have been able to build up successful careers. This is the case for the choreographers mentioned above, who shared a common fear of seeing their productions attacked. This particular group is composed of women who have been benefitting from sufficient access to relational networks and financial resources to be able to develop their dance activity. While many of them are non Oriyas, it includes Ahalya, who at the time of the controversy is a well-known

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6   For more detailed accounts on the social organisation of Odissi practitioners see Čurda [2013, 2018].
7   Odissi dance is being performed to music that is composed especially for this endeavour by musicians who are trained specifically in this type of music.

Odissi performer from Orissa striving to gain further recognition through her choreographic creations.

The ambivalent object of the controversy

Let me get back to the controversy that broke out when, in 2009, the dancers of Ahalya's troupe were considered guilty, by a local newspaper, of having touched a divine effigy with their hands. My first remark concerns the efficacy it proved to have in unleashing strong emotional reactions: the choreographer herself, being at the center of the attacks, was compelled to respond. I even heard from some practitioners that she presented public apologies on a local television channel. This was not the only way in which the impact of the event reached spheres of the society that were not particularly involved in dance: when I met Ahalya a few days after the publication of the news item, she told me that she was about to respond to the police, as somebody had filed a case against her. The public response also took collective forms, as a dancer told me in an informal communication that a Sanskrit college had gone on strike out of indignation.

However, the subject matter that stood at the center of the uproar remained clad in ambivalence. The ease with which the choreographer was being condemned contrasted with the difficulties I encountered while trying to find out whether the idea that touching a divine effigy with bare hands constituted a blasphemous act was, as the news item seemed to imply, part of some kind of common popular knowledge. One common rule for example stipulates that before entering a temple, one must remove one's shoes – so what about touching effigies? Interestingly, while raising the issue with a variety of people, I received as many diverging replies as I counted interlocutors. One position was that of Kavita, a female Odissi dancer who spontaneously cried out that touching divine effigies was not permitted for *common people*, and was therefore definitely wrong. Another one was that of Shantanu, a non-dancer, who expressed surprise about the uproar the choreographic act had provoked. He thought that the controversy, about which he had read in the newspapers, was built up on nothing. Other people seemed to have the opinion that divine effigies were to receive different treatment depending on a variety of parameters, such as their mode and purpose of fabrication, or the material they were made of.

While discussing their positions with my interlocutors, it appeared that each of them had developed their opinion through deductions based on personal experience: Kavita drew her conclusion from the fact that when she had been wanting to buy a statue of the divinity Ganesh amongst the temporary idols manufactured especially to perform the rites of Ganesh *puja*[8] which were sold in the local market, the vendors had refused to sell it to her. And she expanded the validity of this point of view from this specific situation to that of all divine images. Shantanu related that in a popular Oriya movie, one of the main characters had thrown a statue of Lord Jagannatha above a tree. Since this had never triggered anyone's attention, what had occasioned all the noise about the dance performance? I myself had, on one occasion, been gifted a small size statue of Jagannatha by an Oriya friend of mine, who never gave me any particular instruction on how to handle the divinity, but who did

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8   The term *puja* designates diverse acts of devotion. Here it is used in relation to an important religious festival dedicated to the divinity Ganesh.

let me know that he had avoided gifting me a statuette made of *neem*[9] wood as these, according to him, needed to be provided with daily offerings. So when a male master of Odissi, in a discussion I had with him a couple of months before the controversy, had introduced a differentiation between the divinities found in religious sites or used for performing ritual activities in religious events, and divine effigies that were in possession of people from the general public,[10] I had spontaneously shared his opinion. When I had asked him about a statue of Lord Jagannatha which was placed in the dance hall of his school, which was visibly used on the stage during the performances of his troupe, he had told me: "God is happy if you love him. You understand? I [...] we are not doing *puja*s like in a temple. He knows [...] that it is a dance school. He is lucky if he gets one flower!"

According to a dancer who frequented Ahalya's dance school, most of the members of Ahalya's dance troupe also did not feel that they had done anything wrong. As for the choreographer herself, while in public she adopted a polite, apologetic pose, the fact that she was not convinced that the reproach was justified transpired through her spontaneous reactions when I met her in a face-to-face situation. How was it possible, she wondered, that effigies of the divinity Jagannatha were being sold on the pavement in the streets of Puri as a souvenir, if nobody was allowed to touch them? And as she exclaimed: "There should not be any talibanisation of the performing arts!," [Ahalya 2009] it was apparent that she felt that she was victim of an injustice.

The most concrete characteristic of the object of the controversy, then, is its efficacy in generating a lot of heat. Holding a public discussion questioning Ahalya's modes of conduct in front of the most popular local divinity also made her choreographic activities appear relevant for members of the local society who did not belong to Odissi dance circles. But the reproach directed at Ahalya has another interesting characteristic: it is neither about dance movements, nor about the music, the costumes, the make-up, the lights, all of which may appear at first site to a non-involved individual to deserve to be mentioned in the critique of a dance production. Should the action that is at the center of the uproar be apprehended as a choreographic act?

Discourses on the dance's know-how

From the point of view of Ramesh, the son of an acclaimed Odissi dance master, the controversy proves that Ahalya lacks choreographic skills. As I met him by chance in front of a coffee shop in town on the day of the publication of the news item, he eagerly came up to me to tell me the news. He exposed the main point of the controversy in a tone of voice that emphasized the scandalous nature of the incident, and concluded: "[T]his is a classical dance. There is control." [Ramesh 2009]

What is interesting is that in Ramesh's verbalizations, there are no boundaries between choreographic action and the action of everyday life. Unlike him, Ahalya uses a vocabulary that is specific to dance activity in order to legitimize her position

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9   The botanical name of *neem* is *Azadiracta indica.*
10   The manufacturing of the wooden idol of Lord Jagannatha in the temple in Puri for example involves extremely complex esoteric rules – for a description of the modalities involved, see for example Tripathy [1978]. Pictures and statues of divinities are however manufactured throughout India by diverse craftsmen and may be sold by vendors who are not linked to any religious authority.

as a choreographer: she makes many verbal references to her long years of training in Odissi and performing. She stresses that she has ample expertise in all skills required for choreographing. In her view, these comprise the execution of the body movements and of the expressive aspects of the dance, and many other elements such as the ability to work with the musicians with the aim of composing music for new choreographies, to visualize new dance costumes and to visualize stage lights. She repeats that her involvement with the dance is not new, that she has trained as a dancer since her childhood and collaborated with her master for several decades. And she explains how, through the years, in her position as a performer, she built up choreographic skills: when her master would compose a new dance piece, she would be "visualizing for him:" "He just tells me that this is what he wants, I'll do ten different kinds of this particular thing, he'll choose: 'OK keep that'." [Ahalya 2009]

Her symbiotic relationship with her master has however undergone troubled times in the last years. This resulted in a relational breakup which, in 2009, nurtures discussions amongst Odissi practitioners all over the town. Ahalya even thinks that the controversy is a malicious act that has been orchestrated by people who are close to her mentor. She has not hidden that in the last few years, he regularly criticized her for her creations. She explains that she has been debating with him on the subject repeatedly. She remembers a particular occasion when she asked him to watch her creation, and promised that she would undergo all necessary changes if he named the eventual flaws in the composition. According to her, though her mentor did not approve the composition, he merely remained silent after having watched it.

In Ahalya's eyes, his inability to name specific elements of her creation that may have required modifications, such as for example the movements or the music, shows that his objections are unfounded and that her expertise is not questionable. But interestingly, even she, while trying to establish that she has a high level of know-how, mentions elements that have no direct relation with the dance activity. Her repeated references to her family background are a good example: in her discourse, her father appears as a knowledgeable man "who was a writer and a theatre person, and who has given me […] that insight […] of artistic things […]." In contrast she describes her master as somebody who "needed my help to understand any scripture, be it in Oriya or Sanskrit." Ahalya states that she "used to read and explain and interpret" [Ahalya 2009] the texts her mentor was using for his expressive choreographies. At this point, by mentioning her master's lack of literary knowledge, she is hinting at her social superiority as a means to legitimize her position as a choreographer. In fact, it is through references to his inferior social position that she represents her mentor as being less proficient than her in certain aspects of choreographic work, thereby asserting her own position as an expert.

Listening to her carefully, one understands that even though she claims that she never modified what practitioners call *the grammar of the dance*, a dissention very much exists between her master and herself on the aesthetic impact of the dance. This difference is based on their personal tastes, through which both reaffirm a sense of belonging to their respective social groups. While her master, according to her, is not able to articulate what the elements are that he dislikes in Ahalya's choreographies, he addresses her with a single reproach: he says that she is "loosing the flavour of the dance." Interestingly, one of the interlocutors who gave me their opinion on Jagannatha's presence on stage in the controversial production by Ahalya

also interpreted this question from an aesthetic rather than a moral point of view. While watching the incriminated scene on video, this female dancer declared that the matter was a question of personal taste. She mentioned that there were people who would dislike the scene, and acknowledged that "some people they would love this," that she herself was "getting goose bumps," [Ratna 2019] that the whole setup, especially the music, was very evocative of the ceremony that this moment of the choreography was portraying.

A few conclusions can be drawn from our account of the controversy around Ahalya's production of Odissi dance. The ethnographic data exposed show that in the context of Odissi dance practices in Odisha, know-how does not appear as a clearly definable domain, as individuals associate diverse elements, which may be as disparate as someone's social status, or divine will, with the dance. It further is subject to constant renegotiation, a process which, as we have seen, can imply severe conflict situations. As "our mind becomes manifest in the objects, traces, and leavings that we generate during our lifetime" [Layton 2003:458], identity factors such as class, amongst others, do influence the perception of what, in the eyes of Odissi practitioners, is "correct performance." In order for Ahalya to obtain the recognition of what she asserts are unquestionable competences, it is necessary that a sufficiently big group of people agree to acknowledge her choreographic expertise. Yet, despite the ungentle way in which she is being treated in the particular moment I have documented, it could be that she is in the process of securing herself such a position. In fact, in order to show that she is confident on this point, even Ahalya makes references to the divinity Jagannatha. Actually, she does not agree that Lord Jagannatha disliked her production. She herself was seeking divine approbation when, in the morning before the performance, she sent one of the dancers of her school to a local temple with a coconut and instructions for performing offerings. During my interview with her, she asserts that during the open air show, which took place before an exceptionally large public, "some people were even in tears when they saw the beautiful way we have portrayed Lord Jagannatha." She further thinks that "aesthetically, as a devotee of Lord Jagannath, I think I have paid enough respect and I dealt [with] the whole situation with lots of dignity and grace, and love, and respect" [Ahalya 2009].

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Filip PETKOVSKI

STAGING MACEDONIA:
THE INTERPLAY OF POLITICS AND REPRESENTATION IN THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL ENSEMBLE OF FOLK DANCES AND SONGS OF MACEDONIA TANEC

Abstract

In this paper, I explore the chronological development of Macedonian identity as expressed through the dance repertoire of the National Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Macedonia *Tanec*. In its seventy years of existence, the ensemble has been governed by several directors and dance leaders, who created repertoire through which they represented Macedonian musical and dance heritage and identity, each influenced by ideologies of the current political party. I identify three phases: 1949–1989 and the creation of a national Macedonian and Yugoslav repertoire; 1991–2006 and the inclusion of the repertoire of Macedonians in the diaspora as a means of strengthening Macedonian identity, the switch to a leftist government, and attempts to incorporate the repertoire of the minorities living in Macedonia and; 2006–2017 and direct involvement with the governing political party, increased use of narrow national symbols, and performances during political meetings and protests. In each of these three different phases, the politics of Macedonian identity were re-shaped and re-established, while the national ensemble was used directly or indirectly as a tool for a political propaganda. This paper problematizes the concept of representation of identity through dance.

Keywords: Macedonian identity, Tanec, revolution, politics

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I find it useful to discuss the phenomenon of national dance ensembles, especially when discussing identity, nationalism and post-colonialism, from a combination of perspectives drawing on ethnochoreology, critical dance studies, and performance studies. Before I begin, I am well aware that the usage of the terms *politics* and *identity* has been problematized by scholars due to their ambiguity in all of the academic disciplines that I depart from. As I am limited with the amount of words towards this publication, I do not provide a definition and discussion of none of these terms, including the concept of nation state that I frequently use, but rather point to their undefined repeated usage in Macedonian cultural politics and in the ensemble repertoire, as seen later through several examples.

The folklorist Pertti Anttonen argues that the interest in folk and peasant culture, and classification of the folk as a marginal group whose lore was treated as object of discovery, were used for the production of modernity in the processes of "making modern Europe" [2005:32]. Once the folklore was objectified and conceptualized as vanishing, calls were made for immediate documentation. This further involved

a process of recontextualization, as the lore was re-purposed for constructing national identity. Building on this perspective, I link the national folk dance ensembles with the construction of national and folk dance heritage, as well as national and ethnic identity that is embodied through dance, choreographed for the stage and presented as spectacle for mass consumption. Based on the discourse of tradition, many choreographers claimed to base their choreographic works on ethnographic research, that they used as a main methodology in order to achieve a certain type of "ethnographic mode of representation," as coined by Francesca Castaldi [2006:33]. This mode of representation has often been linked to dance and especially to the creation of national dance repertoire, through the work of national dance ensembles, who often invent their dance repertoire in order to affirm ethnic and national identity and portray the nation through its dance heritage. Several authors [Bajić Stojiljković 2016; Goff 2003; Ilieva 2001; Shay 1999, 2013] have argued that this institutionalization and nationalization of the dances of the folk has been the product of communist or socialist political ideologies. During the time of the creation of these ensembles, folklore was used as part of a demagogic ideology of "the people's creative work," arguing that it could therefore be viewed as the foundation of socialist culture as a whole [Zemtsovsky and Kunanbaeva 1997:2]. Following the model of the Soviet Union, many of the socialist countries in eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, adopted similar strategies. In the post-Soviet period, nationalist political ideologies have adopted this mode of representation as well.

In the Republic of Macedonia, folklore was classified as "culture of labor," and once institutionalized, it was used in propagandist activity as the "art of the working people" [Opetcheska-Tatarchevska 2008:164]. According to this ideology, the peasantry created art that was considered national, and which should play an important role in the construction of national and ethnic identity. Peasant music and dances were thus actively recontextualized and institutionalized.

In that spirit, the National Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Macedonia *Tanec*, was founded in May 1949 by the decree of the Macedonian Government "as there was a need to create an institution that would preserve, care and enrich the Macedonian folklore" [Dimovski 1977:5]. In the formative years of the ensemble, the leaders gathered the best examples of dance that could specifically symbolize the Macedonian people, crucial in establishing the national folk dance scene in the time of Yugoslavia. Such was the task of the first director, Emanuel Chuchkov, an academician and politician.

Ethnochoreologist Ivona Opetcheska-Tatarchevska writes that "the Macedonian 'dance folklore' was never fully accepted as an art form but was extensively used in cultural events to mark important historical occasions, and the establishment of *Tanec* [...] played an important role in establishing Macedonian statehood, perceived as 'the unwritten Macedonian history' and as »'knowledge long gone'" [2011:78]. Such ideas can be also seen in a short article written by *Tanec*'s first director, Emanuel Chuchkov, under the name of "The Idea Behind Our Folk Dances."[1] In the article, Chuchkov claims that the folk dances of the Macedonian territory have become

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1   This article was later published under the name of "Contenu Ideologique et process rhytmique de la danse populaire macedonienne" [The ideological content and the rhythmic process of the Macedonian folk dance] as the first ethnochoreological work that was presented internationally at IFMC's conference in *Opatija* in 1951.

"the carriers of the new historical contents and a reflection of the socio-political elements of the whole nation" [1951:1]. As Opetcheska-Tatarchevska argues, his text builds the political and ideological foundations of the process of employing dance as an instrument of the historical narrative, and after the publishing of this article, dance choreographies became the medium and the means of retelling the new historical truth [2011:80].

As ethnomusicologist Velika Stojkova Serafimovska argues, Chuchkov created *Tanec*'s program politics under certain state criteria [2014:67–68]. In addition to choreographing purely national Macedonian dance symbols, the first repertoire of the ensemble also included dances from the minorities of multi-ethnic Macedonia, such as the Albanian, Romani and Turkish communities.

Several years after the establishment of national as opposed to Yugoslav repertoire, all of the Yugoslav ensembles expanded to adopt a Yugoslav repertoire that contained dances and songs from each of the Yugoslav republics. In a nation of three religions and numerous ethnic groups, the Yugoslavia was led by multi-ethnic socialist ideas of culture, instead of national ones, made possible through training of the population in Marxism in order to "develop a feeling of belonging to one's own 'nation' [sic, ie. Yugoslavia], its culture, literary heritage, and language," as well as "develop a recognition of the common interests and goals of the Yugoslav socialist community" [Baruch Wachtel 1998:187]. The author adds that led by the notion of "brotherhood and unity," the governing Communist party of Yugoslavia lead its citizens to believe that they are members of a specific national group, a process of "imagining the nation" that was borrowed from the West [Baruch Wachtel 1998:226]. For this reason, *Tanec* and all the other Yugoslav ensembles performed dances from all of the Yugoslav republics, following the idea of brotherhood and unity, which resulted in a very inclusive repertoire that was ethnically diverse.

The notion of national or ethnic identity, as opposed to the Yugoslav identity must be re-contextualized after the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1992. This correlates with the second major phase in the choreographic history of *Tanec*. The Yugoslav repertoire was abandoned and the ensemble focused on performing only Macedonian repertoire. Dances from the minority groups were also abandoned. Instead, in addition to the core repertoire of Macedonian dance-symbols, in the early 1990s choreographers devoted their attention to Macedonians who live in diaspora, resulting in choreographic works representing Northern Greece as well as the Pirin region in Bulgaria. Led by nationalist politics, in the search of a new, non-Yugoslav identity, the ensemble increasingly performed during political meetings and rallies, often using dance as propaganda for the needs of the leading political parties. The Croatian national ensemble Lado has followed an approach similar to *Tanec*. In contrast, the Serbian ensemble Kolo has continued performing Macedonian dances as well as dances from the minority groups who live in Serbia. Even though they use it for national purposes, they all still follow the socialist approach and style of theatricalizing repertoire and staging the nation.

A significant change in *Tanec*'s dance repertoire took place in the period between 2001 and 2006, when efforts were made to incorporate so called authentic

and "not-choreographed"[2] dances in the program. Influenced by the ideas of Velika Stojkova-Serafimovska, an ethnomusicologist who was then employed in *Tanec*, the ensemble re-staged many of the first "not- choreographed" stage adaptations that had been performed during the 1950s. In 2001–2006 the ensemble also produced choreodramas as new forms of presenting folk dance through a theatrically directed showcase that presented bits of folk dancing and singing as well as acting and story-telling through a theatrical performance.

In that period, Macedonia went through political unrest and a military conflict related to demands for increased rights by ethnic Albanians, who constituted 25% of the overall population of the country. These events resulted with the "Ohrid agreement" (signed August 13, 2001) that allowed for two official languages in the country. Macedonian government officials ordered choreographers to create works that celebrated this agreement, so many amateur ensembles started performing the so-called *Ramkovno oro* that includes motifs from the dance heritage of Roma, Albanians, Turks, Bosniaks and Serbs that live in the country. *Tanec* did not include this choreographic work in their repertoire, but rather decided to dedicate a full show to presenting choreographic works that represent the minorities. Several days before its premiere, due to the switch from a Social Democrat to a right-wing democratic government, the project was abandoned.

The following period, 2006 to 2017, was a particularly interesting period for the ensemble in my estimation. Living in a multiethnic, multireligious and bilingual state, led by nationalist politics and projects, Macedonian people continued their search for identity. Governed by directors appointed by the political party, without any background in musical and dance heritage, *Tanec* removed all non-Macedonian dance elements from their repertoire and returned to performing dances that celebrate the Macedonian people exclusively. Such choreographic decisions included performance of the *Komiti,* a dance representing the guerrilla group that fought Ottoman oppressors, *Teshkoto*, the prototype of Macedonian dance, as well as increased performances featuring repertoire representing Macedonians that live in Greece and Bulgaria. More explicitly than in the past, this repertoire was designed to strengthen the rediscovered Macedonian identity. While the ensemble started more frequent performances in Greece and Bulgaria, it also began performing during political meetings, rallies and lately, protests. The peak of the involvement of *Tanec* in national politics was in 2017, during the counter-protests against the Colorful Revolution. *Tanec* performed at events organized by the coalition called "For Macedonia Together," sponsored by the government, against further promotion of Albanian rights in Macedonia and against the return of the Social Democratic Party. On orders from their directors, *Tanec* dancers and members of other dance groups were used as a shield in the hope of stopping the opposition party's rumored plans to change the name of the country in order to join the European Union. The dance *Teshkoto* has recently been used powerfully as a medium to evoke patriotic Macedonian sentiment. By performing *Teshkoto* and other dances in contexts of the government's

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2   The choreographers and the dancers that work in the ensemble, as well as several Macedonian authors who wrote about *Tanec*'s history claim that the first repertoire was not choreographed and often describe it as *authentic*. However, after careful analysis of video material from this period that I reflect on in my master dissertation, I have noticed certain attempts to arrange the dance material and transition towards what *Tanec*'s employees today label as *koreografija* [see Petkovski 2015].

counter-protests, *Tanec* further politicized the performing character of the dances, while establishing itself as an ensemble that serves blatant political ideals. This activity shifts strongly from its earlier mission statement to preserve, care and enrich the Macedonian folklore.

As seen through the previous examples, the process of staging Macedonia has always been a politically ideological project, but as seen through the presentations during this symposium, dance is rarely apolitical. Whilst the country is going through major political and social changes, it remains to be seen how far will politics influence representation, and what would *Tanec*'s role be in the building of a new Macedonian identity through dance.

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Daniela IVANOVA-NYBERG

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NATION: PHILIP KOUTEV NATIONAL ENSEMBLE AND NATIONAL ENSEMBLE *BULGARE*

Abstract

This paper addresses representations of the Bulgarian nation by looking at the repertoire politics of two professional ensembles that use 'national' in their names: the first is the state's National Folklore Ensemble Philip Koutev (est. 1951) and the second is the private National Folklore Ensemble *Bulgare* (est. 2002). What do these two ensembles have in common and how can one define their approaches in representation of the nation? How do each of them portray the current political and cultural situation in Bulgaria? How shall we discuss the topic, "Performing Democracy" today? This paper's leading themes are analyzed from the perspective of the relationships between dance and politics.

Keywords: nation, national ensemble, Philip Koutev, *Bulgare,* cultural representation

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Introduction

My paper addresses representations of the Bulgarian nation by looking at the repertoire politics of two professional ensembles that use *national* in their names: the State Ensemble for Folk Songs and Dances, later renamed National Folklore Ensemble (NFE) Philip Koutev, and the private National Folklore Ensemble *Bulgare.* What do these have in common and how can one define their approaches toward representing the nation? How do each of them reflect the current political and cultural situation in Bulgaria?

Founded by Philip Koutev, the Ensemble for Folk Songs and Dances was granted with the status of *State* (today National) by the Bulgarian government in 1951.[1] *Bulgare,* on the other hand, was registered as a private company using the words National Ensemble (National Folklore Ensemble *Bulgare*) in 2002; it had the ambition to be recognized as such. This troupe, led by Hristo Dimitrov, has benefited from substantial financial support and the subsequent patronage of Jan Anderson,[2] husband of Dimitrov's sister, Elena.

Although both nominally representing the same nation, in Bulgaria's cultural space these two ensembles, Philip Koutev and *Bulgare,* flow as two parallel rivers that do not overlap, do not speak to one another (figuratively), and do not cross

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1   For the ensemble's *business card* today see DFA Philip Koutev Website [n. d.].

2   See online *Bulgare* website: About us [n. d.]. See also the article, "Scotsman gives millions for the Bulgarian culture" from December 6, 2014. In this publication *StandartNews* mentions that "President Georgi Pŭrvanov awarded Jan Charles Anderson with an honorary sign and a group of patriots declared him »The Apostle of the Bulgarians«" [MaxConsult.BG 2014].

pathways. The state ensemble undergoes constant struggles, the private one is flourishing.

The mode of existence of these ensembles and their activities represent the current political and economic situation in the country poignantly, and my analyses will examine these relationships more closely. Donna Buchanan's publications, "Performing democracy" [2006] and "Beyond nation? A thrice-told tale from Bulgaria's postsocialist soundstage" [2015], Josep R. Llobera's overview of recent theories of nationalism [1999], Anthony Smith's works on nations and nationalism [1988, 1998], critics of Smith [Guibernau 2004], and other publications [Martin 1998] provided insights and helped construct my analyses. I also attended spectacles of both ensembles, viewed them on YouTube, conducted interviews with the choreographers of both ensembles, and consulted a number of online materials.

The impact of the ensembles' activities on the cultural life of the society is important but this aspect is only briefly addressed here.

The State Ensemble and its relationships with the state
The State Ensemble's journey
At the very beginning of its regime (1944), the Bulgarian Communist Party decided that a State Ensemble for Traditional Songs and Dances would serve as a national icon. In the 1950s, Philip Koutev was an active composer in various art music genres. Simultaneously, as Buchanan put it:

> Philip Koutev loved his nation's village traditions and believed that they should be continued in a modified, contemporary format. He dreamed of constructing a folk ensemble for this purpose many years before actually having the opportunity to do so [2006:138–139,142].

With the government's assignment to build a state ensemble (January 7, 1950), maestro Philip Koutev and choreographer Margarita Dikova travelled from village to village, auditioned thousands of musicians, singers and dancers, and established the state ensemble with villagers that were talented by birth. Choreographer Todor Bekirski would later call these first members of the ensemble, "samorodnoto zlato na Bulgaria" (the purest gold of Bulgaria). Koutev and Dikova created music and dance pieces, carefully arranged for stage, that are now considered to be *classics*. Their approaches and the state ensemble's repertoire set the model for the vast amateur dance ensemble movement that flourished thereafter. To a certain extent, the state ensemble continues to be identified with its music and dance repertoire from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s – and notably, with the socialist era.

Ever since its establishment the State ensemble was the Bulgarian state's pride and "vizitnata kartichka na stranata" (the business card of the country).[3] The ensemble's budget was planned, as was the entire economy prior to 1990. It means

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3   In 2016 this description was used as both "vizitnata kartichka na stranata" ("vizitka") and as "zabravenata vizitna kartichka na Bŭlgaria" (the forgotten business card of Bulgaria). The first example comes from a reminder (by the ensemble's principal choreographer Ivaylo Ivanov) that the ensemble was envisioned to be Bulgaria's "visitka;" here Ivanov calls upon the States' administration to use its ensemble as such [Ploshtad Slaveykov 2016]. In the second-mentioned example, the ensemble's composer and principal conductor Georgi Andreev talks about "zabravenata visitna kartichka na Bulgaria" [Mladenov 2016].

that the annual concerts and tours were also planned.[4] The state's budget covered all rental expenses, material and personnel, the salaries of the ensemble's instrumentalists, singers and dancers, artistic leadership (including a position for full-time folklorist and costume designer consultant), and ensemble's administration.[5] The budget also included expenses for costumes, travels and any other needs. By providing this support the States was "making space for artistic work."[6]

What struck me after my April 2018 visit to the new home of the Philip Koutev Ensemble, was the relationship between the space and place, where *space* means the locations of the ensemble's home and *place* is understood as *roles* given to this ensemble throughout its six and a half decades of respectable existence. Up to the 1990s Philip Koutev rehearsed in an old building in the very heart of Sofia on Slaveykov square. Father and son Slaveykov are classic Bulgarian literary figures representing two different epochs: the father was part of the Bulgarian Revival movement of the late 19th century; the son was among the most influential figures of early 20th century. *Dyado* (grandpa) Petko Slaveykov collected folk wisdom and proverbs, Pencho Slaveykov wrote philosophical poems in the spirit of Nietzsche, along with poems and essays inspired by Bulgarian folk tradition. Reflecting on the physical space that was the home of the ensemble for decades, I remembered the sculpture on Slaveykov square today – father and son Slaveykov sitting on a bench across from the former ensemble's rehearsal hall. Their *embrace*, the bridge between old and new, between the classical folk tradition and *modernity* somehow harmonically (to me) represented the mission and the vision of the ensemble from its early years: sustaining the folk tradition while moving forward.

Throughout the 1990s the ensemble was still rehearsing on Slaveykov's square. At the beginning of the 21st century, however, the home of the ensemble (which had been shared with the Alliance for Foreign Languages) became the home of the French Cultural Institute, with a fast-food McDonalds nearby. The ensemble was moved to the building of the National Gallery for Foreign Art. A special rehearsal hall was constructed for the ensemble, since there had been no appropriate hall for dance. A few years later, however, the Art Academy requested this space for storage. The ensemble was sent to *Dianabad* neighborhood, formerly *Chervena Zvezda* (red star), where they were given a floor in the Museum of Socialist Art.

After my interview with Ivaylo Ivanov, the ensemble's principal choreographer, I walked for a while in the building's garden, surrounded by sculptures of Lenin, Dimitrov, and other familiar socialist monuments from my youth. I was reflecting on the ensemble's journey: from Slaveykov square (a place I see as symbolizing a cultural bridge between two epochs), with a quick stop at the National Gallery for Foreign Art, to the Museum of Socialist Art: far down the list of the government's priorities, according to Ivanov, on the periphery of the city's cultural life, acutely aware that the government doesn't really care whether or not the ensemble even exists.

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4   For a comparison: after 1990s the Koutev ensemble can count its tours abroad on one hand.
5   For the planned budget of the State ensemble, its structure and the designated positions see Kardzhieva [2018]. Among the latter are the position of choir director and concertmaster (Currently taken by Georgi Genov and Kostadin Atanasov, respectively).
6   Discussed by Georgi Andreev in the interview listed above. Andreev also points out that during certain years (prior to 1990) the ensemble was almost twice larger as it is in the present days; only the singers counted 40 women [Mladenov 2016].

Fully congruent with this tone is an article by Donna Buchanan from 2006. Throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s Buchanan attended a number of Philip Koutev's rehearsals and conducted interviews with the ensemble's leaders, musicians and other specialists. Her conclusion ends lamentfully (because of the alarming lack of governmental recognition of the ensemble's tradition of highly professional work, the consequent stagnation in the repertoire, work without enthusiasm, and playing music with no heart [Buchanan 2006:455–462]).

When I visited the ensemble's hall in 2018 no successful formula to sustain the state ensemble had been found. According to Ivanov, the Bulgarian government didn't really understand the *essence* and the nature of the ensemble's work and mission. The government proposed a model wherein the ensemble receives its salary budget primarily based on ticket sales from concerts. According to Prof. Elena Kouteva, the principal artistic director of Philip Koutev, this approach is "certain to fail" because, even if the ensemble is constantly on the road, it cannot possibly earn enough to sustain itself.

Debates regarding the ensemble's status
Debates about the ensemble's status and its pride are illustrated clearly in the online publications of *OFFNews.bg*. The first relevant text is from June 23, 2015 (accessed on June 7, 2018), entitled: "The Ministry of Culture is after the director of the Ensemble »Philip Koutev«" [OFFNews 2015]. It reports all the numbers regarding concert titles and performances (in total and while touring, incomes and expenses for the period January 1, 2014 – March 3, 2015, including some activities up to June 1, 2015). Here is an abstract from this report:

> In 2014 Ensemble »Philip Koutev« had in its repertoire eight titles, performed 56 times. The expenses for these are 153 151 leva,[7] and the income is 134 569 leva. The difference is 18 582 leva. The average price per ticket for a premier is nine leva. Three of the titles earned 92 533 leva, while the expenses are 134 209 lv. The difference is 41 676 lv.
> The total number of the performances for 2014 is 56; 44 of them being on a tour. The large number of spectacles is due to the fact that the ensemble doesn't have its own hall for presenting its own production. The audience of the state ensemble for 2014 includes 14 788 [OFFNews 2015].

The salaries of musicians, dancers (including soloists) are also listed: ranging between 450 and 600 leva (600 leva = 306 euro); the administration receives twice as much. The conclusion:

> Ministry of Culture finds that the number of the spectacles and the audience of the National Folklore Ensemble »Philip Koutev« are insufficient for its status as a state cultural institute of national significance. Its own income from its productions or co-productions are also insufficient [OFFNews 2015].

The next OFFNews post I visited was dated February 4, 2016, with the title: "The Ministry of Culture threw itself heroically into rescuing Ensemble Philip Koutev." In the first paragraph one reads that the Ministry of Culture will establish a program

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7   Two leva equal one euro, approximately.

for financial stabilization of the institution. By doing so Ensemble Philip Koutev will receive another chance "to work without financial obligations and to prove every day that it is a legendary ensemble." In the second paragraph the Ministry requires the ensemble's leadership to develop a program for stabilization of the institution's activities, with a new repertoire plan and a clear budget [OFFNews 2016a].

The OFFNews publication from March 9, 2016 includes this quote by the Minister of Culture, Vezhdi Rashidov: "I am not giving more money to »Philip Koutev«; they need to work more."[8] Here the minister stated that the ensemble artists' salaries are just as high as they are for the rest of the artists.[9] To him, the ensemble needs a manager. Plus, "there is another national ensemble – *Bulgare*, and they don't ask for any money."[10]

At about the same time (March 6, 2016) the online portal BTV Novinite BG, published a reportage by journalist Alexandra Krŭsteva: "Ensemble Philip Koutev: national treasure on the edge of bankruptcy." Leading line: "Singers, instrumentalists and dancers feel stabbed in their hearts from the appraisal that they receive for their work." The publication included both a video (interviews with the director Kouteva, choreographer Ivanov, and members of the ensemble) and a written text. "Is there a need for Ensemble Philip Koutev to be rescued?" "There is a need for the entire Bulgarian culture to be rescued" responds Prof. Kouteva. She continues by commenting on the current troublesome situation that forces the ensemble to travel constantly across the country. It still doesn't accumulate enough income, since tickets in small towns are as low as eight leva (four euros). People cannot afford to buy them otherwise.

The entire reportage presents bitterness as the artists express their love for working with the ensemble, but huge disappointment that the salary doesn't meet the minimum standard for living. Sometime the salaries (small as they are) are not even paid on time.[11] Ivanov said to me: "When someone decides to leave, I don't feel like encouraging him/her to stay." As a result of the low salaries, most of the artists hold two or three additional jobs [BTVNovinite 2016].

Repertoire visions of Philip Koutev and *Bulgare*: two examples

Divi Yagodi (Wild strawberries)
This post on Media Partner from March 22, 2016 serves as a proper introduction to the mission and vision of *Philip Koutev* expressed through its repertoire:

> On March 28, at 7:00 PM, the National Folklore Ensemble *Philip Koutev* will present its spectacle *Divi Yagodi* (Wild strawberries) on the stage of *Bŭlgarska Armia* Theater. The stage is offered with no charge to the dancers, singers and the musicians of the NFE *Philip Koutev*. The income accumulated from the

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8   „To be a manager and a director has nothing to do with being someone having an artistic education; this is an office job and one needs to do so that one's people are happy in the most balanced way." [OFFNews 2016b].
9   This concerns all the artists (actors, musicians, opera and operetta-singers, ballet-masters etc.) that work for state institutions (such as the National Opera and the rest) and receive their pay-checks by the government.
10   Prof. Kouteva strongly disagreed with the comparison of these two ensembles. For her, *Bulgare* is a private dance group. Dimitrov responded: "*Bulgare* is not just a dance group but an ensemble that creates spectacles and invites actors and others." [BNT 2016].
11   Timely payments since this interview have improved.

tickets will support the ensemble's mission – to preserve and popularize the folklore of Bulgaria.

The spectacle is presented on the 65th anniversary of the ensemble. This is the first program, in which the focus is the folklore of various ethnic groups; elements of the traditional culture of Bulgarian Christians, Bulgarian Muslims, Karakachans, Vlachs, Gagauz, Jews, and Armenians [Media Partner 2016].

I have quite vivid memories of this night in 2003 of *Divi Yagodi*'s premier at the National Palace of Culture.[12] The program was different from any of the other, well-known, classical performances by the ensemble. Composer Georgy Andreev had written music that made orchestra sound in a new way, and choreographer Ivaylo Ivanov had composed a choreography of the dance traditions of the ethnic groups to present them as never before on stage.

It is not sufficient to say that the beauty of music, dance and costumes – all integrated into a harmonious (to my taste) artistic performance – pleased my senses. Nor is it enough to add that the spectacle was exciting because it was both new and well presented. The entire concept moved me deeply, the idea of all these ethnic group's togetherness, respecting each other and enjoying each other's rich traditions. This was The State ensemble, wearing its name with pride and sending a powerful message to humanity. Musicologist Lyuben Botusharov wrote an analytical (but also emotional and even poetic) review of this premier performance [2003]. It included both Botusharov's understanding how this spectacle links to the classic Philip Koutev's repertoire and how it differs. In the end, he presents an image of frost that seemed to have nipped all the greens. Yet, one digs around and senses the delicate aroma of wild strawberries.

Tova e Bŭlgaria (This is Bulgaria)

In the same spacious concert hall of the National Palace of Culture, again in 2003, I watched the three-hour premier spectacle of the newly established national ensemble *Bulgare,* "Tova e Bŭlgaria" (This is Bulgaria).[13] On stage, a respected old actor played the role of a foreigner who was writing notes about his visit to Bulgaria with its various ethnographic regions (presupposing sometime in the 19th century). One after another he was visiting (i.e. watching choreographies from) North Bulgaria, Pirin, and other regions, making exclamatory notes about Bulgarian music, Bulgarian asymmetrical meters, Bulgarians' talent for dancing, Bulgaria's ancient history, Bulgaria's rich cultural past, etc. Although the setting was sometime in the past, the choreographies and costumes were in the contemporary style of ensemble stage arrangements. The troupe included enthusiastic, well-trained young girls and boys. The finale was grand and glamorous. At the end of the show, an artist and educator sitting nearby commented to me: "No, this is not Bulgaria. And you should write about this." At the same time, people from the audience were apparently moved, some even weeping.

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12   For *Divi Yagodi* promotional video see NFE Philip Koutev [2009].
13   About this and other spectacles see *Bulgare* Website: Spectacles [n. d.]. The website also contains detailed information about the number of performances/concerts, tours in Bulgaria and abroad, initiatives, products, sponsors etc.)

Analytical commentary

I did write an overview of "This is Bulgaria" in my dissertation while discussing different types of spectacles that emerged on the threshold of the 21st century [Ivanova-Nyberg 2011:285–297]. This chapter also dealt with the artistic show "Two Kingdoms" (2000) presented by a third group, a private company. Its artistic leader was the coach for the Bulgarian national art-gymnastic team, Neshka Robeva. Taking from her name, in a playful manner, the company was nick-named *Nesh-ional art*. Ivaylo Ivanov was the lead male dancer and responsible for the choreography, while the music was composed by Georgy Andreev.[14] The show had a huge impact for its powerful music and for combining professional folk dancing with art-gymnastics. The existence and the consequent shows of this *National Art Company* provoked Buchanan to later write her article, "Beyond nation? A thrice-told tale from Bulgaria's postsocialist soundstage" [2015]. And although I am not commenting on this third national company here, it is important to mention it for its relationship with the ways of thinking of the composer and the choreographer of the Philip Koutev national ensemble that took leading roles in the "Two Kingdoms."

Apparently postsocialist laws allowed private companies to use the word *national* in their names. But how can the term *national* be interpreted here? If one thinks of the school of national folk choreography and training, then both ensembles represent Bulgarian dance national form,[15] professional folk choreographic training and, consequently, the nation with its socialist past and democratic present. Philip Koutev is, however, an ensemble of three parts: musicians, singers and dancers. *Bulgare* is an ensemble of dancers that occasionally invites singers, actors and acrobats for its shows.[16] Initially, the ensemble's leader, Hristo Dimitrov, wanted to create a spectacle to introduce himself as a choreographer. He was inspired by the *Lord of the Dance* commercial show. Dimitrov has substantial choreographic education, as well as a long career as a successful salesman. To quote him, "If one has gone through entrepreneurship in the dirty 1990s, one can later become everything; one can even become a president. One learns to sell air […]" [Dimitrov 2018].[17]

Dimitrov is tremendously productive for a single figure. He manages a production company, founded the *Second Bulgarian Revival* movement, the largest private festival for traditional costume in *Zheravna*, organizes annual seminars, initiated the Association of Bulgarian choreographers, creates initiatives such as the annual competition for the most successful choreographer – in various genres, awards for musicians, but also for scholars (Anna Ilieva received the grand prix for scholarly achievements in April, 2018). Dimitrov believes that Bulgaria is the country with the richest folklore in the world. *Bulgare's* spectacles are all inspired by the Bulgarian heroic past, Bulgarian struggles under the Turks, and Bulgarian pride. Dimitrov's

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14   Ivaylo Ivanov began his career as a dancer in the State ensemble in 1987. In 2002 he took the position of choreographer, followed by the position of ballet-master and principal choreographer which is his current position. He worked for Neshka Robeva for a period of time, helping her to create her first spectacles (in the early 2000s). Georgi Andreev served as a conductor of Philip Koutev orchestra from 1994 to 2000 г. Since 2000 he has served as the ensemble's principal conductor and currently is also vice-artistic director.

15   On national dance traditions and other related topics see Nahachewsky [2012:90–123].

16   In the 1980s many dance groups adopted *ensemble* in its name (understood as dancing in unison).

17   Dimitrov's approach and the actual support he receives invites further study especially in the direction suggested by Bendix [2015].

appropriation of national symbols, as described by Anthony D. Smith, are deeply imbedded in the ensemble's repertoire. Smith's theory of ethnosymbolism here provides a useful perspective for understanding the impact that the ensemble's repertoire has on Bulgarians in Bulgaria and abroad.

In her critical assessment on Smith (on nations and national identity) Montserrat Guibernau, writes:

> The selective use of history provides nationals with a collective memory filled with transcendental moments in the life of the community, events and experiences that allow people to increase their self-esteem by feeling part of a community which proved capable of great things and that might also be ready to become again a beacon to the world. All nations possess or construct some features that make them special and in a certain way, *superior* to the rest. They all excel in something, no matter what, that makes them and their members unique. History contributes to the construction of a certain image of the nation and represents the cradle where national character was forged [2004:13].

This observation is especially applicable to the topic under discussion here as we distinguish different levels of intensity in marketing.

Back to Philp Koutev ensemble, musicologist Lyuben Botusharov considers the change of its name from State Ensemble for Folk Songs and Dances to National Folklore Ensemble Philip Koutev, as an indication of a deeper change. He doesn't address the issue of marketing but it is inevitably engaged. By avoiding having *folklore* in the ensemble title, the ensemble's founders Koutev and Dikova expressed their awareness that their work was an artistic endeavor. Simultaneously, they put restrictions on their artistic ambitions (wanting to *be close to the earth*). Among the ensemble's followers today there are people who would prefer the ensemble to present predominantly classical repertoire while others cheer for newer music arrangements and choreographies. With all the newer artistic decisions, according to Botusharov, "the secret lays in style."[18]

Both Philip Koutev and *Bulgare* ensembles follow the general framework of using history to increase Bulgarians' self-esteem. The *old* ensemble however is more sensitive to the ethnic variety of the country (repertoire wise) and more careful, in general, about issues related to Bulgarian exceptionalism, while behind the *new* ensemble one can easily recognize the concept of *greatbulgarianism*, so-named by Bulgarian thinker Nayden Sheytanov almost a century ago [1994:307].[19]

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18   On the topics of *Philip Koutev*'s repertoire and the change of its name see Botusharov [1996, 2003]. About more recent interpretations of *folk* dance and *folklore* see, for example, Kealiinohomoku [2006], Oring [2012] and Nahachewsky with the references [2016].

19   A recent historical publication provides a concise overview of Nayden Sheytanov's ideas that may further inform the term *greatbulgarianism*: "The Bulgarian Nayden Sheytanov (1890–1970) drew on folkloric heritage as well as on late Romantic models of »national science«," especially on writings of Georgi S. Rakovski. Sheytanov's principal work, *The Great Bulgarian Worldview*, sought to formulate a new framework of national identification in the line with the ideological transformation in Europe in the 1930s. In his opinion, a new worldview was needed "in order to determine the laws of the past and to proceed in tune with the contemporary spirit." Thus, Sheytanov's aim was not only to devise a new political ideology or historical interpretation, but to recreate the national canon, from which a "Great Bulgarian ideology" could stem. Consequently, the work was intended to be a "law book expressing the worldview of every Balkano-Bulgarian." Sheytanov thus attempted to devise a para-religious discourse, in which the Bulgarians were defined as an "elect nation" and the Balkans as the "holy land of Europe." See Trencsényi; Kopeček; Gabrijelčič; Falina; Baár; Janowski with references [2018:180].

Conclusion

The state ensemble appears to be more open to ethnic diversity, more sensitive to the fact that Bulgaria is a country at a crossroads, simultaneously showing that the ensemble itself is also on its own crossroads – between its classical *close to the earth* traditional repertoire and newer approaches, between the older and newer economy. The private performance ensemble *Bulgare,* supported by one of the major political forces in Bulgaria and by several major businesses, embraces the belief of Bulgarian exceptionalism. *Bulgare* (not Bulgari but more archaic Bulgare) embraces the idea of Bulgaria as the *Eighth Wonder* of the world, hand-in-hand with aggressive entrepreneurship, and, consequently, large public recognition. To the majority of the Bulgarian population in Bulgaria and abroad today the ensemble fully fits the description of *national*.

Bulgarian mythology, the historical past, and the richness of Bulgarian folklore is and has always been present; what remains crucial is appropriation of these ethnic symbols and the purposes they serve. The artistry and the stage aesthetics belongs to a different level of discussion.

As for me? I love the scent of wild strawberries.

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Theresa Jacobs

PARTICIPATIVE FOLK DANCES
AMONG THE SORBS
AS A STRATEGY OF CREATIVE
COLLECTIVE RESILIENCE –
THE "SERBSKA REJA" PROJECT

Abstract

Since the middle of the 20th century, folk dancing among the Sorbs has been moving between living everyday and festive culture and displayed culture in the sense of a presented stage culture. The article discusses the current development of the Sorbian folk dance movement by using the group Serbska reja as an example for engaging with Sorbian folk dances in a new way to overcome the dominance of folklore stage art. Since 2012, an international cast is developing *new Sorbian folk dances*, which are making their way back onto the dance floor. Against the historical background of GDR cultural policy, the article tries to analyze how creative collective resilience can be read from different formations and can contribute to overcoming cultural crises by offering an identification option for the generation of cultural security. Hybrid forms can be identified that point to other dance traditions, overcome comprehension of cultural purity and rethink minority policy beyond national borders for strengthening Sorbian identity.

Keywords: folk dance, Sorbs, minority, Lusatia, Germany, body politics

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"All this discussion about »authentic – we're Sorbs«, I think it's stupid. –
Why do you think it's stupid? –
Because there is no authentic."
[Serbska reja members 2017, Kliem 2018:47]

The significance of authenticity for collective cultural background is often discussed within the context of revival efforts. It is often the expression of a certain cultural confession that is worth a closer look, especially among ethnic minorities. The handling of cultural heritage along a continuum between possible authentic reproduction and redesign points to different degrees of cultural security of ethnic groups in their overall societal structure. Cultural security depends on social and institutional frameworks that enable ethnic minorities to develop a sense of belonging to their state through political co-determination and at the same time strengthen their cultural sovereignty [Carbonneau et al. 2017a, 2017b:6]. For these minorities, forms of political co-determination are often difficult and alternative resilience strategies are sought. One successful way of generating cultural security alongside political

aspirations is through *creative collective resilience*. The political scientist Ingo Kolboom understands this to mean the "reconquest of lost cultural and linguistic homeland," which encompasses a new internationality and can provide cultural protection [Kolboom 2017:28]. This reconquest can provide orientation for minorities and the minority policies of multinational states worldwide, as well as enable minorities to cultivate alternative identification and self-assurance strategies. Cultural security thus consists of various components: in addition to state stability, institutional and territorial dimensions, and collective identity offerings, a participatory dimension is also named [Carbonneau et al. 2017b:9-14]. Above all, the intercultural exchange of knowledge, especially between minorities in the search for creative collective resilience strategies, is becoming significant and often manifests itself as a participative offer. Among the Sorbian people, as one of the four recognized national minorities in Germany, recent developments can be observed which consciously and increasingly focus on precisely this dimension. It is no longer the question of what is genuinely Sorbian and authentic that is at the forefront, but the possibility of ensuring connectivity and participation for the public as far as possible. This reveals an immense potential for identification, which requires a more precise analysis.

The focus of the present article is on new developments in folk dance among the Sorbs, which I recognize as a creative strategy for their cultural resilience. Embedded in the different dimensions of cultural security, it is above all the aspect of participation that will be examined in greater detail in this article. First, however, the cultural-political background for the emergence of such a new participative music and dance movement will be outlined. Building on this, the emergence of the Serbska reja group, which is one of the main actors in this movement, will be analyzed. First of all, the history of the group's origins will be dealt with. The individual biographical approaches of the group members appear to be particularly important. In this way, in addition to the cultural-political component, an actor-centered approach comes to the fore, which makes it possible to identify the significance of creative collective resilience strategies with regard to a new way of dealing with cultural heritage and to answer the question as to why participative forms are being adopted right now.

Cultural-political background

The majority of Sorbs today live in Eastern Germany in Lusatia. But there are also diaspora communities in cities outside the region, especially in Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin. Prohibition of their language, labor migration and opencast lignite mining threatened the minority's existence under different political systems. Since the end of the 19th century, folk dancing has been moving away from everyday and festive culture as well as developed forms of representative culture in the sense of a presented stage art – a well-known development also found in other countries. In response to this, the preservation and revitalization of Sorbian culture has made conscious use of the upkeep of Sorbian folk dances which has since been expressed in two strategies: on the one hand, allegedly *old traditions* are sought and these are postulated internally as community-building. On the other hand, forms of presentation already developed and tested by other minorities as well as majority society offered the chance for a revival, for example in the field of folk or festival movements.

The current development of participative Sorbian folk dance must be viewed against the background of the German Democratic Republic's cultural policy, where folk dance played a special role: folklore fulfilled important functions in so-called "artistic folk work" [Jacobs 2018; Primavesi et al. 2015:25-35; Walsdorf 2010:135-243]. After the experiences of the two World Wars and the Weimar Republic, there was a great need to symbolize community by means of body productions, mass choreographies, representative stage dance and folk dance festivals. The so-called Bitterfeld way, with which a socialist-realist view of art was to be enforced for greater participation of the working class in artistic life, also affected folk dance. Its promotion was institutionalized and controlled, as all over Eastern Europe, most of all through the organization of major festivals and founding of state ensembles and folk dance groups. These include the first professional Sorbian national ensemble that was founded in 1952 and in which folk dance represented an important section [Jacobs 2014, 2018; Sorbisches National-Ensemble 2005]. Elements of a comprehensive programme for the staging and disciplining of individual and collective bodies were combined at this time to form an image of "body politics," which, following Michel Foucault, means the phenomena of shaping and regulating bodies and life processes in modern states [Foucault 2006]. Especially the attempt of GDR dance policy to create a new national folk dance culture, to control it ideologically and to make it publicly visible through regular festivals served the biopolitical construction of a representative folk body. For its ideological orientation, folk dancing was declared a "national heritage" in 1953 [Giersdorf 2013:29-34; Tanzkonferenz 1953]. In accordance with an expanded understanding of the political in the sense of processes of staging, negotiation and constitution of the "division of the sensual," those practices can also be analyzed as a medium of the political that often appears *apolitical* in the self-image of their actors. This is about body stagings and embodiments that reflect political and cultural norms. Thus, dance in all its forms manifests a body politics linked to social and cultural contexts. The concentration on stage dance presentation, also within Sorbian folk dance, increasingly replaced folk dance forms prevalent in everyday life. Through a manifestation of body-political structures and tendencies, an ideal community should become tangible that did not exist as such. With the political turn in 1989-90, the public understanding of art and culture changed fundamentally. The existing groups and ensembles were often transformed into new legal structures without drastic breaks in the practices for stage performance. Many of them still exist today. But efforts at resilience strategies by regaining living, participative forms of folk dance only developed slowly. The presentation of Tanzfoklore on various stages continued to be the focus and was systematically internationalized. It would take 25 more years before such a new strategy of cultural resilience took hold, which rediscovered the forms of participation for a new awareness of cultural heritage among the Sorbs, mainly promoted through a multiculturally inspired and established group of young musicians and dancers in an urban context 100 miles away from the official Sorbian settlement area.

Participative folk dance practices among the Sorbs
The Serbska reja (= Sorbian dance) project developed during 2014 in Leipzig. The desire for a new approach to valuing cultural heritage brought together people with an interest in Sorbian folk music and dance. From the very beginning, it was

never a question of revitalizing a Sorbian culture that was thought to be lost. Rather, forms and strategies were to be explored for reproducing culture by enabling participation. Among the Sorbs, such attempts go back to the 1920s, but had little effect. The Sorbian composer Bjarnat Krawc together with Měranka Lešawic aimed at promoting Sorbian dances by researching them among the Sorbs and publishing a booklet on the subject. The authors stated in their foreword: "The general public knows little about Sorbian folk dances" [Lešawic and Krawc 1930:2].[1] Lešawic took a bicycle tour through Sorbian villages, especially in Lower Lusatia, in search of dances [Kieschnickowa 2011]. The selection was supplemented by dances danced at that time in the Dresden association Čornobóh, which was chaired by Krawc, and by dance descriptions from older known written sources. Krawc added appropriate piano accompaniments. The dances were supplemented with sketches and descriptions of the choreographies developed for them. The resulting booklet, describing 15 dances and titled "Wjerć mje pola herca! Dreh´ mich´ rum im Kreise!," was published in 1930. By means of the publication, dances were again to be conveyed to a general audience and found a "friendly reception" [Lešawic and Krawc 1930:2]. However, the idea did not gain a foothold among the general public. But the wish for a tradition of Sorbian dances remained. Since the 1950s, regular further training courses for dancers, choreographers and dance teachers have been held. In addition, materials for the newly founded folk dance groups and ensembles were published by the House of Sorbian Folk Art (founded in 1956). Both measures, however, were oriented towards GDR cultural policy and reflected a hierarchical order. The Association for Authentic Sorbian Folk Music, which was founded in 2002, first endeavoured to provide concrete practical dance instructions:

> [That] these [Sorbian dances] should not only be reanimated musically, but also danced again, is another concern of the Association. The main purpose of the Association is therefore to communicate and inspire, above all to the youth, as well as to create the necessary material for distribution, such as sheet music, descriptions, videos, as well as to offer courses etc. [Homepage Verein für authentische sorbische Volksmusik].[2]

Obviously, the live music based on historical sources and the choreographies provided for it were not adapted to the needs of the audience, and the project remained unique and was not widely accepted. These previous attempts tried to reconstruct Sorbian dances and to convey them *authentically*, that is, as true to the original as possible. As it will turn out, this was not the goal of the Serbska reja project from the very beginning. Rather, the following questions were and are trend setting: How is it possible to rediscover Sorbian culture without committing to the purity thinking of a predominant national paradigm? How is it possible to translate Sorbian culture attractively into the present day? And is it possible to gain supporters and contributors with this approach and for them to participate in the implementation of the idea right from the start? At the beginning, there was the desire to reinterpret old sources and to enjoy making music and dancing together. The intention was to retain the

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1   Translation from Sorbian by the author.
2   Translation from Sorbian by the author.

greatest possible freedom to be inspired by other folk music cultures and to create groovy dance music with simple steps and few formations for everyone.[3]

Biographical approaches: internationalization and multiculturalism as a gain
The Serbska reja project is made up of a broad international and networked ensemble. Since 2016, several musicians and dancers have been regularly active in the project. The approximately ten members of the Serbska reja group bring in very different experiences. About half of the musicians come from Upper and Lower Lusatia and have studied in Leipzig and Halle. Some of them speak Sorbian actively, visited Sorbian schools and are very individually connected with the Sorbian social and cultural life of Lusatia. They have all been actively involved in music and cultural projects in the region, e.g. in the folk rock band Die Folksamen, the Sorbian National Ensemble or various folklore groups and ensembles. Some of them have participated in the BalFolk scenes of Ljubljana, Slovenia and Northern Italy, the Hungarian dance house in Budapest and Transylvania (Romania), in various folk rock bands (including Sorbian and Irish) and traditional Swedish music. Influences from American music cultures such as South Appalachian Old Time Music in North Carolina and Cajun Music in Louisiana were brought in by two musicians with close ties to the USA. The dance instruction is not only based on Tanzhaus experiences, but also on the involvement of individual members with stage folklore productions from Eastern Europe (especially Slovakia, Bulgaria and Poland), ballet, jazz dance, African dance, southern traditional square dance, western dance, contemporary dance and dance theatre, some of which individual members of the group still practice today. While individual members continue to be closely associated with regional associations and projects in Lusatia and in some cases even see themselves as "cultural activists" [Kliem 2018:3], others take a more interested look at the events from outside. Two members also considered various forms of Sorbian music and dance culture within their musicology studies and the research activities based on them. For example, an autoethnography on the participative moment in the Serbska reja project (2018) and a dissertation on the self-understanding of folk dances among the Sorbs (2014) were produced. The manifold experiences of the insiders and the scientific-analytical accompaniment of the project are repeatedly questioned by some members from the outside. This leads to a regular reflection on music making and dance instruction, whereby the focus of the group always remains on the concrete confrontation with the musical materials and a fundamental desire to play and dance together. The following instruments are currently being played: violin, accordion, nyckelharpa, flute, guitar, occarina, *basetla* (Polish: small bass) and double bass as well as *bębenek* (Polish: little drum).

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3   The musicologist and one of the founders of the Serbska reja project, Gregor Kliem, finished his MA thesis as an autoethnography of this project as a revival with its participative strategies at Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg in 2018.

Figure 1. Members of the group Serbska reja 2017. Photograph by Serbska reja.

Working methods: Principles of improvisation and participation

The different experiences of the members were connected through their engagement with old sources. Besides sheet music, it was above all dance descriptions that they were interested in. They wanted to find out how people danced in earlier times. While the musicians focused very intensively on recorded melodies and tested and interpreted them in their own way in mostly open sessions, the topic of so-called Sorbian traditional instruments never came into question. The small Sorbian violin, bagpipes and a flute called *tarakawa* have almost never been played in the project. Everyone brought their own instrument. In a conversation between the nyckelharpa player, the percussionist/guitarist and the violinist, it becomes clear that they see themselves in Lusatia at the beginning of a development that was characterized by a break and is based on the reinterpretation of historical sources of traditional music and dance. However, they do not call the Serbska reja project a "revival" because they tend to associate this term with "re-enactment" [Kliem 2018:47]:[4]

> *Percussionist/Guitarist*: I would never use it to describe myself or Robin or anyone that I play music with. Because they all are the real thing. You know, they're themselves. They don't try do be the real thing, or older. That's a difference, I think.
> *Nyckelharpa player*: How would you describe then what we are doing?
> *Percussionist/Guitarist:* You play the nyckelharpa – that's not the real thing. [laugh] But it is [...] sorbisch because you play it. You said, this isn't sorbisch, but I said, yes, it is. It's sorbisch because you're playing sorbisch music with it and you're sorbisch and that's what makes it, even though it's not a traditional instrument. [...]

4   The question of whether the project is a *revival* in the sense of Thomas Turino or not will not be dealt with here. In this context, the fact that the actors do not associate themselves with a revival movement and are not perceived as such from the outside seems important.

Violinist: All this discussion about »authentic – we're Sorbs«, I think it's stupid.
Nyckelharpa player: Why do you think, it's stupid?
Violinist: Because there is no authentic.
Percussionist/Guitarist: The nyckelharpa is authentic.
Nyckelharpa player: But for what?
Percussionist/Guitarist: For you! [Kliem, Fogleman and Brück 2017]

In addition to a large number of sessions and the publication of a session book with mainly Sorbian, but also Polish, German, Swedish and other melodies, the aim from the very beginning was to develop simple dance steps. After an intensive study of the sources, however, the project members quickly discovered that there were no clear traditions of concrete step sequences. They had in mind a Sorbian style/type of mazurka, polka or wiwat. For this purpose, many visits to festivals (e.g. Klangrausch in Hösseringen [Germany], Wszystkie Mazurki Świata-Festival in Warsaw [Poland], Tanzhaus-Events [Romania], International folklore festival "Łužica" [Germany, Lusatia]) were made in order to look for possible music making practices and forms of dance mediation. The members tried to rediscover characteristics of the Sorbs' earlier dances from travel descriptions and sheet music and found, for example, a form that is often described in the sources as Serbska reja and was stylized as a national dance in the 19th century. The dance consists of two parts: The first part is usually described as wooing for the dancer. In the second part, a fast rotation of the pre-dancer couple follows, then the whole community dances. Corresponding steps have been passed down, especially in wedding dances. The sources show that the spinning steps played an important role. The Sorbian teacher and writer Jan Arnošt Holan wrote in 1876, after visiting a dance event:

> When the arranged liquor had warmed the soul, the crowd became wilder and wilder. At last they started to dance the so-called »cwajtryt«, but so bacchantic that I got respect for the girls. I am also no weakling and have endured my military service without any troubles, but half of this dance that Liza danced with her Hans would have been enough to kill me. And I'm sure of it. But when Liza sat down with me again after the dance, her breath was hardly any faster than usual. Lungs like that are worth having [cited in Młynk 1957:15-16].[5]

As a counterpoint to this dance, the project members chose to use the promenade, which they took over from the Polish Wiwat dance: Pairs walk in quick steps in circular direction or freely in space. Historically, however, this combination has not been passed down. But the Serbska reja project focuses on adapting the few existing materials to create dances that can be danced again today and that can be passed on easily in dance workshops. The Tanzhaus method was chosen as the basic principle for dance mediation because of its participative approach: there is a rather free handling in the weighting of music sessions, free dancing, workshops as well as music for dance balls. The group performs in Lusatia as well as nationally and internationally.

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5   Translation from Sorbian by the author.

Figure 2–3. Barn festival in Dissen/Dešno with Serbska reja, 2017;
Photographs by Andreas Batke.

Conclusion: Effect of participation

The Serbska reja project is still in its infancy. The first workshops in Leipzig were attended by an average of 10–20 dancers, including people from the fields of BalFolk and German folk dance circles – only a few with a Sorbian background. The problem was obvious right from the first workshop: while those from other folk dance contexts were experienced in learning new dances, visitors with a Sorbian background were initially overwhelmed by the confrontation with *new free Sorbian folk dances*. Despite professional dance pedagogical instruction, it became clear that people first needed concrete instructions: therefore, circle and alley formations with basic steps were established, which could later also be used for free dancing. Above all, students and participants from Lusatia helped to transfer the idea back to Lusatia, so that there has been an increase in enquiries since then. In 2016, the project became institutionalized in a registered association in order to have a little financial support for further visits to international festivals, the further production of self-made session booklets, music recordings, etc. All materials are available in open source formats on the website. This decision to institutionalize was preceded by an intensive process of reflection and discussion among the members who carefully weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of such professionalization.

The group "Serbska reja" is dedicating itself to Sorbian folk dances in a new way by challenging and rethinking the dominance of folklore stage art and inherited cultural-political power structures, visible in the hegemonial discourse on tradition, purity, and authenticity; and by representative forms of folk dance performances. For this reason – and this has been shown above all by the stage folklore movement, which grew out of GDR cultural policy and was initially diametrically opposed to the participative – the focus is now primarily on the individual actors. Through creative use of Sorbian sources, an international cast developed – by using the technique of participation – to reproduce *new Sorbian folk dances*, which are making their way back onto the dance floor. The understanding of folk dancing in the sense of a participatory, intangible, cultural heritage in which people and their practices are at the center, knowledge is passed on, participation is encouraged and a permanent adaptation to the framework conditions and circumstances is possible, became tacit consensus within the group. The experiences and networks of individual members as well as the knowledge of, for example, the Tanzhaus movements or the GDR folk scene contributed to the fact that the structure to be established was viewed entirely in the service of making music and dancing as well as networking the group. The group's participation and its network extend beyond Lusatia, e.g. with regional partners in Leipzig, Berlin and Dresden, transregional and international contacts, which are maintained above all by individual members (e.g. to Poland, Sweden, Slovenia, Romania, USA, etc.). Through transnational networking, a certain dynamism is maintained, which makes the further development of existing practices possible. At the same time, the actor-centered approach makes sense for the a-hierarchical establishment of viable rhizomatic structures, whereby body-political practices can no longer be read in a mass body, but in individual patterns of being part of a folk dancing movement. Thus, they represent a great potential for identification with the Sorbian as well as the creation of cultural security. Hybrid forms can be identified that point to other dance traditions, overcome comprehension of cultural purity and rethink minority policy beyond national borders for strengthening Sorbian identity.

Such strategies enable minorities in particular to free themselves from hierarchical structures and elites of interpretation by means of creative collective resilience in favor of widely spread international networks, which make the necessary flexibility, participation and thus identification with the Sorbian tangible in a new way. In this sense, such a project seems to be more resistant to the cultural crises that have been recurring over history. It remains to be seen how the project will establish itself in Lusatia and beyond and what significance it will have had in retrospect from the future into the past.

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Lucie HAYASHI

HOW MUCH FOR A DANCER? CULTURE POLICY IN JAPAN AND CZECH REPUBLIC TOWARDS DANCE

Abstract

This paper offers a view on a different approach towards a dancer's career in two very dissimilar countries: on one hand Japan, an economic predator at the end of last century, but suffering under economic crisis from the beginning of the new century; and the Czech Republic, a post-communist country, caught up in capitalist fever from the 1990s on the other. The government's approach towards culture and dance in these two countries not only has a different history and nature, but also presents a different take on the ideal future development in its respective dance scenes. The level of support from the state budget echoes in all the fields of a professional dance career, dance art and the education of the public towards dance. The message of the statistic data is clear: the production of an enormous number of well trained and expensively educated dancers with no jobs for them in Japan, and a lack of good dancers ready to fill state supported theatre companies in the Czech Republic (that gladly employs Japanese dancers). The paradigm leaves a big exclamation mark on the huge influence the policy has on dance in society, and a question mark on the ideal situation.

Keywords: dance, culture policy, Czech Republic, Japan, salary, education, employment

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My research topic of the last few years is divided between the comparison of cultural policy towards dance in the Czech Republic and in Japan. I start form the assumption that the cultural policy is behind the position of dance in the society. I am suggesting the way society and politics view, educate and employ their dancers is connected to the influence the dance sphere has in the society as such. The amount and structure of government subsidy, that is complex and transparent, is directly responsible for the quality of dance art in its country. I would like to point out some differences in the functioning of the professional dance scene in Japan and the Czech Republic, which reflects the stance of society and politics towards dance – and thus influences the very status of dance, its function and the position it holds in the country. I understand the cultural policy is a complex issue that cannot be separated from historical, economic and social backgrounds. But due to the limit of this paper I will offer a view on the different approaches and focus only on the results that touch directly on the dance scene – without going too deeply into the complex perspective of these issues.

My departure point was actually a visit to a ballet performance "The Three Musketeers" in Ostrava region, where three of the four main dancers were Japanese.[1] And I started to wonder what makes Japanese dancers come to this region whilst the number of employed Czechs in the company is decreasing.

Armed with my previous research knowledge of the dance situation in Japan and the Czech Republic, I interviewed half of the Japanese dancers in the Czech Republic to note down their motivation and satisfaction. I supposed it would be mostly artistic practice and employment in an European Union country, as well as professional practice and growth in ensembles whose dramaturgy combines both classical ballets and contemporary repertoire. Dancers from European Union countries often use this position as a starting practice, for experience gathering. Dancers also come from the countries where utilitarian ideology does not hold ballet to such an extent that it would subsidize enough jobs from the state budget. More than earnings, dancers are looking for a certain dose of adrenaline, as one of the art bosses has confirmed to me: They tell me they are looking for experiences, adventures, challenges, it's exciting for them to work out their existence in our country, in the regional theatre [B3].[2]

Table 1 shows the number of foreign dancers in Ballet Companies in the Czech Republic. Today there are eleven ballet ensembles offering employment to professional dancers. In most of them, nowadays, more than half are foreigners; in the ballet studios, English is the main language spoken (yet Czech is needed in the corridors and offices).[3] For some of the dancers, it is way too hard to even try to learn the language, as they hope the Czech Republic is not their final destination.

> It is useful to speak few words of Czech if you need to communicate with costume ladies etc., but no need to excel and spend time with it, anyway I hope I will leave for somewhere bigger once I collect experiences [D2].

Over the past five years, the number has almost doubled in all regions, with more and more dancers coming from Western Europe (Italy, France, Great Britain, Spain), as well as the number of Japanese candidates whose portraits dominate the promotional material of regional theaters.[4]

Ballet ensemble	foreigners / total
Prague national ballet	(37/82)
Bohemia Ballet	(2/8)
Brno national ballet	(24/43)
Plzeň	(13/29)
Ostrava	(20/29)
Olomouc	(19/31)

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1   Ostrava is third largest city in the Czech Republic with about 300 000 inhabitants, its theatre, Národní divadlo moravskoslezské, serves as a cultural centre for a region of one million people. The region is historically poor (a location for the mining industry) and nowadays has the highest unemployment rate in the country (4,4%).
2   Interviews with Japanese dancers and their bosses during 2017. (For respect of anonymity the dates, places and names are not published. I label these as D1-D7, B1-B5.)
3   Only two Czech Dancers are employed in České Budějovice, in Ostrava.
4   In 2007 it was 6 Japanese dancers, by 2017 16 from the total of around 280 employed dancers [Vašek 2017b:31–34].

Ústí nad labem	(11/18)
Liberec	(7/13)
České Budějovice	**(13/15)**
Opava	(2/8)
Prague chambre ballet	(3/8)

Table 1. Foreigners in Czech Ballet Companies in 2017

So my research question was; how come the Czech government spends money on high level professional dance education and running eleven ballet companies, yet more than half of the dancers come from abroad. I found the answer in the means of social support for the dancers, and mainly their education system.

Dance education system contradiction
The preparation for a dance career starts as a leisure activity in both countries and the support from government on this level is not minor.

In the Czech Republic there are over 500 art schools with dance departments called ZUŠ[5] for the leisure activities of children between 6 and 18 years, 6 dance conservatories for ages 12–18 focused on preparing professional dancers and 2 universities with Departments of Dance. The ZUŠ Art schools exist in every big city, dance education is subjected to the syllabus approved by the Ministry of Education. In these institutions the dance teacher must be educated in dance pedagogy with a BA or MA. degree,[6] or educated as a professional dancer with a diploma from a dance conservatory. The majors offered to students are folklore, ballet, modern or contemporary dance, according to the major of the teachers. Also it is not expensive, so even the lower middle class can afford this training. Luckily in our country there is an opinion that these ZUŠ classes are a part of the general education everyone should have, but there is no pressure for a professional future for children. There are also other regional subsidized organizations, such as culture centers in almost every town where the children can get basics on eurhythmics, social or folk dance and it is very cheap so anyone can afford this, but there is no proof of quality or need for educated teachers. There is also the sphere of private studios that are slightly more expensive, but offer the popular styles such as hip hop or break dance. Dance education for teachers is not required, but it is a strong criteria in parents' decisions whether to send their child to classes or not.

In the Czech Republic future professional dancers are produced from dance conservatories (dance integrated high schools) where pupils pay no school fees, they pay only for dormitory and food. The six schools produce around 40–50 graduates every year [Vašek 2017a:31–34]. One third obtain employment in a dance company, one third remain active in the dance world as a free lancer, project dancer or a dance teacher (usually doing both), and one third quits dancing and follows a career in a related or totally different field. Some continue university education, offered in dance pedagogy, choreography or research, usually while also being employed or hired in projects. Both the two universities, in Prague and Brno, try to offer a

5   Základní umělecká škola (Basic Art School). See more Izuš [n. d.].
6   There are two universities that offer this education: the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague and Janáček Academy of Performing Arts in Brno, both offering slightly different programs.

distance program as well. There is a high level at the entrance exams (usually 10% of applicants succeed), and the education is free for Czech speakers as are all universities in the Czech Republic.

Dance education in Japan can be perceived in three ways for clarity, although it is difficult to separate these within the system. The first is the preparation of professional dancers. This is essentially in the private sector without the state's contribution, as an out-of-school activity. Its counterpart is dance education in compulsory school attendance. Both have a few common denominators – one of which is the dance department at universities. These departments cover both previous form of education, balancing between the focus on professional dance art and the activities in dance education in schools [Burešová 2013a].

In the Czech Republic there is a common opinion that a professional dancer is the one who is educated as a dancer (with a diploma from a conservatory or university), employed as a dancer or just dances for living, that means he is paid for performing, dance is his main job, yet usually other income is needed besides this (e.g. teaching etc.). Whereas in Japan, the first two categories seem irrelevant. First of all, it is necessary to explain that there is no generally recognized qualification for a professional dancer in Japan, similar to graduation from the dance conservatory in the Czech Republic [Burešová 2013a]. According to the general opinion of Japanese experts and the public, the professional is simply the one who dances as their main job. If dance art accounts for a significant portion of income, Japanese speak about a professional, but as the income from teaching is crucial, the society puts you in the box of a dance teacher rather than an artist as such. But there's another argument we often hear: "You are a professional dancer, if people come to see your performance because they recognize your name on the poster," which means the professional should be recognized as a dancer by a wide audience/society, that usually includes being watched on TV.

Similarly, in Japan no one asks about a professional qualification for teaching. There are no state dance schools. All specialized dance education takes place in private dance studios and schools. Especially ballet has become a popular hobby, which parents pay for, mostly for girls not only for their movement and cultural development, but also for their social status. The main goal of these schools is to provide space for leisure activities, even though they try to open the way for those interested in a professional career. Dance schools and studios take their mission very seriously and require students to be fully deployed, disciplined, studious and, in particular, to have a good financial background.

> When I was a little girl, ballet lessons were expensive, but it was all I had in my life. My brother called me a-money-eater and threatened that it is a waste and not investment that would come back. Here I have possibility to show him I can pay my rent from dancing, and after several years of being a soloist, I could buy my flight ticket to Japan by myself [D3].

On the other hand, as dance education falls under the private sphere, there is no distinction between leisure activity and professional education. In addition, the Japanese faith in hard work, which is more than talent, tends to assume professional activity from a very early age. The amateur level is becoming very high. Moreover, the fun of dancing is perceived in the strict drill of a professionally aimed course

which also misleads children in the sometimes mistaken idea they will all become ballerinas if they try hard enough. Faith in a future dance career is not usually the main motivation of parents, but it often happens to children. There is no clue for counting the number of "dancers ready for professional career" that emerge from these schools. Nevertheless, if I just guess an existence of 1 studio for 50,000 inhabitants, that leaves us with 2000 studios, with at least 5000 graduates every year. Finding a job in Japan is not easy, so children are often discouraged from this dream, but sometimes wrongly supported.

Most of them drop this hobby when they finish high school, either leaving for college, working, or setting up a family. The main reason is that even the talented ones are not able to get a good job in Japan. That is why even the best of the best, most stubborn and well situated, travel abroad to dance.

> My dad persisted I have to enter university, so I waited to enter and just as I did I left for Europe [D5].

What is more, there is no state or other body set up to determine who can teach dance techniques. Dance education for teachers is not required even by parents (they choose according to their trust, recommendation, popularity, distance or price of course). The professional dance teacher is just whoever claims to be one and collects enough pupils. It is precisely because all institutions are private enterprises; it is up to the operator to satisfy the demand. It is natural that a teacher who can boast a successful dance career is more interested. In view of the number of ballet schools, however, as the teachers of dance often end up just those who are the not so successful graduates of the same institution without previous pedagogical or practical dance experience. Their pedagogical erudition is simply copying their own patterns. It is obvious that this creates a wide range in the quality of dance instruction, depending mainly on the individual talent of the teacher. The teaching of classical dance techniques to children, especially top-notch dancers, suffers – the emphasis on aesthetic results prevails over the effort to understand body rules. In larger cities, there is a certain level of competitive struggle that is regrettably lacking in the regions. The main source of reputation and broad clientele is from the success of the school in shows and competitions, not the quality of systematic teaching.

Government subsidy in dance art
The government subsidy for dance in the Czech Republic comes mainly from two different ministries: the Ministry of Culture on one hand, which supports the art dance scene, and the Ministry of Education on the other, that provides for both leisure activities and professional dance education. These two fields are of course closely interconnected and cannot be separated, but the communication on subsidies between the two ministries is so vague that the dance education process sometimes suffers. The budget for culture is less than 1% of the national budget.

In Japan the budget is 0.1% from the national budget, although it should be noted that the population is ten times bigger. However there is only one Ministry for Culture and Education that encompasses both professional and amateur dance activities although the support for professionals is falling behind. In the Traditional Theatre (Nogaku, Kabuki, Buyo), only few exceptional dancers are supported as

ningen kokuho (national jewels), and get special support for their performing career, their preservation of tradition and their educational activities [Burešová 2013b].

The Tables 2 and 3 show the allocation for dance in the yearly grant programme, as the proof that dance is the genre with the least support. Of course, in both countries there is a possibility to also claim support from a municipality or prefecture, usually for events, festivals, or workshops.

Yearly Grant Programme – 2017 – Czech Republic	Applicants	Satisfied	EUR
Professional Art			**11 119 200**
Theatre	189	91	1 447 200
Dance	**106**	**78**	**920 000**
Classical Music	232	119	1 380 400
Alternative Music	188	131	960 000
Fine art	231	143	1 803 600
Festivals (Dance, Theatre, Music, Literature, Art)			4 688 000
BUDGET FOR THE YEARLY GRANT PROGAMME			**38 538 770**
BUDGET FOR CULTURE IN WHOLE (= 0,9 % from NATIONAL BUDGET)			520 971 968

Table 2. Budget for the Yearly Grant Programme for the Art of Ministry of Culture – Czech Republic 2017

Yearly Grant Programme – 2017 – Japan	Applicants	Satisfied	EUR
Contemporary performing arts creative promotion activity	**580**	**306**	**4 153 661**
Music	129	65	1 240 123
Dance	**84**	**45**	**476 223**
Theatre	367	196	2 437 315
Public activities of traditional performing arts	**74**	**31**	**394 538**
Multidisciplinary collaborative art creation activities	**51**	**24**	**155 269**
BUDGET FOR THE YEARLY GRANT PROGAMME			**8 062 731**
BUDGET FOR CULTURE IN WHOLE (= 0,1 % FROM NATIONAL BUDGET)			749 651 538 461

Table 3. Budget for the Yearly Grant Programme for the Art of Ministry of Culture and Education – Japan 2017

Employment and pay

As shown in Table 1, in the Czech Republic there are eleven ballet companies employing together around 300 dancers, although some of them in very low numbers. In their repertoire they usually have half to half classical ballet titles and modern / contemporary repertory. The companies situated in regional centers also use the dancers in opera, or musicals while in Prague these positions are outsourced and filled by project dancers. All of them are supported by government in some way, the Prague National Ballet directly from the Ministry of Culture, while the others combine subsidies both from the government and their municipalities or region. Nevertheless, the salary is very low as in all state institutions. The freelance artist sector includes around an additional 100–150 positions for dancers, but it appears that these are occupied by approximately 50–70 active dancers who must accumulate projects and jobs to make their living. In addition there are eight contract positions for dancers in the Army folk music and dance ensemble, Ondráš, ran by the Ministry of Defence while the rest of the ensemble is outsourced with amateur folk dancers who are usually students.

In Japan, (with a population ten times bigger than the Czech Republic), there are only four ballet companies supported by the government that offer contracts to about 100 dancers, while the majority of the ballet positions are outsourced and filled by freelancers. Besides these, there are of course many traditional theatre ensembles (*kabuki*, *buyo*, *nogaku*, etc.) employing around 400–500 dancers, and other established companies, both ballet or contemporary that hire dancers for individual projects instead of financing their own ensemble. There are about one thousand one-off project positions in Japan, but the dancers are not allowed to be involved in more than one at a time. This is the only way to function for companies, but of course, not the most beneficial for dancers, who struggle to sustain a stable income as the projects only last for a short period of time and not well paid. This is, however, the principle practice of the Japanese professional dance world.

> I wanted to go abroad firstly to get experience, and then of course to dance! Because you cannot dance for living in Japan. Even if you are extremely good [D7].

Many dancers are forced to earn their money by teaching or participating in popular shows or commercials which also remains the fate of freelance Czech artists. They are very actively pursuing the possibilities for foreign studies, after which they hope to get employed in dance ensembles abroad. In many cases, however, they are still finding themselves technical unprepared and are faced with a high level of competition. But such experience is a strong motivation for further dance education and efforts to fulfil their dream. Thanks to their extreme diligence, the goal is often met and the possibility of achievements in the dance field, regardless of the level of the salary, is a satisfying career for them – engaging in a regional ballet ensemble in one of the European countries is perceived as a prestigious career destination [Burešová 2013a].

I took many auditions in Germany but was cut off in the contemporary dance or told many times they have too many Japanese already. Everywhere else the same. Here I can dance classical repertoire and earn contemporary dance experience as well [D5].

Table 4 shows the situation of the pay for dancers in Japan, where even the principal dancer does not reach the average salary, and dancers in the *corps de ballet* fall just above the border of the minimum wage. This is compared to traditional theatre dancers, who can earn a fortune if they became popular, although they can be hired for single projects as well. This shows that it easier to understand that the possibility for earning money by dancing as an employee is an ideal that can be followed even to the Czech region.

My friend told me about an audition just on my way from Mnichov to Vienna […] so I tried it and they offered me a contract. The town is nice but anyway I spend all my day in the ballet room [D3].

The situation is similar in the Czech Republic, but a worse financial salary is waiting for dance teachers. Because the art schools, high schools or universities are national institutions and children pay no tuition fees, the salaries of Czech dance teachers vary from 640 to 1100 euro, according to the qualification achieved (from bachelor or master degree to professor), but they still do not reach the average salary. This cannot be compared to Japan, where being a university professor is one of the best paid occupations.

CZECH REPUBLIC		JAPAN	
Average salary in CR	1200 EUR	Average salary in Japan	2700 EUR
Minimal salary by law	**488 EUR**	Minimal salary by law	**900 EUR**
AVEREGE SALARY OF DANCER – CZ		AVEREGE SALARY OF DANCER – JP	
Principal	2000/900 EUR	Principal	1500 EUR
Corps de ballet	1000 – **550 EUR**	Corps de ballet	**1000 EUR**
		Traditional Kabuki / nogaku	7256 EUR (**3000–50 000 EUR**)
AVEREGE SALARY OF DANCE TEACHER – CZ		AVEREGE SALARY OF DANCE TEACHER – JP	
ART School / High school / university	**640 – 1100 EUR**	High school (P.E.) University	3700 EUR **7500 EUR**

Table 4. Monthly pay for dancers and dance teachers.

If you look at the salaries for dancers in the Czech Republic, you can understand why the best graduates leave the country to earn better money outside. The same logic can be applied to the large numbers of dancers from Eastern Europe, mostly Slavic countries (Slovakia, Russia or Ukraine), who do not need English to communicate in the Czech Republic and learn basic Czech quickly thanks to the similarities between the languages. Nevertheless, a growing trend can also be identified in the number of dancers from Western Europe or an economically successful country such as Japan who although educated in a private sphere, out dance the Czech graduates from

state conservatories in the auditions and take their jobs in government supported ensembles. In Japan professional dance education is provided widely but on private level only. A dance career is restricted only for the privileged ones, yet even they struggle to live from dancing only. As a result, although the salary is low and the Czech Republic is not a country they have really dreamt of, the possibility to dance for a living, being employed as a dancer and live inside the European Union, is very satisfying for them [Hayashi 2018].

> After one month in Japan I want to get back. It is so busy over there, work and work and no life. Here I do not make fortune, but I can live and I can dance. That is my dream coming true [D3].

Conclusion

Compared to Japan, the Czech government spends money on both professional dance education and professional dancers' career opportunities by supporting dance companies. Yet the production of dancers does not saturate the employment market and ensembles continue to hire huge numbers of foreigners and most of the dancers stay on the amateur and leisure scene (folk dance included); and are falling behind in numbers, as dance is not included in the elementary school curriculum here and thus creates a deep gap from a normal social life, being restricted only to the dance fans – which is reflected in the culture policy as well [Hayashi 2014:141–143].

Despite the fact that the educational system is based on very different principles of another cultural background, it is possible to find some inspiration for further reflection on the meaning of dance education for the general public. The Japanese model, in which dance instruction is embedded in elementary schools but lacking educational background for professional dancers, is by no means an ideal model, but that is why this example may be encouraging. It builds on the concept of general education and the position of dance in Japanese society. It is difficult to judge or even condemn it outside of these frameworks. It is also much more complicated than is possible to sketch in several pages. However, the insight into Japanese issues proves the company's awareness of the usefulness of dance education as an essential part of education. In the Czech Republic, this recognition is unfortunately missing from governmental organizations and the decreasing budget for the support of artistic education for children is alarming. Dance as the basic genre of live art should not be neglected in other areas of cultural life – the total ignorance of compulsory school education is a sign of a long-standing misunderstanding of its contribution to society.

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Interviews with Japanese dancers and their bosses during 2017. (For respect of anonymity the dates, places and names are not published. I label these as D1–D7, B1–B5.)

Georgiana GORE coordinator, Clermont-Ferrand, France
Gediminas KAROBLIS Trondheim, Norway
Marie-Pierre GIBERT Lyon, France

ROUNDTABLE
ANDRÉE GRAU'S 'SOFT POLITICS':
REFLECTIONS ON GRAU'S 2016 ARTICLE
"WHY PEOPLE DANCE –
EVOLUTION, SOCIALITY AND DANCE"

Panel summary

This panel emerged out of its members' appreciation and respective readings of Andrée Grau's 2016 article "Why people dance – evolution, sociality and dance." It was, we believe, her last published article before she died in September 2017 as it appeared in December 2016. It combined a number of her long-standing preoccupations, many of which grew from her close collaboration with her PhD supervisor and mentor John Blacking. These included a belief in the special powers of dance as a significant development in human evolution. We quote from the article's abstract:

> Dance, along with song and body percussion, emanates from the body. All three therefore can be said to belong to the most elementary artistic processes. Anthropologist John Blacking believed that they were a 'special kind of exercise of sensory, communicative and cooperative powers that is as fundamental to the making and remaking of human nature as speech' [1987:60].[1] The article engages with such an idea and examines the significance of dance in human evolution, moving away from the usual schema that presents bipedalism and the development of language as the two key moments in human evolution. It proposes instead another stage in-between, that it was the ability to move together in time that allowed collaboration among individuals, which led to the acquisition of language, and therefore culture. [Grau 2016:233]

It is with these and other ideas in the article that the panel engages with an understanding that they are fundamentally political, a form of *soft politics* as indicated in our panel title. Gediminas Karoblis directly addresses how a group could have come to collective communication in speech through multi-corporeal enactment of rhythmic, synchronous and correlated movements such as in dancing. Georgiana Gore proposes that the relational configurations enacted through the special kind of movement that is dancing enable the invention of new worlds to come. Marie-Pierre Gibert picks up on these ideas and develops them using three examples derived from her own experience as researcher, teacher and amateur dancer.

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1   The date of Blacking's quote is not in the finally published text but in an earlier version given to Gore to read.

Gediminas KAROBLIS
Political origin of dance / Kinetic origin of politics

In 1902, the *American Journal of Sociology* (the first of this kind in America starting from 1895) published the translation of a long two-part article by Georg Simmel titled "The Number of Members as Determining the Sociological Form of the Group" [1902a]. In the first part, the author attempted to elucidate the principles of sociology. In the second part Simmel broadly discussed systems which he defined as dyadic and triadic. Immediately after, perhaps even before reading the second part [Simmel 1902b], Émile Durkheim published a very critical review of the article arguing that Simmel's subject remains in a great indetermination [1903]. Nevertheless, I think Simmel was right in his intuition. In sociology, like in physics, like in dance, a three-body problem is completely different from a two-body problem. Therefore, I will start my argument from a strong thesis some people might disagree with. If politics is the art of alliances, then it cannot exist between two parties. What is the point of alliance, if there is no third party? There is love or hate between two, but no politics. I argue that one must have at least three persons, members of the group, to originate politics. Therefore, in formal terms the kinetic origin of politics requires at least a triadic system. From this assumption, the question follows how such a system can be enacted in human evolution.

Andrée Grau in her article "Why people dance – evolution, sociality and dance" [2016] argued that in human evolution dancing must have occupied a place between two phases of the development of human species: bipedal movement and speech. The former essentially modified corporeal capacities of the human being. The latter had to be socially instituted by a group of people. Therefore, one might assume the missing link between the two, as Andrée does. How could a group could have come to collective communication in speech if not by multi-corporeal enactment of rhythmic, synchronous and correlated movements such as in dancing? Grau attempts to answer the question in her article. First of all, she develops the ideas of John Blacking. Although not all them. For example, Blacking speculated that the contemporary pattern of human walking is an evolutionary outcome of dancing [1976, 1984]. Strangely enough, he also advocated a certain kind of reverse Marxist theory by claiming that earlier stages of human evolution might have been less economically motivated than later ones. Thus, Blacking quite radically placed dancing and music before walking and artistic expression before economic needs.

Grau is much more cautious in speculating about possible scenarios. Yet she had her own opinion when commenting on contemporary authorities in palaeoanthropology. For example, she quotes Francesco d'Errico et al's claim that "[a] fundamental turning point in the evolution of human cognitive abilities and cultural transmission was when humans were first able to store concepts with the aid of material symbols and to anchor or even locate memory outside the individual brain" [d'Errico et al. 2003:310]. Grau immediately comments: "I would, however, question the necessity for such symbols to be 'material'; what about the symbolism of dance and other such activities?" [Grau 2015:236]. Later on, she quotes the same article: "[t]he evolution of tool making from simple to composite, and the further development of using tools to make tools, might even be seen as the archaeological reflection of

the transition from a proto-language to a language with a more complex structure" [d'Errico et al. 2003:9]. Again, Grau adds, "I would nevertheless stress the physicality of tool-making" [Grau 2015:236]. For both claims, she draws inspiration from her other major interlocutors in the article: André Leroi-Gourhan, John Young and William McNeill. Leroi-Gourhan pointed that behind a symbolic trace certain corporeal gesture must always be supposed [1993]. Whilst McNeill emphasized the miraculous evolutionary power of muscular bonding or keeping together in time [1995]. Thus, as a dance anthropologist Grau reminds us that rock inscriptions or tool making were hardly possible without habitual kinaesthetic sedimentations. These might have been more easily acquired in lower-resistance and lower-risk modes, such as dance. Moreover, keeping together in time or synchronizing as a habitually acquired skill must have predated the acquisition of language as a major tool for non-genetic knowledge transmission.

Following Young [1971] and Blacking, Grau further argues:

> In communal dancing, individuals developed not only cooperation but also the capacity to attend to a single task; thus the repetition of patterns of movements may have provided a base for productive thinking in improving the memory [...] One can therefore imagine that the early human beings who were united by common ceremonies and enjoyed satisfying rhythmic experiences would have been more coherent and therefore more successful than other groups who did not. [Grau 2015:238-239]

In fact, phenomenological analysis of corporeal orientations in human interaction discloses only very brief episodes in the corporeal overcoming of human kinetic egocentrism. These are episodes of playing or dancing in most cases. If one focuses only on corporeal conditions of grouping, one could easily detect that in a triadic system only a perfect circle in which each body is directed toward the centre displays complete *kineto-political* equality. All other configurations do not. The argument is a phenomenological one: according to Husserl, our capacity of empathy is embedded in corporeal/kinaesthetic Pairing [*Paarung*]. Through pairing the homogeneous space is constituted by *transfers* and *rotations* of my body as virtual and actual possibilities. In this homogeneous, but oriented (!), space I encounter other animate bodies, similar to mine [Husserl 1973]. Closely following Edmund Husserl's thread of thought, I previously analyzed kinaesthetic empathy when two persons/bodies meet. I identified such corporeal structures of dual emphatic congruence as *transposition*, *rotation*, *reflection* and *complementation*. Now I ask a further question: how is a corporeal encounter structured when three, not just two, animate bodies meet in kinaesthetic and, obviously, more complex empathic relationship? Following this reasoning, I argue that achievement of geometrically and phenomenologically perfect empathic corporeal congruence among three bodies is a significantly more difficult task compared to pairing. Such perfect congruence can be achieved in very rare episodes exemplified in circle dancing. One could then ask a legitimate question: has this corporeal configuration – grouping – at some point been established through evolutionary selective processes?

Georgiana GORE
Dancing: experimental politics

Although somewhat speculative, this paper is grounded in twenty years' experience as a dancer-choreographer in the 1970s and 1980s as well as my 1982 doctoral thesis "The social topography of the human body" in which I first mooted the idea that dance is about inventing worlds to come through its intrinsic relationality. I consider relationality to be the human capacity to engage reflexively in interactions with others – whether human or non-human – an activity engaging cognitive, motor and sensory skills. I take a Deleuze and Guattarian view of relationality as rhizomatic – but this will not necessarily transpire in this presentation. For an analysis in the context of ritual, I recommend Michael Houseman's 2006 article "Relationality," to which Andrée and I referred in a former presentation [Gore and Grau 2012] when we stated that dance is fundamentally relational and that relationships in dance, like ritual relationships and "relationships generally, are not merely […] the expression of or vehicle for certain values or ideas; they constitute lived-through experiences sustained by intentionally and emotionally laden events" [Houseman 2006:214]. Such relationships "are immediate, personally invested and, for lack of a better word, alive" [Houseman 2006:215].

It is this *aliveness* along with other features which inspired Andrée to defend throughout her career the *power of dance* with as strong a commitment as that of her mentor, John Blacking. In many ways Andrée's final article is the culmination of such convictions, which she transforms into a rigorous argument, addressing analytically how this *power* is rooted in human sociality and may give rise to the special kind of experience sometimes called *trance*, both being generated by the rhythmic and collective movement of dancing. My own line of argument derives from Blacking's more contentious ideas.

Indeed, I want to defend the idea today that dance is projective, in the semi-literal sense of to throw forward, generative in the sense that it is productive and creative, and of course relational. One of my implicit aims is to challenge the oft-cited claims that dance is a language or a mode of representation. But more explicitly, to contest the idea that dancing acts as a mnemonic system: a repository for storing certain kinds of information, whether historical, political, symbolic and so on. This was the role ascribed to dance, for example, by the social historian Paul Connerton in his 1989 book *How Societies Remember* when he analysed it as an incorporating practice, one in which "memory is sedimented, or amassed, in the body" [Connerton 1989:72], which he opposed to inscribing practices such as writing, photography, painting and so on.

Take 1: Dancing

Both Andrée and I have adhered to Blacking's provocative ideas concerning the significance of dance, and music, in human evolution. For him these are "a special kind of exercise of sensory, communicative and co-operative powers that is as fundamental to the making and remaking of human nature as speech" [Blacking cited in Grau 2016]. They may be "understood as primary adaptations to the environment; with them, [humankind] can feel towards a new order of things and feel across

boundaries" [Blacking 1987:60]. It is this last sentence which indicates that he too considered dancing as projective activity, one that gestures towards the future rather than the past.

Indeed, as early as the 1970s, he attributed to dance a precedence in human development. In response to Frank B. Livingstone's 1973 article *Did the Australopithecines sing?* in which the author suggested that singing was the precursor to speech, Blacking made the counter-intuitive proposal that dancing preceded walking, the latter requiring special skills of balance and control to adapt to gravity. Dancing or proto-dancing of the kind we might imagine as performed by our prehistoric forbears emerged, he suggested in seminars, through a surrendering to the forward thrust (*élan* in French) of body movement given free rein. I propose that we think of this as an elementary mode of experimentation, generating cognitive, sensory-motor, and socio-political potentialities. Blacking continued in the same vein in a later article and stated that dance is a "primary modelling system, by which any human action may be constituted" [Blacking 1984:4], encompassing "an innate, species-specific set of cognitive and sensory capacities which human beings are predisposed to use for communication and making sense of the environment" [Blacking 1984:6].

The relational dimensions of dancing are no doubt obvious. Indeed, as Andrée [2016] and others have convincingly demonstrated, it is the collective and cooperative rhythmic activity that dancing entails and generates that constitutes one of its main features. "In this final article, Andrée pursues this line of argument about the evolutionary significance of dance to demonstrate through three examples from different cultures how dance as a 'special type of relationality… can at time[s] bring a heightened sense of consciousness' [Grau 2016:249]" [Gore 2018]. It is, however, not only shared experience of dancing in time and space that is interesting, but also the processes of individuation that dance affords since each person may position him/herself within or in relation to the dancing, thus connecting to the whole. Dancing thus generates relational potentialities through the exploration of dynamic social configurations of bodies moving in space and time.

Take 2: Experimental politics
It is such relational explorations that I understand as experimental politics, as Gediminas has already demonstrated in his presentation, and these always gesture towards the future, even if putting into play past resources. The verb *to experiment* is to be taken in its literal meaning of *to try out* and the adjective *experimental* in its archaic sense of something being based on experience as opposed to authority or conjecture. In this context, experimentation requires both a personal investment and, because of the uncertainty of both the process and the result, an element of risk-taking, which actually heightens the experience giving an intensity which would be absent were failure not a possibility. For a striking description of experimentation of the kind I am suggesting here, although not related to dancing, see Deleuze and Guattari's description of the sado-masochistic programme the aim of which is to produce a "body-without-organs" or surface of pure intensity [Deleuze and Guattari 1980:187–188] – no doubt the kind of heightened consciousness celebrated by Andrée.

Take 3: Dancing: Experimental politics

So what of dancing as experimental politics?

Two examples will be addressed to respond to this question: Igue festival in Nigeria, which I have presented before in this Study Group and other symposia, and the American *modern* dance choreographer Merce Cunningham's non-narrative productions.

The Edo people's Igue festival, held at Christmas, is the annual festival to honour the Oba of Benin's, that is the king's, ancestors and his own head. It is the main festival which instantiates divine kingship with seven public or semi-public festivals. It celebrates the new year and, during the main rite Igu'Oba, chiefs and finally the king himself perform by tossing the *eben*, the symbol of allegiance to the monarchy. It explicitly references the past and tradition and may be characterized as a ceremonial ritual to sustain the social order. However, it is a performance in the present and may be seen as political manoeuvring for the future as when Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, the then Esama of Benin, was supporting his son for the state's governorship. Igbinedion was the star turn, tossing the *eben* with skill and vigour and dancing with more grace and showmanship than his peers, thus effectively currying favour if the lay public's explicit delight was anything to go by [Gore and Grau 2012]. May we not, therefore, think of this danced display as a way of *trying it out* or *trying it on*, and why not one of experimenting alliances, to use Gediminas' idea of politics as a game of alliances?

A more obvious example, perhaps, is Merce Cunningham's non-narrative choreographies and his fashioning of body movement using the computer programme *Lifeforms* to see movement "in a way that was always there – but wasn't visible to the naked eye" [Merce Cunningham]. "The virtual figure of *Lifeforms* is not bounded by human anatomical limitations, nor by physical laws of gravity etc. 'It expands what we think we can do', he explained. 'I think normally the mind gets in the way and says "you can't do that".'[2] So while for Cunningham as choreographer *Lifeforms* provided a tool for expanding choreographic invention, for the spectator his works display a relationality and aesthetics surpassing commonplace ideas of what bodies may do and how people may interact, thus actualizing relational potentialities.

I had initially thought that dancing is a form of experimental politics where there are no stakes at play – that is, where novel relational configurations and innovative ideas may be tested or played out just for the sake of it, without loss or gain. I have since changed tack. I now uphold that there may indeed be no stakes at play, though not necessarily, but that an element of risk taking is essential to generate the intensity which such exploration must entail.

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2   See more: Londondance.com [2008].

Marie-Pierre GIBERT
Power of dance and experimentation

For my contribution, I would like to bring together three threads of thought:
    (1) A consideration on the "power of dance," often explored by Andrée Grau, from her work on how the Tiwi are able to question or even to challenge kinship relations within their dance practices [1992, 1994, 2014] to her last article "Why people dance – evolution, sociality, and dance" [2016];
    (2) The proposition of Georgiana Gore that "dancing is a means of inventing worlds to come" through relationality and sense of consciousness, as presented in the previous section of this panel;
    (3) Gediminas Karoblis' analysis of alliances as developed above.
    In order to do so, I will present a three-fold story that explores the idea of experimenting the power of dance, evolving around various episodes of my practice as a researcher-teacher in Social Anthropology (and amateur dancer).

Part #1
Last year, I conducted a teaching experimentation of embodied ethnography with BA students. It was an exercise to help them reflect on the importance of "learning by doing with" and developing their sensory consciousness for anthropological research. Although this was not my intention back then, such a proposition could be linked to Deirdre Sklar's suggestion that "our capacity for vicarious kinaesthetic experience, and even for self-reflexivity about our own lived-through movement and touched experience, is relatively undeveloped" [1994:14], a hypothesis which led her to develop a "body-centred approach" [1994:11] strongly nourished by what has sometimes been called "the corporeal turn" [Sklar 1994:21, note 8].
    First, half of the students (group A) remained seated and took notes on what the other half (group B) was doing, that is learning a very short choreography organized in a circle dance in which everyone was holding hands and doing the same movements and gestures (i.e. dancing in homokinesis and homorythm). Secondly, group B sat down, observing and taking notes on the learning process of the other group. Thirdly, we all discussed their notes, and more generally what had happened for them during this experimentation. Several things came to light in their descriptions of this dance event, in particular about the processes of learning by doing versus learning by watching. But what interests us here is how several students underlined the tension they felt when I asked them to dance holding hands: they were caught between an increased difficulty to "dance together" (the dimension of homokinesis and homorythm) and a relief provided precisely by this physical connection which they felt as helping them to regulate the potential differences of rhythm, the use of space and the movements. One of them even verbalized her sensations by exclaiming: "I finally felt in a group when we hold hands!"

Part #2
Although I voluntarily did not mention it to my students, the choreography I taught came from a specific dance form: the *Israeli Folk Dance*. This dance form is the result of the process through which a Nation-State in construction (Israel) created a

common and unique dance system[3] in the 1940s [Gibert 2007, 2014]. At the time of this creation, homokinesis, homorythm, and a configuration of dancers in a closed circle (holding hands or shoulders) were favoured, explicitly aiming at the unification of an Israeli national culture in the making, and the "regeneration of the Jewish body" [Gibert 2014]. This specific dance practice has never ceased to develop until today, as hundreds of "dances" (short choreographies of a few minutes created by known individuals called "choreographers") are being created every year.[4] Yet, whilst homokinesis and homorythm remain the rule until today, dancers are nowadays very rarely holding hands or shoulders, opening up the circle to a more shapeless configuration of dancers, although everyone is still circulating in the same direction and at the same pace. Voices amongst dancers and choreographers are calling for a return to holding hands, but this almost only happens during special dance events oriented towards the past.[5]

Part #3
A few years ago, I met the choreographer of contemporary dance Yuval Pick, born and raised in Israel but working in Europe for more than fifteen years. Having danced *Israeli Folk Dance* in his youth, he wanted to revisit this practice twenty years later through his work in contemporary dance and, from it, to create a choreography that he later called "Folks" (2012). As he explained to me later on, by doing so he had expected to find again "the joy and sense of community" he had once experienced in such practice.[6] However, what he noticed during the process of creation, was that the dancers he was working with, although expert dancers (trained in contemporary dance), struggled to dance together, that is to achieve homokinesis, homorythm and hand connexion at the centre of this dance form. The choreographer therefore started to reflect on his dancers' efforts to master a type of dance usually seen as *simple* mainly because of the low degree of expertise required to perform its movements and gestures,[7] but also because as everyone is doing the same things, at the same moment and at the same pace, it is possible to mimic other dancers. He therefore decided to explore this difficulty further by addressing the intricacies of human relationships, in pairs, trios and groups.

What we can see in these three *stories* is three very different ways of experimenting the "power of dance" in the construction of some sort of group (or "world to come" in Gore's perspective) in three different contexts and at different scales (a company of dancers, a class of students, a Nation), through the process of learning a choreography performed together and with physical contact. However, this

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3   This dance form is called *Rikudei Am* in Hebrew (verbatim translation "dances of the people"), but is usually called *Israeli Folk Dance* in English.
4   For instance, the dance I taught is called *Od lo ahavti daï* (I have not yet loved enough). It was created by Yankele Levi in 1977. Music and Lyrics are from Naomi Shemer.
5   Such events now constitute a proper category ("Nostalgia") within the Israeli Folk Dance categorization of dance events. To advertise such events, organizers are giving them names, for instance *Lirkod be ta'am shel Pa'am*, lit. "To dance in old days' taste."
6   Yuval Pick gave this explanation in our first exchange about this choreography. I was then asked to join him during some public meetings held before/after the performance of *Folks*, in order to add an anthropological point of view to exchanges with the audience. Later on, we developed a collaboration aiming at a study of his created work.
7   However, it requires a good memory as the repertoire is composed of hundreds of choreographies.

construction is far from being obvious, evident and simple. Although not addressing directly Karoblis' suggestion that "pairing processes" are induced by kinaesthesic empathy and can provide several potential effects from alliance to confrontation, Yuval Pick's contemporary dancers, anthropology students or Israeli Folk dancers seem indeed to be dealing with, struggling over and/or rejoicing through, precisely, the "significance of the human sociability" achieved through the "transcendental characteristics" of dance, as Grau intended to demonstrate in her article "Why people dance – evolution, sociality and dance" [2016], and that Gore studied through the notions of relationality and sense of consciousness.

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Mats NILSSON

THE ONGOING FIGHT FOR OWNERSHIP OF FOLK DANCE IN SWEDEN
THINKING IN PROGRESS

Abstract

Folkdance is a genre of its own and was in Sweden created as such around 1900. From then and onwards different political ideologies has used folkdances, or at least tried to, for their political ambitions. My idea is to use different colors to follow this fight for ownership during the 20th century.

Keywords: folk dance, ownership, ideologies

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Introduction

Around the millennium turn in 1900 folk dance became a dance genre of its own in Sweden. It had in fact to be defined as something else than other dance genres, that is why the prefix "folk" was added. Earlier there were other prefixes used, like National dances or *Allmoge* dances (Swedish word for peasants), but they were successive replaced by *folk*. Folk dance clubs started as early as 1880, and in 1920 the Swedish National Association for Folk dance was inaugurated.

In this context it is important to keep in mind where the concept of folk dance is created. In short *folk dances* are selected and standardized popular dances, constructions in the spirit of national-romanticism done by members of the folkdance clubs. These dances are often labelled from *there* and/or *then* and more formal and emblematic than popular dances. *Popular dances* are instead what people, we, danced and still dance just for fun at social gatherings. They are in general less formal and more ecstatic than folk dances.
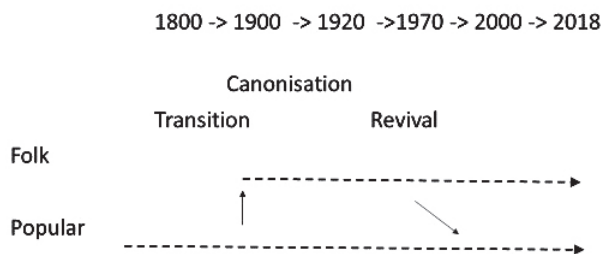
Figure 1.

There is always a geo-political dimension when the prefix *folk* is used. Folkdances and folk dancing are strongly connected to nations and parts of nations. Therefore, political parties during the 20th century have tried to use the folk dance (and other aspects of *folk* culture) for their purpose. Parallel to this there has also been a moral fight versus popular dance, where the questions about bad youth behavior are targeted. In cultural politics the dance considered *dance* is the theatre art dance like ballet and modern contemporary dance. Folk dance, with its geographical connotations, and popular dance mostly used by younger people, is less valued in cultural terms.

In this article I want to bring forward the changing colors of different ideology's that have used folkdance and folk music for advertising their political goals during the 20th century.

The colors of the ideologies

The choice of colors is not random, even if it is partly my way of thinking that what is good and visible. There are connections to the colors used for the ideologies:

1880 ---2018
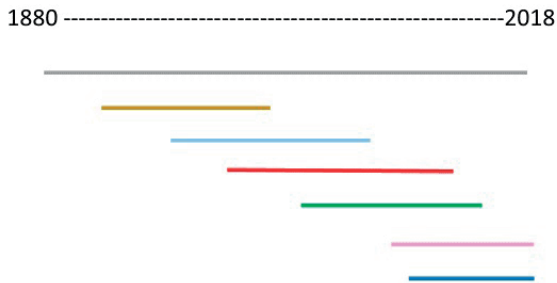
Figure 2.

Grey stands for the folklore collectors and archive/museum workers. This ideology has its roots in the 19th century. The end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century was their high days and establishing *folk* as a concept was one of the more important result. They are still active, not least in the business of intangible cultural heritage. Here we find the antiquarians and museum people. There was, and are, people from nearly all political groups taking part in these activities. Folk music and to lesser degree folk dance was documented and put in archives, and 100 years later this material is an important source for folk musicians. I give them the grey color here.

Brown is the color for the right-wing movements that were most active during the period between the wars, 1918–1939. It was in this period the folkdance clubs and the national folkdance association were established. Of course, the folk dancers were influenced by the ideology of march, even, even if they were not political right wing. This was the time for standardization and constructing folk dances in the style of popular country dancing. The goal was to create a unified Swedish folkdance canon [Andersson 2010; Ling 1979].

Light blue is here a symbol for the *back to the root revivalists*. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the reaction against the folkdance canon with its *right and wrong* in dance, led to a more freely interpretation of what *folk* dance could be. Dancing was put in focus instead of dances. Much inspiration for the dances came from the folk music revival, in Sweden often referred to as the folk music wave (*folkmusikvågen*). In many ways this was an *anti-authority* activity with a touch of liberal ideas [Kjell-ström et al. 1985].

Red is mostly used for left wing, socialist and communist ideologies that emerged partly paralleled to the light blue in the 1970s. Give the music and dance back to the people, the *folk*, was a goal, with a strong stand against commercialism. Now folk music and dance became a part of the activities in the left-wing parties and trade unions.

Green is a symbol for environmentalists in the 1980s, who also used and incorporated folkdance and music into their ideology. Back to nature is associated with a way of living like *folk*. Here the *no nuclear power* movement was close, and the wish for less use of nature's endless resources. Politically it comes close to the center of the Swedish political system.

Rainbow, or pink color, is a merge of left wing, feminist and queer movements that spread in the 1990s. Now folk dancers, and those in other dance forms, deviated from couples of a man and a woman as the norm in pair dances. Instead you dance as a dance leader or a follower, and you might change role during the dance. Even if same sex couples are not something new in dancing, the idea of not acknowledging the dancers as a dancing man or woman is new [Nyander and Stålnert 2014].

Dark blue is the social-conservative groups emerging in the 2000s. For these people Swedish heritage is important and they accentuated values including folk-dance and music. Here we find the right wing or social conservative party that cana-lizes lots of anti-establishment movements today [Helmersson 2019].

So, who owns the flag?

The concept and use of folk dance are strongly connected to the fight between ide-ologies and/or territories. Folk dance names are linked to geography like countries, regions or villages and this is an important part of making them folk dances. As said above, different political parties have made attempts to appropriate the folkdance canon, and the dances have been painted in nation states/region/local/separatist colors. In most respects, it is the same dances that have been painted in different colors for at least a hundred years. Because the dances in Europe are similar, it is the flags that differ. Ownership has been, and is, important symbolically but the dancing goes on anyhow. The dancers have all colors.

Popular dance, the counterpart of folk dance, has become involved in a fight for moral standards instead of political ideologies. The breakthrough for folk dance, around 1920, is when the flood of new dance and music fashions reached Sweden, not least coming from the USA. These modern dances have, especially for the youth dancing them, been a target for control and legislation and there have been attempts to ban them. It has been a fight from the adults, especially the religious but also peo-ple working with public health, versus the younger generations. The youth must be protected against modern evils. But this is another story, where the fight is colored in black (priest) and white (social workers).

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Linnea HELMERSSON

SWEDISH FOLK DANCE AS A CONTESTED AND POLITICIZED SCENE

Abstract

Recent years have seen an increased presence of nationalistic rhetoric in many European countries, including Sweden. Apart from the general political implications of this, it has also generated an unwanted attention on folk dance, folk music and other forms of traditional culture. There are numerous examples of how the xenophobic movements are promoting and highlighting elements of the old peasant culture, pronouncing them cultural heritage. In this, so-called Swedish values are focused, and the remnants of an old folk culture are used to create ideas of Swedishness and a homogenous Swedish culture. However, this process of appropriation does not take place without a strong resistance from, above all, the practitioners of folk dance and folk music. Working in networks, projects, organizations and with personal initiatives, cultural workers and practitioners have mobilized against racism and against the xenophobic movements' appropriation of folk culture. Many Swedish dancers and musicians are actively trying to show that dance and music have nothing to do with nationalism and xenophobia. Instead, music and dance are being used to create meeting places between native Swedes and immigrants. Most importantly, the dancers and musicians do not only debate and discuss, many of them have also become anti-racist activists, manifesting out on the streets as well as actively welcoming immigrants to the arenas of dance and music. In this article, I will show how traditional dance and music in Sweden have become a battleground for starkly differing ideologies and values and what the resistance looks like.

Keywords: political activism, folk dance, nationalism, radical right, Sweden, folk culture

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In September 2018, the Neo-Nazi association Nordiska motståndsrörelsen, The Nordic Resistance Movement, was granted permit for a demonstration in Gothenburg on the same day as the Jewish festival day Yom Kippur. This caused a lot of debate in Sweden and on the day of the demonstration, several thousands of people joined forces to stand up against Nazism and racism. Among the many that gathered in the huge counterdemonstration, was a group of people calling themselves "Folk musicians against racism." Some of them had brought along instruments and played traditional Swedish folk music as well as Jewish klezmer.

In this article, I will discuss how a political use and appropriation of cultural expressions by radical right-wing organisations has led to a manifold activism among Swedish practitioners of particularly folk music and folk dance, but also among others who have a personal relation to folk culture and cultural heritage.

Today, a number of practitioners express a necessity to defend their culture from nationalistic and un-democratic forces. They have engaged in different ways to prevent folk music and dance to turn into exclusive national symbols, and want to actively welcome immigrants to the arenas of Swedish folk culture. My aim is to show why practitioners have turned into activists and give examples of what this activism looks like.

I draw upon interviews with practitioners of folk music and dance, discussions on social media, newspaper articles and opinion pieces, as well as others kinds of texts, including websites and email communication with associations and institutes working with folk culture.

From invisibility to a battleground for political ideology

At the turn of the 21st century, Swedish folk dance and folk music could be described as something of an underground phenomenon – vivid and vibrant with festivals gathering 10 000 participants, but nevertheless unknown to most Swedes. Folk music and dance, as well as other parts of folk culture, were more or less invisible and neglected not only in the media but also in cultural politics. This dramatically changed in September 2010, when right-wing, xenophobic party Sverigedemokraterna, the Sweden Democrats, made it to the Swedish parliament.[1] Suddenly there was a party in parliament claiming to be a "cultural heritage party," highlighting the old folk culture and its values for the nation of Sweden. Culture was one of few areas apart from immigration issues that was actively discussed by Sverigedemokraterna at this time. The party stated that they wanted to support traditional Swedish culture, such as folk music and dance, and instead cut the funding for multicultural projects and institutions. One might think that organizations working with folk culture would appreciate a political ambition to support it, but this was definitely not the case. Instead, many practitioners felt that their culture or hobby was kidnapped by nationalists and misused in political debate. The fact that party leader Jimmie Åkesson dressed up in a rented folk costume for the opening of parliament, led to outrage and genuine worry among dancers, musicians and others who had a personal relation to folk costumes. To them, his use of the costume conveyed unwanted associations between folk culture, nationalism and xenophobia.[2]

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1   The Sweden Democrats got 5,7% of the electorate (close to 350 000 votes) and got for the first time enough votes to gain entrance to the Swedish parliament. The limit for entering the parliament in Sweden is 4% of the national vote. In the elections in 2014 and 2018 Sverigedemokraterna got 12,9% and 17,5% of the electorate respectively [Valmyndigheten 2018a, 2018b, 2018c].

2   Folk costumes (also known as traditional, or national costumes) are clothes with local distinctive characters that were used by peasants in the pre-modern society. During the national romanticism of the 19th century, folk costumes along with music and dance became national symbols. Today, folk costumes are mostly used at festive occasions, and are not commonly used in most parts of the country. During the folk music revival in the 1970s and 80s, there was a renewed interest for folk costumes. At that time, folk costumes could be rather common at dances and fiddlers' meets (*spelmansstämmor*). Today, the use of folk costumes is not so often noticed among dancers, whereas it is more common among musicians. To generalise, folk costumes are more commonly used today by persons who engage with folk culture, tangible as well as intangible, adding to the strong associations between folk costumes and particularly folk music and dance.

Within a week of the 2010 election, Svenska Folkdansringen,[3] one of the largest organizations working with folk culture in Sweden, published a sharply formulated statement saying that everyone in Sweden with an immigrant background have the right to safeguard their cultural heritage. The organization pointed out that it does not see this right as a threat to so called Swedish expressions of culture, but rather as a resource for integration and development. Svenska Folkdansringen clearly dismissed the xenophobic use of folk culture displayed by Sverigedemokraterna, and stated that "in a multicultural, generous and open society there is room for everyone" [Thalén 2010]. Many institutions and practitioners that have close connections to old Swedish folk culture share this view. There is a strong narrative of inclusiveness among practitioners saying that the folk culture belongs to all of us and that everyone is welcome irrespective of who they are or where they come from. Nowadays, it is also a common view among practitioners that folk culture benefits from influences from other cultures and styles – and has always done so [cf. Kaminsky 2012]. Today, a crossing of genres and cultures is seen as natural part of the folk music scene [cf. Fredriksson 2018]. Sverigedemokraternas' ambition to promote so-called Swedish folk culture at the expense of other cultures and cultural expressions has thus been strongly rejected by practitioners and cultural institutions.

A few weeks after the election, demonstrations were arranged in several Swedish towns, initiated by the newly formed network "Folk musicians against xenophobia." Participants dressed up in folk costumes, played music and danced, wanting to send a clear message that their culture had nothing to do with the xenophobic and nationalistic politics of Sverigedemokraterna. The network also emphasized that folk culture is changeable, inclusive and shall not be used to polarize between people. The network has since the start been one of the strongest voices in the debate advocating a non-nationalistic view on folk culture. Despite the name of the network, it aims to gather practitioners from all areas of folk culture.[4]

I want to point out that not everyone engaged with folk music, dance, handicraft et cetera thinks that it is equally important to avoid associations to nationalism or particular political parties. There are of course different ideologies and standpoints represented among todays' practitioners and not everyone regards the nationalists' interest in folk culture as problematic. However, the dominant narrative, or discourse, is clearly non-nationalistic.

During the year following the 2010 election, many discussions and debates took place in radio programmes, web pages, papers and magazines on the theme of what Swedish culture, cultural heritage and folk music are, spurred by the nationalistic rhetoric of Sverigedemokraterna. The debate was often heated, and still is today.

Shifting ideologies of folk culture and radical nationalism
Discussions about what Swedish folk music and folk culture are, have occurred earlier among musicians and other practitioners, and connections between nationalism, cultural heritage and folk culture are not new. Folk culture has been used for a long time to create ideas of national homogeneity and belonging, not only in Sweden but

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3   Svenska Folkdansringen (Swedish Folklore Association) was founded in 1920 and has around 15 000 members. The association works mainly with dance, music, folk costumes and handicraft [Svenska Folkdansringen 2018].
4   The network later changed its name to Folk musicians against racism.

also in many other countries [see for example Giurchescu 2001; Löfgren 1993; Öztürkmen 2001]. In Sweden, the preoccupation with folk culture during the national romanticism of the 19th century, transformed the everyday culture of the peasants into national symbols that could be used in the construction of a modern nation state. Peasant culture served as an "internal Other," something exotic and timeless that the new urban middle class could distinguish themselves from [Crang 2009:449]. At the same time, romantic notions on the purity and authenticity of the pre-industrial folk culture rendered it a great source of inspiration to the cultural elite and influenced e.g. writing and composing.

To some extent, the romantic narratives on folk culture still prevail and influence the folk music scene today, something that has also been pointed out by practitioners. Additionally, in Sweden folk dance and folk music have previously had ideological associations not only to nationalism but also to conservatism, anti-commercialism and the leftist movement [cf. Arvidsson 2008; Ling 1979, 1980]. Shifting ideologies have influenced and created different, and sometimes conflicting, narratives on folk music, something that has been discussed by researchers as well as folk practitioners. Among practitioners, the discussion about folk culture has been quite different during the last eight years due to the cultural policy of Sverigedemokraterna. The discussions are different because only one political party (with mandates in parliament) actively promotes folk culture. It is also different because Sverigedemokraterna is a party with a pronounced "pro-Swedish" agenda and a politics that is regarded as xenophobic and racist by many Swedes. According to Sverigedemokraterna, culture defines who is Swedish and who is not. With immigration and folk culture constituting the metanarratives of the party [Lindsköld 2015], folk culture becomes political in a way that it has not been before. It is important to notice that Sverigedemokraterna, unlike the nationalist parties in the other Scandinavian countries, has explicit racist roots and was started by former members of a National Socialist organisation [Lindsköld 2015; Teitelbaum 2017]. I believe that the awareness of this background has contributed to the strong resistance to the party, not only among folk practitioners but also among other Swedes.

Furthermore, Sverigedemokraterna has, according to many practitioners, a homogenous and idealized view of what folk culture is. Single cultural expressions are put forward as "good Swedish traditions" regardless of their historical background, such as *Oxdansen*, a choreographed dance used among students in the 19th century and adopted by the early folk dance movement.[5]

Among folk practitioners, Sverigedemokraterna are seen as ignorant outsiders and they are often critiqued for not knowing anything about the culture they seek to safeguard. One often mentioned example from 2011 was when a party representative turned up at a nationalist demonstration in a folk costume with his trousers turned the wrong way round [see Bergel 2012]. This rendered a lot of amusement but also proved to many practitioners that Sverigedemokraterna lack knowledge of the so-called Swedish culture they want to safeguard. Some practitioners feel deeply offended by the fact that individuals, who do not actually know the folk culture, appropriate it and makes themselves spokespersons of it, conveying a view of what

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5   Oxdansen, "The Ox dance" is according to *Svenska folkdanser* (a national book of folk dance descriptions) a type of frikassé and was danced in the western and southern parts of Sweden. However, there are little knowledge about the traditions of this dance in Sweden.

folk culture is, that is not shared by the people who actually produce it, transmit it and live in it.

In addition to the appropriation by Sverigedemokraterna, members of a growing Neo-Nazi movement in Sweden highlight the old folk culture. During the last years, a number of articles that promote and idealize Swedish folk music and dance have been published in magazines affiliated to radical nationalists.

The recent interest in folk culture from radical nationalists has been thoroughly discussed by ethnomusicologist Benjamin Teitelbaum [2013, 2017]. He shows in his dissertation on music and nationalism that music has been used as way to attract new people to the nationalist movement and that it plays an important role in the process of reinventing radical nationalism as righteous and intellectual. Teitelbaum also shows that a shift from narratives on a mythical past and Viking era culture to a focus on folk culture and cultural heritage is an important strategy for Sverigedemokraterna in their aim to attract more voters. In their present-day rhetoric, Sweden is depicted as a homogenous nation, whose old, rich culture and values are threatened by immigration and foreign cultures.

From practitioners to activists
The appropriation process of the last eight years has turned a number of folk practitioners into activists. There is a kind of institutional activism, as well as activism out on the streets. To a large extent, this is not an organised activism, but a resistance carried out in many different forms and by many voices. To name just a few examples; folk musician Sara Parkman has been in the forefront of the resistance, initiating demonstrations, writing blog texts and participating in official debates. Together with Samantha Ohlanders she has been touring Sweden for several years stating that they play feministic and anti-nationalistic music.

Isak Bergström, another young musician who, as Parkman and Ohlanders[6], have studied at the Royal Music Academy in Stockholm, dedicated his exam concert in May 2018 to the struggle against nationalism. He called the concert "Lullaby for nationalism." In his presentation, he writes:

> As if nationalism had anything to do with my feeling for Hälsingland [his home region], my love for folk music, my fidelity and reverence to the forests and lakes that have surrounded me during my childhood? No, no, no. Nationalism creates barriers, it locks people out and it has had its time. Let me sing and play it to eternal sleep.

Here, Bergström points to one of the core elements of the romantic nationalism of the 19th century: the combination of a love for nature, a strong feeling for the home region (or nation) and a passion for folk culture. Despite the fact that Swedish folk music (and dance) has turned into a dynamic musical genre among many others, this nationalist narrative still prevails, to the obvious dismay of Bergström and many other practitioners. Not only do the associations between folk culture and nationalism in general prevail, but they have also become enhanced due to the cultural policy of Sverigedemokraterna, as well as associated to xenophobia and racism. Many

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6   Isak Bergström and Sara Parkman were both part in the process of forming the network Folk musicians against xenophobia/racism and are still active in the network.

folk practitioners feel obliged to actively counteract these associations, to stand up against racism and to defend their hobby or genre from discrediting narratives.

Unlike many other forms of activism or resistance, the activism of the folk practitioners does not strive to accomplish political goals, but rather to hinder specific political goals. At the same time, the activism also serves to re-/claim the right to define the genre of folk culture.

Why resistance?

Why is the resistance to this appropriation so strong? There are several answers, but they are in many ways interlinked. First, and maybe foremost, it is about taking a clear stand against racism and to dissociate from connections between nationalism, xenophobia and Swedish folk culture. Speaking in broad terms, it is also about colliding worldviews and of political ideology versus artistic practice. It is about identity, about legitimacy and ownership; and it is about ideals and about defending human rights.

Today, not only Sverigedemokraterna but also more radical nationalist groups use Swedish folk culture as a means to create ideas of a homogenous nation, and to define who is Swedish and who is not. As pointed out by many researchers, xenophobia is nurtured by ideas of cultural barriers, cultural identities and romanticized views on history. This is also a common critique against the cultural essentialism of Sverigedemokraterna. From a historical perspective, interpretations of history and cultural expressions have had great importance for radical nationalist movements in many countries, with Nazi Germany the most famous example [cf. Bohlman 2004]. Cultural segregation can be the first step towards profound racism and discrimination, and as history has shown, in the worst case leading to genocide. As pointed out by my interviewees, the historical connection between radical nationalism and folk culture makes it even more important to resist the appropriation by xenophobic forces. When speaking with practitioners on this topic, references to WWII are not uncommon.

Among today's practitioners, the inclusive nature of folk culture is strongly emphasised – in the folk community, there is room for everyone. Words like diversity and heterogeneity are loaded with positive value and social and bridge building aspects are often highlighted. The worldview of the folk community collides heavily with the view on culture displayed by Sverigedemokraterna. Whereas practitioners see folk culture as a way to unite in the love of certain cultural expressions, and a possibility to bring people closer to each other, it works the other way in the hands of Sverigedemokraterna, who use it to create divides between immigrants and native Swedes. Sverigedemokraterna describe Swedish culture as threatened by multiculture and immigration, a view that is not shared by the folk community, which rather highlight the diversity of influences that contributes to the development of folk culture. The folk music scene is often described as welcoming and open to cultural meetings. The dominant rhetoric is one of inclusivity, as compared to the cultural policy of Sverigedemokraterna, which is seen as excluding.

Folk culture as a community

In today's Sweden, a country that is often depicted as of one of the most modern in the world, folk culture has to a large extent become something that is associated to the past. When the modern Swedish society developed, folk culture, as well as nationalism, was seen as something out-dated that did not fit into modernity [see Löfgren 2000]. Nowadays, folk dance, folk music and other cultural expressions with roots in the old peasant society, such as knitting and storytelling, could in many ways be seen as subcultures, hobbies or lifestyles. They are no longer intrinsic parts of the life of an average Swede, but cultural knowledge shared by a minority. This minority could be described as a community of practitioners, but also as several overlapping subcultures where different cultural expressions are the uniting factors. Therefore, the politicisation and appropriation of folk culture could be discussed in terms of ownership and legitimacy. Who has the right to define what Swedish folk culture is? And to whom does it belong?

Being a folk dancer or a folk musician today is largely a question of identity, of having strong emotional bonds to it and to the folk music scene. To many dedicated practitioners, the dance or music is an integral part of the self, and becomes a way to define oneself as a person. I believe that this is one of the reasons that practitioners feel so strongly that they have to make a clear standpoint against nationalism and racism. To them this is personal. Many dancers and musicians express that they feel sorrow and anger at the thought that people might connect the culture that they love with xenophobia and an excluding nationalism. This may even be experienced as being "guilty by association." As one of my interviewees puts it: "You play the nyckelharpa because it makes you happy, and suddenly the instrument is used to symbolize fascism in Sweden." Naturally, this is deeply disturbing. Seeing yourself as a dancer or musician, associations to nationalism and xenophobia can be experienced as both discrediting and a threat to the personal identity and self-image. Today, practitioners face a risk of being seen as sympathisers of Sverigedemokraterna, nationalists or even racists due to radical nationalists' attempts to appropriate folk culture.

Musical curiosity and bridge building

In today's Sweden, a large percentage of the population has roots in other countries. However, this is not visible on the dance floor. The Swedish folk music and dance scene still is predominantly white and homogenous in many aspects. This does not mean that the inclusive and open-minded ideals of the folk music scene are only varnish and wishful thinking. However, it would seem that it was not until fairly recently that practitioners in general came to realise that an open attitude might not be enough to attract new crowds to the folk music scene. The inclusive ideals must also be transferred into action.

In some aspects, the folk music scene has been multicultural for decades [see Lundberg, Malm, Ronström 2010] and many institutions, organisations and individuals engaging with folk music and dance have been working for years with projects that create meeting places between native Swedes and people with other backgrounds and ethnicities. These efforts increased and got a more political dimension after Sverigedemokraterna made it to the parliament in 2010. During the last three years or so, this work has increased considerably, due to the large influx of refugees in Sweden from particularly Syria and Afghanistan. Many local organizations have

reached out to asylum centres and immigrant societies – one example is the folk music festival in Umeå. In 2016, when I was also one of the producers of the festival, every asylum accommodation in Umeå were contacted and the refugees were offered free tickets for the festival. A concert with both Swedish and Syrian musicians was also arranged at the largest asylum centre during the festival week. Around 100 refugees in different ages later came to the festival, and some of them tried dancing Swedish folk dances for the first time.

In addition to this kind of bridge building work, there have been cross-cultural projects and exchanges among professional folk musicians and institutions for decades. Musical influences from other countries and other musical styles and genres has been an important part of Swedish folk music at least since the 1970's [Lundberg, Malm, Ronström 2000].[7] The common perspective of folk music and folk culture as limitless opens up for musical meetings, where integration into the Swedish society might come as a positive side effect. One of my interviewees is a musician, strongly rooted in the local folk music of his region. A couple of years ago he formed a band with both native Swedes and immigrants from the Middle East. He strongly emphasizes that his motivations for forming the band above all comes from musical curiosity and an interest in getting to know other music cultures. The integration aspect comes in the second place. However, to him, and many other Swedish musicians and dancers, folk culture provides meeting places between newly arrived immigrants and native Swedes. Some practitioners see integration, in terms of bridge building and introduction to the Swedish society, as a natural part of the folk scene since many years.

Concluding remarks

Today, some practitioners feel the need to consider when and where folk culture is displayed. The recent years' politicisation of folk culture have caused both activism and discussion among practitioners who feel that their culture is misused and turned into a nationalist symbol. Not only do practitioners need to raise their voices to contradict the radical nationalists, they also need to continuously counteract the image of folk culture spread by radical nationalists towards the public at large.

Sverigedemokraternas' focus on folk culture has, despite all the effort from practitioners to avoid this, created associations to nationalism and xenophobia. Even if Sverigedemokraternas' newfound love for old traditions and cultural heritage is mocked in satire and political debate, the image in the public mind is established. In accordance with many of the activists, I argue that the invisibility of folk culture in Swedish cultural policy and media has facilitated the appropriation by the radical right. The appropriation is also facilitated by folk culture's marginalised position in Sweden and by nationalist narratives lingering from the days of national romanticism.

The appropriation process has raised awareness among institutions on the need to consider and articulate what folk culture is. It has also generated a need to emphasize core values and human rights. The common narrative of culture as limitless

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7   On the dance floor, this eclecticism is not as visible. Sometimes, the traditional dance forms are mixed up with foxtrot, lindy hop or its Swedish derivation bugg. However, this is a slightly different eclecticism since these dance genres are part of an international transmission and are not seen as ethnically characterised dance forms.

is a strong contributing factor to the resistance against a homogenous and excluding perspective in folk culture. As already mentioned, there are strong narratives of inclusiveness and openness in the folk culture arenas today; and I argue that this has become part of a collective identity within these arenas. Today, integration, in terms of bridge building, has become increasingly important to institutions and practitioners alike, and many efforts are made to welcome immigrants and minorities to the folk culture arenas – this work might even be the most widespread and important way of putting up resistance to a xenophobic cultural politics.

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Konstantinos Dimopoulos

FROM BODY POLITICS TO THE POLITICS OF EMBODIED ACTION – GENDER AND GENDER RELATIONS POLICIES THROUGH THE DANCE PRACTICES OF A GREEK COMMUNITY (MEGALA KALYVIA, THESSALY)

Abstract

Since the 17th century, dance has served the politics of various identities (national, local, gender). The turn of feminist anthrophony, or the anthropology of gender applied to research of the poetics and politics of song, dance and ritual, has a new field for the study of gender identity. Dance symbolically transfers meanings for gender relations, transmits gender knowledge and can establish social transformations. Age is a factor as well, since older women can show a type of strength within the same gender, but also to the whole society. The aim of this paper is, on the one hand, to engage with the issue of gender politics as they appear in the Greek community of Megala Kalyvia, Thessaly, Greece, and, on the other hand, to designate how female scan adjust and re-adjust their politics in relation to males, and also with members of their own gender, through dance and dance practices. This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork, particularly participant observation. Data analysis was based on thick description, while their interpretation follows the hermeneutic perspective of gender politics, along with the gender age, based on the concepts of cultural hegemony, cultural sovereignty, power and habitus. I demonstrate that dance is used by women in Megala Kalyvia as a political vehicle. Through this vehicle the female gender either confirms its social, *subordinate* role to the male-based society, or questions this dominance through dance, creating other social facts – as they are in dance practices, so in the society.

Keywords: dance, dance anthropology, anthropology of gender, gender relations, Greece

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Introduction

Since the 17th century, dance has been used as a political instrument for various identities (national, local, gender). As gender anthropology has turned to research the poetics and the political elements of song and dance rituals, it has marked a new field for approaching gender identity [Dimopoulos 2011]. Dance symbolically transfers meanings related to gender relations, offers gender-related knowledge, and can lead to social transformations. The perception of genders and their relationships, always power relations, are embodied in practices that are related with sociability. One such practice is dance [Cowan 1998:23].

The aim of this paper is, on one hand, to showcase the issue of gender politics as it appears in the Greek community of Megala Kalyvia (Thessaly) and, on the other hand, to analyze how women adjust and re-adjust their responses to gender issues through dance practices. This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork, particularly participant observation [Buckland 1999; Giurchescu 1999; Koutsouba 1997; Sklar 1991]. Data analysis was based on thick description [Geertz 2003], whereas data interpretation was carried out according to the hermeneutic perspective of gender policies [Hanna 1988], always taking into consideration the concepts of Gramsci's cultural hegemony [1971], William's cultural sovereignty [1989], Foucault's [1978] and Gidden's [1976] power and Bourdieu's' habitus [1990].

Ethnographic data
Megala Kalyvia (Trikala): the place and the people
The village of Megala Kalyvia lies in the lowland region of Trikala, Greece, in the southwest part of the region. It used to be the administrative center of the community named after the village under *Kapodistrias* Reform Law (together with the communities of Glinos and Agia Kyriaki), whereas it now belongs to the municipality of Trikala city. It is 8 km away from the city of Trikala and it is the last community before reaching the province of Karditsa. With a population of 1,849 inhabitants (according to the census of 2011) it occupies an area of 2,900 hectares and has an altitude of 105 meters. The community of Megala Kalyvia, is therefore, the frontier village between the provinces of Trikala and Karditsa, as can be seen below.

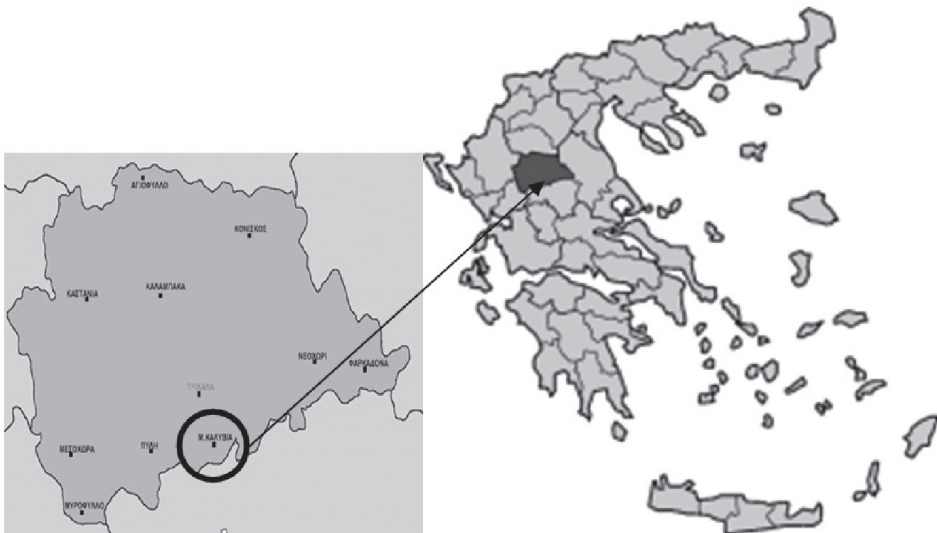**Figure 1.** Megala Kalyvia and its geographic position [Vres n. d.; Wikipedia 2018].

Its initial name was Kalyvia. In the beginning of the 19th century, there used to be several settlements, such as Paschaliori, Kavoures, Logarakos, Kyrazoi, Marmaras and Kalyvia [Chiotis 1997:13]. This can also be proved by the script number (*prothesi*) 39 of the monastery of *Dousiko* (16th–17th century). Moreover, the settlement of

Paschaliori is documented back to 1592 [Ntoulas 2011:472]. The definition *Megala* (Great) appears to have been introduced at a later stage, when all above settlements were unified, apparently around 1810. The name *Kalyvia* is documented for the last time in 1838. According to earlier oral narrations of two locals, F. Papanikolaou (1881–1967) and P. Karalis (1892–1967):

> [...] Mpeis, the representative of Ali Pasha of Ioannina, asked the Kotsampasis (local Christian notable) how they could create a big village such as Megalos Palamas in Karditsa. The Kostsampasis replied that that would be possible by unifying all above settlements [...] [Chiotis 1997:21].

Hence, around 1810 all settlements were unified and the community was renamed to Megala Kalyvia.

The inhabitants of Megala Kalyvia belong to the ethnic group of Karagkounides and they are really proud of their identity. Their main activity is mostly agriculture, while animal husbandry is mainly used to satisfy family needs. Mixing with other populations was rather rare. Outsiders appear to have arrived mostly after 1900, and they came mainly from Karagkounides communities. Some ethnic Vlachs also settled in the community: they typically stayed there during the winter months and left in summer [Chiotis 2005:240]. They mainly came from the Vlach communities of Gardiki or Moutsiara, and their arrival is dated around 1900. Their main activities were animal husbandry, trade and dressmaking. No agricultural holding was conceded to them, they only received a parcel of 0,5 hectares of arable land [Chiotis 1997:66]. The Vlach population has since abandoned the community and moved either to the nearby town of Trikala or to Athens [Chiotis 2005:240].

The *panigiri* in Megala Kalyvia

Panigiri is the Greek word for a feast that is held to celebrate or to honour a saint. The main *panigiri* in Megala Kalyvia is the *panigiri* of St. Constantine (21st May). In contrast with other municipalities, especially the mountain ones whose inhabitants use the *panigiri* as a means to renew their cultural consistency, to confirm their continuity and their connection with their birth place [Avdikos 2004:205], the *panigiri* of Megala Kalyvia takes place in May and most of its people do not live far from their birth place.

According to the traditions and older narrators, they used to celebrate their *panigiri* on the holy day of the transfer of St. Nicolas' relics (20th May) but the celebration was moved and it is currently celebrated on the 21st May [Papapolykarpos 1988a:3]. The location of the even has also changed. As in other communities, the *panigiri* takes place in the square of the village. Until 1918 however, the *panigiri* took place in the *Kotsianiti* area [Papapolykarpos 1988a:3]. As mentioned in several sources, in 1918, the fiefdom was distributed and since then the location of the celebration place was moved to the community's square [Papapolykarpos 1988a:3].

The change in date and patron saint, and the change in location both relate to the recognition of the local identity and the collective supralocal identity of the Karagounides ethnic group. The adjacent municipality of Magoula celebrates the exact same Saint (St. Nicolas) on the same day. Available data show that the date was transposed so that the two *panigiri* celebrations in these villages would not coincide, in order for people to be able to attend both celebrations, since there were

tight family links and other types of relationships. Therefore, the people of Megala Kalyvia shifted their feast to the next day – St. Constantine's day. On the eve of St. Nicolas's day, the people from the two villages went to Magoula, while on the eve of St. Constantine's day, they went to Megala Kalyvia. The *panigiri* functioned as a place of exchange of social relationships, in order to maintain and renew the connection between the two communities. In other words, the celebration date changed in order to strengthen the bonds between the two communities. The *panigiri* served as a place to express unity and communication between the neighboring municipalities, but also, at the same time, of the desire to project a common Karagounides identity. In order to reinforce and confirm their cultural identity, the people chose to celebrate their *panigiri* not on the same day, but on two separate days, one followed by the other. In this way, they validated their common supralocal identity as members of the Karagounides ethnic group.

Another element that corroborates the above is the fact that the *panigiri* of Megala Kalyvia have attracted people from other villages belonging to the same ethnic group. They go there to celebrate, but also to reinforce the collective Karagounides identity through themselves and the other. In this aspect, B.X. mentions:

> [...] of course they would come…they came from other villages, they would spend the whole night here or even sleep over [...] they would come from Drosero, since they had relatives, or even from Lazarina, since they also had family here. They were welcome here, from all the nearby villages, our own villages [...] wherever you would go, it was a sight for sore eyes… [2016].

And P.T. mentions:

> [...] we would receive visitors from Misdan' (also known as Agnantero), Pouliana (also known as Mouria), Magoula, Paliochori, from the surrounding villages [...] they would come to our houses, they ate, they had relatives and they would all go out together and they danced with them or friends coming with them [2015].

These villages are all populated by the ethnic group of Karagounides, the informants validate Karagounides identity, without even being aware of it, through their testimonies. They refer to the neighboring communities as "our own villages", that they are the same, they belong to the same group. Relatives from the surrounding villages also sometimes spend the night in Megala Kalyvia at their relatives' homes. The *panigiri* is a means of reinforcement of family bonds, but also of Karagounides identity.

Therefore, the *panigiri* indicates local history, or more precisely, as an indicator of the change in history. The change of the celebration day coincided with a very significant historic event, the land distribution. At the same time, the space of the *panigiri* was also changed: on a symbolic level, it constituted a new celebration place and abandoned the old celebration place, and with it, the previous way of life and structure of the society.

Let's focus on how the *panigiri* in Megala Kalyvia was celebrated. In contrast with other *panigiri* celebrations all over Greece, where all the inhabitants participated in a big circle, in Megala Kalyvia, the practice was somewhat different. The *panigiri* was organized more around families. The participants gathered to their family.

They did not dance in a big circle, but in various and separate circles, one for each extended family. "The dancers' groups, where each one of them had its own instruments, were almost always more than 30 or 40" [Papapolykarpos 1998a:5]. "Up to 15 groups – 30 dance circles and 15 music bands were at the square on the day of the celebration, as recalled by the local people" [Rousiakis 2006:517]. Chiotis mentions:

> All relatives would gather and form their own dance circle. Each family in law with the husband and wife's relatives would form its own dance circle under the plane trees of the square. Then the relatives from the neighbouring villages would join them and they would exchange wishes. They had their own music band and they would enjoy themselves until the dusk [...] [2005:380].

The above is corroborated by informants, as, for instance, B.X:

> [...] in our own *panigiri*, there might be even 10 or 20 clarinets, each circle would have another dance circle [...] in the square that was full of people [...] in the church and then they would go out to the square and it was a total blast [2016].

P.T. exaggerated: "back then there were thousands of instruments at the square, each group, each family would have its own instruments" [2015], while E.G. reported that "there was not just one, but three or four dance circles" [2015].

From the informants' testimonies it is clear that the *panigiri* involved a lot of family-based dance circles with their own musicians and ordering their own dances. It therefore functioned more strongly than other *panigiri* as a *place* of reaffirmation of family bonds and relationships. It also reinforced *place* on two other levels: first, among the members of the family that lived in the village, and second, among the members of the family that married out of the village, or lived in another village for other reasons. The *panigiri* celebration was a first-class opportunity to get together and reinforce their family bonds.

Two questions arise from the above: how they were able to find so many music bands and were they local musicians from the municipality? These questions can be resolved using secondary sources and primary material. The bands consisted of the basic instruments that are present in every Karagounides village; the clarinet, the violin and the lute. As Papapolykarpos mentions: "Many years ago, the space surrounding the chapel was crowded: fair stalls, ice-cream sellers, violins and clarinets, they would create their own concert [...]" [1988b:179]. Each family provided for its own band and chose the musicians: "[...] there would be the passionate ones that made arrangements for their own musicians [...]" [Papapolykarpos 1988b:177]. Local musicians, were known and preferred by the local village people. As E.G. noted about the musicians, "there were a bunch of them here, those that are in the square right now [...]" [2015].

Apart from the local musicians, "the groups had instrument players from Trikala [...], or they picked wandering musicians that used to walk around the village that day [...]" [Rousiakis 2006:516]. E.G. spoke repeatedly about the musicians: "instrument players would pass by, back then the Gypsy bands would come around, the ones holding their clarinets under their armpit [...]" [2015]. P.T. adds that "people from other areas would also come [...]" [2015]. Therefore, besides the local instrument

players, other wandering musicians would also come by, who obviously were aware of the particularity of this specific village, and the need for several music bands to perform. Regarding their compensation, it was the normal compensation of a wandering musician. E.G. describes the following:

> [...] they would pass by to eat a plate of food, he had the clarinet under his armpit, then in the afternoon, we go dancing, he goes as well, they would give him some money there, and they would spend the day like this [...] [2015].

P.T. [2015] noted: "They came to earn some pennies." Musicians in that period were not well paid, and they just earned their food and a daily pay. This also applied to the musicians that played in the specific village.

Body politics and embodied action in the *panigiri* before the 1980s

In order to analyze the way body politics and gender relations operate, it is good to observe two main things: 1) the placement of the participants in the dance space, and 2) the dance formation, because "traditional rules of social behavior are symbolized there" [Giurchescu 1994:18].

Giurchescu argues that in order to better understand the social behavior, it is necessary to examine the place and the formation of dance. In our example, the place is the community square, a location in which gender roles and relationships are shown publicly. Male dominance was confirmed in the square, and females showed their subordinate role to the society. Women in the *panigiri* were forced to obey the rules of the local society and show their submissiveness to their husbands and male relatives, confirming the patriarchal model that ruled the community. Each family's circle at the *panigiri* actually consisted of two separate dance circles, an inner men's circle and a concentric outer women's circle. M.G. drew a circle with her hand, that "there was a men's circle and an outer circle made of women" [2016]. Normally, the couple that danced in front had some type of family relationship (they were cousins, an engaged couple, or a married couple). As M.G. mentions, "women wouldn't dance with a non-relative man. The fiancé would dance first, and the fiancée would follow. But each time, the man had to be family, either her husband, fiancé or brother" [2016].

Furthermore, the women that danced in the outer circle would not go beyond their men as a gesture of respect and submission to them. M.G. describes it: "[...] foot to foot. They danced foot to foot, this is how we called it. The man would lead and then the woman would follow just behind him" [2016]. "[...] foot to foot. First would go the man and the woman would follow" [P.K. 2016]. The informants affirm that the women in the *panigiri* had to follow their husbands or relatives loyally, without having any say in what, how and with whom they danced. Women, especially engaged or recently married ones, had to prove through their dance and their overall comportment during the *panigiri* that they abided by the social norms, that is, they accepted their subordinate role within the social fabric, that they will always follow their husband *foot to foot* or *hand in hand* in their life. They demonstrated this in their dance performance in the *panigiri*, in front of relatives and the wider social community.

The males, through dance, confirmed their power, and through their embodied action established their dominance over women. As Giurchescu points out, dance "helps to establish and reinforce social hierarchy" [1992:18]. Through *panigiri*, men

with their embodied action (dance and dance formation), reinforced the social hierarchy and confirmed the patriarchal role of the community.

Body politics and embodied action in the *panigiri* after 1980s

The decade of 1980s was a decade of many important socioeconomic changes in Greece. The rise of the feminist movement, the opportunity for women in rural areas to study in the universities, and the spread of the new technologies, such as radio and TV, lead to changes of body and gender politics. Women's liberation had an important impact in the social life of the community. The patriarchal model came into question, and gender politics began to change. Women worked for wages outside the home more often, and as a result they started to feel more independent and they were no longer reliant on their husbands or their parents-in-law in the same ways.

This context had a noticeable impact on the *panigiri*. Women started to demonstrate their independence in the community's public sphere. Women stopped dancing foot to foot with the men (husbands or relatives) and now they don't dance in the community square, but in the local bars. In this period, the *panigiri* has physically shifted from the community square to local bars. There, the women can dance not only with their relatives or husbands, but also with other women or men, who are friends. Furthermore, the dance formation has changed, because it is much more loose and flexible, not as strict as it was before. Women can now dance alone, with their husbands, friends, or other women. This implies that politics have changed and that the power of men has receded. Women demonstrate their independence through dance, showing that their roles are no longer subordinate to the males. The socio-political context and the different way of life have lead to a change of body politics. The adjustments in body politics are related to major changes in the dance space and the dance formation, elements that, according to Giurchescu [1994:18], symbolize rules of social behavior. The embodied action of women set under dispute the power of men.

Conclusions

This example of the *panigiri* in Megala Kalyvia in Greece (region of Trikala), is a clear example of how gender relationships and body politics are fluid constructions, open to change. Changes in social, political and economic factors can re-define gender roles in society, as well as the dance.

In a strict and patriarchic society, such as this one prior to 1980, the body politics were strict and indisputable. The power of men was obvious and the males were dominant, while the women we subordinate. This was depicted and through their actions, as women did not have the choice of what to dance, when, where and with whom. These were male decisions and the women just followed. The roles were very clear: the male gender lead the gender *vehicle*.

However, as Heraclitus stated, "everything changes." Gender relations and body politics can change through time. After the 1980s in our example, the socio-political environment changed and body politics took other forms. Women, through their independence, started to shape a different politic in relation to men. They danced whatever, whenever, wherever, and with whoever they wanted, without the permission of their men. Their body politics lead to different actions casting doubts about the power and the dominance that males used to have. It seems that now the

gender *vehicle* is guided by both genders equally, and that the relation between them is more a complementary relationship. Through dance, women either confirm their subordinate social role in a male-based society, or, on the contrary, question that dominant social relationship, creating and reflecting new realities in dance practices and within the society.

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Georgios K. Fountzoulas

DANCING THE POLITICS: THE CASE OF THE DANCING RITUAL *GAITANAKI* AT THE SKALA COMMUNITY IN CENTRAL GREECE

Abstract

Dance as an embodied non-verbal practice constitutes a symbol that functions as a *tool* transferring and transmitting ideals, meanings, habits, opinions, relationships and contradictions, cultural categorizations, social relationships and differences. Thus, participation or non-participation in dance reveals issues of inclusion or exclusion, the foci of this study. The aim of this paper is the study of the transformation of the dance in the *Gaitanaki* ritual at the Skala community of Nafpaktia in Central Greece as a result of manipulation by the community's ruling class from the middle of the 20th century till today. In particular, the paper looks at the way in which each ruling class influenced, manipulated and directed dance during the *Gaitanaki* ritual and how this led to the transformation of its form and to decisions to participate in it or not. I demonstrate that the dance practice during the *Gaitanaki* ritual was transformed, affected by the manipulation of each ruling class, while the participation or the non-participation in the dance became a political act by itself. I show that participation in a dance is not the only way to make a declaration, but deliberate absence can be a declarative act as well.

Keywords: Greece, Skala of Nafpaktia, *Gaitanaki* ritual, Greek cultural policy, nepotism

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Introduction

Dance as an embodied non-verbal practice reflects habits, opinions, relationships and contradictions thus functioning as a "vessel of meanings" [Giurchescu 1994:17] and as a "tool" that transfers and transmits ideals and meanings [Franco 2006:124], cultural categorizations, social relationships and differences [Cowan 1990; Koutsouba 1997]. As such, dance can be used by the ruling class to inflict pressure or manipulate, and by the non-elites as a means of resistance and opposition to the ruling class through participation or non-participation [Loutzaki 1994, 2001]. This seems to be the case for the dance during the *Gaitanaki* dancing ritual at the Skala community of Nafpaktia in Central Greece. The aim of this paper is the study of the transformation of this dance as it was manipulated by the community's ruling class from the middle of the 20th century until today. In particular, the paper looks at the way in which several subgroups of the ruling class influenced and directed dance during the ritual, and how this led to changes in its form and to its participants.

Data collection was based on ethnographic methods through participant observation. Labanotation was used to record the movements [Koutsouba 2005], while a method of morphological analysis allowed me to compare the dances performed at

the *Gaitanaki* ritual. The results are presented in a "thick description" [Geertz 1973], while they are interpreted from the point of view of politics and politicization of "culture" [Wright 2004], based on Gramsci's cultural "hegemony" [1971], Foucault's [1991] and Giddens' [1976] "power," and Bourdieu's "habitus" [1990].

Skala of Nafapktia

The province of Nafpaktia is a part of Central Greece called Roumeli, a name given by the Ottomans deriving from the junction of the Turkish words "Rum" and "eli," which mean Roman and land respectively. In other words, Roumeli is the land of Romans, the land of Greeks [Babiniotis 1998:452]. Nafpaktos is the capital of the province of Nafpaktia and Skala a community very close by, a fact that contributed to its early urbanization [Daousanis 2005]. Roumeli and Peloponnese are among the first areas to be liberated from the Ottoman Empire in 1829. As a result, it formed the so-called *first* Greece [Stavrogiannopoulos 1970] on which the modern Greek State policy was formulated [Fountzoulas, Koutsouba, Hapsoulas, Lantzos 2017] (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Maps of Nafpaktia and communities [Wikipedia 2015].

Politics

In the 19th century, in the context of ideological romanticism, nation states were created. National policy penetrated all of public life, including culture [Konsola 1990; Zorba 2009, 2014]. In that context, the cultural policy became a *uniting key* for members of the *imaginary* nation [Anderson 2006] forming the concept of *Greekness* [Herzfeld 1986; Koutsouba 1995, 1997]. In Greece, cultural policy was activated on macro and micro levels of society, through formal education [Fountzoulas, Koutsouba, Hapsoulas, Lantzos 2017], where dance and more specifically Greek traditional dance, played an enormous role.

In macro society, this policy functioned as "power" [Giddens 1976:126; Foucault 1991:307] and "hegemony" [Gramsci 1971:91]. It led to the formulation of cultural strategies that aimed, on the one hand, at influencing the people through cultural education and, on the other hand, at changing the meaning of fundamental notions such as *nation*, *race*, *culture*, *citizen*, *person*, *freedom*, *choice* [Wright 2004:94]. Furthermore, through formal education, public and private, the newly established

Greek nation attempted to create a common *Greek consciousness*, in the concept of Bourdieu's "habitus" [1990].

The concept was to *produce* a *product* through apprenticeship, which, in an unconscious way, would generate strategies in accordance with the precepts of the preceding *teaching*. As a result of this process, whoever is socialized under similar external conditions develops similar systems of perception, thought and action. As a consequence, a person's life experiences have a key role in the formation of his/her *habitus*.

Greek national cultural policy attempted to formulate *habitus* in the micro level of society too. In this case, already known practices would turn into *habit* through participation in formal education that aimed at a specific idea of *Greekness* that included the triptych «όμαιμον, ομόθρησκον, ομόγλωσσον» (*omemon* – same blood, *omothriskon* – same religion, *omoglosson* – same language). In other words, the aim was to create a collective idea of *Greekness* through the unification of formerly separate identities. Such an idea was embraced in culture too, in the concept, for example, of the bravery and valiance of *Greek-Tsolia*, the Greek infantry that fought against the Ottoman Empire, or in that of *Panhellenic* dances and music [Koutsouba 2012:33].

Greek traditional dance is connected with the creation of *Greekness* because dance in general, and traditional forms in particular, embraces polysemy. This polysemy enables dance to become a powerful *cogwheel* of the *system* and to transmit, as a *vessel of meanings*, various meanings in a non-verbal way [Giurchescu 1994; Koutsouba 1999]. Moreover, dance as a symbol utilizes in the understanding of collective consciousness and also for the enhancement of the social coherence [Koutsouba 1997].

The teaching of *panhellenic*, *national* dances at schools enhanced and supported the creation of a common national culture. In fact, through the teaching of the panhellenic dances *tsamiko*, *kalamatianos* or *syrtos sta tria*, in addition to the use of *tsolia's fustanella*, i.e. the kilts of the Greek fighters as the national men's costume and the clarinet as the national traditional musical instrument, national symbols were cultivated [Fountzoulas 2017]. Dances and rituals were connected to antiquity or to the Greek Revolution so as to empower "the love for the country" and "the continuity of the Greek culture." One such ritual is the ritual of *Gaitanaki* and the way it is celebrated at the community of Skala in Nafpaktia.

The *Gaitanaki* ritual

The ritual of *Gaitanaki* is a ritual accepted by the entire community of Skala, being its main ritual [Fountzoulas 2017], as well as of the wider region of Nafpaktia [Fountzoulas 2016]. Dance constituted and constitutes an integral structural component of this ritual [Fountzoulas, Tyrovola, Koutsouba 2013].

This ritual is celebrated every Easter Tuesday in the space next to the church's courtyard, which is used as the dancing floor. The informants [Daousanis 2014; Gika-Varela 2012; Goulas 2012; Konidas 2013; Kotrotsos 2015; Mentzas 2014; Moulas 2014; Rigas 2015; Vafeiadis 2015; Zorgios 2015] claim that its celebration dates back to the years of the Ottoman Occupation, yet its first written description is from 1930 [Mentzas 1991]. The ritual used to symbolize the passing of winter and wishes for a good harvest, and the lyrics of the song that accompanied it was concerned with issues of love. It should be noted that song was the only musical

accompaniment of the ritual until 1930s and it was sung in turns, first by men and then by women. After the 1930s, the lyrics of the song changed, and musical accompaniment was added, with the clarinet as the main instrument. The dance of this ritual has two parts. The first part is a form of *syrtos sta tria* and the second is a form of the *kalamatianos*. Both parts are performed in a circle, and they alternate repeatedly [Fountzoulas 2016].

The dancing ritual of *Gaitanaki* has been transformed over time. Two different *powers* acted on it, derived from different starting points, one from *below* and one from *above*. From the 1930s to 1980, the first documented changes occurred in this celebration, due to national cultural policy and family conflicts in the community. The *paredros* («πάρεδρος») – an elderly, commonly accepted personality of the community that had the ability to smooth down differences was traditionally in charge of the organization of the ritual. The influence of the *paredros* starts to be sidelined and conflicts related to nepotism strengthen. Nepotism is the granting of favour to relatives in fields of business, politics, religion etc. [Babiniotis 1998]. In this period, despite the nepotism and clear effects of the cultural policy, the traditional symbolism and the dance form continued to be accepted by all participants, the song was sung *a capella* and the lyrics concerned issues of love. These conflicts were expressed in the dance form and the lyrics. The clarinet [Mazaraki 1984] became the main instrument of the ritual specifically as a *national* cultural symbol.

In 1981, connected with the *regime change* called *allaghi* [Loutzaki 1994], the political scene focused on tensions between the center-right party (Nea Dimokratia) and the socialist/left-wing party (PASOK). In the ritual under consideration, the socialists started the dance with the left foot as a political symbol, in opposition to the rightists who started the dance with the right foot. Thus, the larger political conflict transferred to the dancing floor, where huge arguments and debates took place, and the ritual stopped many times violently. For the last twenty years or so, the ritual has lost its earlier symbolism, and the lyrics of the song are entirely connected to great national symbols such as the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire [Konidas 2013]. Despite the new heroic character of the lyrics, variation and debate continue among the prominent families of the community.

In 2000, the Association of People of Skala became more involved as a supporter and enthusiast of the ritual, and took charge of the dying out ritual. Its activists were mostly members of the elite families with power. Since 2000, the *Gaitanaki* ritual has been entirely organized by this local association. This resulted in the transfer of the conflict to the Association of People of Skala. The symbolism of the ritual is entirely connected with national ideas, the dance form is consistent with standard national dances, the lyrics are the newer heroic ones, and the ritual is totally performed by the local community dance group. A seventy-year-old conflict has weakened the event, and everyone who is against the ruling class, and the association by proxy, does not even participate in it. This is showed from the reduced participation of the locals and the huge participation of foreigners who come to Skala to get involved in the *Gaitanaki* ritual [Kotrotsos 2015; Mentzas, 2014; Moulas 2014; Rigas 2015; Vafeiadis 2015; Zorgios 2015].

'Gaitanaki' Ritual							
	Until 1930's	1930's to 1980		1980-2000		2000 – until today	
	All	The ones	The others	Leftists/Socialists	Rightists	Leftists/Socialists	Rightists
Date	Easter Tuesday					Easter Monday	
Symbolism	Passing of winter and the good harvest	Passing of winter and the good harvest	Connected to the the Greek Revolution against Ottoman Empire	Connected to the the Greek Revolution against Ottoman Empire		Connected to the the Greek Revolution against Ottoman Empire	
Dance	Mutual for all	Starts with the left foot	Starts with the right foot	Starts with the left foot	Starts with the right foot	Starts with the left foot	Non participation
Music	A Capella	Orchestra with clarinet as main instrument and a singer that sings the lyrics guided by the 'provider'		Orchestra with clarinet as main instrument and a singer that sings the lyrics guided by the 'provider' and the president of the community		Orchestra with clarinet as main instrument and a singer that sings the lyrics guided by the president of the association	
Lyrics	concerning issues of love	Heroic due to the Greek Liberation	concerning issues of love	Heroic due to the Greek Liberation	Variation of the heroic lyrics	Heroic due to the Greek Liberation	Variation of the heroic lyrics
Type of conflict	Nepotism	Mainly Nepotism and political issues		Political issues and Nepotism		Mainly Political issues and Nepotism	
Organizer	"Paredros"			President of the Community		President of the Association	

Figure 2. *Gaitanaki* ritual from 1930's until today.

Discussion

The national cultural policy of the newly established Greek State attempted to form a common *Greek consciousness*. The purpose was to produce a *product* through mentorship, which, in an unconscious way, would generate strategies in accordance with the principles of the preceding mentorship. This is what happened in *Gaitanaki* ritual since the *habitute*, i.e. the outcome of this mentorship, produced individual and collective practices, therefore history, in accordance with the national cultural policy relating it with great *national ideals*. As a result, the ritual of *Gaitanaki* was *naturally* and logically related to the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire. The lyrics shifted from making reference to the passing of winter and good harvest, into themes of the Greek fighters. The ritual's music is now accompanied by musical instruments, where the main one is the *national* clarinet. Lastly, as far as the dance is concerned, it has become identified by its form with *national* dances, like *syrtos sta tria* and *kalamatianos*.

On the other hand, conflicts among the powerful families in the community are also reflected in the celebration of the *Gaitanaki* ritual, and resulted in structural shifts. In other words, we observe a continuous tension between *hegemonies* and *power* between dominant and dominated families in each given period. Each important family had its own preferences for the symbolic meaning of the ritual, the lyrics, and the dance itself. It is obvious that the *Gaitanaki* ritual illustrates the conflicts and oppositions of the community's powerful families, and has served as a prize in the battle of dominance in the community. The interaction between cultural policy in macro-society and cultural policy and nepotism in micro-society has affected the dancing ritual of *Gaitanaki*.

The dance practice during the *Gaitanaki* ritual has been transformed, affected by the manipulation of each family subgroup in the ruling class, while participation or non-participation in the dance has turned into a political act itself. Participation

is not the only way to make a cultural statement, but deliberate abstention can also be a declarative act itself.

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Chariton CHARITONIDIS

DANCE AND POLITICS: THE CASE OF GREEK POLITICAL REFUGEES IN HUNGARY

Abstract

This paper focuses on the dance culture of the Greek minority in Hungary. Since the middle of the 20th century, when the largest part of this expatriated population settled in the Hungarian urban settings, a Greek dance tradition was established there, both in *participatory* and *presentational* contexts. I examine the relation between traditional dance and politics during an initial period of almost thirty years' exclusion, as well as after the refugees could reestablish connections with their homeland. A rather complex cultural frame is introduced, compounded by different layers of socio-politically determined interaction.

Keywords: Hungary, Greek refugees, dance-house (*táncház*), folklorism, participatory/presentational dance, first/second existence, co-existence

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According to Giurchescu, "elaborating upon the social aspects of dance (or dancing), makes reference to its most general and comprehensive features, because dance is in essence a particular form of social interaction" [2001:109]. In this respect, dancing and politics are interwoven [Loutzaki 2001], which becomes apparent in "conjunctural" circumstances "where forms of movement and socio-political life take shape simultaneously" [Franco 2006:4]. This short essay focuses on the multi-faceted dance tradition of the Greek minority in Hungary, investigating the different aspects of this expatriated dance culture intertwined – from the very first moment – with political forces.

The data were collected from 2010 till 2016 using ethnographic methods and reflexive anthropology, involving "thick description" [Geertz 1973]. I use Nahachewsky's [1995] theoretical dichotomy of "participatory" and "presentational" dance.

An expatriated vernacular dance tradition

During the middle of the 20th century (from 1946 to 1949), a Civil War took place in Greece, due to a highly polarized struggle between rightist and leftist political groups. The struggle became one of the first conflicts of the Cold War and resulted in the defeat of the leftist side. As a consequence, almost 9000 political refugees [Papadopulosz 1996], originating mainly from North Greece, arrived in Hungary between 1948 and 1951, at that time under Communist rule. Initially, most of these people settled in the urban context of Budapest, specifically in the facilities of a tobacco factory (Dohánygyár). Soon after, the refugees participated in the construction of the Greek Village (Görögfalva) approximately 60km south of the Hungarian capital. In 1952 the village was renamed to Beloiannisz, the name of a leading person of the

Greek Communist Party, who was sentenced to death and executed by the postwar regime in Greece. This settlement abroad was initially supposed to be temporary, but for many refugees it turned out to be long-lasting or even permanent, resulting in the formation and official recognition of the Greek minority in Hungary by the Hungarian State in 1993.

The refugees had been the bearers of diverse local, rural, living dance traditions in Greece. In the closed communal setting in the tobacco factory of Budapest (from 1950 till 1965) and in Beloiannisz village as well, the refugees formed a *supra-local* dance repertoire which was acquired by all the members of the expatriated community in a rather *natural* way, through participating in informal and formal dance occasions. Referring to the formation of this unique repertoire, Z.E. (second generation refugee) mentions that "[...] one person remembered (the dance) this way, another person another way and they made combinations based on these (ways)" [2012]. As a result, they became bearers of a *common* Greek dance tradition. This common tradition was then consciously passed on to the next generation in educational and presentational contexts, since they initiated dancing groups, involving rehearsals, costumes and on-stage performances.

A *parallel* stage-adjusted dance tradition

The cultivation and presentation of Greek dance served multiple purposes. On the one hand, it was meant to promote the preservation of the refugees' ethnic identity and consciousness. Secondly, performing their culture on stage for Hungarian audiences was a demonstration of their ethnic *otherness*. Last but not least, it was a declaration of patriotism – an essential virtue in relation to every repatriation request – though they were regarded as enemies by the Greek State. Their Greek citizenship was revoked and they were not allowed to return to Greece, which remained a forbidden homeland for almost 30 years (from 1950 till 1980).

Traditional dance turned out to be a powerful tool for preserving and retrieving their *Greekness*. However, their references for establishing a staged folklore repertoire were the highly elaborate performances of the Hungarian ensembles. Therefore, they hired non-Greek *experts* as dance teachers and choreographers for the Greek dancing groups both in Budapest and Beloiannisz village.[1] R.J. (first generation refugee) remembers:

> We didn't have any Greek (dance teacher) and we tried to find one from the Balkans. We found Kricskovics Antal. [...] He is well-known. [...] What did he do? He invited the elder people, the Greeks there, he put the music, he saw how they danced and he wrote it down. [...] If it's written in a wrong way, you can tell from (Greek) young people's dancing in Hungary nowadays. [...] It is not the same as in Greece [2012].

A politicized dance tradition

We could assume that dancing in a community of refugees is by definition associated with politics, since their expatriation was enforced by politics, which profoundly changed and determined their lives. Consequently, all the official dance events and

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1   The dance instructors and choreographers of the (amateur) Greek dance ensembles in Budapest and Beloiannisz village were Antal Kricskovic, who was of Croatian (Bunjevci) descent, and László Wünsch, of German (Sváb) origin.

most opportunities for dancing by the Greek community in Hungary were highly politicized. Dance was an inextricable part of national and political/left-wing feasts. Furthermore, the dance repertoire involved politically charged and rebellious songs that derived either from the period of the Civil War or from the post-war popular music scene of Greece. These songs were banned by the Greek regime until the middle of the 1970s, but could not be controlled beyond the borders of Greece and became linked to traditional forms of participatory dance in the Greek community in Hungary.

After 1964, the imported music composed by Mikis Theodorakis for the film *Zorba the Greek*, and the corresponding choreography *Syrtaki* or *Zorba's Dance*, turned into a popular cliché of Greek dance all over the world [Torp 1992]. According to R.J. (first generation refugee), "*Zorba* was performed day and night! [...] Even now [...]" [2012]. For the Greeks in Hungary, the so-called *Zorba(s)* became a characteristic symbol of their temperament, their individual identity and origin. In this respect, K.L. (second generation refugee) expressed the idea that "[...] our Greekness was in *Zorba*" [2012].

The Greek dance-house (*görög táncház*)
In 1970s, the dance-house (*táncház*) movement emerged in Budapest. Pettan remarks that "the gatherings of young urban musicians at which they performed rural dance music for urban audiences had clearly political connotations" [2010:127]. According to Giurchescu:

> In Hungary, for young people who opposed the rigidity of the Communist regime as expressed in stereotyped symbols, improvisation became the most important trait of folk creation. The wide-spread *táncház* movement (free performance of traditional dance and music) was governed by the principle of improvisation [2001:117].

The Greeks adopted the Hungarian model and were the first ethnic group (in 1974) to organize independent dance-houses with non-Hungarian repertoire. The Greek dance-house was a field where members of the second generation of refugees could share their dance culture with Hungarians in the context of a simultaneously educational and entertaining dance event. Using the Hungarian model, the dance-house combined dance teaching with participatory dancing, integrating elements from both the participatory and presentational context of Greek dancing culture in Hungary. Viewing this aspect of Greek dance in Hungarian urban settings through Hoerburger's [1965, 1968] conceptual dichotomy of *first* and *second existence*, while considering Nahachewsky's [2001] critical approach to these concepts, the Greek dance-house constitutes an example of a dance practice which functions in the intersection [Charitonidis 2016] between the two *existences*, an *in-between* context of *co-existence* [Charitonidis 2018].

These Greek dance-houses were a fine opportunity for the musicians to play music on a regular basis in a *non-political* context, detached from the controlled formal dance events of the Greek community. To perform and participate in a *politics-free* context doesn't comprise a political action? In contrast to the Hungarian model, the Greek dance-house involved newer popular music as well as the more traditional folk music [Vincze 2010]. Soon, it became quite popular among Hungarians, who were

attracted by the *mellow*, melodious or *exotic* music and the dances in circle, which were considered more *receptive* and easier than the Hungarian couple or improvisational solo dances. For M.A. (of Hungarian origin, participant in Greek dance-houses) the Greek dance-houses "[...] were fantastic. It was not hard. Whenever one joined the dance circle, he [or she] would very quickly integrate" [2012].

Greek from Greece vs. Greek from Hungary
Until 1980, the connection between the Greeks in Hungary and their native land was strained for political reasons. As a result, during that period, Greek dance in Hungary remained to a great degree isolated from the developments in traditional dance in Greece. After 1980, when the refugees were at last able to retrieve their Greek citizenship and visit or return back home, they realized that their *supra-local* dance tradition was different from traditional dancing in both the participatory and the presentational contexts in Greece. From then on, they started to imitate Greek dance ensembles, to attend Greek dance lessons and workshops in Greece and consequently, to revise the way they danced on stage. From that time a confrontation took place between two separate dance traditions: the Greek from Greece and the Greek from Hungary. The first one was regarded to be *authentic* and *real* Greek, and therefore it gradually came to dominate the presentational Greek dance-scape in Hungary. Homeland, literally as a place, was linked with *authenticity*. As S.J. (second generation refugee) mentions, "[...] the dance is not Greek due to the fact that you are Greek. Dance is Greek, because you dance the same way as people dance in Greece" [2012]. Representing the opposite perspective, Z.E. (second generation refugee) sorrowfully reported "[...] our tradition, the tradition of Greek people in Hungary is dead. [...] What people dance nowadays, these are from Greece. These are not ours." [2012].

However, the Greek dance-house remained mostly unaffected by this cultural tension. The participation of more and more Hungarians in the Greek dance-house, as musicians, dance teachers and participants, led to the formation of a particular dancing community (*táncházasok*) and to various transformations in the form (appearance and way) of the dances, since entertainment was more important to the participants than cultivation or preservation of an *authentic* Greek culture.

Concluding thoughts
Referring to the passage from *folklore* (as *living tradition*) to *folklorism* (as *stage-adjusted* folklore) in South-Eastern European countries, Giurchescu argues:

> Folklore and folklorism can exist as two simultaneous systems of communication, mutually influencing each other. The major difference between folklore and folklorism lies in the fact that folklore is a non-controllable process, while folklorism results from strictly guided selection and transformation of folklore [2001:117].

Voigt writes that "folklorism (the appearance of folklore in a non-folklore setting) can take a wide variety of forms" [1998:31]. In addition, he mentions that for Hungarian scholars "folklorism is not a pejorative notion," but a multifaceted non-evaluative concept. In these terms, focusing on Greek dance in Hungary, while correlating the notions of *folklore* and *folklorism* with the partially overlapping concepts of *first* and *second existence* as well as *participatory* and *presentational* dance

respectively, we find an intersection where constant socio-politically determined interaction takes place. In this complex *conjunctural* area, the crucial factor is *who decides*, *who acts*, *how* and *why*? Within this context of *co-existence*, any kind of manipulation, influence and decision *from above* or *from below* or somewhere in the middle, reveals different layers of this *fluid* relation between dancing and politics.
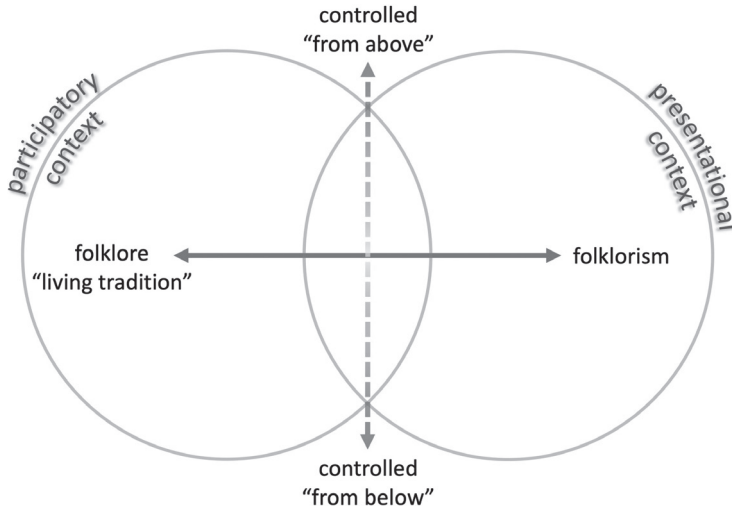
Figure 1. Visualizing the relation between traditional dance and politics in the context of the Greek community in Hungary. Graphic by Charitonidis.

The situation becomes increasingly complex when we add the connection between the expatriated dance tradition and its homeland to create a broader frame. Actually, the relation between dancing and politics in the context of the Greek community in Hungary, both during the period of isolation and after the reconnection of the diaspora with the Greek State, has always been formed depending on Greece and the transformations, regarding traditional dance and/or politics, which have taken place in this *parallel* (home)land.

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Daniela Stavělová

POWER OF REPRESENTATIONS: STEREOTYPIFICATION AND SELECTIVITY IN DANCE PERFORMANCES

Abstract

This paper explores state-sponsored non-professional ensembles called ensembles of folk songs and dances that were founded in huge numbers in cities after the WWII as a result of political changes and the Marxist ideology of communism. Representation is discussed here as a form of power – the power of describing others choreographically. In the former Czechoslovakia under socialism, the representation of the nation through the medium of state-sponsored folk ensembles manifested itself in many ways, the two major vehicles being visual and textual. This contribution will be based on the investigation of choreographic strategies of representation which requires conscious decisions regarding who will be represented and how as well as who will not be represented. The primary focus is on the stage productions of Czech folk ensembles that created images of representation of the state and ideology through the choreographic strategies leading to the creation of national and regional stereotypes. This process of stereotypification was based on creating repertoires that are designed for a specific vision of national representation. It refers to the tensions and pressures placed upon the creators of the repertoire to represent the nation in a particular fashion with emblematic features.

Keywords: revival, politics, folklore revival movement, Czech Republic

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This paper revolves around the analysis of choreographic structures, repertoire, costumes, dancers and their training in folk ensembles in Czechoslovakia and, later, the Czech Republic between the 1970s and 1990s. The methodological and theoretical foundations are based on Erving Goffman's interactivity framework, his approach to event analysis and his model of non-verbal interaction. An important theoretical framework is that of Goffman's social conversation occurring in the negotiation of symbols and their meanings within social interaction. A cultural performance is perceived as communication and the main premises are based on the fact that each giver is himself a receiver and each receiver is a giver. Folklore performances are an instrument of social practice, are socially constituted, rooted in social relationships and produced in the conduct of social life [Goffman 1963, 1967].

Reimagining the past
There are also other issues that I take into consideration. First, in accordance with the concept of the revival process in J. Hill and C. Bithell's introduction to the Oxford Handbook of Revival [Bithell and Hill 2014], this phenomenon, as identified in

former Czechoslovakia, fits in with the definition of the folklore revival movement as an international act of reviving, restoring and reimagining the past for the purposes of the present. There is an act of translation which consists in a process of retrieval, reconstruction and re-contextualization (a re-coding operation) of the past to serve present purposes [Hill and Bithell 2014]. It gained specific features different from those associated with the nationalism of the late 19th century, when folklore was used in a symbolic way during the building of the nation-state. The folklore revival movement of the second half of the 20th century in former socialist Czechoslovakia had specific features resulting from the particular political circumstances of the totalitarian regime and created its own specific form of presenting traditional rural culture on stage [Pavlicová and Uhlíková 2018; Stavělová 2017].

Representation

This paper basically deals with the role of representation as a form of power – the power of describing others choreographically. Referring to the monograph by Anthony Shay [2002] about choreographic politics, the representation of the nation through the medium of folk ensembles manifested itself in many ways, the two major vehicles being visual and textual. Performances by folk ensembles had to represent "all of the people" of the nation-state and its ideology as well as the concept of the common folk as the ruling class in line with the principal idea of Marxist theory. However, such performances did not represent all the people. Instead, choices were made, and there were different choices that had multiple meanings. Some of those choices stem from deeply held philosophical stances concerning which people represent the nation "properly." For example, the common choice for representing the "pure noble and true" soul of the people through folk dances, music and costumes is most often the peasant, a tribal group, or some other rural inhabitant, and very seldom urban people. This seems to be in line with Shay, who says that most politicians throughout the world view folk dances and music as an innocent form of nonpolitical expression, but invariably attempt to harness its undeniable symbolic power for their own uses: International world fairs and visits by heads of state are often accompanied by folk dance companies of youth, which sends the message that "we are a nice, innocent, welcoming people and our country is a nice place to visit […]" [Shay 2002:32]. What are the main key words for the analysis of visual representation of the state or ideology?

Selectivity and stereotypification

According to Shay, *selectivity* and *stereotypification* have a role in creating repertoires that are designed to provide a specific vision of national representations. Of equal importance is, however, the distinction between what has to be represented and what should not be represented. He refers here to the tensions and pressures placed on the creators of the repertoire to represent the nation in a particular fashion with emblematic features. Furthermore, he mentions the importance of *research strategies* in seeking for "typical," "well known" or "popular" dances in a specific area and for the way of translating the field onto the stage while at the same time retaining the most unique and authentic elements or forms. No less important for representations are *choreographic strategies*, which mostly represent a specific geographical region: a village, a district, a province or even the entire nation-state. Here

the important role is played by the *repertoire*, which is often resistant to changes, *dancers and their training* as well as *costumes*, which are an important visual aspect. Other aspects of the revival process have to be taken into consideration – *legitimization of authenticity* by *authorities.*

If we want to know what is specific for the phenomenon in a particular country, we have to explore the process of thinking about the uses of the folklore material in the particular political and cultural context. This cognitive dimension is played out on the level of what is expected by the establishment and how it is produced. The specific features of the Czechoslovak folklore revival movement seen through the stage production of folklore ensembles are related to the questions of how strong the influence of the Moiseyev ensemble was (also present in the cases of Bulgaria, Romania and Lithuania) and which were the preferred ideological aspects that had to be represented: such as *internationalism*, *mass and unity*, *vitality*, *young spirit and modernity (vs. tradition)*, *optimism*, *physical ability and skills (the working class)*, *collectivism (vs. individualism)*. In the former Czechoslovakia, these aspects, maintained by the propaganda, were systematically developed in the stage productions and, moreover, supported by the institutional pressure.

Special institutions organized festivals or competitions of stage productions and played a crucial role in the process of selecting the material and rethinking the traditional culture for the purposes of the propaganda [Bonuš 1951; Jírový 2005; Kopecký 1951; Rejšková 1977]. Due to the specific nature of the music and dance material based on couple dances, the folklore movement in the former Czechoslovakia created its own particular strategies while the influence of the Moiseyev style became less important. As a result, several major tendencies can be identified within this choreographic production. This analysis is based on exploring visual material comprising about 3000 photographs dating from between the 1950s and 1980s and on the field research observation of an insider conducted through interviews. The visual material shows different ways of representation based on choreographic strategies and can be interpreted in the light of a considerable number of texts published during that period in journals, newspapers and methodical manuals for folk ensembles that represented the mainstream tendencies of the day.

Research strategies and legitimization of authenticity
First, research strategies help to build the notion of people and legacy, support the idea of egalitarianism and enable the legitimization of authenticity. They are based on an emphasis on the role of transmission and bearers of the tradition accompanied by the process of education, training, seminars and field research.

Figure 1. Transmission and bearers of the tradition. (Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences).

Figure 2. Legitimization of authenticity – learning and teaching dances. (Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences).

Figure 3. Training, rehearsals. (Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences).

Representation of power

An important tool of the ideology was the representation of power and the notion of collectivism, internationalism, mass support, unity and strength. This was done mainly at folklore festivals demonstrating mass support for the regime through a huge number of dancers in colorful costumes appreciated by the large audiences. While local festivals served to show the regional identity in an idyllic shape, participating in a folklore festival abroad was a unique opportunity for members of folk ensembles to travel behind the "Iron Curtain." Thus they became – through their production – representatives of the national identity.
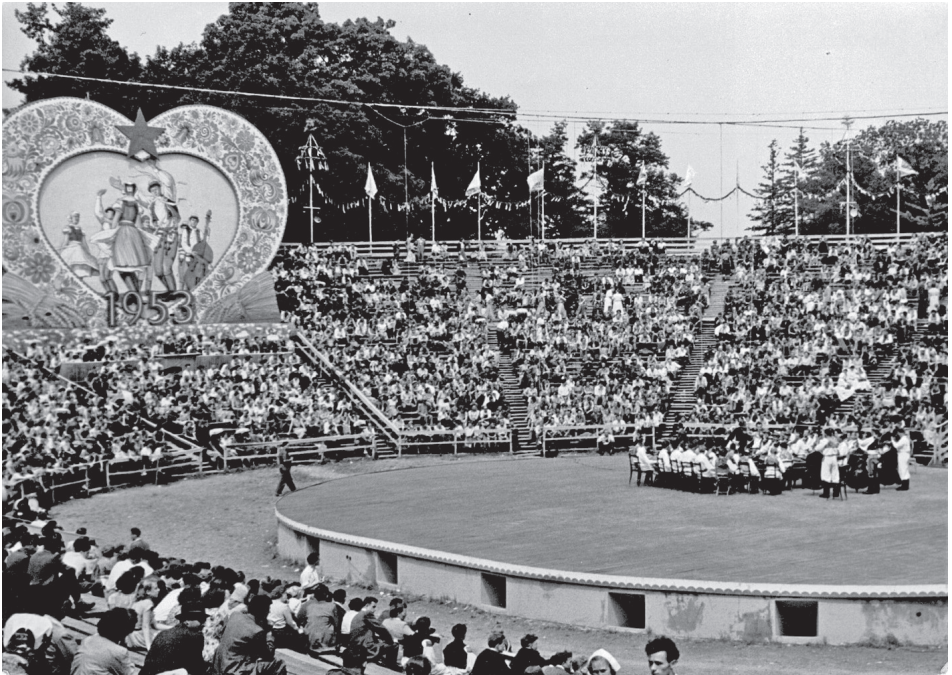
Figure 4. Folklore festival in Strážnice. (Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences).

Choreographic strategies and representation of "happy tomorrows"
The power was represented by particular choreographic strategies: usually by traditional *male dances and jumps*. Considering that the concept of nation was strongly associated with the working class, the men had to be strong and clever, with great physical skills, and presented as good workers with gestures of sovereignty. This is why festivals often featured male dances from the regions of Moravia and Slovakia, where the traditional solo male dances were well preserved.

Figure 5. Male dances from Moravia. (Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences).

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Figure 6. Women dancing sword dances
– traditionally performed only by men.
(Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the
Czech Academy of Sciences).

Figure 7. Young, nice and happy couple.
(Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the
Czech Academy of Sciences).

At the same time, the woman as an emancipated being had to show the importance of her role in the process of building socialism and the image of a "new socialist man." Therefore, only dances that were based on whirling, beauty, energy and self-confidence were selected from the traditional repertoire of *female dances*.

The new socialist man was depicted within the framework of happy tomorrows built by a *young and happy couple* – whirling, lifting and raising girls; by *children and youth*: dancing for the future; by *joy/jokes*, with games as entertainment. Another powerful tool was the spectacular picture of a *wedding as emotion of happiness*. An important tool of representation was also the propaganda using giant pictures of politicians on the back of the stage or slogans such as: *With songs and dance towards peace and friendship between nations*; *When youth sings, the whole region sings*; *A good job is followed by good entertainment*; *Peace for the whole world* etc., which gave the performances the right ideological framework.

Figure 8. Regional festival with slogans. (Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences).

Conclusion

It is possible to summarize the popular choreographic and movement patterns which fulfilled the objectives of the ideology as follows:

- Couple dances and their virtuosity as well as consistency
- Male dances and jumps demonstrating physical skills
- Female whirling as skills
- Female dances demonstrating emancipation and equality with men
- Lifting or raising girls demonstrating strength
- Gestures of sovereignty
- Children and innocence
- Game as entertainment and joy
- Weddings as emotions of happiness

Representations require conscious decisions regarding who and how will be represented. The different ways of representation provide insights for analyzing national discourses of nationalism and ethnicity. The folk dance ensembles active in Czechoslovakia in the period mentioned contributed – through their choreographic strategies – to create the national and regional stereotypes as well as ideological stereotypes of people, gender and class. Their performances were supported by the idea that the peasant embodies the purest, most authentic spirit and ethos of the nation and that their dances are a basic primordial representation. Even the representation of the nation through the medium of a folk ensemble is produced

through a single, unique artistic vision, but because the dances purportedly originate from the "people," the character of the choreographer is often more muted. The goal is to make the individuals among the public believe the fiction that the choreographies they view on stage reflect actual dances as they would be experienced in a traditional field setting. According to Shay and Giurchescu, the polysemy of dance arises at the point where the conceptual, the social and the artistic levels of meaning interact [Giurchescu 1994:15; Shay 2002:7]. This notion of polysemy of dance provokes reflections on the ambivalence and dichotomy of the folklore revival movement. The movement's participants, despite not being conscious collaborators with the regime and its ideology, contributed unconsciously to the representations of the politics by sharing the above-mentioned movement elements. They were thus manipulated by the choreographic strategies that they were familiar with and perceived as cultural heritage.

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Dorota Gremlicová

CZECH FOLK DANCE AND SONG ENSEMBLES GUIDED AND APPRAISED – POLITICAL ARTISTIC PROGRAM, ITS REALIZATION, MODIFICATION AND EVALUATION

Abstract

The paper addresses chiefly stage productions of folk song and dance ensembles in Czech lands in the period between 1945 and 1989. For the purpose of identifying their political and ideological aspects, I analyze their linkage with the guidance provided by the state through various meetings, manuals, directives etc., as well as the appraisals expressed in published critical reviews. Documentary source material originating in the frame of so-called *people's artistic creativity* was studied in order to identify political and ideological expectations connected with artistic/choreographic performances of the ensembles, i.e. what the establishment expected to be represented and aestheticized on the stage. The other side of the issue was studied through published critical reviews (journals *Lidová tvořivost* and *Taneční listy*), with the intention to deal with the notion of what was understood as ideologically representative in these stage productions. I concentrate attention on the period of the 1950s and 1960s, when a visible shift took place in the concept and the vivid shape of the choreographic creativeness in the ensembles.

Keywords: folklore revival movement, Czechoslovakia, socialist realism, modernism, choreography

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The folklore revival movement in the Czechoslovak Republic after the year 1945 was intensively supported and controlled by the communist regime, established in February 1948, when the Communist party won the elections and Klement Gottwald became the prime minister. Whereas the Communist period extended from 1948–1989, I narrow the focus of this paper to the changing circumstances in the 1950s and 1960s (and following the period of *normalization* 1968+) in the Czech and Moravian parts of the state. This text deals with the state cultural/artistic politics related to the stage activities of so called folk song and dance ensembles, expressed through various printed media like instructive brochures, ideological guiding articles in journals, materials from various seminars and conferences etc. The other side of the theme will be shown through the critical evaluations of these ensembles' stage creations, published in the journals *Lidová tvořivost* (People's creativity) and *Taneční listy* (Dancing letters). The aim was to study how the ideological expectations were reflected in them – in the evaluations of the actual choreographic works. The other aim was to identify the specific character of the Czech concept of artistic creativity in the frame of the folklore revival movement, how it was formed and

influenced by the activities of certain personalities, and what its relation was to the political/ideological ideas of the time.

People's creativity, folk song and dance ensembles and socialist realism in 1950s

The basic political artistic program of the new socialist state was formulated in the early 1950s. Its characteristic features were: stress on the *folk* (workers and new farmers associated in agricultural cooperatives) as the leading social and cultural power, agent, recipient and inspiration of the artistic creativity; a division made between professional and amateur artistic activities and wide state support and ideological evaluation of the people's artistic creativity interpreted as a progressive act of the socialistic state allowing the working people to participate in culture, previously accessible only to the privileged social groups; an effort to gain maximum control over every artistic activity through the net of controlling and guiding state institutions, hierarchically organized from the center.[1]

For the people's artistic creativity, as for socialist arts in general, the basic referential concept was the program of socialist realism formulated in 1930s in the Soviet Union by the writer Maxim Gorkij (article Socialist realism published 1933) and politician and ideologist Andrej Ždanov.[2] In Czechoslovakia, this program was discussed and accepted already in the interwar period, in left-wing modernistic artistic circles. The leader of the Czech avant-garde artistic group *Devětsil* (Butterbur), Karel Teige, edited a book under the title *Socialistický realismus* (Socialist realism) in 1935, including texts by Nikolaj Bucharin, Kurt Konrad and Teige himself (Teige's text was titled Socialist Realism and Surrealism) [Bucharin, Konrad, Teige 1935]. In the new political, social and cultural conditions after February 1948, this program, with its four basic principals, became an obligatory norm for all artistic creativity: the socialist realistic art had to be proletarian, typical (showing the everyday life of the folk), realistic and partisan (faithful to the Communist Party). Deplorable features were on the contrary individualism, formalism, bourgeois mannerism [Kolektiv 1954; Raban 1949]. Modernistic pre-war art was identified with these negative qualities even though it often expressed left-wing political perspectives. In the world of dance criticism was directed especially to the dance movement inspired by the German Ausdruckstanz and to the bourgeois social dances (especially connected with jazz music) [Kolektiv 1954:63]. The socialist state interpreted folk art, and the amateur creativity based on it, as totally opposite to bourgeois art, which was said to replace pure artistic qualities of folk art with kitsch devaluation or sentimentality [Kolektiv 1954:15]. The political artistic program of the folk song and dance ensembles

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1 The field of the so-called people's creativity and the activities of the Folk song and dance ensembles were guided by the Osvětový ústav (The Enlightenment Institute) and the Ústřední dům lidové umělecké tvořivosti (The Central House of People's Art Creativity). In 1971, these two organizations were integrated into the Ústav pro kulturně výchovnou činnost (The Institute for Cultural Educational Activities). In fact, these organizations had their predecessors in the Svaz osvětový (Culture Enlightenment Union) from 1905, reorganized into the Masarykův lidovýchovný ústav (Masaryk's Educational Institute). After the change of the regime in 1989, the organization went through a reform and now exists under the name Národní informační a poradenské středisko pro kulturu (National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture) [Nipos n. d.].
2 The development of the concept is being summarized for instance on website of Great Soviet Encyclopedia [Markov and Timofeev n. d.].

was described in detail, for instance, in 1954 in the book *O lidovém tanečním umění. Sborník pro práci souborů lidových písní a tanců* (On the folk dance art. An anthology for work of the folk song and dance ensembles). The basic concepts and their verbal formulations were included here, as well as some interpreting constructions used widely in the folklore revival movement, and in the arts in general in this period. The fundamental thesis was about the right and necessity to understand the tradition in a new light, from the contemporary point of view, and to re-shape, reassess and develop it artistically, in a creative way. *New themes* occupied an important place in the creative process: coming from the new, changing reality of life (for instance the social and technological changes in the villagers' life, life of workers in factories). This new creativity was to serve as the artistic contribution to the overall project of creating a new man for the socialist society [Nečasová 2018]. In addition to the *new themes*, other subjects proclaimed as appropriate for choreographic creativity were the "fight for *peace*," "support of the constructive effort and ardour in the society" (choreographic portrayal of real situations from the performers' own working collective) and "the education of the new socialist man" (promoting acceptance of correct ethical and ideological values) [Kolektiv 1954:17–25].

The *new creativity* (which was a *terminus technicus*) was to be combined with folk material collected in the regions with still living traditions or its studied in the archives, as the sources of *authenticity*. Folk traditions were labeled as *progressive*, which made them a suitable base for new development [Kolektiv 1954:143].

The artistic creativity was to contrast the qualities of the new society with the surviving remnants of the *old* capitalistic world. This (political and cultural) antagonist was characterized by the dominance of selfishness, self-centeredness, individualism, obscurantism. Socialist order supported and expected new values: a sense for the collective, responsibility, self-esteem, a deep sense of socialist patriotism connected with awareness of proletarian internationalism, discipline, both personal and collective, responsibility for fulfillment of tasks, joyous relations to the work, etc. The new life should be reflected in the new folk art as beautiful, rich and joyful. The folk song and dance ensembles had the special task of developing a new style of folk entertainment, corresponding with the values of socialist society, to which only folk dance could be fitting. Western social dances were seen as decadent, in total contradiction with socialist morality [Kolektiv 1954].

Czech folk dance itself was related to the *typical* features of the Czech national temperament – its folksiness and democratic nature, cheerfulness resulting in a great inclination to dance as unaffected expression. Folk dance in the past was said to be a part of *folk ideology*, especially connected with the continual fight of the exploited ones against the exploiters by its ability "to kindle burning hearts," "to strengthen fighting enthusiasm," and "to express the uncompromising opinion" of the folk masses. The surviving pagan relics in folk arts were proclaimed to be an expression of the resistance to Christian religiosity as an *aristocratic* ideology, which tried to impose an attitude of humbleness on the folk. Folk heroes like bandits were seen as symbols of this resistance against the haughty rulers, expressed in heroic male *martial* dances. Typical Czech whirling couple folk dances were to be interpreted as another expression of anti-aristocratic values, in this case against the fashionable noble dances [Kolektiv 1954:52–73].

To relate the stage folk dance choreographies to the ideas of the socialist realism, several principals were important: a clear idea expressed intelligibly, respect of the rules of the stage – to depict a specific place and time, to compress the action, to choose important moments, to use scenic condensation. The form and the content were to be presented in good proportion.

Soviet folk dance ensembles, mainly the State ensemble of Igor Moisejev, well-known from its performances in the Czech Republic, were recommended as examples to follow. The accent on cheerfulness of the Czech folk dances was connected with the authority of the 19th century Czech writer Jan Neruda, enthusiastic dancer and author of a number of texts describing Czech national dances [Kolektiv 1954:143–146, 63–64; Neruda 1954].

In critical writing about choreographic works from the 1950s, authors often worked with the principals and ideological/political labels described above. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the ensembles, choreographers and also the reviewers struggled to fulfill the proclamations with appropriate kinetic content, to find choreographies with real inner connection with them. The qualities of richness, beauty, splendor, stirring effect of dance, and also youth, beauty and health of the dancers dominated the evaluations. For instance Zdeněk Doležel, in his reflection on the film *Zítra se bude tančit všude* (Tomorrow they will be dancing everywhere), described the process of establishing the folk ensembles, celebrated the "hundreds of thousands of young people from all the corners of the world dancing towards their new and happy future" and "a chaste beautiful love of two young healthy people" [Doležel 1953:15].[3] Great attention was paid to the so called *new creativity*, but only rarely did these attempts to respond artistically on the new socialist life produce satisfying and convincing results. More often the reviewers expressed their sense of only superficial application of the ideological topics, without their choreographic internalization. For instance, in relation to the choreography of the ensemble *Hradišťan* called *Družstevní svatba* (Wedding in the cooperative) Hana Laudová wrote that the general opinion saw it as too static and not joyful enough. According to her view, the failure of the creation had a deeper cause: a lack of conflict and too idealized rendering of the new theme resulted in weakening of its truthful impact; the artistic expression was not rooted in reality, and the reality was not shown in its typical features; the choreography did not depict the new relations among people and their resources in the struggle between the new and old forces. Reviewers found it much more difficult to give any specific recommendations as to how to actually realize the ideas of the new creativity in the dance structure and the movement elements. In Hana Laudova's quoted text and some others, the reviewers wrote about the new texts of the accompanying songs, about the plot with its contemporary motifs, but they struggled to advise how to project the same new look into the dance itself. Their understanding of the prescribed novelty was too strongly connected with narrativity in the search for realism, and so with mimetic theatrical means, rather than in abstract movements [Laudová 1954:15–17].

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3   "Kdy statisíce mladých lidí ze všech koutů světa tančí vstříc nové a radostné budoucnosti"; "cudná krásná láska dvou mladých zdravých lidí."

Shifts in thinking of the 1960s and new ideas

In the 1960s, in the course of the general reform movement in Czech society, the political/ideological program for artistic production of folk song and dance ensembles came under pressure. Some ensembles changed their focus to social dances, jazz dance or pantomime, some disappeared, some struggled to survive a declining membership and waning audience interest. The modern dance of European origin (*Ausdruckstanz*) with its strong tradition in Czech lands was partly rehabilitated, *jazz,* modern social dances, and American modern dance (especially the style of Martha Graham) became accepted. Symptomatic of the feeling of oversaturation of folk dance and music was the formulation of Vladimír Mináč about the *Burden of Folklore*, expressed in his article published under the same title in 1958, provoking a wide public discussion [Mináč 1958]. The previous program for folk dance ensembles became no longer acceptable, as too primitive, schematic, leading to new idealizations, and an overestimation of the ability of folk art to express modern life and feelings of contemporary people [Bartoš 1961:21–32]. New creativity started to mean something different – the creative freedom to handle folkloric material according to artistic choreographic ideas. This concept of the *stylization* of the folk dance was manifested with great power by the performances of a new group *Skupina českého folkloru* (The Group of the Czech Folklore, later *Chorea Bohemica*) established by musician Jaroslav Krček and choreographer Alena Skálová with the support of the ethnologist Petr Novák (1967). This important change in the political/ideological formulations concerning artistic creativity is visible in the critical reactions their first performances. Even though the new ensemble appeared in the politically very turbulent period at the beginning of *normalization*,[4] the previous ideological constructs were partly used to validate artistic attitudes in fact contradictory to their former sense. The ensemble *Chorea Bohemica* started their program with choreographic adaptations of Czech folk religious legends – but because they were based on *progressive* (in the ideological understanding) folk interpretations of the Christian motifs, their use was described as legitimate even in the socialist context of the proclaimed atheistic society. Further, Skálová's use of these motifs was not really anti-religious [Skálová 1971:17–19]. This ability to work with the socialist ideological tools, slogans, and constructs in shifted, somewhat contradictory ways became a common schizophrenic feature of the intellectual activity in the field of arts and humanities, and was a specific form of discrete resistance to the ruling circumstances until the change of the regime in 1989.

Specificity of the *Czech way* of creative handling of folk dance

Alena Skálová and her concept of independent artistic inspiration from folk art, folk dance and history, was not totally solitary and without predecessors. As shown, the Soviet model and its ideological principals of how to stage socialist realist folk dance was introduced and applied in the context of the Czech folk song and dance ensembles, but it was not the only model. The concept of virtuoso stage folk dance performances full of effects, individual dances presented by Moisejev's ensemble

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4   Normalization is the term used in the Czech context for the period after the reform movement in the 1960s. The reforms ended when the Soviet and other allied armies entered Czechoslovakia on the 21st August 1968. During the normalization period the establishment tried to consolidate the Czechoslovak society again under the leading influence of the Soviet Union.

was (theoretically) supposed to be important, but choreographic practice was also influenced by quite a different conceptualization of the artistic adaptation of folk art sources. This was connected with the pre-war modernist left-wing art world, namely with the personality of the composer and theatrical director Emil František Burian. In his avant-garde theatre D 34 (D meaning *divadlo*/theatre and the number of the season) he staged several plays based on folk art material. His ideas were influenced by the structuralist Prague linguistic circle, to which belonged the influential Czech and Russian linguists and aestheticians Roman Jakobson, Vilém Mathesius, Jan Mukařovský and Piotr Bogatyrjev, who was especially interested in what he called *folk theatre*.[5] In his most famous *folk* play *Vojna* (The War, 1935, choreography Saša Machov) Burian put stress on the lapidarity of the expressions, emotional intensiveness achieved through simplicity and purity of scenic images, anti-showiness, anti-romanticism, paradoxical use of contrasting modes of expression simultaneously for strengthening of the scenic impact, and similar modernistic creative principals. *Vojna*, re-staged several times after the war by Burian himself and by his collaborators, became a referential point for constructing a specific Czech attitude to staged folk dance. Alena Skálová always referred to it as an important, extremely powerful influence for her work. It was also highly praised for instance by František Pokorný, one of the leaders of the dance reform movement in 1960s [Pokorný 1963:70–71]. Through the choreographic work of Alena Skálová and through theoretical and critical appreciations of Burian's and her productions, this model formed an alternative for other choreographers and a significant tool for evaluation of dance creations by folk song and dance ensembles until today. The connections between this model and the official socialist concept of art were disputable and ambivalent, as were the relations of the regime to pre-war leftist modernism. This ambivalence is well represented by Burian himself: modernistic director, old member of the Communist Party, prisoner in the concentration camp in Mauthausen, and post-war active participant in the establishing of the new regime.

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5   Bogatyrjev studied Czech and Slovak folklore in detail, mainly the quasi-theatrical forms of it. He published the book *Lidové divadlo české a slovenské* (Czech and Slovak Folk Theatre, Praha: Fr. Borový, 1940).

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Stephanie Smith

SETTING THE SCENE: CECIL SHARP'S "RUNNING SET" AND ITS LEGACY 100 YEARS LATER

Abstract

This paper sketches the background to the Appalachian collecting trips of Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles, focusing on the so-called *running set* in three Kentucky locations in 1917, the first at Pine Mountain Settlement School. Sharp was looking for survivals of English songs in the Appalachians. When he encountered the *running set*, he theorized that it was an older form of English country dance, without considering other possible origins or cultural influences. The paper examines the Anglicization of an American dance by Sharp and his American followers, and their joint creation of a romanticized, politicized, and inaccurate, persistent legacy.

Keywords: Cecil Sharp, Maud Karpeles, running set, American square dance, English country dance, Appalachia

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Origins of the panel

In 2017 at the ICTM Biennial Conference in Limerick, I took part in the roundtable on Maud Karpeles, talking about the role of Karpeles working with Cecil Sharp in America between 1915 and 1918, including their experiences seeing and notating what they called "The Running Set," more commonly known as "set running." For the ICTM presentation, I drew much inspiration from Phil Jamison's book on Appalachian dance, which helped me more fully understand how deeply ingrained Sharp's incorrect conclusions are, even now. In early October 2017, the panelists all attended a weekend at Pine Mountain Settlement School in Pineville, Kentucky celebrating the 100th anniversary of Sharp's visit to Pine Mountain and his first sight of the "running set" on August 31, 1917.

Deborah Thompson helped organize a series of presentations on Sharp and Karpeles at the weekend, many of which were celebratory and non-critical. I spoke about Maud Karpeles' importance in the Appalachian song and dance collecting endeavor with Sharp. Phil presented an analysis of the figures of set running and the traditions from which they derive, while noting Sharp's
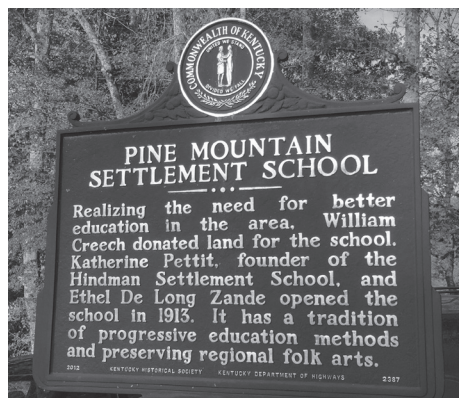

Figure 1. A historical marker at the Pine Mountain Settlement School. Photograph by Stephanie Smith.

Anglocentric orientation in his collecting, as well as what would now be viewed as *racist* remarks in his diaries.

The presentations were followed by a discussion period moderated by Deborah in which a couple of audience members voiced their dismay and even anger with some of the criticism levied on Sharp's methodology, conclusions about the origins of the *running set*, and his racism. Some wanted to see Sharp in the context of his time and felt he should not be criticized. In the later afternoon and evening there were participatory dance sessions for all, and presentational dance sessions by the Berea College Country Dancers led by Deborah. After the evening dancing, Deborah, Phil, and I discussed our perceptions of the presentations and discussion. I said, "We need to do a panel on this for the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology Symposium next summer," so after many email and phone conversations, we produced our abstracts and submitted our panel and individual proposals.

My own introduction to Appalachian square dancing, as I first heard it called, was at the 1975 Berea College Christmas Country Dance School, an event held the week between Christmas and New Year's Day. The Appalachian square dancing class was taught by the late Pat Napier, and the dance was done both in square sets and what was called *big sets*, a large circular set of a couple facing another couple like a Sicilian circle formation. All participants at that time were required to take an English dance class. At the time, I did not fully understand why.

The Appalachian region and settlement schools

The Appalachian Region consists of designated counties in multiple states, as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission, containing portions of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. Appalachia has long been the subject of romance and lauded for its cultural richness, as well as being abundant in stereotypes of isolation, hillbillies, moonshine, and poverty. The discipline of Appalachian Studies which emerged in the 1970s employs many different models with which to analyze and explain the characteristics of the region's history, economics, and culture. In this presentation I rely on some of the well-known *early* scholars in the field such as David E. Whisnant, author of *All That is Native and Fine*, and Henry D. Shapiro, author of *Appalachia on Our Mind*, for their early critical perspectives. New scholars focusing on Appalachian dance and music have emerged and refined and extended the work of their predecessors, including Deborah Thompson, Phil Jamison, and Susan Spalding, Deborah's predecessor as Director of the Berea College (Kentucky) Country Dancers.

It is essential here to touch briefly on the history of the settlement schools in Appalachia. The end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century saw the development of settlement houses in urban areas of the US, patterned on the English example of Toynbee Hall in the East End of London, founded in 1884. The Toynbee Hall website explains: "The radical vision was to create a place for future leaders to live and work as volunteers in London's East End, bringing them face to face with poverty, and giving them the opportunity to develop practical solutions that they could take with them into national life" [Toynbee Hall ≤ 2018]. American social reformers visited Toynbee Hall and founded urban social settlements, the most well-known being Hull House in Chicago, founded in 1889 to educate and provide social

services to immigrant communities, and the Henry Street Settlement in New York City founded in 1893 to serve children, families, and the poor. Other American settlement house efforts followed.

In the late 1890s onward, some well-educated American women joined a progressive movement of educators and social reformers working in Appalachia. The educational reform movement was also linked with Christian values, the growing importance of recreation and physical education, and also with the temperance movement. The first beginnings of a settlement school in Kentucky were in Hindman, where Katherine Pettit and May Stone founded Hindman Settlement School in 1902, following summer schools they ran in previous years. Other schools followed, notably Pine Mountain Settlement School which was founded in 1913 by Katherine Pettit and Ethel DeLong Zande.

Pettit and Stone taught the students temperance songs at the Hindman Settlement School, but noted that

> [...] every Saturday night all the 'bad uns' around here 'hev a gathering' where they pick the banjo, dance, drink moonshine, swear and fight. They stay all night and go home Sunday morning drunk and shooting down the road [cited in Spalding 2014:127].

The leaders then strategized to offer the students positive alternatives to drinking.

This Hindman experience was crucial in terms of how the Pine Mountain leaders handled dancing which was often connected with drinking. Dance became a very useful activity in the settlement house movement overall, seen as one which was civilizing, promoted good manners and self-confidence, and was, above all, healthful recreation. As Spalding comments:

> Although the settlement workers in the Eastern Kentucky mountains were horrified by the drinking and violence that so often seemed to accompany local dancing and music making, they came to see an alternative approach to the problem. In addition to offering singing and parlor games as they had during their summer sessions, Pettit and deLong discovered that they could create a controlled dance environment at Pine Mountain, demanding that no alcohol or firearms be present on the premises, and requiring appropriate social behavior [Spalding 2014:135].

Therefore, whereas in early days, Pettit and DeLong may have viewed the *set running* and hoedowns (clogging) as too boisterous, by divorcing dance from alcohol and firearms, they were able to see the value of working with set running as a way to achieve their educational and socializing goals for the students. As Spalding notes, the leaders additionally

> [...] saw dance as a way to maintain local culture while providing a means to help with adaptation to modernization. Set running was welcome as a local custom, and by providing controlled settings, it was used to teach manners and to allow appropriate socializing. Later, English folk dance was used to connect with a theoretical ethnic heritage and to offset and mediate with contemporary dance and music trends [Spalding 2014:132].

Given the religious beliefs in the neighboring communities, they also employed terms for dance such as *play parties* and *games* that would not upset local religious families.

Sharp, Karpeles, Appalachian collecting, and the documentation of the "running set"

The original intent of Sharp's travel to the United States in December 1914 was to assist Granville Barker with the choreography for a New York production of A Midsummer Night's Dream. He also hoped, spurred by the catastrophic implications of WWI, to earn some money in the US with lectures and teaching engagements that could be sent home to his family.

In early 1915, he met Mrs. Helen Storrow of Boston, who was to become the main benefactor for his collecting trips in Appalachia, and who was also a keen dancer. Sharp, Karpeles, and Sharp's student Lily Roberts all enjoyed her hospitality and patronage. Sharp's able assistant Maud Karpeles first came to the United States in early June 1915, to assist Sharp with teaching.

In June 1915, while he was at the Storrow residence recovering from lumbago, Sharp was visited by Olive Dame Campbell who had done some song collecting in the North Carolina mountains near Asheville and brought her work for him to see. Campbell's work, about which she was extremely modest, provided the inspiration and impetus for the collecting trips made by Sharp and Karpeles in Appalachia. Campbell's husband John had conducted an important survey of social conditions in southern Appalachian counties for the Russell Sage Foundation between 1908 and 1912. Mrs. Campbell traveled with him and became interested in the traditional songs. Both the Campbells supported and advised Sharp and Karpeles on their initial trips to collect songs in Appalachia.

Sharp and Karpeles made song collecting trips in the Southern Appalachians in 1916, 1917, and 1918. Their diary entries supply details of their visit to Pine Mountain in August 1917. They arrived at Pine Mountain on August 28th after a long journey, and Karpeles describes it as "a very delightful place. Far superior to any other mountain school we have been to" [Karpeles 1917].

On August 31st, Karpeles writes:

> After supper went to Miss DeLong's house. Saw some set running – most interesting. Has great possibilities [1917].

Sharp writes expansively on the same date:

> After breakfast Miss de Long and I have a long talk. I should dearly like to help them here with folk songs & dances as I am greatly enamoured with the way in which things are conducted here. I expected to find Miss de Long a very precious, Arty & Crafty sort of person but she really isn't, while Miss Pettit is a really capable, energetic person of wide vision just the sort of person for this job. They pay considerable attention to the aesthetic side of things. The houses are well & picturesquely planned, flowers are everywhere and the children dressed very simply but quite nicely & prettily. It is a lovely spot, this valley and there is no doubt but that a great work is being done here, well & nicely too. In the evening we go to Miss de Longs and see a Running Set. This must

be carefully noted some day. It is a fine dance and may serve to throw light on some of the older 17th and 18th cent[ury] dances [1917].

Because the *running set* was performed by the light of a single lantern and the moon, and they were not prepared in advance, Sharp and Karpeles were not able to take notes. They felt that they might have to return to Pine Mountain to notate it properly after traveling to other destinations in Kentucky.

They went on to Hindman Settlement School and the town of Hyden where they saw additional examples of set running. On September 18th in Hindman, Karpeles writes:

> After supper we went to a dance which Mr. Bradley had arranged for us. Had to walk 1 ½ miles in dark along very muddy road. Mr. Sharp tumbled into mud hole and lost shoe. Dance was an interesting experience but actual dancing was no good. The girls did not know the dance and took little interest. The men were too fuddled with whisky to be much good, and there was no one to call. In addition, this small room was filled with onlookers. I danced and had to pull my partner around, as his head was swimming [1917].

Later in Hyden, Kentucky, they saw a 4-couple version of set running arranged for them at a house, allowing them to note the dance figures, and a local man also reviewed the figures with them. Sharp writes on October 8, in Hyden:

> In the afternoon I dictate the rest of the dance to her [Maud] from my note book. This is a great relief to me to know that the dance is at last on paper. This dance is as valuable a piece of work as anything that I have done in the mountains. I may get some more figures to add but I do not think there is anything else to learn about it [1917].

From the perspective of 21st century ethnochoreology, Sharp's last statement can be seen as rather presumptuous!

It was not until December 1917 that Sharp and Karpeles wrote down their full impression of seeing the *running set* at Pine Mountain:

> It was danced one evening after dark on the porch of one of the largest houses of the Pine Mountain School with only one dim lantern to light up the scene. But the moon streamed fitfully in lighting up the mountain peaks in the background and, casting its mysterious light over the proceedings, seemed to exaggerate the wildness and the break-neck speed of the dancers as they whirled through the mazes of the dance. There was no music, only the stamping and clapping of the onlookers, but when one of the emotional crises of the dance was reached...the air seemed literally to pulsate with the rhythm of the 'patters' and the tramp of the dancers' feet, while, over and above it all, penetrating through the din, floated the even, falsetto tones of the Caller, calmly and unexcitedly reciting his directions [Sharp 1985:14–15].

The stone porch where the "running set" was danced is still in existence at Pine Mountain Settlement School, adjacent to a newer house that replaced the older one there when Sharp and Karpeles visited.

Figure 2. The stone terrace at Pine Mountain Settlement School where Sharp and Karpeles saw the "running set." Photograph by Stephanie Smith.

One can get a good idea of the movement of the "running set" as described by Sharp and Karpeles in a 1974 interpretive performance of the Berea College Country Dancers [Ramsay 2011]. No music is used, just clapping and patting, based on Sharp's description above.

In the introduction to *The Country Dance Book Part 5*, Sharp discusses the characteristics and main figures of the running set, noting the "forceful, emotional character of the dance" [Sharp 1985:10]. He comments:

> From these considerations we are led to infer that the Running Set represents a stage in the development of the Country-dance earlier than that of the dances in *The English Dancing Master* – at any rate in the form in which they are there recorded [1985:10].

From my perspective as a researcher of English country dance, this conclusion seems utterly unsupportable in the 21st century to anyone who has knowledge of the repertoire published by John Playford. However, the publication of the "Running Set" in *The Country Dance Book* meant that the dance as notated was taught in England and is still done there. Both American and UK examples of the dance can be found on YouTube by searching *running set*.

Sharp's ideas 100 years later

Susan Spalding's insightful chapter on Pine Mountain Settlement School lead me to conclude that while Sharp and Karpeles were looking for English survivals and framed much of what they saw with that lens, they were not fully responsible for

all the cultural consequences of their actions. Sharp presented the Pine Mountain leaders with a vision of the children's ancestry as being English. Spalding states that Pine Mountain Settlement School was

> [...] an important promoter of folk dance during its long existence as a school [...] It also provided a link to the heritage, both real and imagined, of the people they served, providing a way to draw on the past to prepare students for the future [2014:123].

In the May 1919 *Notes from the Pine Mountain Settlement School*, the unnamed writer, most probably Evelyn Kendrick Wells, wrote:

> The pedigree of our ancient, beautiful songs we knew, but of the origin of our dances we were not sure. We believed them to be old, but that they were older than any country dances collected in out-of-the-way hamlets in Mother England we did not dream, until Mr. Cecil Sharp visited us and by chance saw our young people dancing [Pine Mountain Settlement School Collection 1919].

Sharp could not have anticipated how his views of the origin of set running, more broadly square dance, would be perpetuated in the work of many dance leaders and practitioners fifty to one hundred years after he visited Pine Mountain. Phil Jamison points out in his critical analysis of Sharp's legacy:

> Because of Sharp's reputation as an authority on English folk dance, his explanation of these southern Appalachian square dances was accepted as fact. No one questioned his Anglocentric bias and his self-admitted nationalistic agenda to promote English music and dance. As a result, Sharp's interpretation of the dances was cited in many of the subsequent dance instruction books that were written in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s [Jamison 2015:77].

Spalding notes, referring to Pine Mountain:

> The dance repertoire established there continued in the repertoire of the Berea College Country Dancers and in the regional Mountain Folk Festival, both founded in the 1930s and active in the twenty-first century [2014:123–124].

This repertoire as we know included Appalachian square dance and also English country dance. It is known that several leaders of the Berea College Country Dancers in the 20th century followed Sharp's interpretation of the origin of set running.

I view Sharp's and Karpeles' collection of the *running set* in 1917 as a collision of cultural actors, outsiders and insiders, opportunistic agendas, and historical circumstances that have resulted in a legacy that needs critical re-examination some one hundred years later, as well as having obscured the origins of set running.

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Phil Jᴀᴍɪsᴏɴ

CECIL SHARP'S "RUNNING SET" –
DIVERSITY AND DANCE IN APPALACHIA

Abstract

When Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles visited the Pine Mountain Settlement School in Kentucky in 1917, they were given a demonstration of a traditional Appalachian square dance. Sharp imagined these dances to be an ancient form of English country dance, and the following year, he published a description of the figures, what he called "The Running Set." The Appalachian square dance, however, is not an early form of English country dance, as Sharp claimed. A closer examination reveals that it is 19th American hybrid that developed from earlier traditions and popular dances, reflecting the racial and ethnic diversity of the United States.

Keywords: American square dance, Cecil Sharp, Appalachia, Running Set, United States

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Introduction

When English folksong collector Cecil Sharp and his colleague Maud Karpeles came to the United States in 1917, they traveled to the southern Appalachian Mountains in search of survivals of old English ballads and folksongs. This mountainous region, located in the southeastern United States is commonly known as Appalachia, and it includes parts of nine states – Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. One evening, while at the Pine Mountain Settlement School in eastern Kentucky, Sharp and Karpeles were given a demonstration of an Appalachian square dance. Sharp became fascinated by these unknown dances, and he speculated they were an ancient form of English country dance. He had encountered singers in Appalachia who were familiar with old English and Scottish ballads, such as *Barbara Allen*, and he imagined that these Appalachian folk dances might be of similar heritage.

Sharp's interest in folk dance had begun in 1899, when, at the age of forty, he encountered a group of *morris* dancers in England. He became aware that the traditional folk dances of England had mostly disappeared, having been displaced by popular ballroom dances – the polka, the waltz, and the quadrille – all imported from continental Europe. Reflecting the rising nationalism in Europe in the years leading up to the WWI, Sharp believed that the revival of "ancient national dances" could strengthen a country's "national spirit" [Sharp 1909:13], and in 1911, he founded the English Folk Dance Society as a way to preserve and promote the traditional dances of England.

Believing that the Kentucky dances were old English dances, Sharp thought that they should be included in the Folk Dance Society's repertoire, and the following year, he and Karpeles published a description of what he called "The Running Set"

in *The Country Dance Book, Part V.* In addition to instructions for the dance figures, Sharp speculated about the provenance of these American dances, stating that the Running Set "belongs to a stage in the development of the Country-dance earlier than that of any dance known to us" [Sharp and Karpeles 1918:12]. Although Sharp was an outsider, who observed only a few dances during a brief visit to Kentucky, his proclamation that these American dances were survivals of early English country dances was readily accepted as fact by his followers in the English Folk Dance Society. He was the leading authority on English folk dance, and no one questioned his claims. Consequently, the Running Set was adopted into the repertoire of the English Folk Dance Society, on both sides of the Atlantic, and over the last hundred years, Sharp's Anglocentric interpretation of the Appalachian square dance has been repeated and perpetuated by several generations of dancers and folk dance educators.

The Appalachian square dance

Figure 1. Eight-couple square dance. Haywood County, North Carolina (1930s). (North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill).

Dances, similar to those observed by Sharp and Karpeles a hundred years ago, can still be found in Appalachia today, and although they are called *square dances*, they actually have a circular structure that is not limited to four couples but can accommodate any number – the dances Sharp observed had six couples. These dances have a verse-chorus structure in which a main figure for two couples alternates with

a chorus figure involving all of the dancers. The main figure of the dance is chosen from a large repertoire of visiting-couple figures, and each couple, in turn, dances it with each of the other couples in the set. The timing of the figures, however, is free-form and not choreographed to fit the musical phrase. This allows for the music, typically performed on fiddle (violin) and banjo, to be played at a fast tempo (130–140 bpm). Rather than following the musical phrase, the dancers are guided by a dance caller, who prompts their movements throughout the dance. The choreography of these dances is not fixed, and during the course of the dance the caller may challenge the dancers by shortening, extending, adding to, or otherwise changing the figures.

I have been involved with these traditional dances as a musician, dancer, and dance caller for over forty years, and a number of years ago, I became curious about their origin. Every source I turned to, however, cited Cecil Sharp's account of the Running Set, repeating his assertion that these Kentucky dances were unaltered pre-17th century English county dances. Somehow that explanation never seemed right to me. When I considered the vocal traditions of Appalachia, I saw much more than simply old ballads and folksongs from the British Isles. The Appalachian vocal repertoire also includes ballads and folksongs that are native to America, as well as 19th parlor songs, minstrel songs, Tin Pan Alley songs, African-American gospel, blues, and work songs, shape note hymns, and much more. This diverse vocal repertoire is clearly a reflection of the racial and ethnic diversity of the United States. The instrumental tradition of Appalachia is likewise a blend of traditions. Common instruments include the European violin, the West African-derived banjo, the Italian mandolin, the Spanish guitar, the German-derived dulcimer, and more. Sharp's theory that the Appalachian square dances were old English country dances that came to the region with the early settlers from the British Isles and had remained pure and unchanged after several hundred years didn't fit the pattern of cultural assimilation and amalgamation that I observed in the vocal and instrumental traditions. There had to be more to the story.

Appalachian identity

Cecil Sharp made several trips to the Appalachian region between 1916 and 1918, and he collected over 500 ballads and folk songs from 281 singers. Not all of the songs in his collection were from the British Isles, but he claimed this vocal repertoire as *English*. In his eyes, the people of the southern mountains were simply transplanted *English peasants* who had retained their Anglo-Celtic culture in isolation, and it was through this lens that he interpreted the culture of Appalachia. That is no doubt why he believed the Appalachian dances were likewise of English heritage. Sharp's conclusion, however, was based on two misconceptions about the region. At a lecture in Asheville, North Carolina in 1917, he spoke of the "amazingly rich" cultural heritage of the southern mountains, which he attributed to the "arrested degeneration" of Anglo-Saxon "racial inheritance" [Anonymous 1917]. In reality though, the culture of Appalachia was never solely Anglo-Saxon (nor Anglo-Celtic). Since the time of the earliest settlers, the population, though predominately white, has been a diverse mix of Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans, and prior to the Civil War, slavery existed in every county in the region. Out of ignorance, cultural bias, or a personal nationalistic agenda, Sharp chose not to acknowledge this racial and ethnic diversity.

Sharp's second misconception was the notion that the Appalachian region was completely isolated and cut off from the outside world. Expressing this same view, Karpeles later wrote, "The Set-runners of the Appalachian Mountains have been living for many generations in their mountain fastness with but little contact with the outside world" [Karpeles 1930:41]. While the southern mountains were no doubt a relatively remote place, the inhabitants had always maintained contact with the outside world, and they were not completely isolated from the influences of popular culture. Before the coming of the railroad and highways, the rivers that flowed down the westward slope of the southern mountains into the Mississippi River watershed served as the principal route for trade and transportation. Every year, hundreds of flatboats, loaded with corn, wheat, hogs, whiskey, and other goods descended these rivers, ending up in New Orleans. Upon reaching New Orleans, the boatmen would sell their goods, as well as their boats for lumber, and then walk home. They would follow the Natchez Trace, a 450-mile-long trail ending in Nashville, Tennessee, and then continue on into the mountains. Hundreds of boatmen made this journey every year, and they no doubt encountered a variety of music and dance along the way. The "amazingly rich" cultural heritage of the southern mountains was not due to "arrested degeneration" of Anglo-Saxon "racial inheritance" but the result of the racial and ethnic diversity of region and the sharing and assimilation of culture, both within the region and across the South.

Cecil Sharp was not alone in his misperception of Appalachian identity and regional culture, and his views were no doubt influenced by others who came before him. In 1901, American geographer Ellen Churchill Semple had described the people who lived in the "isolated communities" of Kentucky as "the purest Anglo-Saxon stock in all the United States" [Semple 1901:6]. This depiction of Appalachian identity as Anglo-Saxon was significant at that time. The arrival of large numbers of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe in the late 1800s had sparked a nativist, xenophobic movement in the United States, and Appalachia was seen as a place where, according to Semple, "the stock has been kept free from the tide of foreign immigrants" [Semple 1901:6]. Ignoring the historic racial and ethnic diversity of region, the people of Appalachia and their culture were portrayed and celebrated as Anglo-Saxon.

Square roots

So, where did the American square dances that Sharp and Karpeles encountered in Kentucky *really* come from? One clue to consider is the music that accompanies the dances. The music and dance traditions developed in tandem, and they are inseparable. The fact that the core of the southern dance band consists of the pairing of the European fiddle with the African-derived banjo – Sharp and Karpeles encountered both of these instruments in Kentucky – suggests that the dance traditions may likewise reflect both the European and African traditions. To clearly identify specific influences, however, we need to consider the earlier traditions and popular social dances that preceded the development of these American folk dances.

In the 1700s, prior to the American Revolution, English country dances were popular in the English colonies in America. These dances were done primarily in line formations, and they are the ancestor of the modern contra dance. They were not prompted by a dance caller, so dancers were required to attend dancing school

to learn the dance figures prior to attending a ball. Sharp believed that the Running Set was the survival of an ancient form of these dances, preceding Playford's dances of the 17th century. While there is no evidence that English country dances were ever popular in the rural backcountry of North America, these dances may be the source of a few of the figures that were noted by Sharp. For example, the Appalachian figure *Chase the Squirrel* resembles Playford's *Hunt the Squirrel* of 1709.

The dances that most often appear in early accounts of the Appalachian frontier are Scottish and Irish reels. This makes sense given that the Scots-Irish were the single largest group to settle in the southern backcountry. The simple figures of these dances, involved two couples, so they could be danced in small spaces such as a cabin or tavern, and unlike the English country dances, they did not require attendance at dancing school. Some of the hand-turning figures that are found in today's Appalachian square dances are likely derived from these dances, as is the circular visiting-couple form.

Following the American Revolution, dancers in the United States rejected the English country dance in favor of newly-fashionable French cotillions and quadrilles. The French, after all, had helped the Americans win their independence from England. French cotillions and quadrilles were square dances for four couples that consisted of figures for head and side couples, alternating with chorus figures involving all eight dancers. As with the earlier country dances, the dancers were required to attend dancing school to learn the figures, and by the early 1800s, dancing schools could be found in cities and towns throughout the Unites States. Many of these dancing schools were established by newly-arrived French expatriates escaping the French Revolution. These French dancing masters introduced American dancers to the four-couple square formation as well as chorus figures such as *Promenade* and the *Grand Right and Left*. They also introduced French dance terminology: *Allemande*, *Promenade*, *Chassé*, and *Do-si-do*. Today, two hundred years later, these French dance prompts are still used by myself and other dance callers. These formal square dances, which were popular in the grand hotels and resorts of Appalachia as well as on Mississippi River steamboats, often consisted of three to five distinct parts, and these *sets of quadrilles* were sometimes simply referred to as *sets*. That is what dancers in Kentucky meant when they referred to square dancing as *dancing a set* or *set running*, and from this, Sharp coined the name "Running Set."

Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the New World, dancing served an important function in Native American culture, and certain elements of the Native American dances may have been incorporated into the Appalachian dance tradition. Native American influence, however, is hard to discern due to the early mixing of European and Native American cultures through intermarriage. One Appalachian square dance figure that may have been inspired by Native American dances is the single file circle.

The influence of West African dance traditions on the Appalachian dances is more apparent and certainly more significant. Early accounts of slave dances in colonial America typically describe a ring form, but by late the 1700s, there are also accounts of slaves on Southern plantations dancing English country dances (and later French quadrilles). Obviously, slaves were not sent to dancing school, but they were able to participate in these dances if one of the musicians called out the dance figures. African-American musicians routinely provided the music for white

dancers throughout America, including at dancing schools, and they would no doubt have been familiar with the European dance figures and terminology. So, it should come as no surprise that the earliest dance callers were black musicians. This call-and-response vocalization that became part of the American dance tradition did not come from Europe, but it is in keeping with the West African dance traditions.

Dancing masters in America initially objected to dance calling, no doubt knowing that it would put them out of business. By the mid-19th century, however, European-Americans were also calling out the figures of the dances. The advent of dance calling was significant for several reasons. It made it possible to combine dance figures from the earlier dance traditions into a new uniquely *American* hybrid dance form. Calling out the figures as they were danced allowed the dances to be freeform, flexible, and spontaneous, and because the dance figures were not timed to the musical phrase, the tempo of the music could be fast. More significant, though, the practice of calling led to the democratization of the dances. Novice dancers no longer needed to attend dancing school, and free from the control of the dancing masters, these new American folk dances were able to spread across the country as settlers moved west.

Cecil Sharp's "Running Set"
Let's now return to the dances that Cecil Sharp encountered in Kentucky in 1917. Sharp cited three specific characteristics of the Running Set as evidence of it being an ancient form of English country dance. First, he noted the "construction of the dance," in particular, its circular visiting-couple form and verse-chorus structure. Some of Playford's early dances of the 17th century likewise had a circular visiting-couple form, and these were the dances that Sharp associated with the Running Set. In Appalachia, however, this form more likely come from the Scots-Irish reels. The verse-chorus structure of the Appalachian dances clearly comes from the French cotillions and quadrilles, and Sharp made particular note of the promenade figure, which he observed, "bind(s) the figures together and give(s) continuity to the dance" [Sharp and Karpeles 1918:9]. He claimed that the promenade "occur(s) nowhere else" (in the English country dances). He needed only to look at the French cotillions and quadrilles, however, to find its source.

Sharp discusses three "indubitably ancient figures" as evidence of the antiquity of the Kentucky dances: the "Basket," "Do-si-do," and "Bird in the Cage." He attributes the "Basket" figure to a pagan ritual involving "well-worship." The "Basket," however, was a figure of the French quadrilles. It was popular at fashionable balls on both sides of the Atlantic during the 19th century, and it is not unique to the Appalachian dances. In the Appalachian tradition, the "Do-si-do" figure consists of a series of hand turns involving two couples. Although the name is borrowed from French terminology ("dos à dos" meaning back-to-back), this figure is likely derived from the Scots-Irish reels. Dancers in West Virginia today still refer to this movement as a "reel." Sharp wrote that "Bird in the Cage," in which a dancer imitates a bird within a ring, was derived from an ancient pagan "sacrificial ceremony." This figure does not appear in the European social dance tradition or in any of the 19th century dance manuals, but precedents for it can be found in the ring dances of Sierra Leone as well as the ceremonial burial dances of southern Nigeria. In the United States, the earliest known reference to "Bird in the Cage" appears in the narrative of a former

slave, adding to the evidence that this common Southern square dance figure comes from the West African tradition rather than an ancient English pagan "sacrificial ceremony" [Sharp and Karpeles 1918].

The third characteristic of the Running Set, cited by Sharp as evidence of old English heritage, is what he described as the "forceful, emotional character of the dance." Noting in particular the "melodic poverty" and "insistent beat" of the dance music, Sharp wrote, "The players in Kentucky generally managed, notwithstanding the melodic poverty of the tunes, to play them with such force and abandonment that they made excellent accompaniment to the dance" [Sharp and Karpeles 1918:18]. If we look at the list of dance tunes named by Sharp, however, only a few are from the British Isles, and those are not English, but Scots-Irish. The majority of the dance music that Sharp and Karpeles encountered in Appalachia was native to America, and the emphasis on rhythm, as opposed to melody, reflects the legacy of the countless black musicians who had provided the dance music of America since colonial times. During their visit to Kentucky, Sharp and Karpeles also noted banjo playing, *patting Juba* (body percussion), beating straws (playing rhythm with a straw on fiddle strings), dance calling, and *hoedowns* (Kentucky step dances). All of these Appalachian traditions likewise come from the African-American tradition.

The Appalachian square dance clearly is not an ancient form of English country dance, as claimed by Sharp, but an American hybrid – a blend of the European, West African, and Native American traditions – that developed in the Southern backcountry during the 19th century. In fact, the three specific characteristics of the running set that Sharp identified as evidence of it being an ancient form of English country dance – the "construction of the dance," the "indubitably ancient figures," and the "forceful, emotional character of the dance" – for the most part suggest non-English sources. The main structure of the dance is defined by the circular visiting-couple form of the Scots-Irish reels and the verse-chorus pattern of the French cotillions and quadrilles. The many distinctive Appalachian dance figures have clear precedents in earlier figures from English country dances, Scots-Irish reels, French cotillions and quadrilles, Native American, and West African dances. Most importantly, it was the African-American practice of dance calling that made the blending of traditions possible, allowed these dances to be freeform, flexible, spontaneous, and fast, and enabled the dissemination of these folk dances throughout the United States.

American folk dance

How did Cecil Sharp get it so wrong, and what have been the consequences? Before Sharp visited the southern mountains, he was no doubt aware of the prevailing stereotypes of the Appalachian region. He had been told that he would find people singing old British ballads, and he likely arrived with a preconceived notion of a pure Anglo-Saxon population living in isolation. This no doubt blinded him, and out of ignorance, a nationalistic Anglocentric bias, or bigoted arrogance, he failed to acknowledge the contributions of non-English cultures. He simply claimed it all as English. He ignored the obvious influence of the 19th century French quadrilles, and although he encountered African-Americans in his travels, he avoided contact with them and did not consider their possible contributions to the Appalachian culture.

In early 20th century, in the United States as in England, folk dancing was seen as a way to define national identity, and in 1905, a folk dance program was instituted in

the New York City public schools. In the early years, the dance curriculum consisted of folk dances from Scandinavia and the British Isles, and this selective repertoire was seen as a way to assimilate the children of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe to an American national identity. This identity, though, was based on an imagined common (northern European) heritage. *American* heritage was often equated with that of the British Isles, and Sharp's characterization of the Kentucky dances as old English reinforced the notion that Appalachia was the place to go to find pure, untainted Anglo-Saxon culture. Therefore, in the 1920s, when educators sought to include *American* folk dances in school physical education programs, they looked to the square dances of the southern mountains.

At around the same time, industrialist and automobile manufacturer Henry Ford was also promoting square dancing in the United States. Ford, an outspoken racist and anti-Semite, was appalled by the rising popularity of jazz music and dances, and to counteract it, he advocated square dancing and other dances of "the northern peoples" (i.e. northern Europeans), which he saw as the "style of dancing which best fits with the American temperament" [Ford 1926:8]. Ironically, the dances that Sharp claimed as English and that the folk dance educators and Ford promoted and celebrated as *American* were not the pure, northern European, Anglo-Saxon culture they imagined them to be.

Contemporary scholars and historians now reject Sharp's ideas, but his biased Anglocentric interpretation of these Appalachian dances, having been embraced by generations of dancers and folk dance educators, lives on. The Appalachian square dance clearly is not an ancient form of English country dance, but a 19th century American hybrid that has multicultural roots. This should be expected and come as no surprise in the United States, a country of immigrants that has had a diverse population since the arrival of the earliest European settlers. With each wave of immigration, however, a recurring question has come up: What does or doesn't make something or someone *American*? Nativists in the United States, including those in current times, have often defined and celebrated *American* heritage as Anglo-Saxon. Traditional square dancing is no doubt *American*, but that is not because it is Anglo-Saxon *racial inheritance*. What makes these dances uniquely *American* are their diverse, multicultural roots. They are the product of the creolization of culture in the New World, and they clearly reflect the racial and cultural diversity of the United States.

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Stefano Reyes

METHOD OF CONNECTIVE CONTEXTS: A TRANS-DISCIPLINARY METHOD BETWEEN DANCE AND URBAN ANALYSIS TO OBSERVE AND COMPARE MEETING SITUATION

Abstract

Many populations generate their physical environments by creating their urban spaces and their dance events, which are both expressions of their political and cultural points of view. The created spaces affect the way people relate with one another, which is then transmitted to all people present at the event, also across generations. In this way, the local culture of meeting is reconstituted through time. In this study I propose the *method of connective contexts*, useful to understand the cultural behavior of meeting, and its transmission, in a population. The method is based on the comparative analysis of meeting situations (defined as the sum of location, subject and time), and makes use of new analytical tools that are a result of both urban and ethno-choreological research. By this method, the whole space-time of a community is considered as a sequence of meeting situations. Each one of them is made of a particular set of material structures: both animate (human/animal bodies, etc.) and inanimate (objects, walls, etc.), and characterized by various degrees of malleability. Among them, the situations that are harder to modify will affect the more malleable ones. For example: when dancing a *walzer*, the maximum distance between the dancers depends both on the lengths of their arms and on the way they hold each other. In order to increase their spinning speed, the dancers need to come closer to each other. This movement also results in a close-up of the visage of the partner. In the case of writing on a personal computer, the distance between the person and the monitor depends on the position of the chair which, in turn, is determined by the shape of the table. As such, the interactions among living beings can be interpreted as structured by the whole of the inanimate and animate (including living beings) elements, themselves being the context. By comparing the meeting situations occurring during the dance (within festivals) with the ones of everyday life (in the urban environment), it is then possible to identify their structural elements. These are identified as the political-cultural devices peculiar of the local culture to allow for meetings and to regenerate the community.

Keywords: embodied culture, meeting situation, context analysis, cultural transmission, choreography

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Introduction: the transformation of contexts

Creation of context: expression of community desiderata

Many populations generate their physical environments by creating their urban spaces and their dance events, which are both expressions of their political and cultural points of view [Hall 1966; Magnaghi 2000]. These contexts favor, by preference, certain types of interactions depending on their formal characteristics, which have been transmitted over time by the populations that created them, because their effects on the manner of being together are desirable [Staro 2012].

Modern methods of industrial production and resource management favored fundamental transformations in contexts of life, implying transformations in social interactions, often far from the needs of local communities. The new contexts where people meet impose different ways of being together, which alter social relationships. The latter are transmitted to the successive generations just at the same time of the meeting [Choay 1969, Costa 2013; Hall 1966, 1975].

In many ritual traditional feasts, such as birthdays, Christmas, and dancing parties, people create special conditions for meeting. Following this modification, the contexts allow for the deployment and inheritance of specific interactions [Staro 2012]. Traditional feasts create some sort of shell, protecting peculiar social interaction from external transformations over time. By their peculiar choreographic and behavioral rules, traditional dances provide a twofold protection of the particular type of relationships that can occur in feasts.

CITY'
Permanent structures

FEAST CONTEXT
A shell that protect social interaction

DANCE
Social action
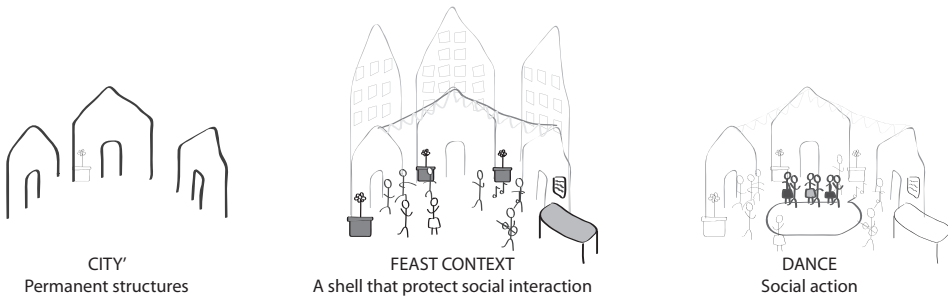
Figure 1. The transformation of modern cities affects social behaviour and traditional culture. Graphic by Reyes.

The meeting situations reconstitute culture over time

The created spaces affect the way people relate with each other, which is then transmitted to all people present at the event, also across generations. In this way, the local culture of meeting is reconstituted through time. By looking at social interactions, people learn and acquire behavioural models of others [La Cecla 1999]. Similarly, by acting, people show behaviour that are imitated to some extent by others, and especially by younger people [Iacoboni 2008]. As such, the transformation of the contexts where meetings occur modifies social interactions and directly influences how people from different generations learn from each other the way of staying together.

In this study I propose the m*ethod of connective contexts*, useful to understanding the cultural behaviour of meeting, and its transmission, in a population. The meeting contexts may vary strongly with each other. In order to deeply understand their functioning, it may be useful to analytically comprehend their structural characteristics that influence their behavior. I will do this, starting from the analysis of proxemic behaviours and the influence that space may have on social behaviors according to Hall [1955], Goffman, Gehl [1970] and others. This approach is further developed using the phenomenological analysis of Husserl [1907].
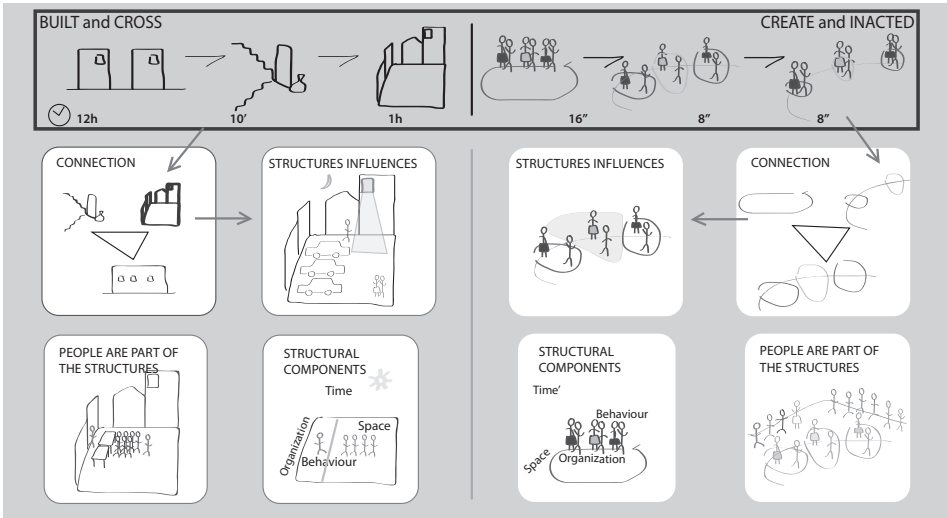
Figure 2. People live in sequences of different contexts where they connect with each other in different ways. Graphic by Reyes.

Comparison between meeting contexts

The method is based on the comparative analysis of meeting situations (defined as the sum of location, subject and time), and makes use of new analytical tools resulting from both urban and ethno-choreological research. The method makes possible:

- observing the contexts where people live, while taking into account the presence of their own bodies;
- comparing the proxemic behaviors occurring within and outside the dance;
- the inclusion of proxemic behaviors as part of the contexts created by the people present at the event.

By this method, the whole space-time of a community is considered as a sequence of meeting situations [Decandia 2000]. Every location that can be crossed constitutes a different meeting context: from the sleeping room to the front door of our house, to the way connecting us to our working place, to our office. In each one we find living organisms, and their signs, informing us about them and the surrounding world. For instance: if a person leaves home through the stairs, he/she will meet other people differently than by taking the elevator. Similarly, every dance phrase, recognizable as it modifies the reciprocal relationships of the dancers, constitutes a

different *connective context* (CC from here on). Regarding every CC, we observe: how much time we spend in it, how it is linked to the other ones [Hall 1959], its spatial, temporal, and organizational characteristics, and people behavioural characteristics, as these constitute the fundamental, structural components of the meeting situation [Goffman 1998; Laban 1950]. We should keep in mind that people and their bodies are intrinsic components of the CC.

From the function to the pattern

More than ninety elements influence the social behaviour. In order to facilitate their analysis, I classified them according to five main social functions related to the dance event: explicit communication, aggregation, of acquiring knowledge, adaptive, transmissive. These are necessary to the main function of traditional dances: "give individual and verifiable structure to organize and share one's own human and existential experience" [Staro 2012]. The main functions are themselves subdivided into sixteen sub-functions, detailing their relationships with the spatio-temporal context. These latter split again into ninety-one measurable spatial patterns. The connection among these three levels allows one to observe how the measurable reality influences the way people interact, and thus their synchronization with the socio-environmental context. Below I will show an application of some of the spatial patterns as applied to real cases.

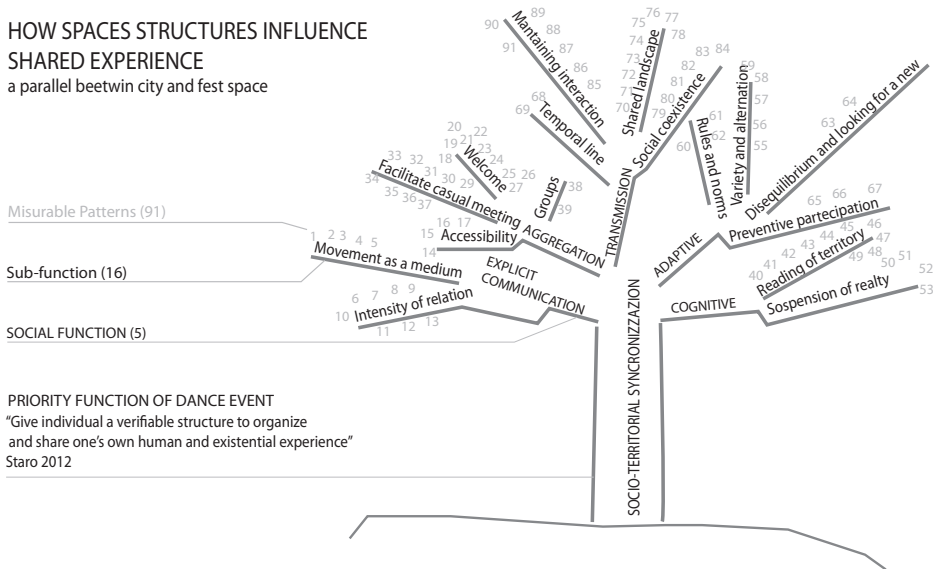

Figure 3. How spatial structures influence shared experience. Graphic by Reyes.

The Pattern 45: about the different level of structures

Each connective context is made of a particular set of material structures: both animate (human/animal bodies, etc.) and inanimate (objects, walls, etc.), and characterized by various degrees of malleability. Among them, the situations that are harder

to modify will affect the more malleable ones. Developing further the research of Hall, I categorize the structures of a CC in fixed (unmovable, ultra-fixed and fixed), temporary (semi-fixed, semi-mobile and mobile) [Hall 1959] and acted out (implement, dance and relational). In this way I can put them on the same line.
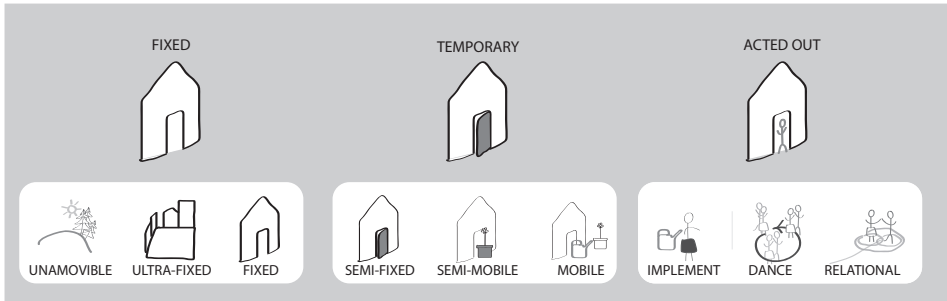
Figure 4. Most fixed structure affect the choice of the less one. Graphic by Reyes.

A practical application

By comparing the meeting situations occurring during the dance (within festivals) with the ones of other moments in life (in the urban environment), it is then possible to identify their common structural elements. These are identified as the political-cultural devices, peculiar to the local culture, allowing meetings regeneration in the community.

In the following I show the application of the method to the analysis of two traditional dances (the *ruggero* and the *manfrone*), representing the rich choreutic culture of the Monghidoro village (Bologna, Italy), and the structures of the local urban environment during the weekly meeting of the street market.

First dance: manfrone

This is a collective dance made of three parts. In the *spasso* (a dance phrase characterizing this dance part in respect to the rest of the dances) couples of dancers (almost all the participants to the festival) walk through the room in an elliptic path, defining together the space of the dance. The sight and speed of each one is given by the proceeding couple, which is at a *personal distance* (they might touch them with a hand). Both members of each couple, next to each other, are hand in hand, but see each other only with peripheral vision.

In the second part (*balletto*) the dancers stop and turn towards each other, turning their front and shoulders to the center of the ellipse. The distance within the couple increases, but the two members see each other now. The woman, located on the external side of the ellipse, sees the partner, having in his background the rest of the participants to the dance. The space of the couple is now autonomous in respect to the other participants, making it possible for them to have more variation in their movements.

In the third part *braccia*, the dancers do not see each other, but stay in contact through their arms and the trunk, spinning together around the axis between their bodies.

The dimension of *spasso* is given by the number of couples and increases or decreases depending on the size of the room. As almost all the participants join this dance, by walking they define the dancing space of the room.

In the second part the couples stop and the dancers turn towards each other, reaching the *personal distance*. The space of each couple is delimited by the preceding and following ones. The dancers show/observe themselves through the preferred combinations of steps in *balletto*: the larger the space the easier is communicating clear and complex messages. If the room is too small in respect to the number of couples, the *spasso* will have a high density and the dancers will be forced to interrupt their movements. As a consequence, the expressive space will be reduced in the *balletto*, especially for men. Finally, during *braccia*, it will be hard to distinguish the couple from the other ones.

If the *spasso* will be too large in respect to the number of couples, the space given to individual expression will be larger, giving a reduced feeling of proximity with the other couples.

Second dance: ruggero

This is the most important and expressive dance of the valley. It is divided in three phrases. During the first one, dancers describe the circle in which they will dance. The sequence of movements is more predictable. In addition, two *stops* in the music enable the dancers to make more accurate moves. In the second and third parts, both the music and the movements are more variable and require higher concentration. During the *balletto* the relationship is front to front. It occurs within the circle, at relatively high distance, allowing reciprocal vision. Finally, in the *tresca*, the possibility to get in and out of the circle, allows faster variations, making the dance hard to understand from external observers.

Third: street market

On Thursday, the center of the village is changed through the opening of the street market, which draws a high number of people. Streets become narrower, allowing the passage of one person per time. An exception is given by the center of the village where, at the intersection of the main roads, a large ellipse is left free. In its center, groups of people stop for chatting.

Comparison

I compared the structures of these two dances and of the space weekly restructured by the market.

In my analysis it is easy to recognize two types of meeting spaces: the one of walking through the market and the one at the intersection.

In the first, participation, the perceptional space and the type of contact among people are analogous to the ones in *manfrone*: the distance between people walking together is *intimate* and the contact is side by side. The distance is *personal* in respect to who is in front, and defines the sight.

In the second location (the intersection), the characteristics are analogous to *ruggeri*: a large empty space, populated in its center only by men, in couples or small groups, under the attentive but distant sight of the community.

The type of path, possible movements and perception among interlocutors, and between them and the rest of the people, maintain the same characteristics. The conditions allowing for the development of the five main social functions are analogous in both contexts, within and outside the dance event.

SYNHTESIS

Manfrone - The Street

Ruggeri - The Piazza

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

Self communication	Participation to a common movement	A lot of space for individual expression
Aggregation	All people dance	All people observe
Knowing	Trust and contact with the group	Easy to see behaviour in a protected and complex situation
Adaptation	Common rhythm (from the slowest)	Fast change, people arrive suddenly (many hide entrance)
Trasmission	Imitation of behaviour of others	Observation to the "dancer" in the center

Figure 5.

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Josef Bartoš

PRESSURE FROM *ABOVE*: DANCING DISSIDENCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 1950s

Abstract

This paper deals with political pressure exerted on various dance subjects in the post-war era in the beginning of the 1950s in former Czechoslovakia. There is an exclusive source available for studying the theme: stenographic notation of conference speeches held in Brno in 1950. As expected, this event was one of those where official trends and styles were supposed to be confirmed to be *correct*. The ballet tradition and folklore revival movement were included among the *correct* ones, while other styles, e.g. pantomime and *výrazový tanec* (modern dance, *Ausdrucktanz*), were defined as harmful and unsuitable for the society in the period. This paper is focused on the situation of neglected representatives of *výrazový tanec* in particular and in general on the shifts in the notion of dance and its purpose in the context of the period's political system.

Keywords: Czechoslovakia, communism, conference, *Výrazový tanec*

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This paper deals with the Czech dance scene in the early 1950s in the context of the period's political system. The aim of this text is to explore the position of *výrazový tanec* (often called *novodobý tanec* or *koncertní tanec*, in other languages it can be referred to *Ausdrucktanz* or modern dance) after February 1948 and if it differed from the interwar period. There is a particular source available – an almanac from the First Czechoslovakian Dance Artists' Conference held in 1950 in Brno (the Czech Republic), which is a stenographic notation of speeches taken from the conference. This event followed notorious February 1948, when Czechoslovakia experienced an unwilling shift from constitutional democracy to totalitarian communist regime. Extant material therefore shows valuable information about people's interests, ideas and opinions. These speeches are used in the following text as a base for exploring aforesaid research question.

The aforementioned political change had an impact on cultural policy in general. Socialist realism, an artistic style developed in the Soviet Union during 1920s and 1930s, was officially pronounced as the leading artistic style. Following its main principles (e.g. party-mindedness, ideological and class content, truthfulness) became the only tolerable way to create any piece of art. The conference was one of those events where official trends and styles within dance were supposed to be confirmed to be *correct* according to those principles. The ballet tradition and folk dance were included among the *correct* ones, while other styles, e.g. *výrazový tanec* (also called *koncertní tanec* or *novodobý tanec*), which had blossomed in the interwar

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period, were defined as harmful and unsuitable for the society. This fact is, for instance, documented by the following quote from the conference by Miroslav Kouřil, prominent communist politician in the field of art:

> If somebody is a dancer, he or she must be really able to dance in all possible forms. [...] We don't aim at limiting anyone's artistic freedom within their dance discipline but we will strongly resist putting the label of style on dilettantism and incompetence in dance art [Protocol 1950:10].

Those stances may be seen in others' quotes as well. For example, dancer and choreographer Nina Jirsíková commented as follows:

> Where are all these ladies and mistresses from the First Republic, who had ballet schools on every corner in Prague and earned thousands every month just because they could afford to take courses by Preobrazenska in Paris or in Hellerau in Germany [Referáty 1950].

Or dancer and teacher Ella Fuchsova-Lehotská, who expressed her opinion on teaching methods for dancers that should be used at schools:

> We do not need to argue about it anymore, if modern dance or thousands of other styles, but classical ballet as a base and folk dance with its beautiful and rich vocabulary [Protocol 1950:29].

Teaching methods became a topical issue, especially in connection with private studios, which were mostly led by representatives of *výrazový tanec*. According to the conference attendees, the most common reason for rejecting those schools was lack of expertise in dance pedagogy. The following commentary by Mariana Tymichová, leading teacher, dancer and choreographer, shows this stance:

> We all know, what material we were accepting to the conservatory. Those students were taught in private schools. From my own experience I can say that we come to much better results if we receive material completely not ready but talented, than from bad schools [Protocol 1950:62].

The conference was summed up by a final resolution, which consisted of five fundamental elements. One of those was a requirement for global dissolution of private studios. Even though it was never put into practice, conducting private business was not desired at those times. Later on, some studios were frequently nationalized as the words of Eva Blažíčková, pupil of Jarmila Jeřábková, may illustrate:

> I witnessed the moment when some officials came to her studio [studio of Jarmila Jeřábková – author's note], and put a sticker on her personal piano saying: »Property of the District Cultural Centre« [Bartoš 2017].

Before the conference, several artists were asked to write essays commenting on assigned themes. Dancer and choreographer, representative of *výrazový tanec* Jarina Smoláková wrote an essay called *Koncertní tanec* (literally translated as concert dancing). It is composed as a defence against many attacks, such as individualism:

> The idea that the dance soloist is concentrated on himself, and that he dances only for a few other people he knows, is completely wrong. The dancer does

not live in a complete vacuum, on the contrary he fully lives in the present moment and nowadays world. [...] With his dance, he attempts to depict his imaginary partner, more people, a mass or a procession. The partner may be his audience as well [Referáty 1950].

We do not know if Smoláková attended the conference, because there is no speech taken down in the almanac. Míra Holzbachová and Jožka Šaršeová were the only dancers of the discussed style present, both of whom were in favor of communist regime at that time, so no further comments than negative were mentioned.

In response to the conference, dancer and choreographer Věra Urbánková wrote a short commentary to the magazine called *Divadlo* (in English Theatre):

> I think that the negative attitude to novodobý tanec comes out of ignorance. Ignorance from ballet dancers, but also from those who recognize novodobý tanec, who dance it, or even those who teach it, but do not know at all its technique [Urbánková 1950:413].

Urbánková also wrote about the differences between classical ballet and *novodobý tanec* and she was completely in favor of the second style mentioned.

> Muscle tone goes from the highest activity to complete passivity, while academic technique uses only a few levels. *Novodobý tanec* has several different ways of movement; it cares about the development of the movement and its dynamics. It emphasizes organic flow [...] and it has also its own jumping technique and different turns [Urbánková 1950:413].

It is even more interesting that the editor in chief of the magazine where this article was published was Miroslav Kouřil, a politician who publicly denied any style other than ballet and folk dance.

To conclude, the conference almanac and extant quotes show the starting point for a new artistic ideology and its relation to *výrazový tanec*. It also conveys the idea of how tradition of *výrazový tanec* was pushed to the dissident position within the new politically engaged movement in dance art in the beginning of the 1950s.

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THEME 2
DANCE AND AGE

Mark E. PERRY

THE SARDANA AS A GENERATIONAL PRACTICE

Abstract

Many Catalans of the younger generation are attracted to club competition rather than traditional sardana dancing, which is the preference of the older generation. Sardana competitions are not unique to the post-Franco era; however, unique to competitive sardana dancing of recent times remains that it is effectively the primary medium that younger generations of Catalans participate. The sardana danced in competitions differs greatly from the traditional sardana in many ways. In contrast to the traditional non-competitive sardana, rigid and precisely synchronized dancing is preferred – in fact the desired aesthetic. Remarkably, the dual practices coincide in contemporary Catalan society.

Keywords: sardana, competitive dance, age, nationalism, Catalonia

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The sardana is a dance and musical genre from Catalonia, a Spanish autonomous community. In the sardana, groups of men and women hold hands to form a circle and move from left to right with the two basic dance steps, *curts* and *llargs*, which consist of four and eight steps respectively. While the dance movements are not unnecessarily complicated, the dancers must count the number of measures of the two-part musical form, which varies greatly from one sardana to the next, as they dance in order to calculate and conclude properly with the appropriate steps of the highly prescribed choreography of the traditional dance. The dancing of the sardana is accompanied by a *cobla*, an ensemble of eleven musicians playing a mixture of indigenous and traditional Western instruments. The *cobla* consists of a *flabiol* (flute) with *tambori* (small drum), two *tibles* (double reed), two *tenores* (double reed), two trumpets, a trombone with pistons, two larger trumpets, and a three-stringed double bass. The sound quality of the *tenora*, one of the double reed instruments of the *cobla*, gives the ensemble its sonic distinctiveness as well as serving as a visual icon.

I argue that Catalan nationalism and the sudden and long held popularity of the sardana throughout Catalonia are interrelated. The concept of invention of tradition serves to explain how a regional dance, through different agencies, arose to symbolize the national aspirations of so many Catalans. According to Eric Hobsbawm's theory of invention of tradition, culture is not static; societies go through constant change in which traditions are revitalized and the images of the past are often understood through the new terms of various agents of the present, such as in the case of nation-building [Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983]. The use of the word "invention" can be problematic – incorrectly interpreted to mean that a tradition must therefore be inauthentic. Anthropologist Allan Hanson suggests that perhaps the term "invention" be substituted with a less inflammatory term such as "reformulation," arguing that:

Tradition and culture are constantly in the process of renegotiation and redefinition, such that invention is a normal and inevitable part of the perpetuation and use of all culture and tradition...] the fact that any and every tradition regularly undergoes the process of invention and reinvention in no way compromises its authenticity [Hanson 1997:200].

The tradition of dancing the sardana has gone through multiple reformulations taking place during – four pivotal periods: mid-19th century, Franco dictatorship, autonomy of Catalonia, and present-day Catalonia. There are many explanations for the rise in popularity of the sardana in Catalonia. The symbolism of forming a circle, consisting of men and women holding hands to represent solidarity, serves as an easy and recognizable common index. The standardized music and fixed choreography of the modern sardana coincides historically with Catalan nationalist movements of the mid-19th century. The sardana was regarded only as a regional dance of Catalonia until 1906 when Catalan nationalists transformed it into a national dance of Catalonia. The sardana as a symbolic action[1] flourished during the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975) as the regime viewed the dance as innocuous [Brandes 1990]. Following Franco's death in 1975 and Spain's transition to democracy, the focus of Catalan nationalists in relation to the sardana has gradually transitioned from its active participation to an anxious preservation of the tradition. The sardana is still perceived as a national dance; however, after the return of autonomy to Catalonia, the sardana is slowly developing into a nostalgic dance. At present within the resurgent independence movement that is taking place in Catalonia, the sardana contends with numerous other means for Catalans to express their national sentiments, gradually losing favor as a principal traditional cultural marker of Catalan identity.

An early predecessor of the sardana was the *contrapàs*, a line dance with many variants that existed throughout Catalonia. In common with the present day sardana, the dance steps of the *contrapàs* moved from left to right. Another forerunner to the present-day sardana was the *sardana curta*, a round dance constructed of two musical sections, *curts* and *llargs* of eight and sixteen measures respectively. The *sardana llarga* or present-day sardana is also constructed of the same two musical sections, except that the number of measures of each section varies greatly from one composition to the next. The variable number of measures requires that at least one of the dancers must count the number of measures of both *curts* and *llargs* in order to conclude the sections so that dancers end on their left foot and move toward the left. This is accomplished through the application of complicated formulas. In a Catalan proverb, this aspect of the dance is parodied as an aspect of national character: "the Catalans are such money grubbers that even to dance they count" [Brandes 1990:33].

The modern sardana dates from around 1850 and can be attributed to the musician and composer Josep Maria (Pep) Ventura (1817–1875), making reforms to the *cobla* and the musical structure of the sardana. Prior to Ventura, there was no standardized ensemble to accompany the dancing of the sardana. Furthermore, in 1850, Miquel Pardàs published *Método per apendre a ballar sardanes llargas*, the first method book on how to dance the sardana, and it is from this moment that the

1   I utilize Montserrat Guibernau's terminology "symbolic action" as she defines it as "a single, normally isolated action executed out by a small group. The main objective of a symbolic action is to break the regime's control of the public space" [Guibernau 2004:56].

choreography of the dance became fixed. The publication of other method books led to diffusion of the sardana throughout Catalonia within a brief period of time.

In the early 18th century, Barcelona was the center for both Spanish and Catalan nationalism. However, the larger Spanish state was felt by the Catalan bourgeoisie at the turn of the 20th century as a violation of Catalan national sentiment, leading to the revitalization of the sardana and its dissemination throughout Catalonia as a symbolic national dance. The sardana was introduced to the city of Barcelona around 1860; however, the dancing of the sardana appeared as nothing more than an exhibition of a regional dance of Girona without pan-Catalan associations [Nonell and Subirana 1988:69]. Using the sardana directly for political purposes took place as early as 1906 by the Solidaritat Catalana, a Catalan nationalist political party – serving as a symbol of solidarity for the political party [Nonell and Subirana 1988:68]. The sardana was soon introduced to the last two regions of Catalonia, Lleida and Tarragona [Nonell and Subirana 1988:69]. The sardana during the early 20th century became a natural component of cultural and patriotic programs in Barcelona, and then the rest of Catalonia [Nonell and Subirana 1988:69]. In addition, cultural centers, societies, and institutions were formed that would meet on Sunday afternoons to sing popular and patriotic songs, recite poems, and dance which always included sardanes [Nonell and Subirana 1988:68]. The use of the sardana by political parties continued until the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923–1930). However, by that time the sardana had became a fixed national symbol. Many other regional dances lost their significance to the sardana as standardization and diffusion took place throughout Catalonia.

Following the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), Catalonia had once more lost its autonomy. For a brief time after the war, the Franco dictatorship prohibited the dancing of the sardana; however, it was only banned in and around the city of Barcelona, and even so, for a brief period. The Franco regime attempted to repress symbols of Catalan identity – in particular the Catalan language – nevertheless considered the sardana innocuous [Brandes 1990:35]. My informants offered a possible alternative rationale of the Franco regime, explaining that Franco regime allowed Catalans to dance the sardana in order to observe all the Catalan nationalists in one setting. They stated that Franco sympathizers came to sardana events to spy on them. The Franco regime viewed aspects of local culture as trivial, and in fact persuaded the use of Catalan in the media coverage of Catalan culture in an attempt to trivialize it. The Catalan language journalists were encouraged to report on events such as dance competitions and local fiestas or local cooking recipes, while leaving the reporting of perceived serious news and politics in Castilian. The sardana was for many Catalans a form of peaceful protest, and in spite of the oppressive regime, the sardana flourished from 1945 to the early 1960s [Nonell and Subirana 1988:77].

By the 1950s, the choreography became exceedingly fixed with no tolerance towards any variation. In 1953, Catalan folklorist Lluís Albert i Rivas published his book *Contra la falsa sardana* (Against the False Sardana). Albert i Rivas authored his book of 104 pages in reaction to the suggestion by Catalan folklorist Aureli Capmany's assertion that arms should be lowered during the *curt* section of the dance. On this subject, Albert i Rivas passionately wrote:

> We publicly denounce, before the entire Catalan sardana world as completely false and in flagrant contradiction with the authentic secular sardana tradition, and in absolute disregard of the most minor acceptable historical precedent, the present vogue that has been extending and generalizing itself over time throughout all of Catalonia, which consists in dancing the *curts* with arms down [Albert i Rivas quoted in Brandes 1990:27-28].

Albert i Rivas continued by reminding his readers of the importance of the sardana, and of the ability of Catalans to resist outside forces:

> Hold firm and without concessions, true to our tradition and to our ancestors [...] that robust and candid people who during centuries have known how to endure without capitulation to every kind of invasion, preserving intact their most precious treasure: la sardana [Albert i Rivas quoted in Brandes 1990:28].

Spain returned to a democracy shortly after the death of Franco in 1975, and in 1980 Catalonia regained its autonomy. Despite the fact that many Catalans are dissatisfied with mere autonomy and delighted by the possibilities of the fulfillment of becoming an independent nation, the sardana as a living symbol of Catalan nationalism is waning. Many believe that the sardana can be rescued from oblivion by making the sardana more attractive to the younger generation. One failed attempt was the *sardanova*, the sardana with the addition of electric guitars, drums, and keyboards to the traditional cobla. The cosmopolitan mixture has had little effect in attracting younger dancers, only making it more expensive.

Many of the younger Catalan generation are attracted to club competition rather than the context of traditional sardana dancing. Sardana competitions are not unique to the post-Franco era; competitions had existed as early as 1902. However, what is unique remains that competitive sardana dancing is almost the only context that the younger generation participates in dancing the sardana. The competitive sardana differs from the traditional sardana in many ways. Dancers wear uniforms, stylized traditional costumes. Dancing is rigid and precisely synchronized. The traditional sardana is a part of the competition; however, other variations of the dance play a part in the competition. The *sardana revessa* resembles a traditional sardana, except that the sole goal of the dancers remains to figure out the correct number of measures of *curts* and *llargs* – made difficult by ambiguous newly composed music. The purpose of the *sardana revessa* is to maintain the counting skills of the younger dancers. Moreover, there is almost no perceivable dancing in the *sardana revessa*, and dancers will only finish the dance if they believe they have counted correctly the number of *curts* and *llargs*. Another genre of competitive sardana is the *sardana de punts lliures*, a freely choreographed sardana with the only restriction that the circle must never break. This new addition appeals to younger dancers because the *sardana de punts lliures* allows for creativity and is tolerated by the more conservative dancers for its appeal to younger dancers.

In 1992, the Olympic Games were celebrated in Barcelona and the international attention that the Olympics brought was not overlooked by Catalan nationalists. The showpiece of the 1992 Olympics was the inauguration ceremony, which included the dancing of the sardana. The Fundació Universal de la Sardana, a nationalist organization for the promotion of the sardana, lobbied for the incorporation of the sardana

in the Olympic ceremonies. The objective of the Fundació Universal de la Sardana is to extend the sardana to all parts of the world. [Nonell and Subirana 1997:90] The Olympics not only brought international awareness, it also revived national sentiments of many Catalans. The Fundació Universal de la Sardana was also responsible for such spectacles as the *largest sardana in history* (1992) that consisted of a single circle of 10,000 dancers and the sardana that circles the world (1999), a day that the sardana was danced in many parts of the world. While the goal of the organization is to extend the sardana outside Catalonia, it is clear from their literature that the organization believes the sardana is the cultural property of Catalonia.

Catalan nationalism and the sudden and long held popularity of the sardana throughout Catalonia are interrelated and the dancing of the sardana has gone through repeated processes of reformulation. Today, the dancing of the sardana appears as two different practices, each with a different generation of dancer. The older generation approach the dance nostalgically, the sardana of their youth – it is a participatory practice. Younger generations of Catalans also engage the sardana as a marker of Catalan identity, but enjoy its dancing in the form of competition – a presentational practice – and the opportunity to renovate the sardana with new choreography, expressing their creativity and continuing the process of reformulation of the national Catalan dance.

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Judith E. OLSON

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFORMATION OF BALKAN DANCE IN NEW YORK: NOT YOUR MOTHER'S FOLK DANCE

Abstract

This study explores the dance activity of three separate generational groups engaged in traditional dance and music in the New York area and the transmission of material and values among these groups, noting how each younger group received and restructured the dance experience of their elders in line with their own experience of the world. I also explore how these groups interact now and what older generations are drawing from ideas and opportunities presented by younger ones. The first group includes dancers in their eighties and nineties, many of them children of immigrants or immigrants to the United States who had been familiar with traditional dance as part of their lives in Europe. The second group is my generation, people who most often began to dance on college campuses in the 1970's and 80's, and whose association with traditional dance is more of a spiritual sort. The third generation is that of our children, whose connection has often come through an attraction to traditional music or contemporary Balkan music, with traditional dance as often as not taking a back seat to a personal response to music through movement.

Generational groups are distinct in similarity of age, background, and social opportunity, but other, more subtle, distinctions are apparent, having to do with life associations to dance material and the way in which music and dance fit with and express social values of the times in which participants came of age. These distinctions can be seen particularly in how they want dance and music to be structured and how they work with the dance and musical object themselves. They also differ in their relationships with the dancers and musicians they see as the source of the material and in how they define their actions in an ethical way.

Keywords: International Folk Dance, transmission, traditional dance, traditional music, Balkan dance, recreational folkdance, New York

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Certainly one of the strongest impulses of participants in social dance whom I have interviewed is the wish for the dancing they love to continue, and for more, and younger, people to become interested in dance.

I happen through personal circumstance to be involved in dance worlds that represent three generations within International Folk Dance in North America. This group has focused on a range of dances from many countries, with patterns and practices being handed down from generation to generation. I wanted to look at this transmission process while there are still people alive in my oldest generation. These participants are in their late eighties and nineties, and the oldest dancer I interviewed is 102 and still active. This is the dance group of my husband's parents.

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The second group is my own. I began to dance in 1975 in Colorado, and continued in various other locations until I moved to New York City a few years later. This was a time of upsurge in International Folk Dancing, and there were groups in cities throughout the United States, a large percentage meeting on university grounds, resulting in a fairly well defined age cohort.

In the 1990's these groups grew smaller, and there was much talk of the decline of folk dancing and the lack of new and younger participants. However, In the last 15 years or so there has been a surge in interest in dance music with the latest wave of Balkan bands and dance fueled by millennials including my children and those of many of my friends from the earlier wave. It has led to some wildly successful music and dance events, such as the Zlatne Uste Golden Festival in New York every January, which hosts a capacity crowd of over 3000 people. While all of these groups do International Folk Dance, they clearly enjoy it in different ways, and my goal was to find out what was similar and different in dance practice and see what each took from the other.

As I worked my way deeper into the topic, I began to find differences that went beyond the fact that these groups were occupying separate spaces or tending to hang out with their own age groups. Real differences in aesthetics and practice began to emerge, and by this point I am wondering in what ways these groups connect at all. There seems to be much more research to do, and I am eager to hear your thoughts and include them in my work going forward.

Maps of the New York City area help to illustrate the social trajectory of these three groups. Figure 1 is a Long Island Rail Road map of four of the five boroughs of New York with Long Island. Immigrant families early in the 20th century often settled in the Bronx, and many from my first generation were born there. With some prosperity, families often moved to Brooklyn. My interviewees reported being exposed to folk dance as a community activity both in the Bronx and Brooklyn. After World War II it was common for young families to move to the suburbs of Long Island. Now the main dance groups attended by the oldest generation meet at the Plainview, NY American Legion Hall.
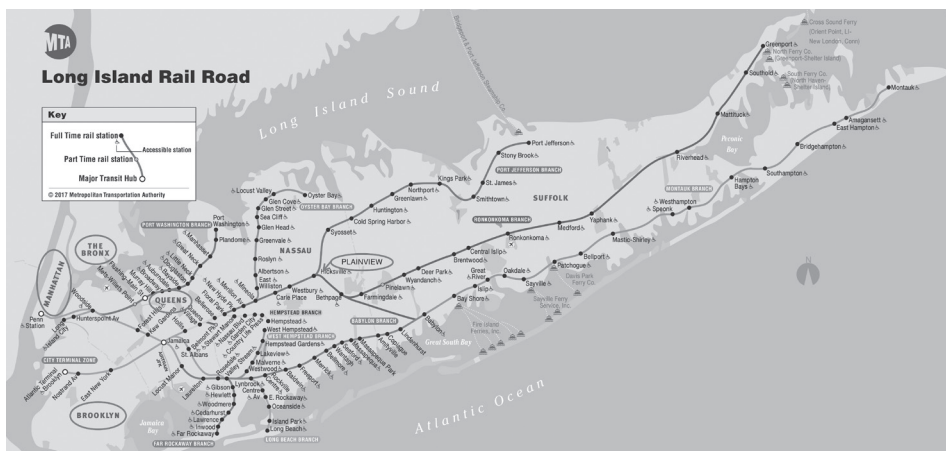

Figure 1. Long Island and the Five Boroughs (sic) of New York City, locating Plainview, NY [MTA ≤2018].

A subway map of New York (Figure 2) can be used to locate centers for folk dance and music in Manhattan, Queens, and Brooklyn. The subway is the transportation that that most people use to get to music and dance events, and this map, while stylized, conveys how people think about where places are. The first generation would come to Manhattan to evenings organized by Michael and Mary Ann Herman on St. Marks Place (1), then at their Folk Dance House at 16th Street and 6th Avenue (1a). Important also is the location of the 1939 World's Fair in Flushing Meadows, Corona Park, Queens (2), which I will discuss later.

The second generation came from many places, often Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx. Main meeting places for this folk dance cohort were Earl Hall at Columbia University (3) and the former Ethnic Folk Arts Center (now the Center for Traditional Music and Dance), first located downtown at 179 Varick Street (4). Later dance sessions shifted to Hungarian House on the Upper East Side (5). Now there are also dance sessions in Midtown, Balkan Café Wednesdays at 455 W. 56 St. (6) and dancing to bands performing at downtown clubs such as Mehanata, 113 Ludlow Street (the Bulgarian bar begun by Bulgarian saxophonist Yuri Yunakov) (7), Drom at 85 Avenue A (8), and Le Poisson Rouge at 158 Bleeker St. (9).

The third generational group can come from anywhere in the New York area, but there is an informal hub of brass band activity in Brooklyn. The main event of the year for music and folk dance, the Zlatne Uste Golden Festival, takes place over the Martin Luther King weekend in January, currently at the Grand Prospect Hall at 263 Prospect Avenue (10). Slavic Soul Party, Greg Squared and others perform regularly at Barbès at 376 9th St. (11), as well as the downtown clubs in Manhattan noted above and others. Most recently the After Party for the Golden Festival has been held at Jalopy Theatre and School of Music at 315 Columbia Street in Brooklyn (12), which has become a community center for the local music scene.
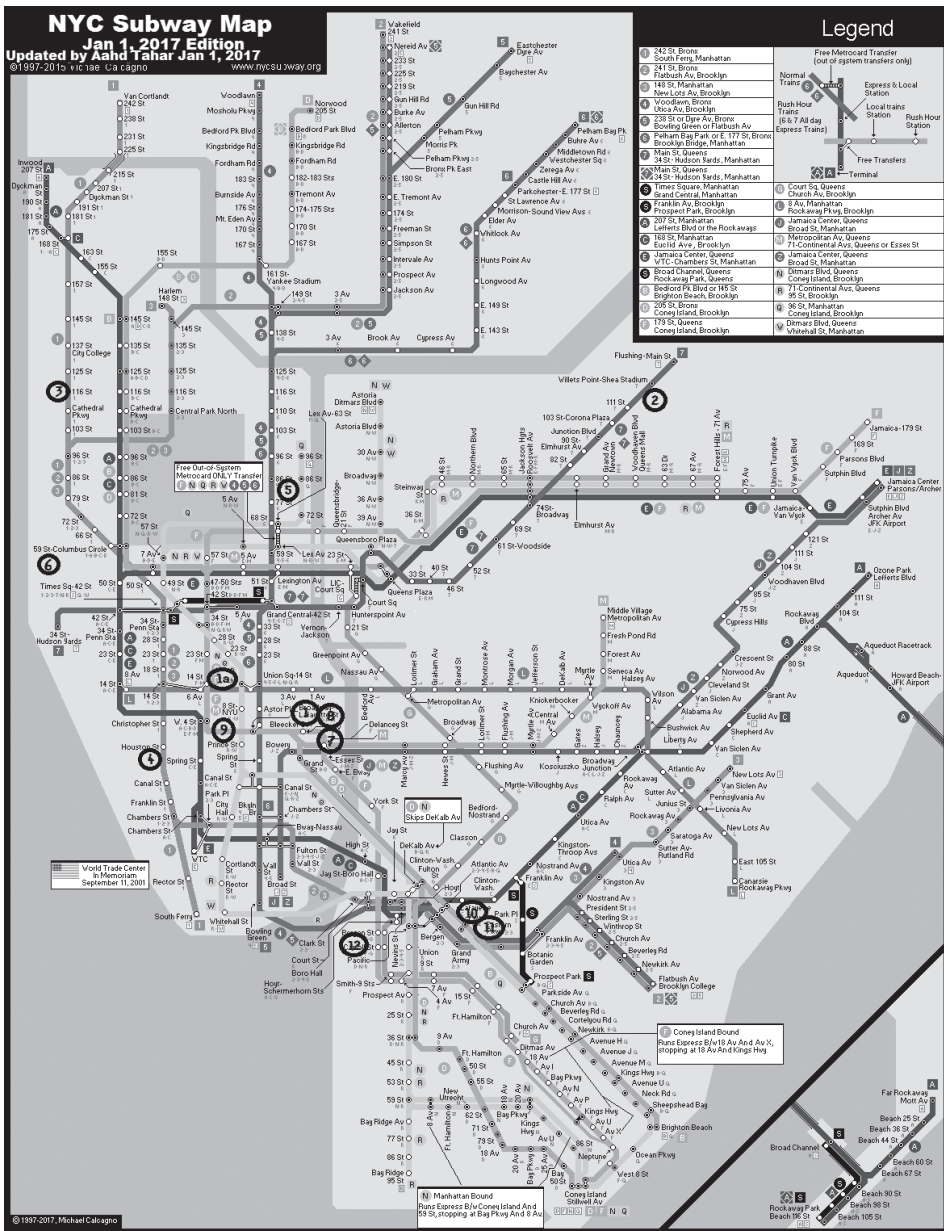
Figure 2. New York City Subway Map by Michael Calcagno [≤2015].

The history of International Folk Dancing in the United States reflects a vision of a pluralistic society that seeks to find ways to accommodate and benefit from people new to the country.[1] Already in the 19th century, the settlement house movement

1 For a thorough discussion of precursors see Laušević [2007].

encouraged new immigrants to do each other's dances as a way to learn to live together within American society while introducing their cultures to Americans already here. After the American Civil War (1861–1865), folk dancing was also taken up by the physical education movement, finding its way into community spaces. In the first few years of the 20th century, folk dance became a part of public school curriculum in New York City through the use of dance notes and printed music. As the 20th century progressed, groups like the Folk Festival Council of New York strove to broaden the enjoyment of folk dance, under a mission statement "to give the people of New York an opportunity to enjoy the contributions of foreign-born groups to the folk arts and to keep these arts alive as a vital part of our community life by providing foreign-born people themselves with fine and dignified opportunities for artistic expression" [Laušević 2007:140]. In inviting new immigrants to share music and dances, there was sometimes a need for interlocutors to organize dance and musical material, help teach, and develop educational resources. Michael and Mary Ann Herman fit into this role. Both of Ukrainian background, they moved easily among various national groups and were able to make many connections. The New York World's Fair of 1939 was a transformative event in folk dance, with Nationality Days featuring performances by immigrant dance groups and dancing for all in the American Commons, led by Michael Herman. He reported that 5000 people took part, and came away with a mailing list of 1500 people. The Herman's began to hold regular folk dance sessions in St. Mark's Place with music by immigrant musicians, Michael Herman's Folk Dance Orchestra (consisting of Michael and Mary Ann Herman and Walter Ericson) or Mary Ann Herman playing accompaniments on the piano. In 1951, the Herman's created the Folk Dance House, in which they were active up into the 1960's. Michael Herman also published over 300 recordings of immigrant bands [Casey 2000; Laušević 2007].

Many of the people in the first group of folk dancers remember dancing with Michael Herman at the 1939 World's Fair and in the Folk Dance House. Evelyn Halper from this group told me that a man asking her sister to dance turned out to be Gene Kelly, the star of movies *On the Town, An American in Paris*, and *Singing in the Rain* [Halper 2018a] and my husband's father, Morris Cooper, said he often saw Broadway dancers at folk dance events [R Cooper 2018]. This highlights the connection of folk dance at this period in time with stage dance, both character dances and, later, with folk dance performing groups, and I believe this is one key to the aesthetic of this age cohort. Evelyn graciously shared with me a program of a folk dance night from this time.

Figure 3. Program for 1945 Folk Dancing Event Sponsored by the Herman's.

The date of the event is May 25, 1945, and the program notes that Michael Herman, the director, is serving in the US Army. The place is Arlington Hall in St. Marks Place. The evening includes 50 dances to be done between 8:30 and 11:30, averaging in time about 3 ½ minutes. Dances include four *hambos*, a *waltz*, *polka*, *schottische*, *laendler*, *csardas*, *krakowiak*, and *tarantella*. Dances are from about 23 nationalities,

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including the US, European countries, Russia, the Ukraine, and the Philippines, and Jewish dances. Almost all the dances are for couples, with one each of an American and a French line dance, a *syrto*, and one *kolo*. Evelyn mentioned to me that, with many men in the military and then working more, it was less fun for women to dance together as couples and bump into each other, and that this led to an interest in having more line dances.

The rise of the researcher/teacher was another development of the later postwar period. These researchers would travel to Europe and return with dances, recorded music, and a dance syllabus to help people remember. Like the dances already being done, these were short, with a crafted piece of music and a set choreography. After developing this repertoire, dance teachers would go in a circuit among dance groups in the US. Often these dances would bear the name of a researcher in the title, as in *Yves Invirtita*, for Yives Moreau. Teachers had varying layers of transparency in terms of how they obtained the dances, but often they would be dances developed for festivals by village dancers, and often they were simplified versions of choreographies performed by national groups. One was a version of the Serbian Suite from the Lado Ensemble shown briefly by Vesna Bajić Stojiljković [2018] on Tuesday of our conference. Researcher/teachers provided a vital service to folk dance groups in a time when it was difficult to travel and make contact with European village dancers. What was striking was the level of trust many teachers received from their students. At dance sessions even now, frequent questions include where this dance is from and who taught it, and whether the move we are doing is what was taught. These teachers are still researching and producing new dances, giving workshops and dance weekends. In video example 1 [Maurice Lampell 2018], *ciuleandra*, a dance choreography modified and taken from the Romanian State Folk Ensemble and taught by Mihai David, is danced at Ellen Golann's Holiday Folk Dance Party in Plainview in 2015.

Figure 4. Ellen Golann's Group, Plainview, NY, 23rd June, 2016. Photograph by Olson.

Most of the people in the second group of dancers, my age group, began dancing on the model of the first, some with Michael Herman [Cohn 2018; Ginsburg 2011]. Many factors contributed to a burst in participation at this time, including the teaching of folk dancing in college to fulfill a physical education requirement and the ubiquity of dance sessions on college campuses. Folk dancing fit with an upsurge of interest in American folk music, but seemed more exotic. From the 1960's through the late 1970's, the repertoire began to include more line dances from the Balkans. This was partly because these dances did not need partners [Golann 2018] and partly because these dances, in derivative choreographies from national performing groups, were fun and flashy, especially in the men's parts, which were often danced by both genders. Dance researcher/teachers such as Dick Crum, Yives Moreau, and Mihai David presented these dances to receptive groups.

The success of Balkan dance marks an important transition point in International Folk Dancing and a change in attitudes toward folk dancing – participants were more distant from their roots and more willing to do dances with which they didn't have an ancestral connection [Golann 2018]. Further, the dancers in this second generation often embraced these dances as expressive of their own deepest feelings.[2]

Many dancers joined the TOMOV Folk Dance Ensemble, formed in 1974 by George Tomov, former lead dancer in Yugoslavia's state ensembles *Lado and Tanec*. Tomov toured with his group to Yugoslavia, and dancers observed a difference between what they saw European dancers doing and what they had known as folk dance. As group member Doug Shearer noted, "When we found out it [what we were doing] wasn't the real thing, we went looking for that" [Shearer 2018]. More recorded music was available, and many people became interested in playing instruments they saw being played by folk musicians. The East European Folklore Center was founded in 1982, with summer camps on the east and west coasts, where dancers could learn instruments from experts flown to America or domestic, and dance to live music played by their teachers and other campers. Zlatne Uste, a Balkan brass band begun by Michael Ginsburg at EEFC East Coast Balkan Camp in 1983, and other bands shifted the idea of a dance night from recorded music from many countries in many styles to line dancing to live music in one. Zlatne Uste originated the Golden Festival in 1985, coming to feature bands of both folk dancers and immigrant musicians. Dancers went looking for live music, finding celebrations of immigrant communities and trying to dance along with them. Mirjana Laušević writing about the West Coast observed that in their rush to show that they had mastered the dances of immigrant groups, dancers sometimes risked co-opting the celebrations of these groups, and sometimes the groups resisted with limited advertising and high admission prices [Laušević 2007:177].

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2   This is the heart of Laušević's book [2007] – her exploration of the deep personal involvement and commitment of American participants in Balkan dance and their music/dance world.

Figure 5. Zlatne Uste, playing at the author's wedding party at Hungarian House, NYC, 6th April, 1991 [Laudis].

The youngest group of dance and music enthusiasts is the most eclectic. They have many points of entry – many participate because of their parents, but others find their way through world music, concerts, musicians in bars, YouTube, festivals, and college campuses. Sometimes they stay with that first experience, only participating erratically. Often they are only interested in the music – they might just listen, or they might do the dance associated with the music, or they might just move to the music. As Ellen Cooper noted to me, musical training is much more available in American schools and society than dance training, and new people may not have a way to learn dances, or find it difficult to try [E Cooper 2018].

Jenna Shear, who grew up in the folk dance community, noted that this generation is more willing to take the music as it is today as authentic in itself, rather than to worry about how it may have changed from some earlier time [Shear 2018]. And they are more willing to accept musician's ideas about what is appropriate and up-to-date, even synthesizers and modern equipment if that is what bands are using. As musicians they are more willing to improvise and create a personal sound. In video example 3 [kungfudru 2013], members of OrnâmatiK use an improvisational approach that combines Balkan and jazz styles.

In video example 4 [Dino Dvorak 2015], What Cheer? Brigade performs at the Zlatne Uste Golden Fest on January 17, 2015 with a contemporary medley of Balkan songs. The overflow crowd reacts with excited jumping and crowd-surfing, and the entire atmosphere contrasts with the more organized lines of second-generation partying.

In comparing these groups, probably most striking is their way of interacting with the music and dance material. The first group prefers a dance that has been shaped for them by an expert, and they are willing to seek out where the dances are from, but preferably on a tour organized by a dance leader. The second group was aware that the folk dances at their events were not being done as *in the village*, and

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went looking for how villagers really danced. But then they wanted to copy it exactly. Even Zlatne Uste memorized song tracts, sometimes characterizing themselves as a cover band [Ginsburg 2011]. The third generation is more likely to look at what musicians are doing now and learn to improvise.

These differences may relate to practicality – it has become ever easier to find information relating to folk music and dancing – and to information gathering methods each group used. Jenna noted that her generation is so data and computer-based, that they would feel very uncomfortable asking an expert about anything they had not thoroughly researched on the web first. But it also may relate to more openness to the material.

I also found intriguing differences in how each generation approached the ideal of global harmony. A number of people in the first group told me that after WWII they felt it was important to rebuild the idea of a world where people and countries could exist harmoniously, and they felt they were contributing to this goal through folk dancing. In led tours to Europe they loved dancing together with local people even if they weren't doing exactly the same steps [Rahn 2014].

The middle group was more active in seeking out immigrant groups and dancing with them – there are Greek festivals all over the New York area, and Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Armenian events, for example – trying to do what the dancers were doing but not necessarily finding out more about the groups they visited.

The third group articulates a much more involved approach of, "if doing what they do is the source of our joy, then we owe it to them to find out a little about their lives, and give something back – what they need" [Shear 2018].

In conclusion, each generation's involvement with folk dance is shaped by its values and pattern of interacting with the world. These engagements reflect how information is acquired and presented, and relationships with previous generations, often including a break with many aspects of practice.

Making comparisons provides a way to walk back in time and see the separate worlds of previous generations, and dispel the idea of generational transfer as a simple process of teaching and learning.

Figure 6. Zlatne Uste Golden Festival, 2019 [goldenfest].

This study points to potential research focusing on each generational group. For the first generation, there can be research on the aesthetic of the short folk dance and its relationship to performed dance in other genres including ballet, character dance, and the dance shows put on by traveling national groups. The Moiseyev Ensemble exerted major influence in all these areas in presentation, dance structure, and background research. A staggering amount of material is available online, mostly having to do with history and the preservation of specific choreographies, and it is ripe for research [Folk Dance Federation of California, South, Inc.; Oakes; sfdh; folkdancecamp ≤2018]. Movements and preservation on the part of dancers themselves is also a fruitful area for study, and this perhaps will not be available much longer. Many dancers retired to Florida or go there during the winter. Evelyn Halper told me about a reunion of Long Island dancers in Florida that takes place the first week in December, 2018 [Halper 2018b].

Dancers are still doing the short, choreographed dances on a regular basis in pockets throughout the United States, such as small college towns and the area of Washington DC. There are also still such groups in Brooklyn and in Palisades, Princeton, and many other places in New Jersey. However, most dancers also do village dances to live bands. For the middle generation, topics include the connection between International Folk Dance and student resistance movements in the 1970s, and specific terms of this generation's embrace of authenticity.

The youngest group presents the most interesting challenge because their choices are being decided now. Topics include the group's multiplicity of origins, as well as a direct involvement with the material as musicians and improvisers. A larger percentage of group members come from a conservatory background and already have the skills to produce music on a professional or semi-professional level. Abigail Alwin, who plays in many bands at Balkan Camp, sometimes including OrnâmatiK, cited YouTube as a source of material and inspiration [Alwin 2018]. Another question that needs to be parsed is this generation's relationship to dancing. Many want to learn the traditional dances associated with the music they listen to, as illustrated by a clip of dancers with OrnâmatiK in Ann Arbor [kungfudru 2012].

Michael Ginsberg has also brought many young dancers into traditional folk dancing through Balkan Café events at Hungarian House and Balkan Café Wednesdays in Midtown. However, this is only one option, as demonstrated by the response to What Cheer? Brigade earlier. This generation's sense of responsibility to folk musicians and dancers in response to the question of appropriation is a large part of their thinking. For many, their social involvement is expressed through participation in the Honk! wave of brass band activism, to be explored in detail in an upcoming book from Routledge press provisionally titled "Honk! Mapping a Street Band Renaissance."

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Leslie HALL

BALLROOM DANCE IN THE TORONTO AREA:
A CASE STUDY

Abstract

This paper is based on interviews with members of an amateur ballroom dance class in the Toronto area and their teacher, all of whom are over fifty years of age, as well as self-reflexive ethnography. Recent research in neuropsychology indicates that dance for older adults may provide social, physical and cognitive health benefits. The students in the case study come from different social backgrounds, income levels, nationalities and ethnicities, but have similar reasons for taking dance lessons. Using Slobin's model of affinity groups, the paper shows how older students benefit from dance participation.

Keywords: aging, affinity group, *dancesport*, ethnography

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This ethnographic study focuses on an amateur non-competitive ballroom dance class in the Toronto area. The paper opens with demographic information about Canada and Toronto, summarizes some recent studies in neuropsychology, then focuses on the case study participants and several issues in ballroom dance. Ballroom dance is not popular in Canada, but has small numbers of participants who comprise what Mark Slobin called a sphere of cultural activity, where the members may have little in common in terms of race, ethnicity, class, age or education, but are joined by their attraction to the activity [Slobin 1993:69]. The methodology for this study includes interviews with the teacher and six students in the class, a short voluntary questionnaire to other class members, and self-reflexive ethnography. My partner and I met more than fifteen years ago at an Open House sponsored by an amateur dance club in Toronto and have been dancing together since that night. We have been members of the case study class since January 2016; for six years prior to this, we participated in a different class with the same teacher.

According to the most recent census, Canada's population is 35,151,728 [Canada Census 2016]. Toronto is Canada's largest city, with a population of 5,862,850 in the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), which includes the city proper and several surrounding municipalities [Ibid.]. Overall, Canada's population in the last seventy years shows a large growth in the number of seniors: people sixty-five years of age and over number 5.9 million and people age fifty-five to sixty-four number 4.9 million [Ibid.], comprising almost one-third of Canada's total population. Seniors currently outnumber children age fourteen and under. In terms of immigration, Toronto CMA has the highest number of immigrants in the country – 2,705,550 – representing 46.1% of the population [Ibid.]. In some areas, the percentage of immigrants is higher than 50%. Toronto CMA immigrants by place of birth include 152,755 from Africa, 409,865 from the Americas, 617,555 from Europe and 1,518,125 from Asia,

including 100,060 from Hong Kong, 266,840 from China and 307,275 from India [Ibid.].

Unlike many European countries where ballroom dance is encouraged and practiced in schools and clubs, in Canada it is not common. With a wide base of participants and a long history of ballroom dance, Europeans established the International Council of Amateur Dancers in 1957 in Germany. The organization has gone through two name changes, first in 1990 to the International Dancesport Federation and then in 2011 to the World Dancesport Federation [worlddancesport n. d.]. The name changes were partly made to appeal to the International Olympic Committee to emphasize the importance of athleticism in dance and to help ballroom dance gain full Olympic status similar to figure skating. However, the name changes have made little or no difference in the way many regard it – i.e., they do not consider it a sport. The sports establishment primarily views athletics as separate from aesthetics [Grindstaff and West 2006:501] and often trivializes the aesthetic aspects of dance, rhythmic gymnastics and figure skating [Hall 2009]. Preconceived ideas of femininity and masculinity are prevalent in the sports world, where interdisciplinary activities that include aesthetics are considered feminine [Grindstaff and West 2006:515]. In addition to the perceived femininity of ballroom dance, many Canadians regard it as irrelevant and anachronistic. As an example of the low interest in ballroom dance, the province of Ontario where Toronto is located, has approximately 14 million people, but the 2018 Ontario Closed Ballroom Dance Championships had only 73 couples competing.[1] In contrast to the small ballroom dance scene, Toronto has more than a dozen professional or semi-professional sports teams in baseball, hockey, football, soccer and basketball, as well as hundreds of amateur teams in these sports. Sports events fill the major stadiums and arenas that house tens of thousands of spectators. In daily news and television, sports often take priority over current events and politics.

The World Dancesport Federation sanctions competitive regional, national and international competitions and the best amateur dancers from each member country compete at international events in Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Americas. As of 2018, ninety-four countries are members of the World Dancesport Federation. The two main dance divisions are Latin and Standard: the five Latin dances are *rumba*, *cha cha*, *samba*, *paso doble* and *jive*; the five Standard dances are slow *waltz*, *Viennese waltz*, *foxtrot*, *tango* and *quickstep*. Each of these divisions has separate categories depending on age and level; age groups range from Juvenile (maximum of 9 years old) to four Senior groups. The levels of difficulty range from pre-bronze, to bronze, silver, gold, pre-championship, and championship. Unlike figure skating competitions, multiple couples dance simultaneously on the floor, so judges must constantly be alert. One problem arises in Ontario because of the small number of competitors: the same few Senior couples may be eligible to enter multiple categories at provincial and national competitions, so the dancing is often repetitious, yet still requires multiple judges. For example, at the 2018 Ontario Closed Amateur Dancesport competition, seven judges had to be on the floor to evaluate just two couples in several Senior categories.

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1   The neighboring francophone province of Quebec has somewhat more participation.

Recent research in neuroscience has shown positive results when dance was taught to older adults. Two recent articles were based on a study of seniors ages sixty-three to eighty who were divided into two groups. One group learned a variety of dances, changing routines after four lessons (eg. line dance, square dance, rock'n'roll, jazz); the other group did physical exercises (eg. stationary bicycles, bicep curls, sit-ups, stretching). The first study suggested that

> [...] participating in a long-term dance program that requires constant cognitive and motor learning is superior to engaging in repetitive physical exercises in inducing neuroplasticity in the brains of seniors [...] [After six months, the researchers found] a significant increase in gray matter volume[...] in the dancers compared to the controls [Müller, Rehfeld et al. 2017].

In the second article, the authors also wrote that

> [...] dancing seems a promising intervention for both improving balance and brain structure in the elderly. It combines aerobic fitness, sensorimotor skills and cognitive demands while at the same time the risk of injuries is low [...] Moreover, only the dancers achieved a significant increase in the balance composite score [...] both dance and fitness training can induce hippocampal plasticity in the elderly, but only dance training improved balance capabilities [Rehfeld, Müller et al. 2017].

Another study based on MRI imaging data from 174 older adults ages sixty to seventy-nine concluded that "combining physical, cognitive and social engagement (dance) may help maintain or improve WM [white matter] health" [Burzynska, Jiao et al. 2017].

The ballroom dance class which is the focus of this study draws older students from the Toronto CMA. The teacher is Jitka Bouma, who was born in Prague and immigrated to Canada in 1968. Jitka is a member of the Canadian Dance Teachers Association and three linked *dancesport* federations – the World Dancesport Federation (WDSF), Canada Dancesport (CDS) and Ontario Dancesport (ODS) – and she is a qualified international *dancesport* judge. Jitka participated in after-school gymnastics and ballet classes as a young girl in Prague, encouraged by her mother's love of movement and dance. Showing potential as a gymnast, she competed in high-level gymnastics. She began ballroom dance in an after-school program at age fifteen, which was highly encouraged in Prague at the time and which is still functioning. Jitka said that

Figure 1. Jitka Bouma (photo courtesy of Jitka Bouma).

these ballroom dance classes were so popular in Prague that almost every teen participated [Bouma 2018]. After competing in local championships with one partner, in 1958 at age seventeen she met her future husband, Milan Bouma, with whom she began competing. From 1963 to 1968 she and her husband won eight Czechoslovakian Amateur Dance Championships, competing in both Latin and Standard divisions. The couple received passports from the communist government to compete

internationally and were the first Czech ballroom dancers to be invited to compete in a non-Soviet bloc country. They travelled throughout Europe for competitions, including the February 1968 Grenoble Olympics where they won the ballroom dance bronze medal. They were performing at an exhibition in Germany when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Fearing the worst, they returned to Prague, gathered a few belongings and their two-year old daughter from Jitka's mother and drove to Vienna. After seeing pictures of Canada's Expo 67, a World's Fair, they applied to immigrate to Canada. Because Milan was an engineer and Canada needed skilled professionals, they received their immigration papers immediately and arrived in Halifax on Canada's east coast on December 10, 1968 [Bouma 2018].

The ballroom dance community in Canada was extremely small at that time and the couple were unknown until an article published about them in a German paper was seen by Germans living in Canada. The couple were invited to perform in Toronto and then competed in and won the 1969 North American Amateur Ten Dance Championship, performing all ten Latin and Standard dances. They later competed as professionals, winning the Canadian Professional Standard Championships from 1972 to 1974. Shortly thereafter, they retired as competitors and ran their own studio in Toronto for approximately twenty years.[2] In 2014, Jitka received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the World Dancesport Federation. In October 2018 she turned seventy-seven years of age; she continues to teach at several studios in the Toronto area and judges *dancesport* across Canada and internationally. She is also an active golfer, mother and grandmother.

Jitka's teaching methodology in the case study class, which focuses on the five Standard dances, typically begins with a line of steps from one corner of the studio to the next, with the studio floor having two long walls and two short walls. Jitka begins with the men, showing them the first set of steps (called figures) and focusing on foot and body positions. Jitka then shows the women their parts, then the partners dance together without music, and finally the music is added. Contra-body positions are often important, where the bodies are angled with one of the man's shoulders leading while the woman parallels the man's position. Jitka varies the dance routines so that students do not simply memorize and repeat the same patterns; instead, she combines individual figures, which typically involve two or more steps, in different ways to create each line of dance.[3] Because many of the figures have similar names, the dance classes exercise the brain and memory as well as the body. Jitka believes that non-competitive ballroom dance is entirely beneficial for students regardless of age, in terms of challenging and retaining mental, physical and social skills [Bouma 2018]. For competitors, however, injuries and stress are commonplace.

As of January 2018, the case study class comprised ten couples, six of whom are married and four of whom are not. The class members are over fifty years of age and the majority came to ballroom dance in mid-life (i.e., when they were more than forty years of age). Several of the students have been in the class for more than

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2   Milan Bouma passed away in 2003.
3   For example, from a class in June 2016 one line of foxtrot was: feather step (3 steps), reverse turn (3 steps), check and weave (7 steps), 3-step, curved feather (3 steps), back feather (3 steps), feather finish (3 steps), natural hesitation (2 steps). Another line was: natural weave (7 steps), bounce fallaway (4 steps), weave ending (4 steps), hover promenade (3 steps), travelling hover cross (9 steps), open telemark (3 steps), open natural turn (3 steps), outside spin (3 steps).

ten years. Of the twenty class members, three were born in Canada; other places of birth include Italy, Ireland, mainland China, Hong Kong and Korea. The demographics reflect the high number of immigrants in Toronto, particularly from East Asia, as well as the unique nature of this class which includes a core group of students of Chinese ethnicity. Not everyone is able to attend the weekly classes due to health issues, work, family commitments or travel. Typically, six of the ten couples are present, which allows more space on the dance floor. Many of the class members are still working while in their sixties and seventies and they may also have family commitments, including looking after grandchildren. Because no one in the class competes, students do not have to worry too much about missing a few classes.

Interviews were conducted with six members of the class between March and May of 2018. Interviewees were chosen in order to maintain gender balance (three men and three women) and ethnicity balance, as well as for their willingness to participate.[4] In terms of income and education, the class affinity group crosses economic boundaries and includes many highly educated professionals as well as blue collar workers. One of the interviewees is a retired blue-collar worker who has been working as a paid dance partner on a luxury cruise ship for the past several years. He typically completes two cruises of four to six weeks each per year. He says he is kept extremely busy dancing on the ship but enjoys the opportunity to travel around the world. Another interviewee has a unique relationship with Jitka. Born in Hong Kong in 1947, he came to Canada with his family in 1958 at age eleven. He participated in sports as a young man and began ballroom dance lessons at age forty-one. He began lessons with Jitka twenty-five years ago at age forty-six and is part of the core group of Chinese-Canadians who study with Jitka. Unlike most of the students in the class, he took private lessons and competed, and travelled several times with Jitka and other students to the Blackpool *dancesport* competition in England to watch international competitors. He became her demonstration partner in class several years ago and also prepares the weekly class notes. At age seventy-one, he still works as a dentist and he became Jitka's dentist fifteen years ago. He credits tennis and ballroom dance with keeping him fit mentally and physically and often practices his routines in the office corridor when he has a few moments of free time. He and his wife, who is his dance partner, have five grandchildren ranging in age from two to ten years with whom they spend as much time as possible. They both enjoy the social and couple interactions of dance.

In the interviews and questionnaire, I asked the students why they began ballroom dance lessons and why they have continued. Responses included "I needed to find activities that my wife and I could do together and still have fun;" and "dancing gives us exercise and a set of social skills that can be used at a lot of social functions." One interviewee said he used to see his Italian parents and their friends couple dancing, which inspired him to take lessons as an adult in Toronto. I asked the interviewees about the potential benefits of ballroom dance, their views on Jitka's teaching and important issues in the *dancesport* world. Regarding the potential benefits of ballroom dance, the interviewees said:

> Dance involves more than exercise – it involves friendship, social life, improved posture, sense of balance, poise and mental focus;

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4   In order to protect the identities of the students, they are not named.

The continuous movement and stretching help flexibility when older;
Constantly changing dance patterns keep the brain active – on a crowded dance floor you cannot just dance to set patterns, but must adjust to the situation;
Couple dance is an activity for spouses or partners to do together; there is music, beautiful body movement, good physical exercise from head to toe, memory strengthening and people to socialize with;
Not only do I make friends, my general health and self-confidence improve;
Dance definitely helps improve balance; this is important because falls are a leading cause of injury to seniors in Canada.

Regarding Jitka's teaching, the interviewees were unanimously positive:

She has a wonderful agenda for dance routines and amalgamations…she strives to have all of her students meet with success;
She does not hold back in her group lessons, unlike many teachers who do not give any individual attention in a group class;
She relates well to the Chinese students in the class; they respect her and also consider her a friend;
She is the consummate dance teacher, teaching not just steps, but correct placement of arms, head, feet and torso, as well as the feeling of the dance;
She has a remarkable sense of wit and humour...she is spry, funny and fun; she is both tough and funny; she is amazing.
At the age of seventy-seven, after teaching for several hours, Jitka is not »burned-out«; she brings her sense of humour to class and genuinely wants her students to succeed.

After more than fifty years' involvement in ballroom dance as an international competitor, judge and teacher, Jitka Bouma still brings energy, creativity and inspiration to her students. Based on Ruskin and Rice's [2012] description of "key figures" in musical ethnographies, Jitka Bouma can be considered a key figure in Canadian and international *dancesport*.

In response to a general question about important issues in *dancesport*, the interviewees identified several topics which are discussed below.

1. Gender roles: Two of the most contentious issues for people outside the *dancesport* world are gender roles and the idea of the man leading the woman. The women in this study were adamant that ballroom dance is a partnership or a team endeavor, that the steps are done together, and that dancing is an agreement between two people. Both the men and women in this study agreed that the man must never attempt to force the woman to do a particular figure or combination of figures, which Jitka also stresses in her teaching. In some Latin dances, occasionally the *follower* may become the *leader*. Furthermore, good ballroom dance teachers know both the men's and women's parts and switch from one part to the other when teaching; for example, a male teacher may illustrate certain aspects of a dance in the female role with a male partner, or a female teacher may dance the male role with a female partner [Hall 2003:9]. It is important to note that some cities such as Chicago hold Gay Games that include *dancesport*, where partners choose the roles and attire in which they feel comfortable. Gay clubs in many large metropolitan centers in Europe and North America often have couple dancing and competitions.

2. Etiquette: Ballroom dance teachers typically refer to the students as *ladies* and *gentlemen*; they also stress the importance of good manners and floor craft, which means being aware of other dancers on the floor, avoiding collisions, and keeping in the line of dance or flow around the room. Jitka believes that ballroom dance teaches courtesy, respectfulness, and politeness, qualities which are often sadly lacking today. Ballroom dance classes and events provide a safe environment, particularly for women, because of the set dance holds and low alcohol consumption [Ibid:9]. Most dancers limit alcohol because it affects both their balance and behavior.

3. Importance of tradition: The interviewees said they are continuing important traditions that go back centuries and have crossed national boundaries. Immigrants from European and former Soviet countries to Canada have brought their love of ballroom dance with them and often pass it on to their children. Many East Asians also view music and dance as important, and may consider it part of their culture [Ibid: 9].[5]

4. Expense: If one is a *dancesport* competitor, lessons, attire, competition fees and travel are expensive; however, group lessons and social dancing are relatively inexpensive. One interviewee said that she loves going out dancing, but would never want to "spend a fortune on competing."

5. Attire: *Dancesport* competition attire must meet particular criteria; at the higher levels, attire is much more elaborate and expensive than social dance attire. Some competitors purchase used costumes in order to save money. Latin competition attire differs from Standard competition attire, so couples competing in both categories need changes of clothing, involving more expense. Latin attire is generally tight-fitting and revealing for both men and women, whereas standard attire requires long, flowing dresses for women and tuxedoes for men. The men's tuxedoes have stiff collars and bow ties that are modelled on gentlemen's attire from previous centuries [Picart 2006:89]. However, social and non-competitive dancers do not need to adhere to these requirements. Regarding criticism of dance attire or behavior as anachronistic, one woman interviewee (who has a black belt in karate) said she enjoys "dressing up and going out dancing." The women said they are not troubled by the "princess" concept and are happy to "escape reality" for a few hours a week. One interviewee said "ballroom dance is better for escaping reality than drugs or alcohol."[6]

6. Rhythm and synchronization: Not only do partners have to keep the rhythm of the music, they also must synchronize their movements with each other. For those who begin dancing later in life, synchronizing one's body movements to a partner is often extremely difficult. Conversely, in social dance and at *dancesport* competitions, some couples are synchronized with each other, but not with the music. Attentive judges will deduct marks for improper rhythm.

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5   In Shanghai in 2013 on several evenings, I saw hundreds of people of all ages, from children to seniors, ballroom dancing outdoors in a large park.

6   Sports events where fans consume too much alcohol may lead to violence in the stands or after the game, including rioting and looting nearby businesses. In Vancouver in 2011, riots erupted on downtown streets when the home team lost the Stanley Cup hockey game; an independent report held alcohol consumption partly responsible.

7. Injuries: Competitive dancers often suffer muscle stress and knee, back and shoulder problems. Jitka Bouma has some physical issues caused by competitive gymnastics and competitive ballroom, but she has been able to continue class demonstrations while teaching well into her seventies. Competitive dance injuries usually pale in comparison to injuries in competitive sports, since many amateur, semi-professional and professional athletes need hip, back or knee surgery by the time they are in their forties.[7] One male interviewee commented that "many more injuries are caused by sports than ballroom dancing." The financial costs of sports-related injuries to the health care system must also be considered, particularly when expenses are increasing each year. In a related and often hidden area of sports injury, some teams, whether professional or amateur, have used violent hazing practices to initiate new members, causing emotional, psychological and physical damage.[8]

8. Dance in the media: Although Europeans have viewed televised ballroom dance programs for many decades, only in 2005 did two dance shows, *Dancing with the Stars* and *So You Think You Can Dance*, begin broadcasting on mainstream North America television. *Dancing with the Stars* is based on the British program *Strictly Come Dancing*. Two interviewees commented that the theatrics, judging and audience responses are often questionable; nevertheless it is significant that *dancesport* is finally being shown regularly on mainstream North American television. Dance occasionally appears in period or contemporary films as an important theme. For example, the recent British film *Finding Your Feet* (2018) optimistically portrays a group of seniors who take up dancing. An earlier Japanese film, *Shall We Dance* (1997), shows the transformative changes in a middle-aged businessman who begins studying ballroom dance.

9. The power of dance: Several interviewees commented on how wonderful it feels to move to music with a partner. One student said "we enjoy every minute, especially when we dance well." Turino discusses the optimal experience or *flow* that arises from a state of heightened concentration when one transcends one's normal self [Turino 2008:4], writing that

> [...] music making and dancing provide a special type of activity for directly connecting with other participants for the intense concentration that leads to flow, and for an even deeper involvement with the sonic signs that create effects of feeling and physical reaction and thus personal integration [Ibid:21].

From my perspective as someone who began dancing in mid-life after studying, researching and performing music for many years, learning to dance in synchronized patterns to music with a good partner has been transformative.

Because of Canada's aging population, a demographic common to many other countries, it is important to encourage low-cost activities to help seniors maintain their physical, mental and emotional health. The results of this quantitative study

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7   Professional football and hockey players in North America are currently suing the NHL and AFL (National Hockey League and American Football League) over owners' and managements' lack of concern and financial aid for players suffering serious head injuries and concussions.
8   In 2018, a group of high school students at a sports-oriented school in Toronto faced multiple charges of assault after violently hazing a young team-mate.

suggest that ballroom dance classes can maintain and possibly improve older adults' wellbeing for relatively little cost. However, the qualitative benefits of dance need to be supported by more quantitative studies such as the neuroscience articles cited earlier. Some research has begun exploring the potential benefits of dance for patients with Parkinson's disease [Eldor 2015] and heart disease [Belardinelli 2008], but more quantitative research needs to be done. As of 2018 in Toronto, ballroom dance is being taught to adults at the Centre for the Blind and to adults with Parkinson's disease at the National Ballet School; dance is also the subject of a current clinical psychology study in Toronto as a potential therapy for older adults and people with Parkinson's disease. Wheelchair ballroom dance has been promoted by the World Dancesport Federation since 2008 and is often included at Ontario Dancesport events. In conclusion, dance activities for older adults have many potential benefits including better balance, strength, brain health, and psychological and social well-being.

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Raymundo Ruiz

WRITING DOWN THE *JARABE TAPATÍO* FROM TRADITION TO ACADEMIA

Abstract

This article is about the *Jarabe Tapatío,* the most representative folk dance in Mexico and a national emblem. Until the present, many scholars have been studying the *Jarabe*, including Gabriel Saldívar, Nellie and Gloria Campobello, Yolanda Fuentes y Mercado, Josefina Lavalle, Jesús Jáuregui, and Elsie Cota; some of them have developed dance notation systems to register, to remember, to research or to teach this dance, but none of them have comparatively analyzed the motifs of the *Jarabe*. Through a historical analysis and movement analysis (particularly inspired by the theory of *parallel events* taught by János Fügedi), this paper focuses on the basic motif *Zapateado de three*, based on notation, my embodied knowledge in Mexican folk dance and the first recording of the standardized version of *Jarabe Tapatío* in the movie *Allá en el Rancho Grande*, the first film of the Golden Era of Mexican Cinema. Finally, this historical and movement analysis leads to a better understanding on how the mechanisms of standardization and theatricalization have had an impact on the performance of the *Zapateado of three.*

Keywords: *Jarabe*, dance, labanotation, dance notation, Mexico

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The beginning of this research journey started a few years ago when I learned Marcelo Torreblanca's version of the *Jarabe Tapatío* in 2011 at the National School of Folk Dance in Mexico City as a part of my Bachelor program in Mexican Folk Dance. Torreblanca is considered the father of Mexican Folk dance.[1] Nazul Valle, the professor in charge of the staging, learned the *Jarabe Tapatío* in the early 1980s from Torreblanca in the same school. That was not the first time that I learned or danced the *Jarabe Tapatío*, but one of the most significant times.

Two subsequent experiences were important for this research: First, in the 29th Biennial Conference of the International Council of Kinetography Laban at Tours, France in 2015, I contributed a paper where I researched the history of the *Jarabe Tapatío*, and analyzed its structure. The editorial comments of János Fügedi, as a co-editor of the proceedings, helped me achieve a more consistent analysis. Second, during the movement analysis training in the Choreomundus Master degree in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage, I was inspired by the theory of *parallel events* taught by János Fügedi in the Intensive Course: *An Introduction to Applying*

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1   In Mexican dance scholarship, the term *traditional dance* refers to the dance produced by ethnic or mestizo groups with magical, religious or ritual purposes, as well as dances focused on social interaction. *Folk* or *folkloric* dance refers to academic and stage forms of the traditional dance. For further discussions see Cámara [2006].

the Laban Kinetography in Ethnochoreology, at the University of Szeged in Hungary in 2018.

Both experiences lead me to write the next article, trying to deepen my under-standing of the process of academization and modification of the *Jarabe Tapatío*, especially in the *Zapateado of three* motif, as well as finding connections among the published sources (which include dance notations) and the video of one of its first movie recordings containing the dance.

When does a *Jarabe* become a *Jarabe Tapatío*? Is there an established structure? Further, is the *Zapateado of three* always the same, as a sequence or as a motif? In this essay, my intention is to analyze the changes in the *Jarabe*, historically first, when it was denounced, then prohibited by the church, and later re-popularized as a symbol of national identity. Finally, through the analysis of its first movie recording, the writing of the *Zapateado of three* by means of Labanotation, and its compari-son with other dance scores, I share observations about how the sequence has been changed, and what elements have remained.

The *Jarabe Tapatío* (known outside of Mexico as the *Mexican Hat Dance*), is a very well-known Mexican dance. Anya Peterson Royce – speaking about stereo-types in dance – wrote: "Ask a person about Mexican dance and almost certainly he will mention the Mexican hat dance (*Jarabe Tapatío*)" [1980:157]. Thus, the *Jarabe* (whose name is not related to any hat) serves in Mexico as "the national dance per excellence" [Saldívar 1936:313] – see Figure 1.

Figure 1. Un Fandango. Casimiro Castro and J. Campillo.

The origins of the *Jarabe Tapatío* are uncertain even today because of lack of documentation. According to Gabriel Saldívar [1936:310], the *Jarabe* originated from three musical genres: the *seguidilla*, the *fandango*, and, the *zambra*. Maya Ramos Smith [2006:10], agrees regarding the *seguidilla*, but adds the *zapateado* as another possible source.

Niceto de Zamacois, who observed the *Jarabe*, suggests the relation of the dance's name with the sweet medicinal syrup (*jarabe*): "What other thing could be more medicinal [...] than the beautiful *Jarabe* danced by those women with black, large and slanted eyes [...]?" [1861:4].

During the late 18th century and the first part of the 19th, Creoles and other castes performed the *Jarabe* in such a way which was considered against the good manners of the time. According to Saldívar [1936], it was accompanied by lyrics about love, infidelities and disappointments, and used by the insurgents to harmonize during the wars. Consequently, the church condemned its performance. José Antonio Robles-Cahero says: "the dances that were most denounced were: The *Jarabe Gatuno*, the *Chuchumbé*, the *Pan de Manteca*, and, the *Pan de Jarabe*" [quoted in Sevilla 1990:111]; this "under the severe penalties of excommunication, some ducats fine, and many lashes, to any person that composes or sings or dances" [Saldívar 1936:310].
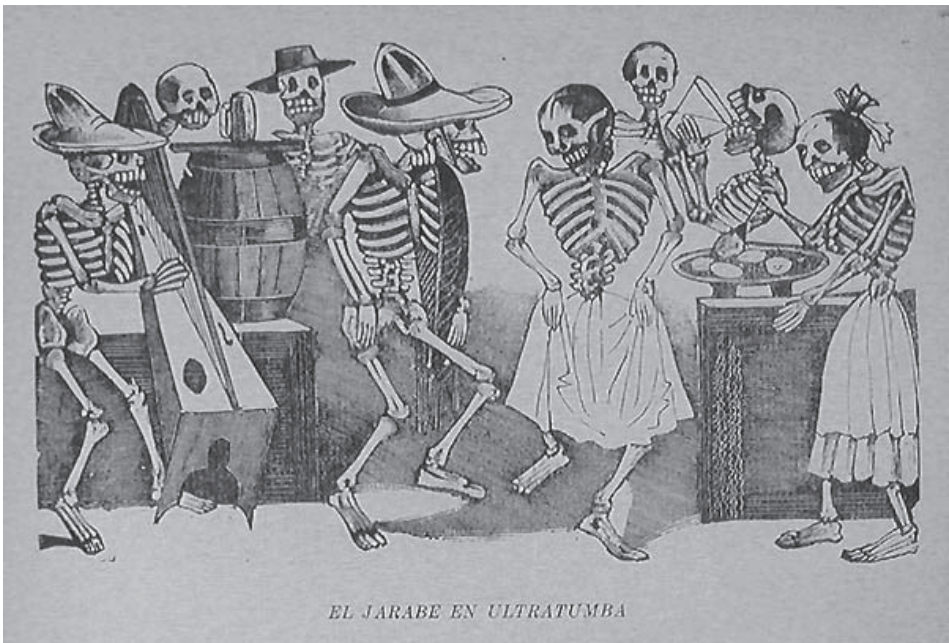
Figure 2. El Jarabe en Ultratumba. José Guadalupe Posada, 1930.

The Church's prohibition against the *Jarabe*, was unexpectedly related to the further performance and spreading of this dance, and eventually brought it to the attention of academic musicians, and plastic artists who represent the *Jarabe* – see

Figure 2. The diffusion of this dance created many additional local variations in its tune, its movement, and its lyrics. At this historical moment, in the frame of the Mexican Independence, there was no one single version of the *Jarabe*, rather versions related to a region or topic.

Figure 3. Anna Pavlova in México, 1919.

With the passing of the decades, by the end of the 19th century, the *Jarabe* stopped being popular in the traditional social and ceremonial contexts, but on the other hand, music-hall dancers, burlesque dancers, and other theatrical dancers appropriated the *Jarabe* and performed it in street theaters.

Later, in 1919 – and in the middle of the Mexican Revolution – the Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova designed a ballet program that included Mexican culture with the *China*, the *Charro*, and the *Jarabe* as central elements – see Figure 3. This performance was titled *Mexican Fantasy*. Aulestia quoted Pavlova saying: "The Mexican Hat Dance is the typical dance of Jalisco, and especially from Guadalajara City" [2012:79].

The performance of the *Jarabe Tapatío* by this famous ballerina gave a new breath to this traditional dance, which then became popularized again but in a different context. The academic field of Mexican traditional dance was becoming established in that time as well. And particularly, Pavlova gave an international recognition to what she called *Mexican Hat Dance* by performing it in London, Paris, and New York [Aulestia 2012].

At the beginning of the 20th century, a movement to redefine Mexican identity grew stronger. According to Saldívar [1936], in 1921, Minister of Education José Vasconcelos ordered teaching the *Jarabe Tapatío* in every school, using the official musical selection of Castro Padilla, and Felipa Lopez's steps. Subsequently, 300 couples performed the *Jarabe* in the celebrations for the Centennial of Mexican Independence.

In the 1930s, and after the Mexican Revolution ended, the new government supported a new campaign to strengthen national identity. This political initiative had effects on the arts that were inspired by Mexican themes. In the cinema, this moment is considered as the Golden Era of the Mexican Cinema, where the movies focused on portraying a romantic view of life in the countryside.

The movie film, *Allá en el Rancho Grande* (1936) (see Figure 4.) – considered as marking the beginning of the Golden Age of Mexican Cinema – presented the *Jarabe Tapatío*. The dance took place in the middle of a roosters' battle, by a couple, a *Charro* and a *China*, interpreted by Emilio *el Indio* Fernández and Olga Falcón. The scene is important in the movie, because the battle of roosters represents the fight

between the protagonist and the antagonist for the love of a woman. This scene constitutes the first recording of the standardized way of performing the *Jarabe Tapatío*. According to Maza: this was "the most artificial film about »what is Mexican«" [1996]. Fernández and Falcón would later become famous actors of the Mexican cinema.

Years later, contributing to the process of legitimization of the *Jarabe* as the Mexican national dance, several scholars studied the dance implicitly or explicitly, including Saldívar [1936], Fuentes [1970], Lavalle [1988], and Jáuregui [2007]. Some of these developed systems to record the movement. In the same period, many graphic artists and photographers produced representations of the *Jarabe*.

I now analyze the *Zapateo of three* in the *Jarabe Tapatío* and its changes according to three realizations. I compare the video of the *Jarabe* scene from the film *Allá en el Rancho Grande* [Fuentes

Figure 4. Advertisement of the movie: Allá en el Rancho Grande.

1936, an excerpt of the recording, 2:46 minutes], with Fuentes' published notation from 1970 and Lavalle's notation published in 1988.

The video excerpt starts by presenting the *Lienzo charro* (Stadium), where the roosters' battles take place. The viewers are sitting around a circle that defines the form of the stadium as well as the stage. The viewers are arranged on different vertical levels, some of them in the higher levels are standing. The focal point of the viewers is the circular stage where a row of musicians sits with their guitars. In front of the musicians, there is a rectangular wooden stage or *tarima*, where the dance will be performed. Also, on opposite sides of the *tarima*, in a peripheral area, the owners of the roosters stand.

The dance is presented in several moments in the video. These images do not always include a picture of the dancers' whole bodies, since they were recorded for cinematic purposes. The moments where we can observe the dancing are: first, from 0:09 to 0:17; second, from 0:28 to 0:33; third, from 0:39 to 0:45; fourth from 0:54 to 1:33, and fifth, from 1:39 to the end of the video at 2:46. In total, they include more or less two minutes of dancing. Here I will analyze only until the beginning of the second moment where the *Zapateado of three* is performed.

According to Saldívar [1936:312], Castro Padilla's musical selection dates from 1905, and with López's movement sequence is considered one of first proposals of fixed structures for the *Jarabe Tapatío*, if not the first. That version had nine small pieces, but Saldívar considered that it should traditionally have between five and six. It should be noted that the *Jarabe* musical composition, which in the past was one

long piece, became a kind of medley or suite from different traditional songs called *sones* or *aires*. "The most well-known *aires* are: *Palomo*, *Atole*, *Enanos*, *Perico* and *Diana*" [Cordero quoted in Saldívar 1936:320].

The video shots that I identified above sometimes coincide with a change of the *aires*, but sometimes the different shots cut across the dance phrases, the music forming a continuous background setting to the dramatic actions of the rooster owners and other characters.

In the first nine seconds of the video, the dancers enter through a kind of door leading into the *tarima*. The man enters first, holding and leading the woman with his right hand, while the viewers clap for their entrance. The dancers stop on the left side of the *tarima* where they wait until the clapping ends. A cue of the guitar lets the viewers know that they should keep silence, and at the same time announces to the dancers that the music is about to start.

In the *first moment*, on the preparation of the music, the dancers enter the *tarima*; the man makes the woman turn to her left, and at the same time she travels to the right side of the *tarima*, opposite. They both wait in their starting positions, in a kind of greeting – see Figures 5 and 6.
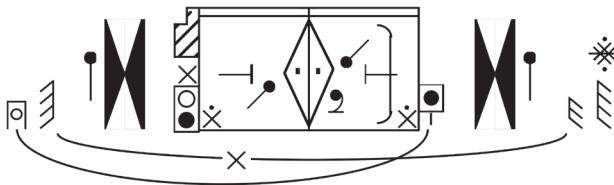
Figure 5. Starting position of the Charro (male dancer of the Jarabe).
Notation: Raymundo Ruiz.
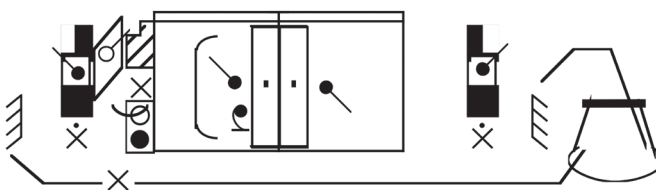
Figure 6. Starting position of the China (female dancer of the Jarabe).
Notation: Raymundo Ruiz.

The *Jarabe* starts with the musical phrase A, containing eight bars of 6/8. The dancers face each other and perform the very well-known Mexican dance motif *Zapateado of three*.

The *Zapateado of three* consists of three stamps with the rhythm of alternating the feet. The three movements produce sound, that is the characteristic feature of a *Zapateo*. The first stamp is usually accented, coinciding with the strong accent of the musical measure.

Each dancer repeats the same motif fourteen times in total during the phrase A, for the duration of the first seven bars. For the last bar, they enclose the phrase, performing a final accented *Zapateo* with the whole foot. The man starts the motif with the right foot while the woman with the left, the same foot with which they stamp the last measure. In the video, each time, the *Zapateado* is performed with contact of 1/8 of the ball of the foot in the first eighth beat; the heel contacting the floor in the second eighth beat, and with the ball of the foot again in the third eighth – see Figure 7.

During the next musical phrase, an exact repetition of the first one, the movie viewer does not see the dancers. However, microphones capture their percussive foot contacts as they performed the *Jarabe* on the *Tarima*, and it is possible to recognize the rhythmical pattern, and identify the same motif. It is not possible however, to know which foot starts that phrase, nor how they travel over the *tarima*.

Figure 7. Zapateado of three. Notation: Raymundo Ruiz.

Meanwhile, the camera shot shows how the contenders are making preparations for the fight of the roosters. One of them is cheating, adding a weapon on his rooster's feet while everyone is watching the *Jarabe*, possibly that focal point is the reason the movie editors opted to shift away from that repetition in the dance.

According to the Yolanda Fuentes' notation[2], which was published in 1970 in her book *El Imperecedero Arte de la Danza en México* (The Timeless Art of Dance in Mexico) and taught in the sixties at the *Academia de la Danza Mexicana* (Academy of Mexican Dance), in the first part of the *Jarabe* (which is also named part A) the dancers perform the motif *Zapateado of three* fifteen times on alternating feet. Fuentes documents two different ways in which it could be performed: the first, with the whole foot, and, the second: the first eighth note with the whole foot; in the second eighth note with the ball of the foot, and, in the third with the whole foot again – see Figure 8, part A.

2   Fuentes's dance score is similar to the music score as she uses a double bar line to separate phrases of movement and a double dot to mark a repetition. With lines she draws the legs of the dancer as if he was viewed from the front.
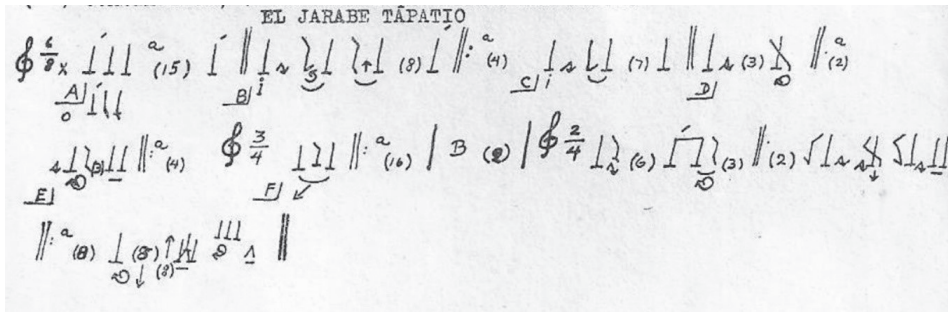
EL JARABE TÁPATIO

Figure 8. Jarabe Tapatío. El Imperecedero Arte de la Danza en México.
Yolanda Fuentes, 1970.

Fuentes uses an accent symbol to indicate whether the movement is strong, as in this case for the first part of each *Zapateado of three*. And, at the end of the part A she writes a *Zapateo* strongly accented that encloses the whole phrase. Fuentes adds an "i" below the symbols to tell the reader when the movement starts with the left foot, since there is no "i" notated, we know that the *Zapateado* starts with the right foot. While it is not clear if the last *Zapateo* is with the left or the right, usually it is performed organically with the next foot, in this case the left.

In our third version, Josefina Lavalle [1988], writes a description of the *Jarabe Ranchero* in the version of Sánchez Flores, using a system inspired by Labanotation. Her version has nine parts. Lavalle names the first part the *Saludo* (Greetings), performed mostly with steps forward, backward and in place. She identifies it as A – see Figure 9.

The next part, she identifies as the exact repetition of A; but she calls it *Zapateado Fino*:

> [...] the female dancer should perform it as an intricate work, alternating the ball of the foot and the heels, with a delicate settle down. Meanwhile, the man performs it with the whole foot, a fast but delicate movement [Sánchez Flores quoted in Lavalle 1988:123].

In writing out the *Zapateado* sequence, Lavalle indicates the man's movements performed with the whole foot while the woman performs the first eighth with the heel, the second with the ball of the foot, and the third with the ball of the foot. Both dancers perform the motif *Zapateado of three* eleven times in an alternating way (until the first part of the sixth bar). Then, in the second part of the sixth bar and during the seventh bar, both of them perform the closing motif *Planta-Huachapeo* with a combination of sliding-stamp gestures; and, at the end, one *Zapateo* with the whole right foot in place – see Figure 10, representing bars 6, 7 and 8 of the second repetition of A translated to Labanotation.
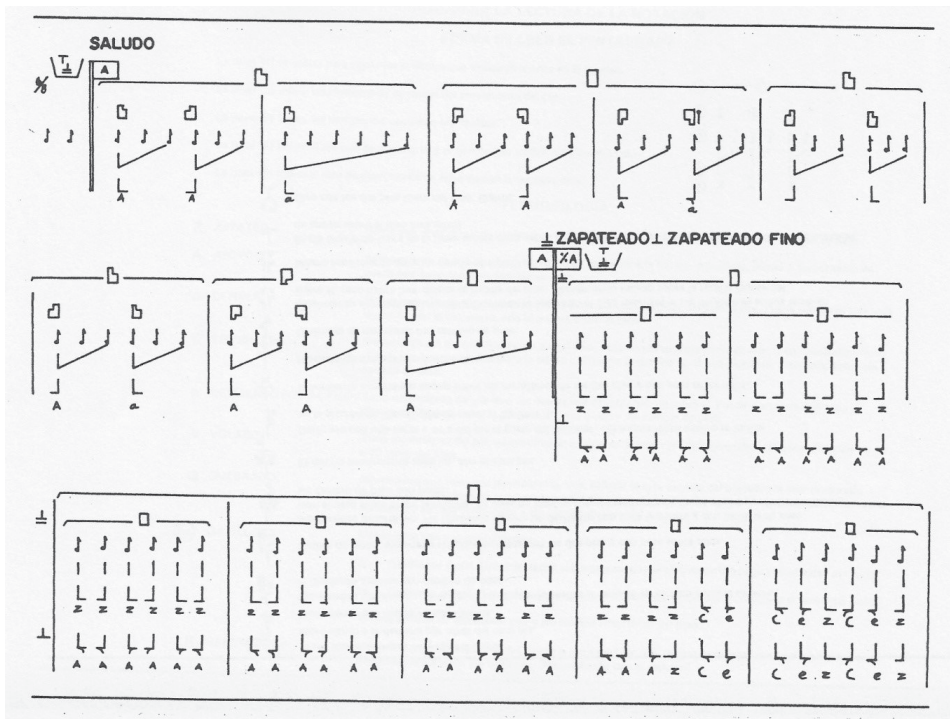
Figure 9. El Jarabe Ranchero. El Jarabe…: El Jarabe Ranchero o Jarabe de Jalisco. Josefina Lavalle.

Comparing the three versions, in the video we can see that both dancers are using the same parts of the feet (ball, heel, ball, with a stable center of weight), Fuentes' version offers two options (whole foot; and whole, ball, whole), and Lavalle's version makes a distinction between the man (whole foot) and the woman (heel, ball, ball). Focusing on the Fügedi's analysis of *parallel events*, particularly on the change in the parts of the foot that contact the floor, I can say that the usage of the whole foot is more frequent, and remained most consistently in the male version.

In relation to the second of the parallel events, the center of gravity remains stable in the male version. Since he places his whole foot on the ground, the body weight does not change level. In the female version, and in the film version the level remains slightly less stable through the usage of the opposition heel-ball. About this, Saldívar says: "The couple of dancers slides the feet gracefully over the floor, without get them too much higher or without making acrobatics that now are traditional in the theaters" [1936:309]. It seems that Saldívar already saw that change coming in his time.

I would like to focus on a third category of parallel events, the change of direction, which could be applied to the change of supports in relation to the center of gravity or the movement of the leg gestures in relation to the center of the body. However, because of the topic of this paper I will focus only in the supports.
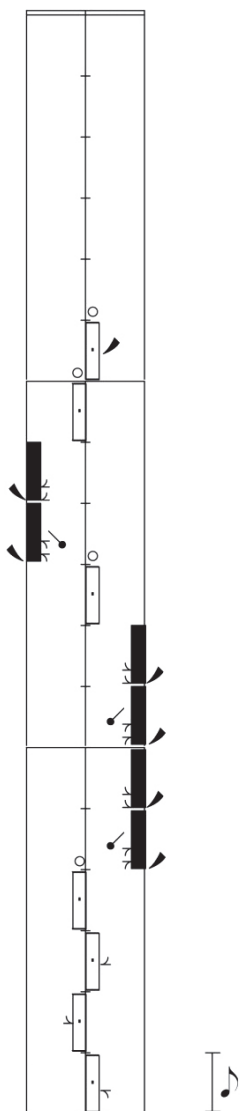
Figure 10. Translation to Labanotation from the Lavalle's system. Bars 6, 7 and 8 from the second A part. Notation: Raymundo Ruiz.

It is difficult to recognize which direction the foot moves in either the Fuentes and Lavalle systems of dance notation. As a researcher, I can only rely on my own tacit knowledge as specialist of the Mexican traditional dance who studied in the same school where knowledge of both, Fuentes and Lavalle, remain. In the film the *Zapateado of three* shows a change of direction as the weight is transferred onto each foot, moving backward, forward and backward. These same changes of direction are used in Marcelo Torreblanca's version of the *Zapateado of three* that I later learned, as well as other versions of the *Zapateado*, and therefore I suspect they are implied in the versions notated by Fuentes, but Lavalle's female version seems to follow the opposite lo.

On the other hand, the rhythmical pattern of the motif phrase also changes. In the video, mostly the *Zapateado* is performed according to the musical phrase (14 *Zapateados* in 7 bars and 1 *Zapateo* in the 8th bar that allows the dancer to breath before starting again). In the Fuentes' version, there is less time to rest (since she indicates 15 *Zapateados* in 7 and a half bars, and 1 *Zapateo* in the second half of the 8th bar). In Lavalle's version, the rhythm is similar to the film version, but involves more difficult changes of weight during the second half of the 6th bar and in the 7th bar.

According to anthropologist Amparo Sevilla this process of change in the *Jarabe Tapatío*, as well as in other Mexican traditional and folk dances, corresponds with two mechanisms: a) standardization,[3] that is, the teaching of the dances in which choreography, character, clothes, meaning and other constitutive elements had been modified or invented; and, b) theatricalization,[4] through the creation of professional or amateur *folk* dance groups, the performance of authentic groups in different stages and the organization of contests and festivals [1990:111].

Through the analysis of this video and these written resources, I can document the way in which the *Zapateado of three* has changed. I realize that there is more work to do, more notations and maybe more recordings to analyze but this exercise is a first step to a deeper analysis in the future.

Historically it is very valuable to do this kind of analysis that can show us the changes that our traditional dances have undergone. I learned, through the historical

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3   Sevilla uses the Spanish term: *academización*, related to the standardization among professionals and in institutions.
4   Sevilla uses the Spanish term: *espectacularización*, related to the theatricalization or modification to create a spectacle of a tradition.

research made for this exercise, about the process of change in the *Jarabe*; according to Saldívar without a fixed musical and dance structure until the participation of Padilla and López, and how the different groups in power took advantage of this specific dance for the construction of national identity.

On the other hand, the movement analysis led me to understand how those mechanisms of standardization and theatricalization had an impact on the performance of the motif of the *Zapateado of three*, as well as on the first phrase of the *Jarabe Tapatío*, from a version in the film for both dancers where the center of gravity is stabilized to distinctive versions for each female and male dancers with a more complex closing phrase. The analysis of parallel events proved to be helpful tool in this*.* However, I am conscious that this process of change and re-legitimization simultaneously created a new type of tradition.

Finally, in my experience of writing down the *Jarabe Tapatío*, it was very interesting to contrast the sequence that I have learned with the variants that had been notated earlier, and thus reflect on my own process as well as on my heritage in terms of the legacies of the diverse versions. Furthermore, it was interesting to learn and discover some aspects about a very well-known motif, that I have performed for many years, but that I had never looked at consciously before.

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Anne von Bibra Wharton

VILLAGE YOUTH AND THE *PLANTANZ*

Abstract

This work in progress explores the role, including rights and responsibilities, of the youth in Franconian village culture, specifically within the *Plantanz*. The *Plantanz* [dance on the place] is an event associated with the *Kirchweih* [church festival] of specific communities. The celebration of a *Plantanz* in conjunction with the *Kirchweih* is only done in a minority of villages, usually at ten or even 25-year intervals, although there are examples where it is carried out annually. Organizing and executing the *Plantanz* is typically the right and responsibility of the unmarried village youth. Based on fieldwork carried out for my Masters thesis and subsequent work in 2010 and 2017–18, this presentation explores such topics as the history of this custom, the changing role of the youth over time and the enduring importance of the *Plantanz*.

Keywords: *Plantanz*, *Kirchweih*, youth, Franconia, Germany

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Introductory remarks

Given that one of the themes of this symposium is youth and dance, I'd like to preface my remarks by noting that it was a pleasure to revisit my own youth in preparing this paper. I drew on the research I conducted for my Masters thesis in the 1980s as well as more recent fieldwork/research, particularly in 2010 and 2017–2018.

This presentation focuses on village youth and the *Plantanz* in Germany. It is a work-in-progress that seeks to address the questions listed below. In presenting it here today, I hope to learn if others have encountered similar events in their own work.

Before proceeding I will provide a brief definition of the term *Plantanz*. The Grimm Brothers' German dictionary, first published in 1854, defines *Plantanz* as a "dance on a village-place" generally "around the *Plan-* or *Platzbaum* [place-tree]," which was the symbol of the *Kirchweih* [Grimm and Lexer 1935].

Research questions

The questions I set out to explore in this project include the following:

1. What is the history of this custom of designating village youth as the organizers of the *Plantanz* and how widespread is it?
2. What are the commonalities of the chosen examples and how do they differ?
3. How has the role of this age group changed over time?
4. What factors have impacted the event and the age group's role in it?
5. How do young people see their role in the *Plantanz* event?
6. Why does carrying out the *Plantanz* remain an important part of communal life?

While I have not been able to fully answer all of my questions yet, I will attempt to provide some answers below.

What is the history of this custom of designating the village youth as the organizers of the *Plantanz* and how widespread is it?

Several eyewitness accounts written in the 18th and 19th centuries treat it as a tradition that was already firmly established (and one of the examples chosen for this project dates back to at least 1649).[1] How much further back it goes was not ascertained.

Both Böhme's 1886 history of dance in Germany and Oetke's chapter on *Brauch, Fest- und Umzugstänze* [Custom, Fest- and Processional Dances] give examples of *Plantänze*. From their descriptions it becomes clear that there were differences in how things were carried out. Of particular interest was an account of a village in Frankenwald where all men under the age of 40 were required to take part in the *Plantanz* (regardless of marital status). It is interesting to note that accounts from the mid-1700s[2] refer to a village where the local minister had the responsibility of leading the dance, but "later, as the *Burschen* [lads] organized the *Fest* [celebration] themselves, they choose a *Plozmäster* as leader of the celebration who had to take care of the orderly carrying out of the dance" [Oetke 1983:470].

Looking at various sources, it becomes clear that it wasn't always the young people who carried out the dance tour of honor, and that this varied both in terms of location and time period, at least in some of the locations for which accounts exist. For the examples that I have followed most closely, and which form the focus of this presentation, accounts indicate that the pattern in each was for young, unmarried pairs to carry out the *Plantanz*, although there was some variation in terms of who could participate.[3]

What are the commonalities of the chosen examples and how do they differ?

For comparative purposes, I have chosen to focus on three Lower-Franconian villages: Herbstadt, Oberessfeld and Gochsheim.[4] Before comparing them, I will present a brief overview of each. (A power-point with several still images as well as brief video clips of dancing accompanied this section of the presentation.)

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1 Gochsheim celebrated its first "dance of the Plan," in 1649 to celebrate peace and the regaining of their independent status as a free imperial village at the end of the Thirty Years War. In 1704 the *Plantanz* was combined with the annual *Kirchweih* [Bibra 1987:45-46].

2 See Oetke's description of the *Plantanz* in Eltmann [1983:470].

3 "[...] over the years there has been a gradual lessening of strictures. Catholics were not allowed to be *Planpaare* [Plan-couples] up until the late 1950s. Servants as well as apprentices were also excluded in earlier times. Such distinctions are less now, as the social structure of Gochsheim has changed [...] Until the 1950s it was an unwritten rule that only the sons and daughters of the 'Grossbauern' [large farmer] families could take part as Planpaare. The number of large farming families in Gochsheim has declined, and they no longer hold the same prominence" [Bibra 1987:114].

4 All three villages are located in the Lower-Franconian region in northern Bavaria, Germany. Herbstadt and Oberessfeld are both in the Grabfeld area near the town of Bad Königshofen. Gochsheim is just outside the city of Schweinfurt.

Herbstadt

The following is a brief overview of the 2010 Plantanz in Herbstadt, a village where the event traditionally takes place every 10 years. (For further details please see Bibra Wharton [2014] and Bibra [1987]).

Thursday
- Unbury the *Kirmes* (note: *Kirmes* is the local dialect for *Kirchweih)*

Friday
- Bring the Plan-Tree to the village
- Set up tree
- Dance or gathering in village inn's dance-hall
- *Planbursche* [Plan-lads] guard tree overnight

Saturday
- Visit homes of mayor and priest to present a cake and dance a *tour of honor* (they also visited homes of village council members and danced in court-yards or streets)
- *Planpaare* [Plan-couples] perform dances in dance-hall of community inn followed by a public dance

Sunday
- Church service
- Honoring fallen soldiers
- *Kirchweihpredigt* [Kirchweih-sermon]
- Dance in the inn

Monday
- *Planpaare* procession, presenting bouquet and dance of honor to each Plan-girl
- *Göglerschlag* and dance for the winner
- Evening dance in the dance hall of the inn
- *Kirmesbeerdigung* ["Kirchweih" burial at midnight]

With its ten-year interval between each *Plantanz*, the dance repertoire has changed over time, with some marked departures at the most recent 2010 event, which featured the inclusion of some country-western dances. In terms of the dances performed outside on or near the Plan, the *Walzer* is now the only dance done that is a continuation of earlier dance repertoire.[5]

The Honor Tours performed by the Plan-couples at the beginning of the evening dance in the inn have begun with a *Polonaise* since 1980.[6] The 2010 Plan-couples chose to also include *Fox* and a line dance (which looked a lot like the Electric Slide).

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5   See Bibra [1987] thesis for chart and discussion of changes from 1910–1984. The 2010 Plan-couples added several new dances, including a line dance similar to the "Electric Slide" and a country-western mixer [Bibra 2010].

6   While earlier the *Polonaise* was commonly used to open balls in the inns of the nearby town, its inclusion in the 1980 *Plantanz* was not a matter of a passed down tradition, but rather due to the choices of the *Erste Planbursche* [First Plan-lad] at the time. Since then he has taught it to subsequent groups of Plan-couples. He also taught the 2010 pairs the waltz [Eberhardt 2010].

As one of them told me, "we decided that we could choose our own dance direction and that no boredom should arise. One has to go with the times and we did; it is no longer up-to-date to dance old dances" [Lurz D. 2018].

Oberessfeld

Oberessfeld is another village that has a *Plantanz* tradition, but theirs was typically held every 20 years.[7] The rule passed down through the generations was that if the young, unmarried people did not exercise their right to hold the *Plantanz* for over 25 years, then the right shifted to the married couples. Since the last *Plantanz* organized by the village youth had taken place in 1949, in 1989 the married couples, through the *Dorfverein* [village club], took it upon themselves to resurrect the tradition.

The Oberessfeld Dorfverein
- Started in 1982, inspired by a photograph of the earlier *Trachten* [traditional dress] that appeared in the local paper in 1981.
- Held its first *Dorffest* or village celebration in September 1982, a harvest festival.
- Actually grounded as a formal organization, the Dorfverein A. F. Oberessfeld, in April, 1983 with 28 members and had grown to 34 within half a year. Members paid a low monthly fee.
- The club set itself the task of seeking and in part maintaining the old ways and customs that had been forgotten [Ruck 1984].

Figure 1. Dancing around the tree in Oberessfeld [Schulz and Schulz 2018b].

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7   After a 40-year gap, the Plantanz has been held every five years since 1989.

In 1999, the Kirchweih cake, which was nailed to the tree that the Plan-couples were dancing around, was stolen by one of the youth (despite the volunteer firemen who were supposed to be guarding it). This meant the right to carry out the Plantanz in Oberessfeld would return to the youth, which it did in 2004. Since that time it has been held every 5 years with the youth taking the lead.

In Oberessfeld the dances done on the Plan were Franconian round dances (*Walzer, Rheinländer, Schottisch*), consciously learned or practiced for the event in addition to one or two figure dances such as the *Sternpolka*. The repertoire for general dancing may also include *Fox* and *Tango*.

Gochsheim

The Plantanz tradition in Gochsheim began in the 17th century (see Footnote 1). The event celebrated their *Reichsfreidorf* [imperial free village] status. Here it is an annual event. The unmarried youth are responsible for organizing the event, but only a smaller, select group of them.[8] Currently the Gochsheimer Plantanz is carried out in conjunction with the *Plantanz Verein* [Plantanz-organization]. In Gochsheim the dances done on the Plan have remained the same for well over 100 years – limited to the round-dances that formed the main dance repertoire of the region up through the early 1950s, that is the *Walzer*, *Schottisch*, and *Bauernmadl*, a special form of the Franconian *Rheinländer* featuring the use of the *Dreischrittdreher*, and the *Dreher* (in this case the *Dreischrittdreher*). No other dances are permitted on the dance floor.

Differences

Let us turn now to a comparison of the three villages' Plantanz traditions (in terms of who participates, attire, organization and responsibilities). Who is allowed to participate has varied through time within each village to varying degrees. For example, in the most recent Plantanz in Herbstadt, there were 25 pairs and partners from outside the village were allowed, as was also the case in 1980. This was due to the fact that there were not enough girls to partner the boys, so those who had an established girlfriend were allowed to invite her to participate in order to even up the numbers.

In Gochsheim, the rules about who could participate used to be much stricter and only a limited number were permitted (see Footnote 4 and Bibra [1987]). Given the much larger population of the village this makes sense as it would be too unwieldy to have all participate, but the question of who gets to do so today is unclear. Also, more recently young women from outside the community have been permitted to participate as partners.

In Oberessfeld the key difference started in 1989 when the Plantanz was organized again for the first time in forty years and the married couples took over the right and responsibility until the youth regained their right (by stealing the Kirchweih cake during the 1999 event).

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8   Not all youth can participate. See Bibra [1987] for further details about the history of participation. Due to time constraints the author did not go into much detail about the specifics in Gochsheim. See Bibra [1987] for much more detailed information.

Attire

In Herbstadt the attire is chosen by each group and tends to reflect current fashions for the young women while the young men continue to wear traditional formal wear – *Frack* coats [tails] and *Zylinder* [top hats].

Figure 2. Herbstadter Planpaare in formal attire processing on to the Plan next to the tree [Bibra 2010].

In Gochsheim the young men's attire has also stayed the same, tails and top hats, but decorated with the special ribbons that have long been a part of the tradition, while the young women's attire has tended to reflect current fashions. Nowadays a trend toward Bavarian style contemporary dirndls is apparent.

In Oberessfeld, while the previous Plan-couples had worn contemporary formal wear (including *Frack* and *Zylinder* for the young men in 1949), the married couples in 1989 wore *Trachten* (traditional attire/costumes), which were recreations of the local *Tracht* based on a painting from the 19th century.[9] More recently, photos from 2009 and 2014 show youthful couples dancing with the girls in Bavarian styled dirndls.

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9   Recently acquired with the help of some governmental subsidies to the *Dorfverein.*

How has the role of this age group changed over time?

In both Oberessfeld and Gochsheim the organizational aspects have shifted away from the youth to a certain degree. Traditionally the youth (or a smaller subset of them) have held the right and responsibility to organize and carry out the Plantanz in their community. The organization differs from village to village and there have been variations outside the normal custom at certain points in at least two of the villages, but today we find the following situation. In Herbstadt, the Plantanz is organized and carried out by the unmarried village youth (who must be at least 15 years old)[10] through the *Kirmesgesellschaft*, an organization temporarily formed and registered with the authorities in order to be able to apply for the necessary permits, etc. This more formal organizing of the village youth appears to be a more recent development.

In Oberessfeld, while the right to organize the event now rests again with the youth, it seems that the Dorfverein is still involved, lending advice but also some organizational planning and work.[11]

Figure 3. Gochsheimer Planbursche wearing the specially decorated hat, dancing with the author in 1983 during general dancing on the Plan [From the collection of Bibra Wharton].

In Gochsheim, a *Plantanz Verein* (whose members include older, married community members) has been founded at some point in order to help carry out the event, even though up until the late 1990s it was still done by the young people themselves [see Bibra 1987; Bröcker 1994, 2001].[12]

When asked what rights and responsibilities the Plan-couples had in Herbstadt in 2010, the First Plan-lad noted the following: "We ourselves established a plan and we also had to adhere to it. I also had…the duty to carry forward certain customs" [Lurz D. 2018]. The youth had to do everything, so they got up earlier and stayed late in order to clean at the inn. Sometimes they got some help from parents. They also

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10   The rule for lads is 16. It is up the current Plan-couples to determine the age limit for the girls and that has varied some in given years.

11   It probably also serves in the same fashion to apply for permits, etc. This is a topic that requires further inquiry as I have not yet been able to interview any of the more recent Planpaare or the current leader(s) of the Dorfverein.

12   I have not yet completed research into why and exactly when the Gochsheimer Plantanz Verein was established, but it is definitely a departure from earlier practice.

had to prepare by doing things like ordering the drinks. They then paid for them afterwards with the money they brought in [Lurz M. 2018].[13]

During the events in Gochsheim that I observed in the 1980s, Plan-youth took turns staffing the booth where beer and other beverages were sold next to the Plan.

The 2010 Herbstadt Plan-couples had to establish a legal organization and pay taxes. They were also required to adhere to curfews. In terms of making decisions, they selected a first and second Plan-Lad who had the final say, but they always brought all the others into the decision-making process.

What factors have impacted the event and the age group's role in it?

Among the factors that have impacted the Plantanz event are the physical changes to the place where it occurs, which in the case of Herbstadt has impacted the ability to dance around the Plan-tree. The situation with local inns has also had an impact. In Gochsheim, the conversion of dance halls in many local inns to guest rooms (and later other uses) meant that there were fewer evening dances inside [Bibra 1987].[14] In Herbstadt changes in the management and leasing arrangement with the local innkeeper have impacted the young people's role in managing and serving refreshments during the event, and in turn what money they raise through the event.

Other changes that have impacted the event in Herbstadt are changes in the active social dance repertoire of the inhabitants, while in Gochsheim the dances done on the Plan have not changed due to strict guidelines, even though the active social dance repertoire of the inhabitants has expanded over time.[15] In Oberessfeld, where some members of the local club are involved in Franconian dance revival activities, the repertoire at the Plantanz is based on traditional, specifically Franconian, dances [Schulz and Schulz 2018].

Reflecting on how the youth's role has changed over time, the following additional questions come to mind: given increasing regulations, how is the added complexity of organizing events impacting their role? Is there less interest in and/or willingness by the youth to put in the amount of work and time required? Do the changing patterns of education and jobs that pull many youth further away from their villages prevent them from participating?[16]

How do young people see their role in the Plantanz event today?

The youth that I have interviewed thus far see their role as carrying on an important tradition in their community and speak of it as an honor as well as a fun and unforgettable experience. One participant said that part of her reason for participating was in order to be even more a part of the village [Lurz M. 2018]. The 2010 *Erste*

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13   They also procured a crane to help raise the Kirchweih-tree and installed a hole in the ground in order to make it easier to install the tree. They earned money by selling drinks and some snacks upstairs in the dance hall and at a bratwurst stand outside during other parts of the event. Typically the Plan-couples use any money remaining after expenses are covered to go on an excursion together.

14   In the past dancing continued in the evenings in the dance halls of local inns, but that custom disappeared during the 2nd half of the 20th century. Nowadays electric lighting permits dancing to continue on the Gochsheimer Plan until much later.

15   However, the round-dances done on the Plan have continued to influence behavior at other dance events, at least at the time of my research in the 1980s [see Bibra 1987].

16   For example, the brother of the First Plan-Lad in 2000 and the son of the 1980 First Plan-Lad were unable to participate due to their vocational training and/or internships.

Planbursche [First Plan-Lad] wrote that he took part because it is a tradition in the village and one should continue traditions. In addition, all the buddies were there and it promised to be a lot of fun. Looking back he was very happy to have been a part of it, will never forget it as long as he lives, and can only say positive things about it [Lurz D. 2018].

Why does carrying out the Plantanz remain an important part of communal life?
The Plantanz still provides opportunities for the youth to come to the forefront in the community and to develop leadership and other skills that will serve them (and the community) in the future.

Writing about what he got out of the Plantanz and his role as First Lad, Daniel Lurz commented that he "learned a lot from it; how to organize a lot and also to put my foot down at times. It furthered my personal development" [2018].

An event like the Plantanz, especially in a village where it only happens every 10 or 20 years, is a once in a lifetime opportunity for most, which can make it even more special and reinforce the youth's connection and commitment to the community. It brings the community together to celebrate a big and important event.

In her study on Kirchweih [church festival] celebrations in the Oberpfalz region of Germany (some of which also include a Plantanz tradition), Carolin Ortlieb addresses the question posed by her book title: *Was fasziniert Jugendliche an ländlichem Brauchtum?* [What fascinates youth about rural custom?]:

> Is Kirchweih then a phenomenon of the youth? In light of the results described, the Kirchweih was and is a celebration of the youth. It is initiated by them, gives them the possibility to distinguish themselves from the grown-up age [group] [...] it remains a break from the typical everyday, in which one has to conform to the conventions of the parents, educators or trainers. The Kirchweih weekend is something different. There one organizes themselves differently, behaves differently and, the surprising part, the grown-ups have nothing against it. In addition, the celebration happens mostly in a rural context, whereby the youth in the countryside can (for once) demonstrate more feeling of belonging to their *Heimat* [native land] [...] [2014:40].

The future of the Plantanz
Asked if he thinks the Plantanz will continue in 2020, one First-Lad stated "yes, I think so. It is just that it is always difficult to find a First-Lad [because] he has the responsibility" [Lurz D. 2018]. At the same time, another Herbstadt participant in 2010 is less sure. Each year she notices less and less participation in the village's communal life. She speaks wistfully of how its traditions are disappearing. Right now she doesn't see much interest, because the connection to the village has weakened considerably. When she was young there were more kids from the village in the local Kindergarten [nursery school]. Now people's friends are spread out in different communities and people are more connected to other places and not so connected to the village itself [Lurz M. 2018].

Conflict between traditions and laws

Another theme that emerged in discussion about both the current situation and the future of village customs, such as the Plantanz, in Herbstadt concerned the conflict between traditions (and earlier, informal ways of doing things) and the increasing rules and regulations governing everything. The law and *Brauchtum* (traditions/customs) keep running up against each other and it seems to be getting worse [Lurz M. 2018].

Mona fears that village customs (such as the Plantanz) are going to disappear unless someone does something about it. She cites the usual Kirchweih practice today where the celebration features an *Alleinunterhalter* (solo entertainer), older people don't go, saying they're too old, and young people don't either. In fact she notes that young people don't dance a lot when they go out now, they just move to the music [Lurz M. 2018].

Yet the Plantanz and its symbols remain very important to many community members. For example, when it came time to auction off the Kirchweih-tree [which raises money to help off set the expenses of putting on the event], there was a strong sentiment that people did not want the tree and its wood to go out of the village (someone from another village was the top bidder). So several local clubs joined forces and the wood stayed in Herbstadt, made into benches and other items for the village [Lurz M. 2018].

The author hopes the Plantanz will continue for many years to come, adapting to changing circumstances as it has in the past, but remaining a vital part of community life and a potentially life-changing experience for village youth.

Figure 4. Next generation of Plantanz youth riding on Herbstadt Plan-tree [Bibra 2010b].[17]

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17   It has become a tradition for the children to ride on the *Planbaum* as it is brought into the village at the beginning of the Plantanz and it is a memory that stays with them [Lurz M. 2010].

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Daniela Machová

TRANSMISSION OF DANCE KNOWLEDGE BETWEEN DANCING MASTERS AND PARTICIPANTS OF BALLROOM DANCE COURSES IN THE 21ST CENTURY: TRADITION VERSUS MODERNITY

Abstract

This paper presents special ballroom dance courses for youth in region of Bohemia. These courses are thought to be (or are seen as) a uniquely Czech-Slovak phenomenon to some extent, with a history of more than one hundred years. The author will present information about ongoing research focused on ballroom dance courses in Prague in which particular features reflect the concept of tradition and modernity. In the end, it seems that half of Prague dance schools represent modern and the other half rather traditional way of teaching ballroom dance.

Keywords: ballroom dance courses, social dance, ballroom dance, tradition, modernity, Bohemia

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This paper presents special ballroom dance courses for youth in the Bohemian region (called by local term – *taneční*). These courses are thought to be (or are seen as) a uniquely Czech-Slovak phenomenon to some extent, with a history of more than one hundred years. The attendees range in age between 15–18 years old. A somewhat larger group of people (usually 20–100 couples) are taught social couple dances (polka, waltz, Viennese waltz, quickstep, tango, cha-cha, jive, rumba, etc.) at the same time once a week for the period of three to six months. These courses are organized in big cities but also in small villages. Attendees wear formal attire and the etiquette and social behavior are also included. The graduation from these courses is perceived as a part of social education, an official entrance into the society. This is done through a special ceremonial graduation ball where in some region's ladies wear white wedding dresses. The main purpose for visiting these courses is to gain the dance knowledge to be able to participate in social gatherings like balls, graduation balls, weddings etc., not to attend Dancesport competitions.

My current on-going research is focused on the ballroom courses in Prague. When I was looking at the web pages of the four main Prague dance schools, there was something what really attracted my attention. There was written: "We connect the tradition of old dancing masters with modern dance trends" [Vavruška n. d.] or "We offer traditional teaching in a modern concept" [Národni dum n. d.]. This leads to my research questions. Why do dance schools emphasize tradition and modernity at the same time? Which elements are or might be considered traditional or modern in current ballroom dance courses in Prague?

Looking at tradition and modernity as concepts, it was common not only in sociology theories during the 19th and 20th centuries to perceive both terms as opposites

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related to the idea of cultural revolution. However, more criticism has been targeted at this dichotomy lately.

> It is false to believe that tradition and modernity are »mutually exclusive«. Modern society is not simply modern; it is modern and traditional. The attitudes and behaviour patterns may in some cases be fused; in others, they may comfortably coexist [...]. In addition, one can go further and argue not only that coexistence is possible but that modernisation itself may strengthen tradition. It may give new life to important elements of the pre-existing culture, such as religion [Huntington 1971].

This coexistence of both concepts in the perception of ballroom courses is also obvious in references to dancing masters, where its usage in marketing claims has other functions. It seems that tradition is mentioned on webpage presentations as a guarantee of quality and long-term history, while modernity is used as a tool to attract the young generation who are the target population of ballroom dance courses in order to keep this phenomenon alive.

What might be labelled as traditional or modern in current ballroom dance courses in Prague? And are there any differences in the concept of ballroom dance courses among different dance schools in Prague? My research is based on interviews with dancing masters and many fieldwork visits, where through observation I discovered other aspects of possible tradition and modernity features that they did not mention.

The tradition is represented mainly through the usage of famous ceremonial halls in historical buildings where dance courses were also organized–in the past. But it must be mentioned that some courses take place in new or newly reconstructed halls with a modern light system and air-conditioning.

All the dancing masters interviewed considered formal attire (black suits and dresses) a requirement in order to keep on the previous tradition of courses. But in some cases slight signs of changes and modernity. In some schools, white gloves for men are only recommended (which means that nobody wears them). In addition these dance schools include as a part of their courses special disco or Latin lessons where attendees wear jeans, T-shirts, etc.

Lessons on social behaviour and etiquette incorporated into the dance course continue from the past and are perceived as a necessity. But compared to the past, dancing masters spent less time teaching it and social mores are connected only to the social situation concerning dance; in some cases; there is also a special dining lesson included. Etiquette is taught in an entertaining way where attendees also participate and not just listen.

Music is the element that most differentiates between tradition and modernity as well as between different dance schools. Based on interviews with dancing masters, tradition is represented by usage of the live band during the lessons. These live bands are usually composed of piano, drums and saxophone or bass guitar. In contrast, the use of recorded music with contemporary repertoire is claimed to be modern.

In the case of repertoire, the main set of ballroom dances (polka, waltz, but also cha-cha, jive etc.) might be seen as traditional, because it remains unchanged since at least 1972. Apart from these, some dance schools teach other dances which referred

to the past (gallope, two-step, mazurka, czardas), while others focus on dances that are still quite new and popular (salsa, disco). One of the traditional elements I observed could be considered the more serious atmosphere, which made you feel like you were in a school; for instance, assistants wrote down the evidence of attendance in a special book, even in one case the entrance doors were locked during the lessons! Everything conformed to entertainment e.g. special lesson dedicated to social games might be labelled a modern trend.

Tradition or modernity could be recognized even in the relationship of the dancing master with the others. In the traditional approach, there is an obvious hierarchy. Only the dancing master speaks and teaches the dances, his/her partner remains very passive and silent and only shows steps when asked. The approach and speech considered and intended by the interviewed dancing master as modern is a more open, friendly, and less formal way of teaching. Some of them call attendees by their name, even use physical contact- dance together with the attendee to explain the steps. In some schools usually, both the dancing master and his partner speak on microphone and teach steps; this approach is rather equal.

Conclusion

Based on interviews and fieldwork results it is obvious that different signs of tradition and modernity could be present at the same time. Although dancing schools use both terms in their promotion, obvious differences were found. Traditional dance schools organize courses in historic halls, use live bands, teach traditional repertoire, and are rather strict in formal attire. Compared to the other schools there is the more serious atmosphere and obvious hierarchy. Schools that consider themselves the modern ones prefer to use reproduced music, also include new popular dances (disco, salsa), are less strict with attire and there is obvious democracy and a friendly atmosphere.

What is the future of Ballroom dance courses? Looking at the number of courses and attendees of particular schools, it is obvious that the modern approach seems to be more appealing for young participants. Dance knowledge transmission between the generations can include tradition but must be attractive enough as well.

Figure 1. Graduates of Vavruška Dance School during the final ceremonial flower ball in Lucerna Hall. Photograph by Daniela Machová (2015).

Figure 2. Final ceremony at the graduation ball called "Wreath" in Jičín, where ladies wear white wedding dresses. Photograph by Jiří Ullrich (2014).

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Vivien Szőnyi

HOW CHANGES OF AGE AND SOCIAL STATUS ARE MANIFESTED IN THE MOLDAVIAN CSÁNGÓ DANCE CULTURE

Abstract

Social structure of Moldavian Csángó villages is organized into groups according the age of the community members. Each life stage brings a different social status, which are manifest at the occasions for dancing. Formal and stylistic aspects of dancing reflect social status, and this correlates with manners and a system of norms for the dancer's behavior. The problem raised in this paper is only a minor part of an ongoing doctoral research project, which analyses the transformation of dance culture in Magyarfalu (Arini), Romania, from the 1940s up to the present day. In Magyarfalu village, dancing can be interpreted as a collectively agreed socio-cultural practice which is linked to specified space, time and participants. It symbolically refers to the community's social structure and generational distribution, and by representing, strengthening and asserting the social relations in public, contributes to the continuity of social structure. This research adopts a holistic approach to interpret the visible and hidden aspects of the dance culture as part of an interdependent whole, each element of which has a function. The present paper is aimed at introducing this functional complexity and interpreting how the representation of ageing and changing social status are applied during the dance events of Magyarfalu.

Keywords: age, functionalism, Moldavian Csángó, representation, social status

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Introduction

The topic introduced in this paper belongs to a doctoral research started in 2015. The research focuses on the transformation of dance culture between the 1940s and 2010s, in an Eastern Romanian village, Magyarfalu,[1] populated by Hungarians. I would like to demonstrate the social embeddedness of dancing primarily through the representative practices of ageing and changing of social status, which are observable during dancing.

Conditions of participation in dance events organized in the village are age-specific. According to village terminology, *children* (*gyermekek*); *youngsters* (*fiatalok*): *girls* (*leányok*) and *lads* (*legények*); *newly marrieds* (*ifjú házasok*); *marrieds* (*házasok*); *elder marrieds* (*idős házasok*) or *elders* (*idősek*) belong to different categories. Consequently, they may attend distinct dance events where *they are allowed to*

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1   This village is called Arini in Romanian, and as part of Găiceana commune, belongs to Bacău county which is in north-eastern Romania.

dance in their appropriate ways. Age and social status of community members, and especially marital status, strictly define the norms of dancing. This set of unwritten rules controls the dancers' behavior, and also correlates with religious life and the moral system established in the community. Manners belonging to the hidden part of dance culture apply in many cases to formal and stylistic aspects of dance creation, thus they become representational practices of the system of social norms in the community. Dance events of Magyarfalu can be explained as complex socio-cultural acts which reflect the community's social structure, and we can also assume that dances, beyond their representational role, have deeper meanings and functions within this structure.

Based on the above-discussed hypotheses, this short essay is aimed at answering the following questions: a) How does age determine the opportunities for taking part in dance events? b) At which events and with whom are people of different age groups and social status allowed to dance? c) What formal and stylistic changes are triggered by norms of dancing? d) What function does the representation of age and social status during dancing serve in the local community's social structure?

Scope of the research – field and community

The research area is Moldova (part of Romania) which extends from the Eastern Carpathians to the Prut River, and bordered by Bukovina to the north, Walachia and Dobruja to the south. Most settlements of Hungarian origin and with Moldavian Csángó population are situated in Bacău county, along the Szeret River. From among Csángós who migrated to Moldova from central parts of Transylvania in the 12th–13th centuries, and then from its eastern part (Székelyföld) in the 18th century, about 40,000 people still speak Hungarian.[2] Two elemental factors determine the Moldavian Csángó identity: their Roman Catholic religion, which distinguishes them from Orthodox Romanians living around them, and local identity [Pozsony 2005:148–149].

Magyarfalu is situated 60 km south-east of the center of Bacău. The population is approximately 1300 people, but due to intensive external economic migration, only about 700 persons live permanently in the village [Iancu 2013:58]. In this village, economic migration can be regarded as the most important factor behind the shaping of culture. This is grounded in wealth generation, which rapidly accelerates the modernization of their lifestyle. Permanent residents of Magyarfalu work as peasants in agriculture, cultivation and animal husbandry. The settlement is a dead-end village with a closed, cohesive community and a regulated lifestyle. Moral and legal orders originate from and are under the supervision of the church [Iancu 2013:60–62].

Research methodology

I have been conducting ethnological research among Moldavian Csángós since 2012, with a focus on their social structure and dance culture. My current doctoral research in Magyarfalu started in 2015. Since then, I have been spending 1–2 weeks in the village in every season, and in 2016, I conducted a three months fieldwork

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2   Based on research conducted by Vilmos Tánczos between 1992 and 1996, of about 240.000 Catholic Moldavians, around 62.000 people speak Hungarian. Since then, the number of Hungarian speakers has significantly decreased [Ilyés, Peti, Pozsony 2010:127].

stay. Archival materials (manuscripts, photo and film archives) constitute a smaller part of the resources,[3] whereas the majority of the collected data comes from my fieldwork conducted in the village. My data collection techniques included participant observation, semi-structured interviews, photography and filming. Dance events that I observed and documented, such as the day of the village's patron saint, weddings, and balls, were organized by the local community. I participated only as a guest, a researcher, and a dancer, and did not take part in any organizational or controlling tasks. I tried to engage with a wide range of interviewees due to the complexity of the research problems and the extended timeframe: male and female habitants of Magyarfalu between the age of 18–98 were interviewed, and I was able to reach them through personal connections made in the village.

Framework interpretation

A holistic approach[4] and functionalist perspectives of British social anthropology determine the frame of my research theme. The active person and his/her biological needs are the basis for Bronisław Malinowski, who engages with the bio-psychological strand within functionalism [see Malinowski 1944]. As a functionalist dance researcher, I consider this theory to be applicable mostly in undertaking a micro-level examination of a community. By micro-level, I mean the social network of persons belonging to the same local community, who know each other directly or indirectly. Micro-level research based on the bio-psychological stream of functionalism starts from the dancing individual and aims to give answer to the question of what social institutions are created in a given community by *dancing*, interpreted as collective response to needs [Szőnyi 2018:41–42].

The theory of structural functionalism established by Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown is based not on the individual, but on the system, the regularity of which is interpreted in the context of structure, process and function [see Radcliffe-Brown 1958]. I assume that this can contribute to understanding the role that macro-level processes, ecological, political, and social changes, play in culture shaping. Building on the notion of adaptation by Radcliffe-Brown, if we regard dance culture as a system of adaptation [2004:17–18], I strive to provide an answer to the question: during the transformation of dance life and dance repertoire, what internal (micro-level) adaptive responses were provided by the community to certain external (macro-level) mechanisms in order to preserve the continuity of local dance culture [Szőnyi 2018:42].

Relation between age, social status and dance

Below, I would like to demonstrate the relation between age and dance, taking into consideration the interviewees' narratives and personal experience gained during the dance events where I took part as a participant observer. Information coming

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3   For my research, I used the collections of the following institute: Archives and Department for Folk Music and Folk Dance Research, Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

4   Assuming cultural complexity, I think that chaining of a phenomenon has impact on all other elements of the socio-cultural system. According to Thomas Hylland Eriksen, to interpret a phenomenon in a complex way, we have to go beyond the one-sided causality analysis and rather focus on system-level interactions from a multi-dimensional point of view [2008:6].

from these two resource types cover a rather extended period of time, from the middle of the 20th century up to the present day. However, research results so far show that, while local dance life and dance repertoire went through profound transformation during this period, dance etiquette related to age and social status have barely changed. This implies that manners ruling the dancers' behavior belong to a deeper segment of the village's (dance) culture, so their transformation happens more slowly, and they serve an essential, organically embedded function in the community's social life.

In this village, *children* are not allowed to take part in regular dance events organized by community members or leaders, e.g. weddings, balls linked to the day of the village's patron saint, or high days of the year. Dance learning starts from early childhood and happens at home or at school, however, children between 3 and 15 are allowed to demonstrate their dancing skills only at organized dance performances or family occasions (e.g. birthdays, baptisms).

Participating in public dance events is allowed generally after confirmation, around the age of 15. The exact age may vary individually, as this ceremony is not held in the village every year. For this reason, confirmation is only a symbolic boundary between the categories of *child* and *youngster* in terms of dancing. In fact, *girls* and *lads* are considered to be *youngsters* until they get married and they are allowed to attend and dance at all events.

The age for getting married has changed considerably since the 1950s. In the mid-20th century, *girls* typically got married by the age of 18–19 and *lads* by 22–23. Today, however, it is not uncommon for *girls* to get married at 24–25 and *lads* at 28–29 years old. The number of years of youth has become longer, and manners that apply to youth as dancers has slightly changed: they are not connected to age as much now, but to the individual's status in the community, primarily marital status.

Only *youngsters* were allowed to dance at the weekly dance events, the organization and dance repertoire of which has changed remarkably over this 70-year period. Until the 1990s, these events were held in the village, so *marrieds* and *elders* could also attend, though these did not dance, but only talked, drank and watched the *youngsters*. Clubs with popular music appeared in major Moldavian settlements and towns after the change of the regime, leading to the demise of the locally organized weekly dance events. *Youngsters* of Magyarfalu visit these clubs and discos together, but the older categories of locals no longer accompany them. In this way, they are beyond the community's control.

Two categories of married people can be differentiated. Young couples without children are called the *newly married*. This period lasts approximately 1–3 years, during which young couples, just as *youngsters*, are allowed to take part in all dance events if they wish. The second group, the so-called *marrieds* are couples with children, who therefore have become full members of the community. They no longer attend the weekly dance events, only weddings and balls connected to major celebrations.

The last group consists of *elder marrieds* or *elders* whose children have already been married. It would be inappropriate if members of this group danced at balls, however, they are allowed to appear as participants and observers – when the ball is organized in the village. *Elders* are allowed to actively take part in dancing only at weddings.

I would like to give answers to questions raised in the introduction above, based on examples of weddings I observed between 2015 and 2017, as these are the occasions where almost all groups of the community, *youngsters*, *marrieds*, and *elders* are allowed to dance. Wedding guests form smaller and larger groups based on their age, and they separate from each other during the ceremony and other events, while talking, dining and dancing. Most dances of the Csángó dance repertoire are circle dances, but couple dances are also known. Each couple dance takes place in the frame of circle dances performed by persons of mixed age groups. In couple dances, *youngsters* are allowed to dance only with *youngsters*, and those who have partners dance solely with their girl- or boyfriend. Occasionally, *lads* ask their elder female relatives to dance with them. *Married women* dance only with their husband or relative, while *married men* are free to ask their elder female family members to dance. In general, *girls* and *married women* perform couple dances also with females their own age. *Elders* rarely perform couple dances, they rather take part in circle dances during which they form two or more circles on the dance floor, dancing with others their own age and marital status. Dancing sometimes occurs in concentric circles, in which case *youngsters* dance in the inner circle, and *marrieds*, together with *elders*, are in the outer ring.[5] In the inner circle, dancers are arranged by friendship, while in the outer circle, family connections determine how dancers are aligned to each other.

Considerable differences are observable in how dancers behave and express their emotions according to age. Various conventions apply, and determine the representation techniques, formal and stylistics aspects of dancing. Performances of *lads* seem to be the most dynamic and spectacular, they make expansive gestures, dance complex motifs and rotate the circle rapidly. They are allowed to express their pleasure in dancing with rhythmical shouting or whistling. As they dance in the inner circle, almost full attention is paid to them, so they are in charge of lightening up the atmosphere. Sometimes *young married men* also join them, but after their first child is born, they are *pushed out* to the outer circle. They dance in a more sophisticated way, with a more energy saving style of performance, make smaller gestures, and no sound effects accompany their dance. However, their dancing style is regarded as active within their circle. There are always more persons in the outer circle as more generations belong there, which also causes the circle to rotate more slowly. It also means that dancers are pressed together, so extensive gestures and horizontal motifs that might have enriched the performance do not occur. Motifs performed by *married men* are built and extended rather vertically, and the pleasure of dancing is expressed by closing the eyes and making small fast head shakes.[6] The dancing style of *unmarried girls*, *married women* and *older men* or *women* is passive, clean and elegant, their behavior is calm tempered, and the motifs they perform are much simpler than *lads'* or *married men's* motif repertoire.

The range of tools of expression, which dancers generally employ in accordance with their own age and marital status, could be extended by focusing on individuals and taking into consideration the person's additional roles in the community's social life. This cannot be described in detail here, so I have attempted to define only the

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5   In other cases, it might happen that dancers form circles by gender and not by age groups.
6   From among the Moldavian Csángó settlements, I observed this trance-like expression of state only in Magyarfalu.

representation of age and marital status. Since a dance event in the observed village symbolically refers to the generational distribution of the community and the dancers' marital status, knowing and practicing local dances can be interpreted as a form of non-verbal communication which, besides expressing individual knowledge and skills, plays a role in local socialization and the creation of social connections. The community's set of rules and relations serves to uphold the norms, while the manifestation of dancers' changing status contributes to formalizing their new status and strengthening the village's internal hierarchy.

Deviating from norms of dancing, using the traditional tools of representation in an inappropriate way, has no direct consequences during the dance event. However, after the event, *elder women* of the village talk disparagingly about the dancer whose behavior was beyond the norms. This often reaches the given dancer and his/her family as a rumor, putting considerable psychological pressure on them. Talking about someone in this way controls and maintains the norms of dancing and contributes to strengthening the unwritten rules.

Conclusions

Strong connections between age, marital status and norms of dancing ensure the social embeddedness of dancing in the observed village. Dancing, interpreted as a socio-cultural practice, is controlled by the community, and its formal and stylistic aspects are determined by unwritten rules. The *proper way of dancing* – i.e. obeying the rules set for dancers – represents, legalizes and strengthens the age status, social status, and social relations among community members. Therefore, it plays a role in maintaining a harmonic social life and, consequently, sustaining the continuity of social structure. All this shows that the dance culture constitutes a complex system of social institutions and, by observing this system, we get closer to understand the social network, internal hierarchy and mentality of the local community.

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Acknowledgement

Anna Székely

DANCE KNOWLEDGE IN THE CURRENT HUNGARIAN FOLK DANCE REVIVAL

Abstract

In this paper, I discuss the importance of dance knowledge and the status of the elder generation in the Hungarian folk dance revival movement. I distinguish several levels of *knowledge*, relevant to the investigated group, as they perceive Hungarian dance traditions. The members may recognize the different dances; some of them know how to do the dances in practice and are aware of the norms and traditions behind the diverse exact dances. The folk dance practitioners have idols and exemplars, who can change from generation to generation. In the first category, the *icons* are the elder villagers – musicians, singers and/or dancers who are considered as the bearers of the authentic folk knowledge. The professional dancers and choreographers who have gained embodied knowledge through practice and local experiences are also considered as authoritative agencies, the second sources of the true folklore for the current Hungarian revival movement. The main goal of the professionals is to transmit the real traditions and to present an authentic Hungarian dance performance on the stage. My research aim is to investigate the impact of these people on the younger groups of the folk music and dance revival movement. How and in what sense do these individuals affect the members of this subculture? How do the folk dance practitioners regard the relation between elder villagers, professionals and the concept of authenticity in the contemporary movement? How does the *knowledge* influence the action of dancing? How does it appear in different contexts? My research is in progress. I use data gathered through personal interviews and participant observations during several fieldwork events.

Keywords: knowledge, revival movement, elder dancers, generations, authenticity, transmission

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In my paper, I discuss the concept of knowledge as related to the Hungarian folk dance revival movement, and the status of the elder generation within that subculture. My research concentrates on the contemporary movement and especially the perspectives of the young members. This paper negotiates the questions: what does dance knowledge mean to that particular group, what do they interpret as dance knowledge, and why has this concept became so essential? My conclusions are based on my observations during several fieldwork events in urban dance houses, competitions, and folk dance-music camps. I also collected information through personal interviews and an online questionnaire.

Field research

My field research is conducted at events and festivals involving Hungarian folk traditions, Transylvanian folk dance-, and music camps. In camps, the participants gather together for a week to learn traditional dances and music from a specific region. They can meet local villagers there who are invited to the camps to perform their own dances within a stage setting. These events include drinking, singing, and dancing, and are occasions for the members of the revival movement to interact with others who share the same interest. The campers can learn something new or deepen their own knowledge of dance in a particular village. These camps are constructed settings with conscious dance teaching. By including the locals, the participants can share an authentic experience in traditional folk dance. When the villagers perform, the practitioners may observe how the dance should be done, according to these authority figures. Beside the camps I am also investigating male dance competitions and the evaluation methods. The competitors have to learn a given dance sequence and perform it for a jury. The judges evaluate how authentic the dancer's performance is according to their previously gathered knowledge, and they give feedback on the competitor's way of performing. The young dancers have to reproduce the movements of the dancer recorded on an archival film, and also to try to meet the jury's expectations. The judges are usually acknowledged choreographers and professional dancers of an earlier generation.

Dance house movement as a subculture

The Hungarian Dance House Movement started in the 1970s in Budapest. It was as an underground action that existed outside of the mainstream society [Urban Dictionary 2002]. It was started by young urban dance groups with an interest in Hungarian traditional culture. The members of these ensembles acquired folk dance forms from experienced choreographers via modern pedagogical methods, or from tradition bearers by imitation and direct observation [UNESCO 2011]. Since then folk dancing has been popular for several generations. I identify the examined community as a subculture because it's different from the mass culture of Hungary. The members are bonded by their common beliefs, mode of thinking, and behaviour [Cohen 1969]. The group that I am looking at is interested in Hungarian folk dance, music, and folk culture in general. The participants participate in events where they can practice folk dance accompanied by traditional live folk music. Community members spend their free time learning folk dances and music usually within groups and ensembles. They take part in cultural events, festivals, and summer camps engaged with folk traditions. Moreover, they also engage online, with their own online magazines, Facebook pages, groups, and so forth [Kacsuk 2012]. In my investigation, I focus on the present movement's younger generation, usually college students and young adults. They are active dancers who practice folk dances in groups and who also take part in the aforementioned folk dance competitions, summer camps, and urban dance houses in Budapest.

About dance knowledge

According to Adrienne Kaeppler, kinetic knowledge of structured movement systems occurs in all known human societies. These systems of knowledge are products and processes of actions and interactions among groups who are constructed socially

and culturally [Kaeppler 1990:309 cited in Felföldi 2002:14]. Dance knowledge can be defined conscious and sometimes unconscious, according to Anca Giurchescu. Dance exists in the dancer's body and mind and it is represented holistically. It includes the mental, emotional, and kinaesthetic images from the dancers' previous experiences [Giurchescu 1987:23 cited in Felföldi 2002:14]. Felföldi also describes the concept of dance knowledge, which includes all the information about dance as well as the *know-how* of dancing, which are preserved in the memory of the dancers and become manifested in schemes, patterns, and logical constructions [Felföldi 2002:16]. In connection with body practice and (cultural) memory, Paul Connerton distinguishes two modes of social practice: incorporating and inscribing practices. In the first case, dance is transmitted by kinetic, bodily practice through social activity, while in the second case it is passed on through documentary/documentation, photography, videos, films, notations, and computer images, or sometimes even via verbal descriptions as well [Connerton 1989 cited in Buckland 1995]. According to these definitions, dance knowledge is connected to body practices, memory, and interactions in their cultural environment. Knowledge can be considered as tacit, embodied, practical, or described by other words as skill or talent. This term has different levels. I distinguish various forms of it in the investigated group on the basis of how they perceive Hungarian dance traditions.

In my paper, I investigate the concept of knowledge from the points of view of my examined groups. It depends on many things: such as how much a person is involved in that subculture: how long s/he has practiced dance, since when has s/he been a member of a particular group, what is his/her status in the group. Although these questions need more and deeper research. According to my observations, some members recognize the various kinds of dances and distinguish the diverse dance types. Some of them know *how* to perform the dances in practice, they know the given structure and pattern, while many of them are *aware* of the norms and traditions behind the diverse exact dance cultures, which is important in the process of representation of folk dances on stage. We can distinguish a range of levels of knowledge, progressing from more elementary to more sophisticated.

The role of the individual in the subculture depends on the quality of dance knowledge. This leads to the issue of transmission of dance within and between generations.

Transmission of knowledge through generations

Transmission means to pass something on [Nilsson 1991], in this case, knowledge of dancing. Dance knowledge can be transmitted in several ways between the generations of the Hungarian revival movement. I distinguish three categories of transmission, based on the means through which the dancers learned or are learning Hungarian folk dances. I associate the revival movement generations somewhat in accordance with the way they learned the dances. In the first category, I place the elder villagers who may be musicians, singers, and/or dancers, and who are considered as the bearers of the authentic folk knowledge, because they have learned the dances in traditional settings. As an example, in the original context, male dances were acquired by young male children through games. The young boys usually asked old expert dancers to teach them the movements. Dances were traditionally transmitted through games and learning from outstanding dancers [Martin 2009]. I situate the contemporary professional, trained dancers and choreographers into a second

category.[1] They gained embodied knowledge through (mainly) practice and personal experience related to folk-tourism. Urban folk dancers usually went to villages to meet with locals to discover traditional dances in an empirical way. They attended weddings, locally organized dance houses, and other social events that included customs, dances, and local people to whom the dancers could join. Sometimes they made amateur recordings and used their experiences for choreographing [Stein and Varga 2010]. Younger urban revival dancers also consider the professional dancers as authorities, like secondary sources of the true folklore for the current Hungarian revival movement. The transmission of the real traditions is the main goal of the professionals. The purpose is to present an authentic Hungarian dance performance on the stage. The young generation, as the third category, acquires dances by conscious learning in groups, workshops, or in camps. The pupils follow the instructions of dance teachers who also obtained their knowledge from university education, archive films, and personal encounters. In several situations, young revivalists can also meet peasant villager dancers and learn from them.

Dancing idols

My hypothesis is that, like many other groups, Hungarian folk dance practitioners have idols and exemplars. They are different from generation to generation. According to my observations, the members of the second category, professionals and acknowledged choreographers show the most admiration for the elder villagers. They respect the peasant dancers' knowledge of dance and folklore, and their lifestyle, history, and cultural background. They regard the tradition bearers as authentic authorities in the field of folk culture. They also stand as the sources of the "genuine, traditional, original, real, and authentic" folk tradition. This impression is reinforced by personal encounters and common experiences at dance events. Extensive Hungarian dance folkloristic collections make the village dancers' practical knowledge and repertoire available, and these materials stand as benchmarks. Even if the individual dancers are no longer alive, the recordings preserve their dance knowledge and ability. The video recordings have an essential role in the folk dance revival movement because the practitioners acquire the movements based on them, and the movements that have been recorded are regarded as authentic cultural phenomena. The professionals evaluate stage dances according to these videos, which revivalists consider as standard reference points of genuine folklore.[2]

The younger urban generation of dancers considers the professionals as their main models. The professionals have already achieved fame in their field, which is recognized by the younger generation. They stand as exemplars for the youth. In addition, even the elder villagers make a considerable impact on young dancers.[3]

As an example of this admiration, I analyze a YouTube video edited by a professional folk dancer. István Mátyás *Mundruc* (1911–1977) was a Hungarian peasant dancer from Magyarvista (Viştea, Romania). György Martin wrote a monograph about him, including a information about his dance life, how he learned and practiced the *legényes* solo male dance [Martin 2004]. *Mundruc* referred by his nickname, is a

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1   I consider the professionals as people whose profession is to be an official dancer or choreographer.
2   The issue of these recordings is another part of my research.
3   It is also important to consider how the elders' status is defined in general in current Hungarian society.

well-known dancing individual in the Hungarian revival movement. He was recorded several times during his lifetime. More than thirty videos are on the *Knowledge Base of Traditional Dances* database [Fügedi 2007–2017]. A famous recording was made in Budapest, at the Buda Castle in 1967. The male dancers of the Hungarian National Dance Ensemble created a recording where they performed the same movements that *Mundruc* had performed. The video shows clips from the original collection. *Munduc* also appears as a hologram who dances with the professional dancers. The title of the video is: *In memory of Mundruc*. That was made to honour the peasant dancer and to demonstrate an appreciation of the *legényes* folk dance [Sánta 2015].

Conclusion

In this paper, I identified three subgroups within the current Hungarian revival movement in connection with the notion of dance knowledge. I am examining these groups during my Ph.D. studies. In my following research, I am going to study the impact of the elder generation on the younger one and vice versa, by focusing how the members of the latter subgroup perceive themselves within the revival movement. My position in the research can be defined as a mediator between the subgroups because I have access to all three of them. The main research question is about authenticity, and what this concept means to the aforementioned generations. Why has it become an essential concern of the staged folk dance movement, and how does it appear in urban settings such as from the subcultures everyday life to the dance house practice. In the future, I will examine these groups' motivations for acquiring this folk knowledge. How can they profit from that knowledge beyond the stage?

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REVISED ABSTRACTS

Selena Rakočević

DANCE AND POLITICS: ETHNOCHOREOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN POST-SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

In the former Yugoslavia republics, as it is the case in most Southeastern European countries, the beginnings of ethnochoreology as an independent scholarly discipline was inextricably linked with the state institutions of socialist regimes after World War II and was consequently sponsored under the ideological constraints of the ruling political systems. After the collapse of the socialist regimes which caused broad social and cultural transformations, ethnochoreology generally continued to be linked with state institutions (universities and research institutes), but at the same time has been subject to extensive remodeling, including disciplinary orientations, methodological approaches, applicable domains of professional activities, and potential broadening of available financial resources for research and work. Since all of the institutions and organizations where ethnochoreologists work in each of republics of former Yugoslavia are financially supported by the State through the funds of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development and/or Ministry of Culture, the position of scholars and researchers appear to be contradictory in many ways.

This presentation explores the views of many individual dance researchers about their professional ethnochoreological work with the aim of understanding the position of ethnochoreology in the post-socialist societies of former Yugoslavia republics from the perspective of the scholars themselves. Based on interviews with colleagues from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, and my own experiences, I compare our attitudes toward the relationships between current political situations in our countries and dance research. Some of questions discussed were: What are the basic standpoints concerning the realities and potentials of our disciplinary relevance within the societies in which we act? How do the political realities we are living in influence the knowledge about dance which we produce in educational, research and applied contexts? What difficulties are we facing? What efforts do we make to increase and widen our relevance in society?

In spite of many differences and peculiarities in educational and research policies in each country of former Yugoslavia, we agreed that generally our professional scenes are very similar. The establishment of the Bologna system in higher education in 2006 influenced the founding of new ethnochoreological courses at various universities in the former Yugoslavia republics which consequently increased the number of graduate students involved in dance research. Due to the ban on employment in many former Yugoslavia republics this tendency appears to be senseless because young dance scholars do not have anywhere to work. Changes in, and widening of, the themes of research and comprehensions of fieldwork, and consequently extensions of methodological orientations toward interdisciplinary permeations,

have marked ethnochoreology in this region in last twenty years. On the other hand, even though these new tendencies open up our minds and widen up our field, nationally oriented themes in scholarly research are still very much favored by the state officials in each country, but also the wider communities. Since all of the new tendencies in dance research are supported or even dictated by the state, educational and research aspects of ethnochoreology in the former Yugoslavia republics appear to be contradictory in many aspects.

Sándor VARGA

THE IMPACT OF THE HUNGARIAN AND ROMANIAN REVIVAL ON DANCE TRADITIONS OF VILLAGES IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN PLAIN

In this paper I will discuss two examples of ethnic-national dance attribution in the Transylvanian Plain-region (Hungarian: Mezőség, Romanian: Câmpia Transilvaniei) in Romania, that well illustrate the complex political entanglements of dance knowledge and practice.

Case study: The *târnăvăeană* and the *korcsos*
Monitoring the changes happening to the *korcsos* (Hungarian term) vs. *târnăvăeană* (Romanian term) dances with regard to form, proxemics, and meaning, allows us to reveal more clearly the connections between the phenomenon and the politically influenced revival movement.

The Romanian revival, which emerged in Transylvania after the WWI and encourages unified stage performances, left its mark on the formal characteristics of a certain dance which was known in the *Târnava / Küküllő* Region by the name: *ponturile*.

This slow male dance from *Târnava / Küküllő* Region appeared in the Transylvanian Plain by the mediation of the Romanians and the Gypsies. This in the same period (1950s) when the original, local slow male dances disappeared. The new dance was called *târnăvăeană* (lit. from *Târnava* / Küküllő Region). The strictly regulated nature of how to use space, and the fixed order of motifs suggest strong influence from the revival. When dancing *târnăvăeană* in groups, the dancers were so aimed at synchronizing the motifs, when someone deviated from the others, he stopped and had a short break to catch up with the other dancers.

A precise understanding by scholars and revivalists of the foregoing processes has been hampered by a number of confusions:

1. The accompanying music for the *târnăvăeană* arrived to the Transylvanian Plain approximately 15 years sooner than the male dance itself. Local couple dance motifs were first danced to this new music. This music began to be applied to the male dance from the 1950s. Consequently, *târnăvăeană* has both couple and solo variants.

2. The *târnăvăeană* was recorded several times as *ritka magyar* (lit. slow Hungarian) during fieldwork by Hungarian folklorists. They painted a misleading picture implying that the locals considered this dance to be Hungarian, while its Romanian origin is clearly confirmed by the local informants of the Transylvanian Plain.

3. The term *korcsos*, adopted and propagated by the Hungarian folkdance movement, became very popular. The dance appeared in stage performances of both countries, and was incorporated into the national identity of all people concerned, that is, the dancers, the musicians, and the audience. This

perception has managed to infiltrate even into academic circles starting in the 1970s, adding further to the confusion over this term and the ethnic origin of this dance form.

The Hungarian and Romanian revival movements each continue to consider this dance to be Hungarian or Romanian respectively. Moving from the traditional context into the revival scene, *târnăvăeană* has undergone some changes in terms of function and meaning: The dance has now acquired a political connotation, and the dance acts as an ethnic marker among both the local Hungarians and the Romanians. This phenomenon is exemplified by the fact that the Hungarians living in the Transylvanian Plain and the Gypsy musicians have begun using the term *korcsos* more consistently, as a result of their communication with those who are interested in Hungarian folk-tourism. In the meantime, it is evident that this piece of their traditional dance culture, which is about to vanish, has become more precious and is increasingly regarded as a tradition to be preserved.

Changes in *târnăvăeană / korcsos* are completely in line with the political ideologies that characterize the Hungarian and Romanian folk dance movements. The rising number of festivals and their increasing presence in the media prove that the current government(s) employ(s) folklore not only for community-building and developing the creative output of folk artists, but makes use of it for intense propaganda activities. This is framed by political intentions sweeping into cultural management which, on both sides, often derives from ideologies against the other nation. These interventions are in direct opposition with the interethnic character of the local dance tradition which provides the foundations and breeding ground for the diversity of dance and music culture in this region.

Acknowledgement

Kendra STEPPUTAT

RESTRICTED PARTICIPATION IN A PARTICIPATORY DANCE – TANGO ARGENTINO AND ITS ELITE STRUCTURE POLITICS

Socially danced *tango argentino* is a participatory dance culture, practiced in many urban areas all over the world. Tango dancers meet to dance tango at *milongas* (dance evenings), which are events without an audience or any staged performances. Everybody present is there for dancing, partners change regularly throughout an evening, and everyone deemed capable of dancing tango can participate.

Yet, that the dance is participatory does not mean that participation in a *milonga* is granted to everybody, or that every participant at a *milonga* has the same dance opportunities. Reasons for restricted participation are manifold: for instance, experienced dancers often avoid dancing with beginners unless they are their students. Tango dance teachers and their entourages might not dance with competing teachers and their disciples. In addition, closed tango dance events (*encuentros*), where access is granted by invitation only, exclude dancers who do not qualify in terms of skill, style, degree of scene integration, and so forth. Such restrictions as these, as well as other intrinsic rules, shape the tango community in general, engender and confirm social hierarchies, and at the same time determine what are considered to be "appropriate" behavior patterns at *milongas*.

I demonstrate how social hierarchies and politics in a tango community – in particular those causing restricted participation on both local and translocal level – are mirrored in the spatial organization of a tango dance event. This approach is used to exemplify how social hierarchies and politics translate into behavior at a *milonga*, and how in turn social interactions at such a dance event manifest hierarchical structures. Additionally, I show that by re-arranging the spatial organization of a dance event, it is actually possible to undermine existing behavior and hierarchical structures, counteracting some of the existing restrictive rules.

ABSTRACTS
30ᵗʰ Symposium presenters without submitted papers

ALGE, Barbara
Politics of Place and Ethnicity in São Tomé through Dance
This paper looks at discourses and bodily representations of place and ethnicity in dances from the West-African archipelago of São Tomé and Príncipe, which was under Portuguese colonial rule until 1975. The Santomense society is divided along ethnic groups, communities and places: the *forros* are descendants of freed slaves, the *angolares* are descendants of people who were brought as slaves and contract workers from Angola, the *mozambicanos* are descendants of people who were brought as slaves and contract workers from Mozambique, the *tonga* are of mixed *forro-angolar* origin and the *crioullos* are descendants of Cape Verdeans brought as contract workers. The *forros* regard themselves as a class superior to the *angolares,* and it was the *forros* who took over the city of São Tomé, which used to be called the "city of the white", that is, of the European white elite. These ethnic groups have their own cultural expressions, and thus, also dances, which are, in large part, accompanied by texts sung in the language of the respective ethnic group. They – the groups and the dances – are also connected to certain places on the island.

BAKKA, Egil
Balancing Dance as Art and Culture in Education
Modern educational dance as Rudolf Laban presented in Britain in 1947, fundamentally influenced dance education in schools. Laban introduced 16 basic movement themes that "can be seen as composite material. Themes that deal with affiliate partnerships illustrate the answers by contrasting, looking for and moving together" (Maletic 1987:140). The children were given test principles and elements and then used them as devices or principles to create their "own dances". The main focus of dance in school shifted from learning dances that were central to social life. Instead, simple principles that exist in many types of dance were emphasized and children were encouraged to make dances from their own imagination, usually to express feelings.

Dances that have proved their value in society by becoming popular are based on interaction with the music and often require advanced skills. They represent movement skills shared by many community members, and are therefore important as glue in social life. Modern pedagogical dance and similar systems enabled teachers in schools and teacher education to play with simple movements, without relating to the challenge of teaching much more demanding and varied social dances. In Norway so-called creative dance grew on the principles of Modern educational dance. It promoted the idea that having students make up their dances has a higher value than learning ready-made patterns. Schools and higher education embraced this as an ideologically based methodology, supported by artists in "modern dance and contemporary dance."

It meant, however that dance in schools and educations distanced itself radically from the dances used in social life. Does dance education have a responsibility

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It meant, however that dance in schools and educations distanced itself radically from the dances used in social life. Does dance education have a responsibility

to teach dance in a way that promotes dance as a means of social interaction? This feeds into the general questions of how schools evaluate and work with practical skills that have functions in real life.

BJÖRK (former NYANDER), Anna
Gender Structures in Swedish Folk Dance
In the 1970s the Swedish folk revival was closely connected to the political left-wing movement. Folk music and folk dance offered alternatives to commercialism, popular culture and a bourgeois life style. Today in the 21st century, politics has again become evident in the folk music and dance scene. There are many practitioners who take stand for sustainable living and solidarity and they are actively questioning gender norms. In Sweden the gender structures within couple dancing has been changing over time. In earlier days both male and female same-sex dance couples were common, but in the middle of the 20th century men practically stopped dancing together in common dance events. In the beginning of the 1990s this started to change again in parts of the Swedish folk dance context. Nowadays it is not unusual to see two men dancing together, or a woman leading a man in the dance. There are even attempts to remove the leading and following roles and base the couple dance technique on a mutual giving and responding to impulses. To some participants this is about discovering more aspects of the dance, but for others it is a way of performing their gender identity and to consciously challenge the norms. This paper will look at what is going on in the folk dance scene in Sweden right now and discuss how couple dancing today provides space for exploring one's identity.

BUCKLAND, Theresa Jill
'We Tried to Fly!': Corporeal Politics in English Revival Morris Dancing
For much of the twentieth century, Morris dancing in England exhibited the teachings of the folk revivalist pioneer Cecil Sharp, as disseminated through the English Folk Dance and Song Society and the Morris Ring. By the early 1970s, this latter organisation of male Morris teams, founded in 1934, appeared increasingly removed in its thinking and style of performing the Morris from that desired by young recruits. Many new dancers emerged from the post-World War II left-wing folk song movement, from widening access to university education and from a wave of neo-traditionalist commitment to the local, to historicity and to actively challenging the styles of Morris performance now seen as institutionalised by the Society and the Ring.

Distinctive in their slower pace, comparatively exaggerated moves and, above all, virtuosic leaps, these new teams such as Gloucestershire Old Spot Morris Dancers and Berkshire Bedlams, expressed youthful exuberance in opposition to the older Ring style, as well as cultivating a deliberate "masculine" style against the new growing phenomenon of women's morris.

My paper examines this radical development through the contemporary embodied politics of performing Morris dancing, the call to return to "the tradition", and new drivers in recruitment and transformation of this centuries- old English custom.

ČERNÍČKOVÁ, Kateřina
Dancing Through or Despite Politics? Narratives in the Process of Understanding Socio-Cultural and Political Circumstances of Cultural Activities

Political changes in Czechoslovakia after World War II, especially following February 1948, when the Czechoslovak Communist Party gained absolute power, meant a significant breakpoint within the life of the entire society. The reconstruction of the political system was pursued by the Communist establishment together with the fastest transformation of all the components forming the cultural and political life. Issues relevant to conscious manipulation with events primarily connected with the traditional culture or any specific dance expression represent a complex full of internal disputes and paradoxes. With the traditional culture on one end – mainly its selected elements – abused to accomplish political objectives, with a significant support to maintain further still prevailing events on another end, or these are becoming an impulse for resurrection of those that have already vanished. Traditional dance has become the most supported component of folk art after the year 1948. The reasons for that were clearly ideological and the significant outcome from this ideological pressure was a vast number of folklore ensembles; some of those still existing nowadays.

The investigation is based on narratives, which occur within interviews with those who were members of folklore ensembles in different periods of the so-called folklore movement. Their own experiences with former ideology, how do they personally reflect about dance and politics will be the main question of the contribution. This material represents one of the important starting points on the way to discover and understand specific characteristics of the folklore movement in socio-political context.

CIMARDI, Linda
Polycentric Powers and Multiple Strategies of Representation in Dances from Western Uganda

In the multicultural context of present Uganda, performative arts are central in the dynamic process of defining, negotiating and manipulating ethnicities and identities. Since the source of power is not unique but polycentric, i.e. national, regional and local, the strategies involved in the process of ethnic representation – a central issue in the construction of postcolonial identities – are multiple.

This paper focuses on the dances of Western Uganda and in particular from the areas of Bunyoro and Tooro, i.e. *makondeere* and *runyege* dances, contextualizing the present performances in their main venues. These are the Mpango annual celebration of the kingdom, the institution which today symbolizes Nyoro and Tooro ethnicities, and the National Schools' Festival, an articulated contest in which all schools participate up to the final selection in the capital city. Both these events entail local and national interests and powers working for elaborating identities in a struggle for recognition, as well as, on a political level, for access to resources. Different policies and politics of representation mark the contemporary performances of these two dances, although they have different historical roots, i.e. *makondeere* has royal and aristocratic origins and *runyege* is connected to village parties. Their relevance in the present discourse for ethnicity acknowledgement in Uganda, as well as the political strategies they articulate, are discussed in the paper through the interpretation

of the venues in which these repertoires are performed, the values connected to them, the actors and audience participation and the performance style.

CHAO, Chi-Fang
Re-embodiment of Obedience? The Politics in the Contemporary Okinawan Cultural Performance of *Shurijosai*

Continuing my research on Okinawan rituals and performing arts, this presentation is the primary study of a recently invented Okinawan cultural performance – the *Shurijosai*, "Ceremony of Shuri Castle," which intends to re-present the historical context of Chinese ambassadors' coronation of the Ryukyu kings that literally nurtured the classical genres of performing arts in the latter's Kingdom period (1429–1879), including music, dance, and drama. The reconstruction and presentation of *Shurijosai*, however, has provoked more complicated issues framed within the contemporary political reality that Okinawa has been situated: in the past five hundred years, the Ryukyu Kingdom enjoyed certain degree of autonomy but had to pay tributes to China first and later to Japan as well, before it was eventually annexed and dominated by Japan until today. The Chinese–Japanese influences are well reflected in the performing arts, and the uniqueness of 'Okinawa-ness' has been believed to grow. The seemingly peaceful 'Okinawa-ness' or Okinawan subjectivity, however, was challenged severely when the chosen performers of Ryukyuan Kings and Officers performed the ritual of kneeling and bowing to the performers of Chinese ambassadors. I will describe this contemporary cultural performance, and analyze how the Kingdom's body, as a political symbol, has been interpreted and even influenced the meaning of classical genre of music and dance.

CHANTA-MARTIN, Natasa
"Cramming" Your Way through Dance: a Matter of Legitimacy or Power Relations

A main issue while conducting fieldwork in southwest Nigeria, became the perception of Yoruba dancing from the older generation professors, and the conflicts it can generate when being associated with power relations of a teaching environment. The dancing youth claims that elder dancers cannot adapt to the forms that Yoruba dance has taken nowadays, so they teach what they were taught without accepting the newer changes the dance form has gone through. The older dancing generation respond to this as a "*bastardisation*" of Yoruba art, and accuse young dancers of only knowing how to "cram" dance movements. Moreover, after learning everything in a very structured form, they are unable to change their dance style and they result in performing the same dance movements to unrelated music, while also lacking meaning and knowledge of what they are actually dancing. The elders claim that these facts are related to the influence of "westernization" in Nigeria along with the predominance of the English language. The latter results in the youth neglecting Yoruba language and therefore, not being able to dance to what the talking drums are saying, apart from what they have "crammed" from other styles they use for inspiration. All the above shift when a young dance researcher gathers everyone in the same room.

DAVID, Ann R.

Colonial Legacies or Innovative Performances? Indian Dancer Ram Gopal's International Productions of the 1930s-50s

Described as being "one of the most resplendent figures who have ever appeared on the London stage" (Daily Telegraph 1939), Indian dancer Ram Gopal seduced European audiences and critics with his performances in the UK, in Europe and the USA in the 1930s–1950s. How did his Indian/Burmese dancing body perform the legacies he inherited from the devadasis and the new nationalistic form of *bharatanatyam* that was being developed, and how much was he a catalyst for change? What were the cultural and bodily politics of such staged events that emerged out of the realm of royal patronage into the domain of powerful and commercial impressarios, such as Sol Hurok and others? This paper investigates Gopal's career in the light of pre- and post-war emergent politics as he brought versions of classical Indian dance to new audiences, and looks to complicate the type of rapturous reception he received. It questions the complex politics of identity of the Indian dancing male against a backdrop of political upheaval and radical cultural change in India at that time, as well as the cultural politics of colonialism and transnationalism.

DOLININA, Kristina

Classical Indian Dance *Kathak*: The Issues of Representation and Domination

Kathak is one of the classical dance styles, originated from North Central Indian performative traditions, developed under various historical conditions and now practised all over the country and beyond. It was revived, institutionalised, nationalised and sanitised along with the other music and dance forms in the processes of freedom movement, while searching for authenticity and national identity in the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century. The dance is now represented by few "chosen" hereditary performers and their narrative entirety, leaving behind unsuitable traditions, marginalised in the turns and twists of cultural politics, power and status shifts.

This study aims to look closer into the map of hereditary and non-hereditary, urban and rural performing communities, giving more attention to peripheral traditions, which are away from centre of domination. The self representation and living stories of performers, their activities and places have major importance in creating *kathak* community's memory ethnography. These living narratives may differ from still very vivid "dominant narrative", which was established along with revived *kathak* recently and still is carried along by most of dancers and critics ("dominant narrative" was scrutinised in details by Pallabi Chakravorty in her study "Bells of Change"). The objective of this study is to go further in challenging this "dominant narrative" as passive, static, unwilling to develop and change, clinging to concepts of "authenticity" and "elitism" and oppose it by living and flourishing traditions, often crossing the lines of *gharānā* or doubting established movement vocabulary and content.

The presentation will be based on the fieldwork, to be conducted from December 2017 to April 2018 in various *kathak* communities in central northern territories of India and would blend different anthropological and ethnomusicological approaches. My own dancing experience (over 10 years of study and dancing in India) justifies phenomenological approach towards the subject.

FELFÖLDI, László
If the 'Spirit' Passes Away: Role of Enthusiasm in Dancers' Life
During my career as a researcher I met several elderly people in the local communities who refused to dance because of the lack of wish. They told: "I cannot dance already, the 'feeling' (in Hungarian *érzés*) has passed away." I was /am curious about what this "feeling" means. Does it have something to do with such concepts of psychology as "passion", "enthusiasm", "emotions" or "flow"? It seems, each of them have some field of meaning, common with the idea of "feeling". I did not stop at this point, I began to ask younger people and observe dancers who show the signs of such 'emotional rapture' while dancing. I began to guess that it is a kind of learnt behaviour having close relationship with changing bodily abilities and social relations conditioned by thorough learning, long practice, strong commitment, motivation, delight and positive momentary disposition of the dancer. By that way, I judged it as a relevant theme for a symposium presentation in the framework of the Topic No2, Dance and Age. The aim of my presentation is to give a short summary of a research material having been accumulated for several years and completed with some new research in local communities and in urban dance house context. I tried to interpret the material in the light of the relevant applied psychological literature (mainly Mihály Csíkszentmihályi) and of dance anthropology (mainly Hanna Lynne). My main questions to be answered: How to conceptualize the "feeling for dance" as a kind of motivation for dancing? How does it come into being and change through the dancers' lifelong practice? How is it manifested while dancing in and out of a dance event? How is it controlled by the dancing community and the moral norms of the wider society?

FÜGEDI, János
Simultaneous Events, Synchronous Themes: A Comparative Content Analysis of Traditional Dance
Former investigations show that linguistic and musicological models, selected as frame concepts for dance analysis, limit discovering the conceptual richness of dance creation in East-Central European traditional dances. The presentation with its newly formulated analytical means intends to shed light on the process of motif creation and to discover spatial contexts, mechanisms of dance *thinking*. Through moving picture and notated examples, it offers a new look at the smallest units of dance movement, different from the temporal segmentation applied formerly. Interpreting movement as change and focusing on its content, the notion of distinct events is introduced to reveal the potential of their simultaneous appearance while a single movement is performed. Event sequences of the same genre that may form separate, but also synchronous themes with expressive spatial content are discussed in detail. Notions of themes of movements will also be introduced – they are independent from the concept of motif; their independence contradicts the criteria that has been established for motif determination until today: regarding the motif as the smallest expressive unit of dance structure. The event-theme theory is considered evidence that dance movements follow and are capable of forms of expression which cannot be approached by methods stemming from fields investigating their subjects formulated by essentially static elements such as musical or speech sounds. The exceptional complexity of a single movement, the apparently corresponding

parts performed by sections of the body or by the whole body as temporal–parallel structures may also enlighten the difficulties to apprehend forms of non-discursive, expressive dance.

GRUBER, Cornelia
The Emotional Labour of Dancing: Negotiations of Gender, Age and Ancestral Affiliation
In various contexts in the Southwest of Madagascar, women perform most forms of emotional labour. Elder women sing songs of mourning and dance in order to heighten the spirits of all participants during mortuary ceremonies; women of all ages support and encourage the ill during dance healing ceremonies, and the dancing of female mothers during circumcision ceremonies creates an atmosphere of happiness and joy. In this paper, the relationship between family affiliation, age, and gender will be discussed as it is performed in various spaces of participatory dancing. These spaces often differ from those in which the negotiation of societal hierarchies in everyday life take place; in particular in formal political spaces that are generated through male verbality and embodied stillness (i.e. lack of movement) rather than dynamic interaction and direct contact. An analysis of various dance spaces and the relational implications of the participants and those who frame them will be the topic of this paper. Their gendered, aged and ancestral positionality toward one another is therein always situational and performative. Not only expressing but reproducing relational positions. I will examine how these negotiations of hierarchies through participatory dancing differ in relation to everyday life, and how this agency through the emotional labour of dancing is strategically applied in gender politics.

IOSIF SÎRBU, Corina
The Effects of Romanian Media Policy on 'Folk Dance and Musical Heritage'
After the fall of communism, the forms and genres of its mass culture were decoupled from the ideology of the one-party state and, thanks to the popularity they had gained, they became available for recycling under the new market conditions. Certain types of public performance, initially conceived of as "socialist", and which drew upon "folklore" and "national traditions", changed their function: after 1990, they became vehicles of media entertainment. Their structure combines the *pre-existing models* of folklore entertainment with the *new formats* of media products. Their popularity with audiences and, in fact, certain segments of society, has not only been reinvigorated, but has also increased thanks to the reproduction of a certain category of audience. The usages of these new entertainment forms can be understood only by setting out from an analysis of their origins, of the mechanisms and processes which, in Romania, characterised the simultaneous development of the political programme of mass culture as well as the field of media culture.

KÖNCZEI, Csilla
Ideological Foundations of Romanian and Hungarian Cultural Policies towards "Folk Dance and Musical Heritage"
The lively popular performing practice of rural local communities in Eastern Europe became subjected relatively late by the political elites, being in search for bricks to construct imagined communities for the new national states in formation. The

tradition of over-politicization of the so called folk culture continues today, finding new meanings in the kitchendom of placing cultural goods on the global market as national products. Authenticity, as a supreme value, remains at stake in representing ancient traditions almost a hundred of years after Béla Bartók, one of the leading personalities founding both Hungarian and Romanian ethnomusicology, used the motto "From pure sources only!" in the last line of the text of *Cantata profana*, which was inspired by Romanian archaic Christmas carols, intermixed with Hungarian myths of origin. During the 20th century, passing through different political regimes, ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists were supposed to take an active role in the forming and functioning of cultural policies, entering in the role of guardians of quality, thus contributing to the control of state-sponsored cultural production in Romania and Hungary as well, with different accents. How modernist ideological foundations still influence the dominant discourses on traditional music and dance in a glocalized Eastern Europe is the main question put here.

MÆLAND, Siri
Is It Relevant to Bring Practical Dance Knowledge into Speech?

In today's Norwegian political climate, practical knowledge seems devaluated. A slow change has happened in the school curriculum towards emphasising the skills of reading, writing, calculation, verbal and digital skills over practical and aesthetical skills. Philosopher Kimerer L. LaMothe claims this to be a "materialist" paradigm. In this paradigm to know "is to have a true and certain purchase of what is real" (LaMothe 2015:62): "In sum, in a materialist program, where knowledge about matter that matters is knowledge that can be written down and where knowledge that can be written down is knowledge about matter that matters, [...]" (LaMothe 2015:64). The privilege of the sight, over our other senses in Western societies and scholarship is also of concern by scholars from "the anthropology of the senses" (Classen 1997, Howes 1991). Researching practical dance knowledge is of concern for many dance scholars, and particular within Ethnochoreology. In my current PhD research, I have used the explicitation interview technique (Vermersch 2009) to let the dancers themselves bring their "knowledge-in-dancing" into speech. In this paper I will test the statement that the knowledge the PhD brings may add as much to the overall question of what is knowledge, than to bring knew knowledge about dancing. From the point of view of my fieldwork in a particular dancing community in Norway, I will discuss the relevance, the pro and cons of making practical knowledge into spoken and written knowledge to fit into a "materialist" paradigm that may or may not empower the very practical knowledge.

NATALI, Cristiana
Choreographic Practices and Commemoration of the Dead: A Case Study from the Tamil Diaspora

The paper explores the challenges faced by a separatist movement in Sri Lanka in introducing a new vocabulary for their political dance performances.

The LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) were a military group active in Sri Lanka from 1976 and defeated by the government army in May 2009. Every year LTTE supporters commemorate the dead Tigers in public ceremonies held all over the world.

Whereas in Sri Lanka, before the defeat, the ceremonies used to take place in the Tigers' war cemeteries, in diaspora countries the settings for the celebrations have become public places such as theatres, sports centres, schools and public halls. Dance performances, particularly of *bharatanatyam*, a South Indian style, play an essential role in these Diaspora ceremonies since they are the means of remembering the heroes' deeds on stage. Nevertheless, *bharatanatyam* is a classical dance style that springs from an ancient religious matrix and is not a dance conceived to recount a contemporary conflict. What we today call *bharatanatyam* is in fact a dance form codified in the twentieth century that draws on a previous form known as sadir, traditionally performed in temples.

For this reason, in order to stage the war events, new gestures (*mudras*), developed from the classical ones, have been invented to convey new "words" such as helicopter, bomb and gun.

These choreographies show the fighters' sacrifice and honour their memory. At the same time, as Janet O'Shea shows when discussing the work of the Toronto-based choreographer Vasu, they constitute "a means of demonstrating the need for a separate nation-state based on linguistic and ethnic commonality" (2007:102).

NI BHRIAIN, Orfhlaith
Irish Social Dance for Health and Wellbeing in Older Adults

Maintaining and/or improving physical capacity and performance have been shown to help improve everyday independence and functional ability across the lifespan (Kattenstroth et al 2011). Although long-term participation in physical activity can help maintain and improve balance, mobility and functional performance, no prior study has examined if Irish social dance is feasible and acceptable for older adults in Ireland. Irish social dancing may help improve balance, emotional wellbeing and offer an enjoyable social outlet for older adults.

The ageing process is associated with a natural decline in balance, mobility and physical fitness (Ferrufino et al 2011; Kattenstroth et al 2010). With the increasing number of older adults in our population, there is a great need to develop strategies that can help slow the progressive decline in physical performance associated with ageing (Denkinger et al 2010). Irish social dancing is a popular and traditional dance type associated with Irish culture.

The aim of this study was to determine the feasibility and acceptability of Irish social dance in older adults. It sought to understand the barriers and enablers to social dance in older adults through focus groups, as well as to understand the benefits of social dance as perceived by older adults

This study involved two stages: a qualitative investigation consisting of focus groups with regular older Irish social dancers and non-dancers, and an examination of the feasibility and safety of an Irish social dance class for older non-dancers.

Participants were recruited from book clubs, arts and crafts groups and men's sheds in Munster. Focus groups were held to establish attitudes of the participants to Irish social dance. A dance intervention was then held over a period of 8 weeks. This paper documents the research project in detail and investigates the benefits of Irish social dance for older adults.

ÖZBILGIN, Mehmet Öcal
The Phenomenon of Age in Western Anatolia Local Dance Culture in Turkey
Age is an important element in traditional dance in Turkey. In particular, the concept of dancing in a specific order depending on age signifies certain value systems that vary between local societies. In these cases, age that contains a biological "truth" is transformed into a fluid and dynamic form in the bodily discourse of the social structure according to the changing age of the dancer. More specifically, during their life cycle, children, teenagers, adults and elderly people perform different tasks in traditional dance contexts. While the individual is presenting his/her own way through dancing, he/she also demonstrates the expectations of the position in the society to which he/she belongs. For this reason, age-related dance information, such as expectations of dance skills in local dance cultures, relationships between certain age groups, traditional manners of dance, or transmission of dance knowledge among generations, facilitate the understanding of the social relationship between the individual and society. Therefore, to observe dancing longitudinally over time and across dancing generations provides important information that explains how and why traditional dance contexts are created. This paper will introduce age-related "male village room institutions" that continue to exist in Anatolia. The function of these institutions in traditional dance culture will be discussed using the example of the village of Izmir-Bergama-Kozluca. Drawing on field research carried out in 2010, this presentation will include qualitative description based on participatory observation and information obtained through oral history studies regarding the traditional dance environments organised by the various age groups. This paper will explore the relations between individuals and society in the different age groups within traditional dance contexts.

QUIGLEY, Colin
Transylvanian Traditional Folk Representations on the Level of the Global Cultural Market
Contributors to this panel bring differently positioned perspectives to a collective examination of the politics of danced and musicked identity in Transylvania. The multi-level overlapping fields within which traditional music and dance is located includes international and global systems of cultural practice, management, and knowledge production. Throughout his writing on music and dance in this region over the last two decades, Quigley has endeavoured to provide a voice perhaps less mired in sometimes overwhelming legacies than some others. Working from a North American/Western European position, his might be seen as the most 'outsider' perspective in this project, but, in a sense, it is international, globalised, and networked practice that constitutes his home ground. So called world music is an important field of cultural production operating at this level within which some of the more local patterns of power are destabilised. The representation of traditional music and dance as Gypsy, for example, here becomes a positive vector at odds with its negative sense within national perspectives. This contrast generates a shifting dynamic among global, national, and local interactions.

RANISAVLJEVIĆ, Zdravko and RAŠIĆ, Miloš
Serbian *Kolo* and Politics

Kolo is a dance that sublimates the fundamental genre characteristics of *kolo in three*, the most prevalent dance genre in the former dance practice of Serbia. In current practice this dance involves mass performance and a keen awareness of the community about its national meaning. *Kolo*'s acquired national meaning is the result of the immense popularity the genre once enjoyed, especially among the Serbian population on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, but also of the theoretical interpretations of this phenomenon in Serbian science in the 20th and 21st centuries. The expansion of dances of the *kolo in three* genre is generally linked with the national connotation of the cultural space of Central Serbia, where the largest number of individual versions was registered in the 20th century.

In the 21st century, when the politics of identity are gaining ground on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, *kolo* acquires a hybrid national meaning in Serbian daily political life. The performing of this dance by athletes, politicians and other public figures is directly linked with nationality, with the customary addition of the prefix Serbian (*kolo*). In practice, all the ethnic communities that live in Serbia perform *kolo*, either mixing with the Serbs or, frequently in their own ethnic environment. By nominating the *kolo* dance for UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2017, Serbia seeks to represent this dance as the dance of all Serbian citizens. In that regard, one dance, which is interpreted in science as an element that has acquired its meaning among the Serbs, becomes a symbol of Serbia. This paper interprets the phenomenon of constructing nationality through dance, taking into account different politics of knowledge, identity and representation, which have shaped the meaning of *kolo* in Serbia over time.

SARKAR, Urmimala
Choreographing Rehabilitation: Facilitating Reclamation of Agency for Female Survivors of Sexual Violence

The existence of a woman engaged in sex work – whether forced or otherwise – is encased in day to day survival based on being the available body. Hence the body of the survivor already contains an (often violent) history. A survivor is designated as such, after she is either "rescued" from a situation of sexual exploitation and related violence, or voluntarily distances herself from her profession as a sex worker. The recovery process for each survivor, in a country like India, does not get the individual attention that it requires in most cases; instead, she is simply assigned to a recovery programme by the shelter-home or some counsellor overseeing her treatment. Though processes of recovery are not universal in the case of all survivors, I would like to take up some basic embodied processes involving somatic, kinetic and proxemic interventions to facilitate the survivors' journey from the mere act of surviving to recovery through a structured programme of psycho-somatic rehabilitation that helps to build and develop binaries between the past and the present selves. The process facilitates recovery as a process of 'becoming' performed by the subjects individually as they reclaim their agencies over their own bodies. It also aims to create an alternative definition of work for the previously violated body, helping the women claim a socio-political agency in choreographing their own rehabilitation and a life beyond.

This paper highlights recovery workshop processes which use dance and movement therapy. For the survivors, they are completely personal journeys, involving different paces as per individual conditions and vulnerability. The process discussed here is based on a critical analysis of my experience from twenty years of work with a Kolkata based organisation named Kolkata Sanved, which works principally with Dance and Movement Therapy as a tool for recovery from sexual violence and trauma.

SIVKOVA, Mariya
The Choreographic Tradition of the Eastern Districts of the Novgorod Region (Russia) in the Dynamics of Historical Development
In the 20th century, the Russian village has experienced considerable socio-political change and upheaval that directly affected the appearance of the folk dance. First of all, the role of the choreographic component in culture was changed: magical-ritual basis and the original function is still maintained by the early twentieth century, was gradually lost. By the end of the 20th century, the entertainment, aesthetic and communicative side of choreographic practices came to the first place For these reasons, the archaic forms of choreography (roundelays, dance *Kruzhka*) were out of use or were transformed into a more modern form of improvisational dance (couple and solo dances to the tune *Russkogo*, *Semenovna* and etc.) multi-figure dances (*quadrille* "For the four", *lancier*) became popular. In addition, large changes are observed in the field of dance vocabulary: the emancipation of women dance manners, the blurring of gender differences in the dance, the permeation originally male movements in the female dance, etc. This research is based on field material collected in the Novgorod region in 1997.

SÖZER ÖZDEMIR, Sebnem
Politics of Participation in *Sema* as a Source for Theatre in the Works of *Ideogram Arts*
This research looks at the practice of a Turkish–French theatre group (*Ideogram Arts* – Paris), which regards traditional performing arts – music, singing, dances and rituals – from Turkey as main inspirations for their creative work. It focuses mainly on the interpretation of Sufi ritual *Sema* by the group, as they give special importance to this still living Anatolian practice. Being composed of interwoven acts of praying, music, singing, and a specific kind of whirling movement, and therefore being also known as "whirling dervishes dance" in the West, *Sema* is originally designed in the 13th century to guide dervishes to encounter each other in a spiritual way and as a result to encounter and eventually merge with God [Golpinarli 2006]. In line with Sufi tradition, *Ideogram Arts* expresses their aim as initiating performances that are based on the idea of human encounter rather than creating spectacles, of which they criticise as the dominant tendency of contemporary theatre that renders the art of theatre into an object/product. This research analyses the works of the group within the framework of politics of participation in music and dance as defined by Turino (2008), as what the group treasures in *Sema*, as well as prioritises in their creations is the quality of participatory performance in contradistinction to presentational performance. The research questions how a traditional ritual like *Sema* is interpreted today within artistic creation by focusing on how the specificity of participatory performance in this practice inspires novel ways of performing. The study

is particularly based on the fieldwork conducted with *Ideogram Arts* in the summer of 2015 as a part of the PhD dissertation research in Theatre Studies.

STOJILJKOVIĆ, Vesna Bajić
Politics of Creativity and Representation in the Stage Folk Dance in Serbia: The "Art group of the Central House of the Yugoslav Army" and the National Ensemble of Folk dances and Songs "Kolo"

The development of mass culture after World War II was defined as the main goal of official cultural policy which was directed at all social strata in Serbia. The state did not only support economic and social development, but also cultural development. By the end of 1947, more than 400 culture houses were built in villages in order to expand the involvement of amateurs. One of the main goals was to implement state programs based on education and the propaganda of positive norms and values. In such a climate, with the establishment of a number of *amateur cultural–artistic associations* (KUDs) throughout Serbia, the state formed its first professional ensembles in Belgrade. The first was the "Art group of the Central House of the Yugoslav Army" founded in 1947, and the other, the National ensemble of folk dances and songs "Kolo" in 1948. The first one lasted only two years, while the other has a rich history of stage folk dance lasting until now.

The "Yugoslav Army Ensemble" comprised of two different programs: ballet and folklore. The ensemble "Kolo", on the other hand, was devoted only to the representation of folklore aiming to present it in an artistic way, as a contrast to the evolving amateur activities. According to their leading figures, during the first years of their establishment their notable success, various approaches to repertoire introduced questions regarding their politics of representation, knowledge and the dissidence of the first national group. As ensemble "Kolo" continues to exist today, I question how the ensemble has created its politics of representation over the previous seventy years during which Serbia has passed through different state formations? Lastly, this paper will discuss the relations between politics and folk dance choreography with reference to the structural-formal analysis of key choreographies from different periods in Serbia.

STRANDEN, Marit
The Politics of Folk Dance as Cultural Heritage

In Norway, associations between folk music and folk dancing and Nazi values dates back to the Second World War. Nordic folk music was claimed by leading members of the Nazi Party of Germany to be the indigenous voice of the Nazis. Still Norway has a more relaxed use of national symbols like the national flag and traditional costumes compared to other Nordic countries. Today, "Norwegian values" are discussed in a modern multicultural aspect, where some politicians claim these values to be threatened, whereas others want to include the traditions of the indigenous people and minorities into the concept. Recently, the Minister of Cultural Affairs wanted to make a cultural canon to describe Norwegianness like The Danish Culture Canon from 2007 of the greatest, most important works of Denmark's cultural heritage. The idea was argued against by the cultural milieu who claimed the debate included xenophobia and self-righteous nationalism. The Norwegian folk dance milieu is not as affected as the Swedish one though. The wish of right-wing politicians to make

Norwegian heritage a central part of the politics could result in increased funding to the field, but at the same time there is a fear of the folk dance milieu to be ascribed Neo-Nazi values. At the same time, ethnochoreologists ask who will take care of the Norwegian traditions, if not in Norway? Internationally, states making UNESCO lists of selected cultural heritage means selecting some traditions over others, which can be politically problematic. How can the traditions be safeguarded to keep the variations in a global world without being associated with Neo-Nazi values?

THOMPSON, Deborah J.
More than Black and White: Negotiating the Anglocentric Underpinnings of an Appalachian Folk Dance Team
Folk music and dance are embodied expressions of culture that may seem to be innocuous pastimes, but they are often the enactments of deeply held beliefs operating under the radar in the guise of normativity. The power of these folk expressions was well-known and sought-after in the nationalist projects of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Cultural brokers and interventionists in the Appalachian Mountains engaged the power of kinesthetic and sonic bonding when they encouraged certain "appropriate" dances and songs, while banning others they deemed dangerous from their spaces. Berea College and Pine Mountain Settlement School, two important educational institutions in Appalachia, influenced regional and national conversations and curricula beyond mere folk dance to fuel beliefs in the "pure" Anglo-Saxon heritage of a majority-white region. These views have been detrimental especially to African-Americans in the region, reinforcing a belief among blacks and whites alike that Appalachian folk music and dance are somehow only "white" activities. As the leader of a student performance dance team in Berea, Kentucky, I have inherited a century of performing and promoting English and Danish folk dances along with American and Appalachian dance. Our group strives to correct the historic record, but also enjoys the dances familiar to us, and so feel caught between the joy of our practice and criticism of our promoting these "white" activities.

This ethnographic, participant-observer study of a contemporary student folk dance team is informed by many theoretical frameworks discussed by ethnomusicologist Tom Turino in his book, *Music as Social Life*. I employ theories such as Gregory Bateson's ideas of the integrative function of the arts, psychologist Mihály Csíkszentmihályi's concept of *flow*, semiotics, and important distinctions between the value systems of performance versus participatory arts to interrogate the historic and current practices of the Berea College Country Dancers.

URBANAVIČIENĖ, Dalia
Lithuanian Folk Dance and the Politics of Identity during the Soviet and the post-Soviet Times
The aim of this presentation is to analyze the representation of Lithuanian folk dance during the Soviet time (1940, 1945–1989) and the post-Soviet period (since 1990), the relationship between its different representation forms and the ideas of identity and authenticity, as well as the traditional dances in social life. This research was conducted based on *historical comparative* methods (*diachronic* and *synchronous* as well), and partly on *structural analysis* methods.

The following questions were raised:

- Why did staged "folk dances" emerge during the Soviet era in Lithuania?
- What were the main factors influencing the staged "folk dances" during different periods, and how did their ideology and expression of identity change?
- How and why did the folk movement start in Lithuania in 1968, what ideology was it based on, and what role did traditional dance play in it?
- What were typical features to the representation of traditional dance performed by folk ensembles?
- What was the evolution of traditional social dance during the Soviet and the post-Soviet periods, and how did the authorities change their attitude towards such dance?
- What is the significance of current traditional social dance, and why is its identity being questioned? This presentation will be complimented by video examples.

VORA, Urvi

Performing Everyday Infinities at the Wagah-Attari Border

The Wagah-Attari Border Ceremony in the divided region of Punjab stands testament to the presence of Partition in present-day India. Exhibiting a highly choreographed march consisting of high kicks, ludicrous gestures and absurd one-upmanship, this ceremony sees a footfall of over twenty thousand people who watch and participate every single day. The Partition of British India into two countries – India and (East and West) Pakistan in 1947 left behind a trail of undivided resources, fragmented memories and a collection of stories. This ceremony is performed as an attempt to symbolise peace in a region that suffered unprecedented violence in the aftermath of the struggle for Independence. Drawing upon anthropological fieldwork conducted in and around the Wagah-Attari border, I look at the ritualisation of this political performance and its implications for the spectators. This paper specifically deals with the feeling of "being affected" during this ceremony and the factors that go into creating it. It studies and questions the role of hyper-masculinity, propaganda and absurdity to understand the felt-quality of this ceremony. Using participant-observation, informal interviews, movement analysis, and the experiences of being affected, this paper explores the power and dominion of political performances and their disposition in a mass democracy like India.

WENBIN, Yuan

New Dance of *Hakka* Tradition: Research on the Intangible Cultural Heritage Project "Cup Flower" as an Example

The *hakka* ethnic groups spread globally. Belonging to the same root, there are different ways of expression for them in culture. Taking the two big *hakka* regions of mainland China and Taiwan as examples, the different political parties have different policies on culture and arts, and hence influence the directions of development of *hakka* dance. The definition of *hakka* dance is controversial among scholars from both sides of the Taiwan strait. The main questions include: in the *hakka* culture, is there any concrete content and form of dance? If so, how has it been identified? However, in the "hometown" of *hakka*, China, under the guidance of cultural policies, is vigorously developing and preserving *hakka* traditional dance. The proposal of

"Intangible Cultural Heritage" has played a significant role in promoting the inheritance of *hakka* traditional dance. Furthermore, under the influence of the dance competition, *hakka* traditional dance inherits and develops in contemporary society as a "new tradition".

This study explores the following aspects by taking the Intangible cultural heritage project "Bei hua" (the hakka traditional form of dance, whose name comes from sound of porcelain cups knocking each other.) as an example. The author will discuss the following issues: First of all, under the influence of China's political and cultural policies, in what path that the dance has been developed in "hometown" hakka. Secondly, the specific ways of developing traditional hakka dance. Finally, in the process of social development under the influence of political and cultural relationships, what changes of the traditional dance had occurred. The purpose of this study is to reveal how dance can build a sense of identity of hakka people in different regions and promote the development of new traditional dance of hakka, at the same time strive to build related theories of hakka dance development.

Biographies

Barbara Alge is currently visiting professor in ethnomusicology at the Goethe University Frankfurt/Main. From 2009 to 2017 she was junior professor in ethnomusicology at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater Rostock. Her research interests include music and postcolonialism, the Portuguese-speaking world, the dialogue between music pedagogy and ethnomusicology, and, most recently, libraries and archives.

Lily Antzaka-Weis (Lily Evangelia Antzaka) was born and raised in Athens, Greece, and studied Volkskunde (European Ethnology) and Classical Archaeology in Freiburg and Munich, Germany. Her PhD dissertation is on dance in Pogoni, Epirus, Greece. She has conducted field and archival research on dance, clothing, printed popular literature in Southeastern Europe, and organized museum exhibitions and seminars on dance education (especially for the Lyceum Club of Greek Women). She is particularly interested in concepts of identity and historical representations. Since 1978, she is working as a tourist guide in Greece.

Vivien Apjok is an assistant lecturer at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Szeged, Hungary. She is also a study manager and lecturer for the Erasmus+ Joint Master Programme: Choreomundus International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice, and Heritage, as well as a PhD candidate at the Doctoral School of History at the University of Szeged (Topic: ethnology of tourism and agriculture in a Hungarian smalltown). Her scholarly interests include historical anthropology and the anthropological study of tourism (locality, identity, representation, dance, cultural heritage). In addition to educational and scholarly activities, Vivien Apjok is also active in organizational work (dedicated to educational and academic projects). Her latest published paper: *"Makó – Not only Hagyma?": Competing Histories and Narratives of Onion Production and Spa Tourism in a Hungarian Town* in Urban People 2020/2.

Egil Bakka, emeritus professor, built a new institution which is at present the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance located at Norwegian University of Science and Technology, from which he is now retired. In 1989 he was called to become a professor at the Department of Music at this university. He built up a program of Dance studies, and was one of four conveners to establish Choreomundus – International master in Dance Knowledge, Practice, and Heritage. His research interests are particularly traditional dance and includes movement analysis, dance history, ethnochoreology. He is currently engaged in several research programs and book projects.

Josef Bartoš is a PhD student at Academy of Performing Arts in Prague focused on theory (psychological elements of dance) and history (mainly European history after World War II in relation to political context). He is a teacher at Duncan Centre Conservatory in Prague (Dance history and Diploma seminar) and an editorial board member of a Czech on-line magazine *www.tanecniaktuality.cz*.

Anne von Bibra Wharton joined the St. Olaf dance faculty in 1987 after completing her Masters in Dance with a specialization in Ethnology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her master's thesis, entitled *Continuity and Change in the Dance Events of Two Lower-Franconia Villages in the Twentieth Century,* was based on field-work in Germany. Anne is a member of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology and currently serves as its Secretary/Treasurer. Anne's research interests include dance transmission, particularly within Asian–American dance companies, continuity and change in dance events in Germany and the use and misuse of folk-dance in political contexts.

Anna Björk (former Nyander), research archivist in the field of dance at the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, as well as a folk dancer and dance teacher with a degree at DOCH, the School of Dance and Circus in Stockholm, Sweden. Her main interests in research are tradition and identity. She has been a member of the ethnochoreology study group for five years and has presented papers at two symposia of the study group.

Theresa Buckland is Professor of Dance History and Ethnography at the University of Roehampton, London. She has been an active member of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology since 1988 and is a former Honorary Secretary and Vice-Chair. Her chief relevant publications are: *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography* (ed.1999)*, Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities* (ed. 2006), *Society Dancing* (2011), *In Search of Structural Geist: Dance as Regional and National Identity* (2007), *"Th'Owd Pagan Dance"*: Ritual, Enchantment and an Enduring Intellectual Paradigm' (2002) and *Shifting Perspectives on Dance Ethnography* (2011).

Katarina Cernicková Folk dance specialist at the National Information and Consulting Center for Culture in Prague. She organizes scholarly seminars and events focused on folk dance culture. She studied changes in traditional dance culture in contemporary contexts, and participated in the documentation and interpretation of the current state of traditional male dances in Moravia.

Chi-Fang Chao is Associate Professor of the Graduate School of Dance, Taipei National University of the Arts. She has been trained in Anthropology (MA, National Taiwan University) and Dance Studies (Ph. D. University of Surrey). Her academic interests include dance anthropology, dance ethnography, Okinawan study, and indigenous dance theatre. She has published a monograph in Chinese, *Dancing the Culture: the ethnography of Taketomi Island, Okinawa* (2010) and many other articles.

Natasa Chanta-Martin obtained her BA in Sociology from Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences in Athens, and completed her MA at Choreomundus: International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice, and Heritage (2014). Her research interests revolve around the dance, language and other cultural manifestations of the Nigerian Yorùbá people. Apart from fieldwork in Nigeria and Greece, she is researcher for the European Network Against Racism's Shadow Reports on Afrophobia, Racism and Discrimination in the context of Migration in Greece. Natasa

has been involved in ICTM (World Conference, Study Group on Ethnochoreology, and Student and Early Career Researchers Group) since 2014.

Chariton Charitonidis holds a B.Sc. majoring in Greek Traditional Dances from the School of Physical Education and Sport Science (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), where he is an M.A. student in Folklore–Dance Anthropology. He works as a dancer, dance instructor and musician. Research interests include diversity of traditional dance manifestations in different contexts, relation between dance and politics, dance notation and movement analysis.

Linda Cimardi has conducted fieldwork in Uganda between 2008 and 2012 in the context of her MA and PhD research. A chapter of her PhD dissertation is dedicated to *runyege* dance, while she wrote about ethnicity construction through music and dance in a forthcoming paper (Cambridge Scholar Publishing 2017). In 2016 she published a multi-authored book about the music from Bosnian Posavina, where she specifically focused on dance repertoires (*La Posavina canta e piange, vol. II*).

Barbara Čurda trained as an Odissi dancer in India, and completed her PhD entitled *Identity, relational and aesthetic issues in the transmission of Odissi dance in India. The case of an emerging dance school in Bhubaneswar in the State of Orissa* in the anthropology of dance under Georgiana Wierre-Gore. Research interests include anthropology of dance and of bodily practices; social history of dance (20th century, India); analysis of the relations between social organization, pedagogical practices and aesthetics; gender relations; analysis of the transmission of the dance; micro-analysis of lived situations.Member of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology since 2016.

Linda Dankworth was awarded a PhD in Dance Ethnography in 2010 at De Montfort University, Leicester. Dankworth is the joint editor of *Dance Ethnography and Global Perspectives: Identity, Embodiment and Culture* (2014), and has publications in various journals and conference proceedings. Recently she organised and taught the Dance Histories Degree Course at the School of Liberal and Performing Arts at the University of Gloucestershire (2019). Dankworth is currently investigating choreographic collaborations between dancers and painters that bring art and dance together in a temporal space of performance. Dankworth carried out a report of the *30th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology*, *Bulletin of the ICTM.* Vol. 138: October 2018: 28. She undertook a Peer Review for pre-publication of Berghan Books, New York, 2014. From 2004–2007, she taught Performance Studies at the Arts Educational School's 6th Form College in London, and at Westminster Kingsway College (2002–2003). An Assessor for London Arts Dance Unit between 2001–2002 and became a Co-Director of the workshops of the World Folk Dance Festival (WFDF) Palma Mallorca from 2005–2011.

Ann R. David, Head of Department and Reader in Dance Studies at the University of Roehampton, specialises in dance anthropology with a focus on Indian classical and popular dance, and ritual practice. Her dance training includes ballet, contemporary, folk dance, as well as bharatanatyam and kathak. Ann writes on Bollywood dance,

most recently in an edited book on Bollywood star Shahrukh Khan (2015) and is currently working on a monograph of Indian dancer Ram Gopal. She is passionate about the need for the arts and dance in education, working closely with policy makers in the arts and is on the Board of several arts organisations.

Konstantinos Dimopoulos is a PostDoc student in Folklore-Dance Anthropology from the School of Physical Education and Sport Science (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens). He holds a MSc and a PhD in Folklore-Dance Anthropology in the same Department, and also a BSc majoring in Greek Traditional Dance at the same University. He works as a dance instructor. His interests are in dance, in dance anthropology and ethnography, in gender relations and in fieldwork research.

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Kristina Dolinina is a PhD student at the Ethnomusicology Department, Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. The subject of her studies – *Kathak* Dance and *Kathak* Performative Communities. She graduated from the School of Indian Languages, Jawaharlal Nehru University and practiced *Kathak* and *Odissi* Dance forms in New Delhi for more than ten years. Recently she teaches Hindi Language and Literature and Performative Traditions of India at the Centre of Oriental Studies, Vilnius University. Kristina also founded Natya Devi Dance Theatre in Vilnius, Lithuania.

László Felföldi is a retired senior researcher of the Institute for Musicology of the HAS, titular university professor of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of Szeged University and that of the Hungarian Dance Academy.

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Georgios K. Fountzoulas holds a BSc majoring in Greek Traditional Dance, from the School of Physical education and Sport Science (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens) and also a MSc in Folklore–Dance Anthropology. He is a PhD Candidate in "Dance Studies" in the same University. He also owns the Elementary Certificate in Labanotation. He works as a dancer in non-professional groups and as a dance instructor in professional dance groups and in informal education. His field of concern is Greek Traditional Dance, ethnochoreology and Pedagogy of Dance.

János Fügedi (1953) PhD is a senior researcher at the Institute for Musicology, RCH HAS and a college professor at the Hungarian Dance Academy. He notates and analyzes East-Central European traditional dances, leads the internet publishing of a dance knowledgebase, author/co-author of dance monographs. He has been a fellow of ICKL since 1989. He was a member of the Research Panel between 1991–1997, chaired the RP at the 1997 conference of ICKL. Currently he is the Chair of ICKL's Board of Trusties. He was rewarded by the Hungarian Dance Association the price "For Dance Research" in 2013.

Marie-Pierre Gibert is a Maître de conférences (Lecturer) in Anthropology at the University of Lyon Lumière 2, France, and a member of the research centre Environnement-Ville-Société (UMR 5600-EVS) of the same university. Her research is at the crossroads of three topics: dance and music; work; mobility. While her initial fieldwork was undertaken in Israel on the dances of the Yemenite Jews, which she continues to study in popular contexts, she has more recently focused on work and professional identities in dance and other contexts.

Georgiana Gore is Professor of Anthropology of dance and bodily practices at the University of Clermont Auvergne in France and a member of the research centre ACTé. She founded several Masters programmes in the Anthropology of Dance and is Coordinating Convener from 2017 for the Erasmus Mundus programme Choreomundus – International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage. Her research focuses mainly on dance transmission, the politics of embodiment and epistemological issues in dance anthropology (*Anthropologie de la danse: Genèse et construction d'une discipline* with Andrée Grau, 2006).

Nick Green MA dance, CPhys, CEng. Currently an independent researcher investigating Romanian social dance practices within the southeastern European context. Interested in traditional dance as a community behaviour in the present, and dance analysis an understanding of local ways of moving. Recent publications include Music and dance in Southeastern Europe: new scopes of research and action (2016) co-edited with Liz Mellish and Mirjana Zakić.

Dorota Gremlicova (Prof. Dorota Gremlicova, PhD) studied choreology at the Dance Department of the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague. She is a professor of the choreology study programme there (history of Western and Czech dance, dance in the sociological perspective, analysis of dance, theoretical reflections of dance). Research activities include dance as social acting, stage, social and folk/national dance relations, dance and modernistic art. She is a member of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology ICTM since 2002. Recently, she participates in the research project dealing with the Folklore revival movement in the Czech lands 1945–1989 at the Institute of Ethnology CAS.

Cornelia Gruber is an assistant researcher in ethnomusicology at the Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media (HMTMH) in the fields of gender and queer studies and dance anthropology, with an interest in questions of decolonizing ethnomusicology. Her doctoral research on music and dance in Madagascar is concerned

with issues of gender interdependencies, embodiment and performativity through dancing.

Leslie Hall is associate professor emerita at Ryerson University in Toronto. She has presented papers and published articles on Latin dance in Toronto, synchronized figure skating in Canada, and the International Istanbul Music Festival. Her doctoral research area was Ottoman court music; she has been active in amateur dancesport for more than fifteen years. She was president of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music from 1997 to 2001.

Lucie Hayashi (born Burešová), employed as Assistant Director at National Theatre Opera in Prague, is known mainly as a dance critic and Editor-in-chief of web magazine Tanecniaktuality.cz. She is a member of grant committee for professional dance and nonverbal theatre in the Ministry of Culture and a delegate of Czech Dance Association. She works as Secretary of Dance Department at Academy of Music and Dance in Prague, where she defended her doctoral thesis in Dance Studies on *Dance in Contemporary Japanese Society*. Graduated in Japanese Studies at Charles University, her research focuses mainly on dance in Japan.

Linnea Helmersson, PhD student in ethnology at Umeå University. Her main research interests are social dancing, tradition, gender relations in dance and social interaction on the dance floor. She has been a member of the Study Group since 2014 and has presented at the symposia in 2014 and 2016. She has published in conference proceedings and is the editor of *Eldsjälarna och dansarvet,* an anthology on folk dance research in Sweden.

Sydney Hutchinson is associate professor of ethnomusicology at Syracuse University, visiting professor at Goethe University Frankfurt, and research associate at Humboldt University Berlin. She has published numerous books and articles on the intersections of Latin American dance and music with gender, politics, and place. Her work has been supported by fellowships from the Humboldt Foundation, American Association for University Women, and Society for Ethnomusicology, and it has won awards from the Society for Dance History Scholars (De La Torre Bueno book prize – special citation), Society for Ethnomusicology (Nahumck Fellowship; Marcia Herndon Book Award), and Pontificia Unviersidad Católica de Chile (Samuel Claro Valdes Prize). Current research interests include gender in social dance, choreomusicology, and Latin American music/dance in East Germany.

Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg was awarded her PhD (ethnochoreology) by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. She has taught cultural anthropology, philosophy, ethnography, Bulgarian language and Bulgarian dance at various institutions, including Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski." Publication of her book, *Bulgarian Folk Dance Ensemble as a Cultural Phenomenon* (2011) was partly sponsored by The Bulgarian Ministry of Culture. Since 2013 she has served as artistic director for the Bulgarian Cultural and Heritage Center of Seattle. Major research interests: Bulgarian dance in Bulgaria and in the United States. She has been a member of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology since 2002.

Theresa Jacobs, Doctorate in folk dancing of the Sorbs within musicology at the University of Leipzig; work in the management of the Tanzarchiv Leipzig and research of body politics in the GDR at the Institute for Theatre studies at the University of Leipzig; since 2015 research associate in the Department of Cultural Studies at the Serbski institut/Sorbian Institute in Budyšin/Bautzen; main research interests: music and dance studies, comparative minority research, digital humanities, tangible/intangible cultural heritage; i. a. member of the ICTM (Music and Minorities, Ethnochoreology), Gesellschaft für Musikforschung and Tanzarchiv Leipzig.

Phil Jamison is musician, dancer, and scholar of traditional Appalachian music and dance, who has taught and performed at festivals, workshops, and other events throughout the U.S. and abroad since the early 1970s. Jamison, who holds a master's degree in Appalachian Studies, has done extensive research into the traditional dances of southern Appalachia, and his book, *Hoedowns, Reels, and Frolics: Roots and Branches of Southern Appalachian Dance* (University of Illinois Press, 2015), tells the story behind these American dance traditions. He teaches Appalachian Studies as well as traditional music and dance at Warren Wilson College, in Asheville, North Carolina.

Sille Kapper, PhD is a Dance Researcher at the Baltic Film, Media, Art and Communication School of Tallinn University (Estonia) since 2008, and a practising dance teacher since 1986. Since 2014, she is also the Artistic Director of Estonian Folklore Ensemble Leigarid. Her research activities are mainly focussed on traditional dance and folk dance movement in Estonia. She is active in the process of Estonian Song and Dance Celebrations, a board member of CIOFF-Estonia, a folk dance mentor at Estonian Folk Dance and Folk Music Association, and a council member of the Union of Estonian Dance Education and Dance Artists.

Gediminas Karoblis is Professor in Ethnochoreology, Norwegian University of Science and Technology. 2014 – 2018 he is Coordinating Convener for Choreomundus – Erasmus Mundus Master Course in Dance as Knowledge, Practice and Heritage. His research interests include phenomenology analysis of dance and movement, ballroom dance history and heritage. Publications include *Philosophy of svikt-analysis* in *Festschrift in Honour of Egil Bakka* (2014), *Dance, Love and National Awakening in Late Nineteenth-Century Lithuania* (2013), *Triple Disembodiment of Dance: The Waltz* (2012), *Ballroom Dance – the Spectre of Bourgeois in Communist Society* (2010), co-authored with Egil Bakka: *Writing a dance: Epistemology for Dance Research* (2010).

Csilla Könczei's curiosity towards dance theory was aroused in her adolescence when she became a founding member of the emerging dancing room revival initiative in Transylvania. Since then she has widened her fields of interest towards visuality in general and film in particular, but dance has remained her central focus. She is Associate Professor at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj–Romania.

Maria I. Koutsouba is professor at the School of Physical Education and Sport Science (SPESS) at the National & Kapodistrian University of Athens (NKUA) and Tutor at the Hellenic Open University. Graduated from the SPESS (NKUA, 1989), she completed her Masters (MA) in Dance Studies (University of Surrey, 1991) and was awarded a doctorate in Ethnochoreology (University of London, 1997). Additionally, she is specialized in Labanotation and in Open & Distance Education. She is member of scientific organizations in Greece and abroad, while her research interests/publications focus on ethnochoreology/dance anthropology, dance notation and analysis, and on educational innovations.

İdris Ersan Küçük, Research Assistant, Ege University State Conservatory of Turkish Music Folk Dances Department, PhD Student of Turkish World Research Institute, Turkish History Programme, Student Member of ICTM, Awarded first place at the World Competition of latino Show held by IDO (International Dance Oranization) in 2007. Research focuses on the dances and music of Black Sea and Caucasian Regions.

Rebeka Kunej is a researcher at the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) in Ljubljana. She is a lecturer in Instrumental Folk Music and Folk Dance at the Academy of Music, University of Ljubljana, and editor of the ethnological journal *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva*. Her research focuses particularly on dance in Slovenia, 78rpm records as a source of ethnochoreological research, selections and (re)presentations of traditional dance practices in post-1991 Slovenia, the history of folk dance festivals and folk dance ensembles; dance as an identity symbol of immigrants/emigrants.

Dr. Adair Landborn is a Clinical Assistant Professor of Dance and Curator of Cross-Cultural Dance Resources Collections at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, USA. She is a certified Laban movement analyst and holds an interdisciplinary doctorate in the anthropology of dance and somatic studies. A choreographer, scholar, teacher, and solo artist in both contemporary and flamenco genres, her articles have been published in various conference proceedings and journals such as Visual Anthropology and the Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement. Her book, *Flamenco and bullfighting: Movement, passion and risk in two Spanish traditions*, was published in 2015.

Irene Loutzaki is a dance anthropologist, formerly Assistant Professor Faculty of Music Studies, University of Athens. With a grant from the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation (PFF), she trained in Kinetography Laban and gained a PhD in Anthropology and Ethnomusicology (Queen's University Belfast). She was a research fellow at the PFF (1974-1996), Nafplion, involved in organizing the Dance Archive. She conducted fieldwork in Thrace, Crete, and other parts of Greece. Her continuing research interests are in social dance history with a special focus on Greece and transnational flows, on the political dimension of dance, gender and class relations, cultural policy, and cultural practices.

Siri Mæland is lecturer and convener specialised in Norwegian Traditional Dance and Dance Analysis at the Sff, Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance, Trondheim since 2001. She is in the final stages of her Ph.D thesis, focusing on transmission and dance as knowledge at NTNU, Norwegian University for Science and Technology (where she is a part time teacher at BA and MA-level) and the University of Clermont Auvergne. She holds a MA degree in Ethnomusicology, focusing on the dance revival movement in Norway. She has been a member of the Study group since 2006.

Daniela Machová studied Sociology at Charles University and Dance Theory at the Academy of Performing Arts where she is currently registered as a PhD student. Her long-term research interests are in social and competitive ballroom dancing. She published also a study on the audience of dance performances and on the dancer profession. In cooperation with Czech Arts and Theater Institute, she conducted extensive quantitative and qualitative research on dance studios in the Czech Republic. She is a dance critic focused on contemporary dance and Dance Theater.

Liz Mellish PhD University College London (UCL) (2014). Secretary ICTM study group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe. Currently an independent researcher investigating social dance, cultural events and choreographic practices in the Banat region of Romania, and dance connections between the Balkans and the UK. Recent publications include *Dance, field research and intercultural perspectives: The Easter customs in the village of Sviniţa* (2016) co-edited with Selena Rakočević, and *Competition and Community Participation in Romanian Dance Festivals* (forthcoming) in *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Competition* edited by Sherril Dodds.

Jeanette Mollenhauer submitted her doctoral dissertation in December 2017 and has several peer-reviewed publications to her credit. She attended Study Group Symposia in both Korčula (2014) and Graz (2016) and is the first Australian member of the Study Group. In 2017, she conducted archival research for the Group's special panel on Maud Karpeles at the ICTM World Conference in Limerick and was subsequently invited to be a member of the ICTM's Committee for the Archives. Jeanette also teaches a recreational folk dance group for older women and is Vice President of Folk Dance Australia.

Andriy Nahachewsky – University of Alberta, Canada (PhD, 1991) – has been active in the ICTM Studygroup for Ethnochoreology since 1986. His research has often focused on relations between participatory and presentational dance, and particularly when dance traditions shift along this continuum. He has written on issues of "reflectiveness" (historical self-consciousness) in communities, and how increasing reflectiveness ("heritage- ization") can cause profound changes in dance traditions and dance forms, even if the name of the tradition remains. Andriy is trained as a folklorist, centring on Ukrainian dance, based on fieldwork in Canada, Ukraine and 8 other countries.

Cristiana Natali is senior assistant professor in Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology at the School of Arts, Humanities, and Cultural Heritage, University of Bologna (Italy). She conducted research in the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) controlled areas in Sri Lanka between 2002 and 2006 and has been working with the Tamil Diaspora, particularly in Italy, since 2000.

Orfhlaith Ní Bhriain is an ethnochoreologist and Course Director of the MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme at the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, Ireland. As an accomplished performer and teacher of Irish music song and dance, she delivers workshops and seminars internationally and is a recognized expert in the Irish traditional music and dance world featuring in many broadcasts and documentaries on radio and television as cultural commentator.

Mats Nilsson is Associate Professor in Ethnology at University of Gothenburg, Sweden, but is also a social dancer and dance teacher since about 50 years. Main interests are folk-, popular and social dancing in general, but with a focus on Scandinavia. Recent publications in English are *The Swedish Polska* (2017), *Waltzing with Strindberg* in *Nordic Journal of Dance: Practice, Education and Research* (2017) and *Folk Dance Competitions in the 21st Century* (2014) in Vedel & Hoppu (ed) *Nordic Dance Spaces. Practicing and Imaging a Region*.

Judy Olson presents research on traditional dance/music in Transylvania, Hungary, the US, and Canada at ICTM, the International Musicological Society, American Hungarian Educators Assoc., Analytical Approaches to World Music, and the Society for Ethnomusicology. My work at the American Hungarian Folklore Centrum involves research, information dissemination, and organizing táncház events in New York since the late 1980s and Balkan and Bulgarian community events. Publications are on dance, and book chapters, encyclopedia entries, and articles on 19th Century topics, including German composer Luise Adopha le Beau, and Mendelssohn letters.

Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, Professor (PhD), Ege University State Turkish Music Conservatory, Turkish Folk Dance Department and Director of Ethnography Museum in İzmir, Turkey. Since 1991 taught courses on types, genres, history and staging of traditional dances in Turkey. Publications and research presentations treat structural analysis of Anatolian traditional dances and changes in socio-cultural context. Vice Chair of ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe end member of Ethnochoreology Study Group. Member of editorial board and referees of journals of music and dance studies in Turkey.

Şebnem Sözer Özdemir is an actress and performing arts theorist from Turkey. As a result of her two years' experience and theatre/dance training in Japan (2005-2007), she is especially interested in traditional Asian performing arts. She has an MA degree in dance anthropology (2014) with a dissertation on *Horon* practice in Turkey, and a PhD degree in Theatre Studies (2016) with a dissertation that explores the relationship of traditional performing arts in Turkey with the actor's art.

Between 2014 and 2016, she has lectured to theatre students on Asian performing arts, contemporary approaches in directing and design.

Dóra Pál-Kovács is coordinator of the Directorate for the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Hungarian Open Air Museum. She gained Bachelor Degree in 2012 and Master Degree in 2014 in the field of ethnography and dance anthropology at University of Szeged. She defended her PhD dissertation titled *Men and female in dance tradition of Magyarózd* in 2019 at "Babeş–Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca. Her research topic is about examining the gender roles within the dance tradition of Magyarózd in the 20th century.

Gergana Panova-Tekath, Doctor of Philosophy. Associate Professor, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Art Studies, Sofia (since 1993) and the Folkwang University of Arts, Institute of Contemporary Dance, Essen, Germany (since 2006). Ethnochoreologist, Laban-Notator, Expert-Intercultural Communication Sciences, Professional Dancer and Choreographer. Research focuses on dance philosophy, Bulgarian dance as a means of integrating two epochs on four continents, theory of nonverbal intercultural communication. Taught at different Universities and conducted to date over 400 Bulgarian Dance Seminars and Workshops in Europe, America and Asia. Author of: *Tanz nach der Wende* Vol. 1 and Vol. 2.

Mark E. Perry serves as Assistant Professor of Ethnomusicology at Oklahoma State University. His scholarly interests include the music of Spain and Latin America, and electronic dance music. Active as a scholar, he has presented papers at national and international conferences. Engaged in publishing, he has contributed to the *Roberto Gerhard Companion* and written articles for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, and *Grove Music Online*. He has also made contributions to American Music, World of Music, and Latin American Perspectives. From 2010 to 2013, he served as the recording review editor for the journal American Music.

Filip Petkovski is a PhD candidate of culture and performance and a teaching associate at the Department of World Arts and Cultures/Dance at the University of California Los Angeles. He is also a graduate of the Choreomudus Master Program of Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage. Filip works as a dancer, choreographer, and instructor of dance, teaching workshops on Balkan dance heritage. He is currently working on his PhD thesis that explores dance as intangible cultural heritage.

Rainer Polak studied Anthropology and African Studies at Bayreuth University, where he earned a PhD with an ethnography of the urbanization of dance drumming in Bamako. Polak, presently a researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Empirical Aesthetics (Frankfurt), previously was lead researcher at Cologne University for Music and Dance and research fellow at Durham University. His current research spans qualitative and quantitative methods and socio-cultural as well as cross-culturally comparative perspectives. It focuses on the role that social and cultural contexts play in the performance, perception and aesthetic experience of timing, rhythm, meter, and interpersonal entrainment in music and recently dance.

Kinga Povedák studied European Ethnology and American Studies at the University of Szeged, Hungary. She is currently a research fellow at the MTA-SZTE (Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Szeged) 'Convivence' Religious Pluralism Research Group. She worked as postdoctoral researcher at University College Cork in the ERC 'Hidden Galleries' Project from 2016 to 2018. She is the author of the book *Gitáros Apostolok – A keresztény könnyűzene vallástudományi elemzése* (2019) [*Guitarist Apostles – The analysis of Christian popular music*], and lecturer for Choreomundus – International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage.

Colin Quigley has been a member of the Study Group since 1990 contributing to its activities consistently since then to the present. He has been working in Transylvania since the mid-90s and has published on related topics. He is currently working on a collaborative project in this area with Sándor Varga that is funded by the University of Limerick International Initiative.

Selena Rakočević is an associate professor at the Department for Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Music, University of Arts, Belgrade and at the Academy of Arts, Novi Sad. Ethnochoreologist and ethnomusicologist, author of the books *Interweaving dance structures* (2011), *Traditional dances of the Banat Serbs* (2012) and *Vocal tradition of the Serbs from Lower Banat* (2002); co-editor (together with Liz Mellish) of the book *Dance, field research and intercultural perspectives. The Easter customs in the village of Sviniţa* (2015)*.* Research focuses on musical and dance traditions in multi-ethic context of Banat, music/dance relationships and history of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology in Southeastern Europe.

Zdravko Ranisavljević received his master's degree from the Department of Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade in 2008. He is currently in the final year of his doctoral studies at the same Department. Since October 2010 he is employed at the Department of Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, where he teaches Ethnochoreology. Since 2006 he has participated in several symposiums organized by ICTM and ICKL. He has authored several scholarly papers in the fields of ethnochoreology and applied ethnomusicology and participated in numerous ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological symposiums and seminars in the country and abroad.

Miloš Rašić is a doctoral student at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. He completed his BA (2014) and MA (2015) studies at the same Department. For two years, he worked at the Museum of Yugoslav History, and by passing the state exam he attained the title of curator. Following this, he was engaged as teaching associate at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology. Now, he is employed at the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. His main focus of interest are: dance, music, migrations, politics and identities.

Stefano Reyes is an Architect and Phd in Urban Planning. His Phd thesis studied the relationship between built, enacted and dance structures and social behaviour in contexts of traditional local communities. During his studies he attended the first

year of Choreomundus Master, directed a project for community empowerment "Pedestrian Social Places – a new social system for Bologna" and took part in some conventions of SIPCO and ICTM. Since 2005 he has played with "Suonatori della Valle del Savena" from Monghidoro, where he teaches dances in "Piccola Scuola di Musica". He teaches Observing and Creating proxemic spaces in experimental laboratories.

Raymundo Ruiz González is a Mexican folk dance researcher, teacher and dancer. He is a LOD Certified Specialist and he studied Advanced Labanotation. He is a member of the International Council of Kinetography Laban/Labanotation and founded the *Grupo de Estudio de Notación Laban México*. He studied the EMJMD Choreomundus: International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage through the scholarship ErasmusMundus+, a MA in Dance Research (2015) at the Cenidi Danza and a BA in Mexican Folk Dance (2012) at the National School of Folk Dance. From 2016 to 2017 he earned the scholarship PECDA from Coahuila, Mexico, and in 2015 the INBA-Becarte for short stances. In México, with the Sound Library of the National Institute of Anthropology and History he is a co-editor of the phonogram *Cantares de Ceremonia y Toques de Obligación en el Rito Actual de los Concheros* (2018) and is co-author of the *Catálogo de Mariachis y Repertorios Grabados* (2014). His main research interests are the dance notation systems of traditional dances and the movement analysis of traditional dances. Currently, he studied Kinetography Laban at the CNDMD of Paris, and he holds the position of Researcher Assistant of Ann Hutchinson Guest at the Language of Dance Centre UK writing the book *Advanced Labanotation. Body Variations*.

Urmimala Sarkar, Associate Professor at the School of Arts and Aesthetics at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi, India, is a social anthropologist, specialized in Dance Studies. Her recent publication *The Moving Space: Women in Dance* (2017) is a co-edited anthology on dance, gender and politics. Her principle research focus is on Dance, Body and society. She is the Vice-President of World Dance Alliance and co-editor of the *Journal of Emerging Dance Scholarship* (JEDS). She is a Visiting Faculty for the Dance and Movement Therapy course jointly offered by Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Mumbai) and Kolkata Sanved (Kolkata).

Corina Iosif Sîrbu has been a member of the ICTM's Study Group on Ethnochoreology since 1993. Since 2016, she has conducted a research project hosted by Romanian Peasant Museum, *Producing and Consuming Folklore: A Study of the Origins and Usage of Folklore as a Field of Media Culture in Post-communist Romania*. A part of this project concerns the media folklore production representing the regional Radio Broadcast Cluj.

Mariya Sivkova is a master's degree student of the first year of Vaganova Ballet Academy in Ethnochoreology and Ethnomusicology. She graduated from the Gnessin Russian Academy of Music (choral folk singing) and the Novgorod regional College of Arts (music theory). She's a teacher and performer, laureate of international and national competitions.

Stephanie Smith is Archives Director at the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives, Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. She holds an MLitt and PhD in Scottish Ethnology from the University of Edinburgh. Her research specialties are English country dance in North America, the Scottish folk revival, and comparative Scottish, English, and Appalachian folk music and dance traditions. Stephanie has been participating in the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology symposia since 2002. Also an English country dance caller, her current project is the upcoming release of the documentary film *City Folk* about English country dance.

Placida Staro is a musician, professor in Ethnomusicology and Performing Arts. She took her diploma at the University of Bologna in 1982, she studied Kinetography in London and France. Since 1985 she has been a member of ICTM, since 1987 participated in the Study Group on Ethnochoreology, vice-chair since 2012. She has been a member of European Seminar on Kinetography Laban since1990. She published articles, books, CD and films concerning music, singing and dance from minorities and cultural groups of Italy since1974. Actually she is director of the "Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione della Cultura Montanara" in Monghidoro (BO- Italy).

Daniela Stavělová is research fellow and currently director of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, and a head of the Department of Ethnomusicology. She is also Associate Professor of the Dance Department of the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague. As a member of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology she organised conferences and Sub-Study Group meetings. For several years she was involved in the IPEDAM – Erasmus Intensive Programme for New Ethnochoreologists at NTNU in Trondheim. Her research interests are focused on ethnochoreology – historical records, dance anthropology – cultural heritage, nationalism and revival.

Kendra Stepputat is assistant professor in ethnomusicology at the University of Music and Performing Arts Graz. Her research topics include Balinese performing arts, in particular *kecak*, and *tango argentino* in European perspective. She currently leads a research project (FWF) on the tango-danceability of music, working from an (ethno)choreomusicological perspective. She has published articles in the *Yearbook for traditional music*, *Asian music*, and is editor of *Performing arts in postmodern Bali* (2013), co-editor of *Sounding the Dance, Moving the Music* (2016).

Vesna Bajić Stojiljković holds MA and PhD degrees from the Department of Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade. Her doctoral thesis is entitled *Processes of (re)defining structural, dramaturgical and aesthetic aspects of stage presentation of traditional dance and dance-music in Serbia.* She is a professor of choreology at the Academy of Dance in Slovenia, collaborator with the Belgrade Dance Institute, founder and artistic director of the Academic Cultural-Artistic Association *Kolo* in Koper, Slovenia. She is a co-author of two monographs about the Serbian folk dance choreographers *Desanka Desa Đorđević* (2014) and *Branko Marković* (2017).

Marit Stranden is CEO (2013–2019) at the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance, The Foundation for Traditional Music and Dance, Trondheim. She has a PhD in neuroscience, has lectured physiology in several BA and MA programs and traditional dance in the NTNU bachelor program, is UNESCO instructor in the 2003 convention and was co-editor of *"(Re)Searching the Field – Festschrift in Honour of Egil Bakka"* (2014). The three last papers are in the fields of Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and artistic research on performer-audience interaction.

Anna Székely earned her Bachelor's Degree at the University of Szeged at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology with a concentration of a Hungarian village's local dance traditions, dancing customs regarding the years of the 1940s and 1950s. During her studies, she participated in the Erasmus Intensive Program: Movement of Past and Present in Trondheim, Norway. She finished the Choreomundus International Master Programme in Dance Knowledge, Practice, and Heritage in 2015. Her thesis was about Transylvanian international folk dance and music camps and its participants. After that, she accomplished her second Master's Degree at the University of Szeged in 2017. The degree thesis was about a Hungarian male dance competition, the jury's evaluation and the issue of authenticity. She is the secretary of the Hungarian Association for Ethnochoreology, and she is a member of the Hungarian Cultural Anthropological Association and the Choreomundus Alumni Association. Currently, she is a PhD student at Szeged University Doctoral School of History. Her research interest is on the Hungarian traditional folk dance and the revival movement in the Hungarian communities.

Vivien Szőnyi is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Szeged, Hungary. She worked as a dance anthropologist at the Institute for Musicology in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences from 2015 to 2019, and she assisted in the education of Choreomundus Erasmus+ Programme from 2017 to 2019. Her research interests include the functional transformation of Moldavian traditional dance culture from the middle of the 20th century to the present. She has engaged more fieldwork expeditions in Romania and The Republic of Moldova since 2012. Vivien Szőnyi is a member of Hungarian Association for Ethnochoreology; Hungarian Cultural Anthropological Association; and European Association of Social Anthropologists.

Deborah J. Thompson teaches dance, Appalachian Studies and General Studies at Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, USA, and serves as coordinator of Country Dance Programs. She has been a musician, dancer, dance caller and organizer since the 1970s. She holds the Ph.D. in Geography from the University of Kentucky, her dissertation titled *Performing Community: the Place of Music, Race and Gender in Producing Appalachian Space*. Further publications include "Searching for Silenced Voices in Appalachia" in *GeoJournal* (2006), and "Race, Region, Representation: Observations on Traditional African American Music in Appalachia" in the *Journal of Appalachian Studies* (2010).

Dalia Urbanavičienė completed music history studies (1981–1986) at Lithuanian State Conservatory (now Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, LAMT) and external PhD studies (2000–2001) at LAMT. She is associate professor in the Department of Ethnomusicology at LAMT and the same in the Department of Dance and Theatre at Lithuanian Education University. Her research interests are ritual and regional dances, structural analysis & classification of dance, music/movement connection, dance revival; publications: two monographs (in Lith.) *Lithuanian ritual ethnochoreography* (2000), *Danced and Played Sutartinės* (2009), more than 60 articles.

Sándor Varga is assistant professor of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and the coordinator of the specialization in dance folkloristics at the University of Szeged (Hungary). He is the convenor of the Choreomundus – International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage Erasmus+ programme. Since 2013 he has been a research fellow at the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the ICTM, the Hungarian Association of Ethnographers, and the chair of the Hungarian Association for Ethnochoreology. His main research interests include dance folkloristics and social ethnography in Eastern European villages.

Pegge Vissicaro is Executive Director of Cross-Cultural Dance Resources, Inc., Artistic Director of Terra Dance Company, and Professor Emerita of Dance at Arizona State University, specializing in movement, creative, and ethnographic practices. Vissicaro, a Fulbright Scholar to Portugal, continues to facilitate short courses and master classes as well as present research at universities and conferences worldwide. With a PhD in interdisciplinary curriculum and instruction, Vissicaro also pioneered the first online dance courses. She wrote the 2004 book, *Studying Dance Cultures* and 2017 co-edited text, *Performing Utopia*, which includes a chapter on her study of Brazilian quadrilhas caipiras.

Urvi Vora, contemporary dancer and researcher from New Delhi, recently finished her MA in Dance Anthropology (Choreomundus: International Master in Dance Knowledge, Practice and Heritage) in which her interests revolved specifically around modern rituals, performance of politics and performative affect. She uses Anthropology and Philosophy to find interesting ways of working through dance, theatre and film. She has been a member of The Pind Collective, a group of young artists from India and Pakistan, and is currently conducting her research laboratory on the affective relations of violence, migration, and movement and the significance of translation in Budapest.

Yuan Wenbin is currently a doctoral student in the Graduate Institute of Dance, Taipei National University of the Arts. He is also currently a full-time dance teacher, as well as the leader of the music and dance college and, dance company in Guangdong Vocational College of Foreign Language. Upon graduating from the Beijing Dance Academy, he started to work in Guangdong Meixian Mountain Opera Company, Guangdong Zhongshan Torch Development Zone Song and Dance Troupe, and Xin Dance dance studio as an actor. He has published several papers and has participated in a number of dance works.

Photo Moments of the 2018 Symposium

(Photo courtesy of Placida Staro, Raymundo Ruiz,
Mariya Sivkova and Irene Loutzaki.)

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