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On the Marginal Requisites: Overview of Popular Urban Dances in Türkiye

ABSTRACT

In the sources of dance history in Türkiye, there is no classification that evaluates urban dances, which are mostly mentioned in entertainment contexts, in terms of function, contents and social acceptance and made with this focus. Dance in the history of the Republic has been mostly examined within the framework of identity, representation and ideological patterns, and historical analyses have been considered with this relationship focus. In addition, these subjects are embodied in the national repertory, which is generally accepted as official and thus reflects a dominant traditionalism. In this study, my aim is both to present a historical literature summary of popular urban dances and to embody similar subjects through alternative repertories in the context of the "other" determined by the relationship with the official one. Urban folk music was not included in the national repertoire, at least until the 1950s, and urban dances were not included in the category of Turkish Folk Dances in the compilations of the early Republican period. In this way, popular urban dances were left out of the national repertoire and were positioned as "the other" of dance cultures in Türkiye. This study, on the other hand, focuses on the general history of the repertoire, the definition of which is proposed as "dances that are excluded from the official discourse but exist in the cultural practices of the city, whose social acceptance has been realized and have become widespread by any agents (migration, mass media, etc.)". The draft of the urban dance repertoire, which has this quality, was determined through metadata from newspapers, magazines and new media content, and the data obtained is re-interpreted together with the previous literature sources. The case for research was determined as Istanbul, both because it changed a great deal during the 20th century, and because it converted little. Istanbul allows us to trace the sustainable clues of cultural practices, because dance practices are in a central position in the product and market relationship in this historical process.

KEYWORDS

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Alaturca

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Introduction: Social, Popular, and Urban

The phrase “popular urban dances” is mostly used as a descriptive tool for the field of dance in publications. However, this use does not meet a specific classification. The conceptualization of urban dance in the literature is mostly used for a repertory that includes contemporary street dances. On the other hand, in studies devoted to popularized urban dances for a certain period, the general nomenclature was “social dance”. In addition, studies on genres such as Tango and Flamenco, which were included in the national dance repertory while being a common street culture, occupy a large place in the literature. In these works, for example, Tango or Flamenco are not often referred to as urban dances, but on account of its narrative, these dances are associated with urban life, especially during the 20th century. Although 18th century Europe produced the waltz, among other urban ballroom dances, studies on the waltz in the history of dance use the urban context only as a geographical indicator, not as one of the main subjects of the content. On the other hand, Joonas Jussi Sakarı Korhonen's article titled “Urban Social space and the development of public dance hall culture in Vienna, 1780-1814” published in 2013, underlines its relationship to the dance music market, which became popular before the waltz, and he situated this marketing phenomenon on the basis of the waltz’s prevalence beyond Europe. Urban dance environments described by Johann and Johannes Wax in their study *On Current Urban Dance Life in and around Regensburg*, (1999), in which they discuss the preference for Argentine Tango, which spread to the city streets in Germany after 1980, rather than the folkdance repertoire, are also an important source of literature. In the article written by Azardokht Ameri, *Iranian Urban Popular Social Dance and So-called Classical Dance* (2006), it is explained how *motrebi* dances, which are described as popular urban dances, were included in the classical dance repertory after the 1950s.

In the dance history of Türkiye, the first examples of urban dances are a few types known as palace dances during the Ottoman Empire. Studies on these dances are mostly associated with palaces and entertainment environments; the dances are called Ottoman dances or palace dances. Metin And's *Dances of Anatolian Türkiye* (1959), one of the oldest publications in the literature, argues that the development of Turkish dances proceeded along two branches: old Istanbul and urbanized dances, and peasant dances. Arzu Öztürkmen refers to palace dances as urban dances in her article titled “Modern dance

Alla Turca: Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Türkiye" (2003). Popular dances such as waltz, tango and foxtrot, which became widespread as the bodily performance of European lifestyle with the spread of magazines, newspapers and the radio in the early Republican period began to be known in Türkiye, and the repertory also includes ballroom dances from American and European practice. The dances of this period are mostly discussed with the focus of westernization; studies on Istanbul's entertainment life also include the urban nature of dances, but do not include a specific classification (Woodall, 2008; Van Doben, 2008; Toprak, 2017). Urban dances, which are called modern dances in the second period between 1950-1980, expand the repertory by underlining the relationship with the west (Sevengil, 1985). On the other hand, the tourism boom of this period begins to include dance genres from the repertories where all discussions are made, such as European, Turkish, official or market (commercial), which require "national cultural representations". In the period from 1980 to 2000, European-oriented dances diversified in the centre of belly dance, while Turkish dances had content accompanied by disco and electronic music. Studies on popular urban dances of this period mostly describe street scenes and breakdance performances, electronic club dances through discotheque culture with the combination of youth culture and spatiality, belly dance through the relationship between traditional culture and gazino, and the fields of these studies are mostly Istanbul (Shay and Sellers-Young, 2003; Arıcan, 2012; Girgin, 2015). After the last period of 2000, all the differences between dances that were reconstructed with a hybrid aesthetic perception become blurred.

Until 1950s: Dancing Disease, Jazz Appreciation

The 19th century in Ottoman Empire was considered as the institutionalization of cultural relationship with western world, as has been long known. At the end of the century, urban dances are seen in the balls held for bureaucrats and diplomats around the upper class. In the dances of the balls, there are couple dances such as *vals* (waltz)[1] and polka, which were very popular among the European bourgeois at that time. However, the visibility of waltz practices coincides with the early Republican period, as statesmen who could not go to the balls with their wives at the receptions could only watch European diplomats instead of dancing (Yılmaz, 1994). In accordance with the vision of a secular society

[1] In fact, the waltz rhythm has existed in Ottoman court music since the 18th century. It is said that Dede Efendi, the well-known composer of the court music, composed a song, *Yine Bir Gülnihal*, in the first waltz rhythm of the Ottoman period, in one night.

positioned in the centre of the Republic, care was taken to design the receptions with togetherness of men and women.[2] By this emphasis, the new modern women who embrace Republican secular values are well-educated mothers, and society was reconstructed to provide male and female socialization mediums with visibility in the public sphere. Although the masculine elites of the state attach importance to this new formation, the framing of women's spheres with modesty and service to the household also refers to their "liberated but not liberalized" (Kandiyoti, 1987) existence.

The official balls, which were held in Istanbul in the early period as a showcase for the modern nation, became the favourite entertainment of the new 'high society' class.[3] Ballroom dance presents "hyperfeminized women" and "overdetermined men" (Picart, 2006, 250) and depicts the ideal new woman as *alafranga* (European-westernized) as opposed to *alaturka* (allaturca, like the Turk). In fact, the repertory of popular dance echoes two opposite sides, *alafranga* and *alaturka*, in the form of genres as well as gender relations. Balls became widespread during the 1920s and 30s in different mediums such as balls organized between families, solidarity balls, masked balls, etc. As the indispensable dances of these balls, waltz and Tango reflect the cultural capital of western society life. Like the waltz, Tango reflects interest in European lifestyle and became popular during the 'tangomania' period that spread to many countries. Besides, Tango was included in the training programme of the *HalkEvleri* (People's Houses)—a symbol of 'civilization' in Türkiye during these years. However, the practice of Tango in Türkiye was not like the Argentine and European examples; "it is a dance that does not go beyond a dancing face to face holding hands to be considered innocent, accompanied by songs of love poems" (Akgün, 1993: 56).

[2] The Republic's vision of a secular society was established through a series of legal, political and cultural regulations known as the 'Atatürk (Mustafa Kemal) Revolutions'. During the 1920s, the abolition of the caliphate (Islamic state) the limitation of the function of religion in state life, the announcement of sovereignty as now unconditionally in the nation, the banning of the *fes* (symbol of the Ottomon Empire) and supporting of the (European) hat, the adoption of the Turkish language in Latin letters, the transition to secular education by closing religious education schools, denunciation of polygamous religious marriage, and recognition of singular official marriage are some of them.

[3] In this process, the *Alafranga* narrative, whose representation over the female body was highly valued, was undoubtedly supported not only in the field of dance, but also widely in the other artistic performances, for example, with mixed theatre groups formed in *Halkevleri* (People's Houses).

Figure 1. Couple dances between woman and woman, Cengiz Kahraman Archive (Öztürkmen, 1999)[4]

Figure 2. The First Dancing Resistance Competition, Istanbul, 1924 (Toprak, 2017)[5]

[4] Although the couple and body-in-touch dances such as waltz and tango of the early period brought the togetherness of men and women to the public sphere, it was often seen that female or male couples performed these in urban entertainments. This case emphasizes the alienation from the 'western' and the bodily contact among male and females which had not yet been internalized, and the elimination of issues related to both physical distance and the 'opposite sex' from the very beginning. (see figure 1).

[5] The 1920s brought dance marathons to Türkiye (see figure 2, Istanbul, 1924). Marathons became a patented method of gambling in the United States and Türkiye after the war. (Toprak, 2017).

In the book entitled *Modern Adab'ı Muaşeret* (Modern Manners) published in 1940, the section concerning rules to be followed in ballroom dance performances shows that dance is accepted as one of the behavioural forms of modern life: "Dance with gloves in hot weather…While inviting the woman to dance, the man should button up his jacket…Married women cannot talk meaningfully with men while dancing… The pregnant woman is not allowed to dance…Do not try a dance that you do not know… Women do not start the dance first… While dancing, women should not close their eyes or leave their partners and move alone…do not dance with the same couple…Do not dance with a swimsuit… Dancers should be clean… No chewing gum, no smoking while dancing" (Muzaffer, 1940).

In addition, youth culture in these years came into contact with the Jazz culture that was popular in the world at that time. *Fokstrot* (Foxtrot) and *Çarliston* (Charleston) dances were the most common for urban entertainment venues until the 1950s. Popular dances outside the ballroom dances at balls, where Western civilized culture is represented, remain outside the ideologically supported western repertoire, are identified with youth culture and liberty, and are defined as the bodily forms of degenerate youth culture against the acceptable modern. Therefore, as a popular sub-repertoire with the position of 'the others of *alafranga*', discussions that are often described as debates are frequently encountered in this period. As 'the others of alafranga', foxtrot and Charleston dances were the dominant genres within *dansings* (dance halls), which were opened specially for dance, made the western sound popular accompanied by the *cazbant* (jazz orchestras). "Akil Cem writes that the (Charleston) dance was introduced sometime between January and March of 1926, in one of Beyoğlu's bars: The Charleston, this strange dance that was inspired by Black Americans, has, for the past one and a half years, stirred up capriciousness in the dancing pleasure of the civilized world [...] an Abyssinian together with one of the bar's dancing girls swung to a number, face to face, clapping their hands just like a black dance" (Woodall, 2008: 243, quoted from Cem, 1926).[6] However, despite the classic, distant and civilized appearance of waltz and tango, foxtrot and Charleston are unbuttoned, fast, crazy, drug-related, and the most dangerous forms of the western lifestyle, especially for women. So much so that many popular culture journals published

[6] The name Charleston was also referring to a style of trousers (*çarliston paça pantolon*), which widened from the knees to the bottom of the feet.

in the 1920s see the crazy and big addiction of the 20th century as dance and describe the epidemic of this period as *Dar'ür Raks* (Dancing Disease): “Dar'ür Raks ... just like an epidemic fever, the crisis emerges at certain hours of the evening, it wraps the patient's head, vibrancy circulate all over his body. Undoubtedly, the East also had its own dance. It was called raks… Raks was different from dance. As in the West, it was against to such traditions like couple dances of men and women together" (Toprak, 2017, 69)

Popular western dances of this period were paired with alcohol, drugs, and tobacco use, especially for youth. In order to get rid of this trouble that plagued people, articles describing the damage caused by foxtrot and charleston (nausea, ovarian inflammation, intestinal knotting, etc.) were written by medical doctors. In *Çarliston olayı* (Charleston debate) of that time, while writing persuasive articles to prevent the dangerous future into which the youth was dragged, guides teaching how to do this dance were published: “Americans say that anyone who cannot play the Charleston is considered not to have danced in his life. Charleston is different from foxtrot, even from the dances played so far. Actually, training is needed. Here the steps are explained… By looking at these steps, you can have your experience at home. However, when the Charleston begins, he should not be in a hurry. It is easy to keep up with the melody of the music. Now learn about this new dance which played by everyone in all dance halls, balls and entertainment venues " (Toprak, 2017, as cited in Sevimli Ay, 1926: 21-22) (See figure 3). The modernization project, which is defined ideologically and implemented through secularism and westernization, created resistance on the social ground. This case demonstrates how the path of Türkiye’s modernity and secularization contrasts with the historical path of European social developments, and underlines a tense cultural space created by top-down reforms.

Figure 3. "This is how the steps of the Charleston should be" Büyük Gazete, 1926 (Woodall, 2008)

When we look at the urban dances with the *alaturka* (alla Turca-Turkish) orientation, we see the *Çiftetelli* dance and the *Çengi-Köçek* tradition transferred from the imperial period as a common practice, until the 1950s[7]. Since the 17th century *Çengi* and *köçek* soloists were known for entertaining dignitaries at the court with dancing, singing and instrumental playing. While *köçek* performers are generally male, *çengi*s are females and young boys. Documentations of entertainment life during Ottoman rule and in the capital city of Istanbul in the early Republican period describe *çengi* and *köçek* dances as exotic "belly dancing, toe hits, shaking and backward-bending body, swaying of breasts, walking

[7] The 'official' repertoire of the early period, other than western dances, is not called *alaturka*; this repertoire refers to the period of the first folk dance compilations, framed as the 'national' dances of the Republic. The formalization of folk dance in Türkiye began under the *Halkevleri* (People's Houses). In the 1930s the *Halkevleri* identified local dances for sponsorship by the *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party). In the early Republican period, dances were collected and classified by geographical regions, not by ethnic origins. These dances in villages and towns were performed by local people at domestic celebrations, such as national holidays (29 October Republic Day, 19 May Youth and Sports Day, etc.) and local festivals including those hosted by the *Halkevleri*. The regional and local characteristics of these dances were faithfully maintained by using their original musics and instrumentation, ensuring a diversity of representation even as the dances were elevated to national prominence. Local dances were performed not only by local practitioners, but also by non-local students who learned them at their educational institutions. As a result, the 1930s and 1940s were the years when the tradition of performing folk dances took on the additional role of promoting national identity. In other words, during this period, the national dance repertoire supported by the government functions as the local repertoire staged in some organizations with dance in the cities. For example, in 1940, a group of students who were educated at Gazi Educational Institution in Ankara performed different local dances on the same stage at the national 19 May Youth and Sports Day. Collector Muzaffer Sarısözen's description of the performance reflects the understanding and enthusiasm of the period: "all these dances are performed with national and local costumes and their own music. Karadeniz dances are accompanied by Kemençe; Bars aand Halays by davul-zurna; Zeybek, Misket, and "Dances with spoon" are accompanied by saz and songs. These dances, which decorate the stage of the Halkevleri like a delightful bunch of national representations were chosen from various parts of the country… This work that has been accomplished is not only a ceremony, but also a move of the national art in the state of being leaning towards its source." (Öztürkmen, 2016, 132).

on the balls of the feet, swinging heads and waist" (Koçu, 2002; Baykurt, 1995; And, 1976). In these solo dance traditions "the various forms of the dance developed into both cabaret "belly dancing" and types of social dancing such as the Turkish Çiftetelli (in 4/4; cf. Greek tsifteteli) and Karşılama (in 9/8), and related Balkan forms whose names derive from the word köçek" (Sugarman, 2003: 92).

However, the status of women in Islam certainly influenced *köçek*'s development in male settings. "Whereas ancient Turkic communities had a very rich entertainment culture and both sexes coexisted in entertainment settings as in other spheres of life, after the adoption of Islam and the new culture that came with it, sexes were spatially segregated, and coexistence was lost. Especially in all-male entertainment settings, this loss was first compensated through the mimicry of female dancers by the köçek; later the performances acquired functions that evoked sexuality" (Beşiroğlu & Girgin, 2018: 47).

The fact that the Çengi performances became more visible after the 19th century, compared to other solo dance traditions, is related to the banning of köçek in 1857 and thus the spread of female dancers. The liquidation of the Janissaries and the collapse of the guild (*lonca*) system, to which the entertainment branches were attached, played an important role in this prohibition period. The social model of the Ottoman Empire in the pioneering phase of capitalism (first accumulation period) with the increasing relations with Europe, which grew with capitalist production relations in the 19th century, was built around the concepts of "European, modern, Western". Therefore, as in the *köçek* tradition, which was marginalized by Europe, practices specific to the Eastern commons in the language of the West were banned by state pressure and decisions. At this point, the popularity of *Çengi* is related to the fact that class distinctions based on economy became more evident after the Tanzimat period and female dancers met the intense entertainment demand of the urban ruling class. Because the entertainment services of this period were under the administration of the state through the guilds of tradesmen and craftsmen. In this context, the ignorance of the *Çiftetelli* dance by the Republic, which was founded in the first half of the 20th century, reflects continuity within the scope of the modernization project of empire. Moreover, on account of *Çiftetelli*'s relationship with *Çengi* and their relationship with the empire, it is prone to being marginalized again and

again for the new secular Republic, both for its reminder of the past and for the content of women's performance that continues in the conservative social frame.[8]

According to Şerif Baykurt, the *Çiftetelli* dance, which represents the urban Ottoman-Balkan tradition, spread to Anatolia from Sulukule's *çengi* and *köçek* performances and is derived from the belly dances in the palace. Moreover, he defines *Çiftetelli* as a dance consisting of Gypsy, Persian and Arabic dances, spreading from Istanbul to towns and an extension of the multicultural palace environment (Baykurt, 1995). Similarly, Demirsipahi states that *çengi* dances have become a rich source of entertainment and prepared the environment for the creation and processing of a special set of folk songs and dances in Istanbul, and in this context, the tradition of dancing has not disappeared today, but has changed form in big cities, and says that one of the names of the changing form is *Çiftetelli*. (1975: 219). In fact, when *Çiftetelli* dance is considered as a cultural form, improvised plays in the *çengi, köçek, tavşan*, and *rakkas* movements of the Ottoman period, improvised dances in the streets of the Republic, improvised performances in women's meetings in Anatolia, and men dancing in private meetings in Anatolia, that is, "in most cases . . . only the gesture showing the arms by bending the elbows upwards can be counted as Çiftetelli" (Kurtişoğlu, 2014).

On the other hand, apart from the solo dances associated with belly dance, especially for the city of Istanbul, the *Karşılama* (lit. face-to-face) dance performed in couples is one of the cultural practices of this period. As one of the urban Ottoman-Balkan traditions, *Karşılama*, which is not categorized as a folk dance genre, is more common as a name for mutual playing. The *Karşılama*, which is identified with Turkish Thrace, is the last movement repertory in the official compilation studies of dances in the Turkish Folk Dance category, has a very similar content to the face-to-face dancing of *Çiftetelli* in this

[8] Early sources mentioning the Istanbul practices of the *Çiftetelli* and *Çengi* tradition particularly underline the fame of the Lonca neighbourhood in the early 1900s: "The days I mentioned are reserved for polite society in the Lonca. You should have seen those in the Lonca twenty years ago… Every Friday and Sunday, well-known musician women were set up in their magnificent Clarence and flowed towards the tall trees behind the Çağlayan mansion. Those who saw these veiled white women in marvellous cars would have thought that they were courtiers from afar. Only when they opened and scattered a little, when their *beşibiryerde* (ornamental coin worth five Turkish gold pounds) and the rings on their fingers were revealed, their nature would be understood. Of course, like other Kağıthane epicureans, they would retreat to a corner, eat their meals, and then have fun by confronting the female dancers who do belly dancing for money. There was a *Çengi* Ceylan at that time, and many families would come to watch her performance for hours on the road. There was nothing like the *Çiftetelli* she danced with by throwing back the bangs that fell on both sides of her cut hair with her hand." (Resimli Dünya, 1925: 7)

sense. However, the reason why *Karşılama* was included in the national repertoire until the 1950s is the debate over its similarity with *Çiftetelli*. The words of Şerif Baykurt, one of the interlocutors of this debate and known for his Thracian compilations, in the first folk dance seminar held in 1961, proves the 'otherness' of both *Çiftetelli* and *Karşılama* through a prohibition:

> "Until 1939, there were no folk dances in Thrace… What happened consisted of some Çiftetelli that could be called obscene… Karşılama dances were more common in Thrace. Those who use the term "Karşılama" in the sense of "Çiftetelli" and "belly dance" could be guessed that some intellectuals thought so. However, the strangest thing about this matter is that the idea that "Karşılama" is Çiftetelli, or that it resembles a belly dance like Çiftetellis – it should also be noted that every Ciftetelli is obscene – is included in secondary school curricula. From the secondary school curriculum, physical education department, page 258: 4- Folk dances, Karşılama and Çiftetelli, with or without music, which have a rhythmic character, according to the environmental possibilities, will not be performed" (Baykurt, 1996: 46).

In the field work around Istanbul in 1951, in the dances collected from the settled people, "hora, zeybek, Ali Paşa, Kasap oyunu, Berat, Kabadayı, Eşkiya oyunu, İkitelli, Arap oyunları, Ağırlama, Laz dansı, etc." many different names are found (see Şenel, 2010). This diversity also highlights the intercultural historical texture of the urban cultures of Ottoman-Balkan geography. In addition, dances performed together with dance tunes such as *Zeybekikos*, *Kasapiko* and *Çiftetelli* recorded in *Laterna*, which are frequently mentioned in *meyhane*, *boloz* and on the streets in Pera entertainments in Istanbul of the early Republican period, are also a part of the early urban culture. Dancing to the *Laterna*, which was brought to Istanbul in 1850 by a Levantine named Guiseppe Turconi and which had recordings such as waltz, polka, and tango at first, was added to the dances of Ottoman-Greek culture such as *sirto*, *zeybekiko*, and *hasapiko*, and was a popular form of entertainment in the early period.

1950s-1970s: Western/Latin Steps, Oriental Bellies

The Republic switched to a multi-party system in the 1950s. While the governance of statist-elitist bourgeoisie during the early Republican time invoked 'civilized western' perspectives imported from Europe, this view was replaced with that of a traditionalist-liberal ruling-class through the notion of American liberality as the multi-party system arose shortly after World War II. However, the content of tradition mentioned here was

not created with the content of the Republic, but with a repertoire that went back to the traditions of the Ottoman empire, and the reform period, which will be called the 'new Ottoman', began; People's Houses were closed in 1951 and secondary schools for the training of Islamic religious personnel were opened; after this period, the structure of the secular republic began to change rapidly. The cultural content of the period was planned on the basis of multi-ownership capital, a liberal economy, and the adaptation to global capitalism. Rural migration to rapidly industrializing cities accelerated the movement of both the labour force and cultural accumulation. In the 1950s, intense rural-to-urban migration started to create a *gecekondu* (literally, 'built in one night') culture in city centres and the migrations continued up to the 2000s. As city suburbs in Western Europe were usually considered as marginal ghettos or slums, in Türkiye these led to a specific reality that took the name of *gecekondu*… Particular attention should be paid to the fact that, while in the 1950s and '80s it was the migration from the country's rural areas towards the big cities that continued growing significantly, "but after the '80s and over the years (up to 2000), what actually grew was the migration flow rate from cities to cities" (Aktaş, 2013).

Along with the increasing urban population, private dance courses including popular dances also proliferated in city centres such as Istanbul, İzmir and Ankara in addition to student groups, folk dance associations and culture houses that opened since the 1950s. The classes included students who came to urban centres for university education as well as adults who came to learn to dance at their grandchildren's wedding (Bengi, 2020). The book titled *Tangodan Mamboya Bütün Danslar* (All Dances from Tango to Mambo) published in 1955 (by Selma Dikmen) shows the popular dance repertoire up to that time. In the book, foxtrot, waltz, rumba, swing, mambo, samba, tango movements were described with drawings. During this period, all these social dances were called 'modern dance' and emphasized the on-going relationship with the west.

Rock and Roll dance, which was popular in Europe and America in the same period, was added to this repertoire from the end of the 1950s, and in a short time it became the most popular urban youth dance and created a resistance that turned into the previous Charleston debate: "When Charleston was just released, there was a lot of confusion, when the tango was just released, the Pope condemned it in the Vatican. Whereas Rock'n Roll cannot be compared with the Charleston, the Tango, or any of the later more modern

dances. Because, in none of the old times was the man's hand on the hips of the woman or below." (Bengi, 2020, 250; as cited in Göktürk, 1957). Rock'n Roll films from America had a considerable impact on this spread and discussion about it. Films such as *Blackboard Jungle*, which was released in 1957, and later *Shake, Rattle and Rock*, *Rock, Pretty Baby* were important in terms of the transformation of western youth lifestyle beyond dance. The content of the application of the *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği* (National Turkish Student Union), which was known for its nationalist and conservative lines, to ban Rock's Roll and Striptease in 1957, reflected the discussion on the morality and corruption of the period over dance: "A nation whose youth is degenerate is doomed to collapse. As youth, we appealed to the relevant authorities to ban the dances that made youth degenerate, such as striptease and rock 'n roll dances" (Bengi, 2020: 249).

The twist, which was added to the repertoire of Rock'n Roll in the 1960s, had the same luck as its predecessors. Popular culture magazines and newspaper headlines of the period describe the dance movements on the one hand and its drawbacks on the other. Unlike its predecessors, the twist was perceived as 'the hip curling of western modern dances'. In the music market and film industry of the period, products with youth criticism and/or appreciation content exploded through the twist. A Turkish melodrama film, *Abidik Gubidik* (meaning foolish) was made in 1964, using popular twist music and dance of the time.

The 1960s began with the first military intervention in the history of the Republic and the parliament was closed because of violating the democratic principles of government. By the law reorganized in 1961, trades union organizations, working class struggle and job-labour rights were being revived, debates on woman rights increased, and simultaneously culture for urban consumption and especially the entertainment market expanded rapidly. The cultural practices of the urbanized rural become both a cultural activity for local people and a means of touristic representation for foreign markets. This period continued to the end of 1970s, when the domestic markets enlarged, growth of orientation to foreign markets, there was a rapid articulation of the tertiary sector with capitalist global industry, and a concentration on domestic and foreign tourism. The contents of cultural representations now emphasized entertainment and grandeur, with

the grip of nationalism a little broken. Wealth went beyond a single nationality, focusing more on diversity and thus more products and profits.[9]

In this period, when domestic and foreign markets expanded, both the expansion of the content of the entertainment industry and the new traditionalist approaches of the executive elites paved the way for the support of the *alaturka* repertory, which was limited before 1950. *Çiftetelli-Çengi* tradition and Oriental belly dance, which are the favorites of this *alaturka* repertory, which is both outside the repertory of the official discourse (i.e. Turkish folk dances[10]) and outside the European (western) style, continues with the institutionalization of the '*dansözlük*' (danseuse). In urban entertainment, it is popular in places such as *bar* (pub), *dansing* and ballroom, which are the practical places of western forms, as well as places with *alaturka* style forms such as *gazino* (music hall), *meyhane* (taverns), and *müzikli kahvehane* (musical cafes). *Gazino*s in particular contain most of the content of Turkish style entertainment; drinking entertainment programmes consist of a long night menu, which is lined up consecutively, including star singers, Turkish classical (court-based) music playing and belly dance shows. The 'other entertainment' of the city, which includes both European and Turkish styles, could become a hybrid content in these *gazinos* since the tourist market was growing and a new rural-urban culture need arose for those who migrated to urban areas. "In a venue (gazino), the same orchestra starts with slow rhythms such as waltz or tango, accelerates with rumba, samba, swing or rock 'n roll or çaça, depending on the fashion of the day, the event usually ends with Çiftetelli adapted to one of these rhythms" (Belge, 1983: 863). During this period, the boom of the tourism industry could include dance genres from repertoires in which all oppositional discussions were held, such as al *alafranga*, *alaturka*,

[9] On the other hand, *Aydınlar Ocağı* (Intellectuals' Hearth), founded in 1970 and known for its anti-westernization stance, is a crucial institutionalization of this period. The Turkish-Islamic synthesis, which was defended instead of the East-West synthesis of the early Republican period, underlines the Ottoman accumulation of conservative-nationalist ideology which is especially embodied after 1980. (see further Akşin, 2007; Kongar 2008).

[10] After the 1950s different local dances from around the country were centralized and designated as "Turkish folk dances". In this period, watching folk dance performance became popular entertainment, and overall folk dance activity was referred to as *folklor oynamak*- to dance folklore (Öztürkmen, 2001). During the 1950s and '60s, folklor oynamak spurred a growth in tourism and the grand folkdance market was developed by increasing stage performances, competitions, folk dance clubs, and educational programmes in cities, reaching a peak by the 1970s. From 1977 onwards, through government-sponsored competitions, new dances were added to the traditional repertory and the 'folklore' market became bigger than ever.

resmi (official) or *piyasa* (commercial) in most environments requiring national cultural representations.

Since the traditional *Çengi, Köçek* and *Çiftetelli* have been associated with belly dance practice in urban areas since the 1950s, these urban practices are referred to with belly dance; Anatolia's traditional *Çiftetelli* dance practices also continue in their own environment. In the 1950s, the neighbourhood of the *çengi* was Sulukule, and their dance was known as the solo *Çiftetelli* dance (And, 1959: 25). The destruction of the Lonca district, known for its *Çengi* and *Köçek* dances, on account of squatting in the 1960s, is one of the reasons why this tradition intensified in Sulukule. *Dansöz* performances of this period created a different spatial formation in terms of professional organization through "Sulukule and its Gypsies". The new professional venues of the *Çengi*, who have been hired as dancers in celebrations in palaces and mansions since the late imperial period and working under guilds, in Sulukule are the 'Sulukule Entertainment Houses', which were licensed from 1952 to 1993. In the new venues, entertainers are hired for the customers who come to their homes and they are careful not to entertain outside Sulukule before. Sulukule dansözs, who later became popular, began performing in many nightclubs and hotels in Istanbul at entertainment nights (And, 1976; McDowell, 1970). The seemingly non-commercial entertainment houses are located in the neighbourhood and the entertainment venue license can only be understood from the '… your sister's house' sign hanging on their windows. *Dansöz*s who grew up in these houses perform the belly dance in groups of three *dansöz*, under the name 'Sulukule team', in the places they work outside. In the late Ottoman period, the guilds, which constituted the industrial monopoly supporting social control, were replaced by the entertainment houses in Sulukule from the 1950s on. In the process of reconstructing the 'west-facing' Muslim Turkish woman of the nationalist paradigm of the period, the framing of marginal requirements, namely female belly dancers, with licensed venues directly affiliated with municipalities also indicates on-going control. Being Dansöz thus entered a process of industrial growth through small-town bosses under the control of the local economy. The entertainment content in these houses, which was associated with the headlines of 'Türkiye's most expensive entertainment place' throughout the 1960s and 70s, reflects both the stretched and marginalized nature of the *gazino* contents: The entertainment usually began with the male guests arriving at the house at sunset, the drinks are accompanied by cold

appetizers, and the fires burned right in front of the house. Grilled food prepared on barbecues was consumed throughout the night, the owners of the house sat at the tables and asked how their guests were, and the music and dance continued. If desired, a repertory of popular songs of 'Turkish (*fasıl*) art music' was also prepared, but the night definitely ends with belly dances of dansözs. During the performances of the dancers, the guests also stand up according to the dose of their enthusiasm, dance *Çiftetelli* and imitate the movements of the dancers.

During this period, the belly dance and the cover of the dance tunes recordings were associated with nudity, especially with the effect of popularity in striptease and revue In these shows. On the other hand, enjoying Sulukule *dansöz* in Sulukule was so popular during this period that the music industry bosses of the period focused on "taking this entertainment to the feet of the people" who could not go to the Sulukule with the records released with repertory contents such as recordings of *taverna müzikleri* (taverns) and dance tunes: "brings fun to our people who cannot have fun in Sulukule" (Sulukule Ekibi Evinizde "The Sulukule Team is at Your Home", back cover of the record 1979).

During this period, belly dance became the dominant form of Turkish entertainment in city centres and became an indispensable element of tourist programs. While the student protests against the American 6th Fleet, which visited Istanbul in February 1969, were the only agenda, news of the soldiers belly dancing with dansözs in the evening entertainment is perhaps the most striking of the touristic representations. (See eskigaste web, for headlines)

Çiftetelli, which exists in the public entertainment practices and in cultural performance environments such as weddings and henna, continued in a commercially professionalism where received on the one hand as belly dance. Thus, it continued to be the other of the official and ideal 'folk dance' repertory.[11] One of the reasons for this positioning of otherness was undoubtedly the "fatal" image of the female body in the market of belly dance. For example, the presence of women's bodies presented nude and/or in belly

[11] So much so that the attempt to represent Istanbul for the first time in the competition organized by the Türk Halk Oyunları Yayma ve Yaşatma Tesisi (Spreading and Survival Institution of Turkish Folk Dances) in 1954, with "Çengi, Çiftetelli, Köçek dancers" caused controversy. After the performance of the female dancers named Topkapı Gülleri and Sulukule Çiçekleri (Topkapı roses and Sulukule Flowers), who took part in the competition representing Istanbul, the competition was cancelled because of the growing controversy. (For details, see Girgin, 2015).

dance costumes on the cover images of the dance tunes records, the content of which is composed of melodies taken from traditional dance music in Anatolia, explains the dominance of the market. Thus, this perception changed somewhat, but the dangerous *femme fatal* image of the female body persisted. During this period, *dansöz oynatmak* (to make a belly dancer dance) or *oryantal yapmak* (to dance in oriental style), a settled form of entertainment, continued to be "the other" of the official discourse until 1981. In touristic representations, it has been one of the frequently mentioned topics, as much as Turkish Delight, from the very beginning.

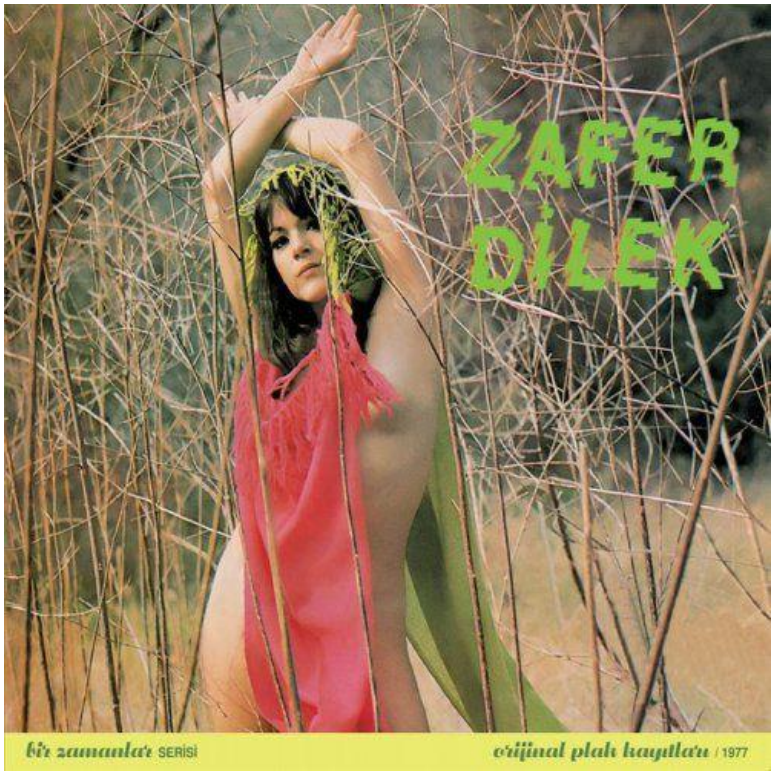

Figure 4. Zafer Dilek Oyun Havaları, LP Cover, 1977.

On the other hand, while the culturally western of this period was rapidly shifting from Europe to American lifestyles, imported forms were also settling in the content of Turkish culture - *Alaturka* Turkish culture); Indian movies that were shown in cinemas in the 1950s and the *Sirtaki* dance, which became popular at international markets with the movie *Zorba the Greek* in the 1960s, re-updated the content of the *Alaturka* with the Balkans. The sirtaki dance was also popularized in the Greek taverns of Istanbul; since this dance was performed together with the Greek style of entertainment, it was part of what were called "Sirtaki nights" in Greek music and dance venues. Simultaneously, this

dance, which became popular as Sirtaki with e choreography in the movie Zorba the Greek, was one of the numerous cases of ownership in the "Turkish-Greek cultural debates"[12].

> "Now it's a period! They can't help but come up with a new dance every summer. However, the favourite dance of the summer of 1965 is neither from Tahiti, nor from South America, nor from the mysterious beats of Harlem. It was born from the warm atmosphere of the Mediterranean; its name is Sirtaki! Now, on all European beaches, everyone dances a Sirtaki. Of course, it is talked about as a Greek dance everywhere, and thus a lot of Greek propaganda is being made. Honestly, that shouldn't be surprising. Our neighbours, with their unique shrewdness, by acting before us as always, managed to introduce sirtaki as a Greek dance, making it the new favourite dance of the year. Sirtaki, which is performed as a solo or collectively, is no different from our *Halay*. Not a day goes by that a newspaper or a weekly magazine does not have moving pictures of the middle-eastern French singer Dalida teaching the steps of the Sirtaki! The interest in this dance from the members of top drawer as well as moviegoers is enough to make it famous. Everyone is pursuing the sirtaki" (Bengi, 2017: 288-89; as cited in Hayat, 1965, July 8).

Nationalist discourse was becoming stronger, especially with the emphasis on Turkish origin, which was associated with the derivation of Sirtaki from the word *Sirto*. Sirtaki was probably derived from the word *Sirto*, but the dance tunes and the dances, historically known as *sirto*, are the common cultural product of the Balkans and Aegean geography.

Since 1980: Towards a Cultural Jungle

The 1980 coup greatly changed social and cultural life[13]. This is also a new liberal process which is synthesized with a neo-conservative approach. "It features not only liberal values such as individual freedom, laissez faire economy, freedom of enterprise, and restricted

[12] Considering geographical borders, cultural relations, historical political conflicts, these debates, which span a very long past, reflect a literature of cases in which meanings are constructed with the discourses of opposition and togetherness for both countries. The rhetoric between "eternal enmity" and "brotherhood and friendship" has often been the subject of the press of the countries (Further Karataş 2012; Özsüer 2015; Çağ and Ural 2014). The 1950s, on the other hand, was a period when cultural similarities met with an tense discourse of friendship.

[13] At the very beginning of 1980, the economic formation (lit. named as January 24 decisions) came to be crucial issue as a shape of Turkish neoliberal policies that was applied in USA – led by Reagan – and Great Britain – by Thatcher – after the global crisis of the 1970s. It should be noted that although the 1980 military coup and the 1960 intervention were formally the same, they are different in content. While only the parliament was closed in 1960, all political parties and unions were closed with the 1980 coup, and non-governmental organizations were prevented from working. Especially, 'democratic excess' that developed after all democratic rights acquired by the 1961 law was prevented and thus it was intended to solve the crisis of capitalism in Türkiye.

state, but also clarifies the unchangeable values of conservativism such as family, religion, authority, obedience and traditional canon" (Vahap, 2014: 112). Social life, which completely stopped after the 1980 military coup, continued as if it had never halted with the entertainment programmes conveyed by the media. The explosion of entertainment and the spread of consumption in the 1980s are not only related to the transition to the neoliberal economy and global opportunities, but also to the entertainment industry as one of the most facilitating tools of the post-coup depoliticization process. The cultural climate of this depolitization process, which started in the first half of the 1980s, was re-established in the second half of the 80s. This climate was associated with the spread of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis and developed on the basis of the fragmentation of the early modernity project of the Republic, and its reforms to fragmentation of the early Republican secularization project. The new social order became to be fundamental principal among government agencies, especially through the organization of compulsory courses of Sunni' religious culture and morals in the educational field.[14] Consumption of melodramatic films and a booming cassette industry fuelled the neoliberal transition, largely through the spread of *oyun havası* (dance tunes) albums released throughout the '80s. The pop and *arabesk* sounds in these albums cover all popular genres and local dance musics accumulated up to that time and form a collective archive of musical styles.

During this period, *dansings* of the past surrendered their places to the *diskotek* (discotheque), the first examples of which were seen in the 1970s. By the 1980s, the global pop music repertory also attracted intensive attention in Türkiye. *Diskoteks* are places in which the hit pop songs of the period move by 'swinging, spinning, jumping movements', verbal communication is minimized and pop-techno-electronic sounds are heard. Disco dance music of the period is globally popular pop songs (i.e "Comanchero" by Raggio di Luna) as well as local dance music and disco covers of folk songs.

[14] Although we describe the post-1980 cultural climate as 'new', it should be seen as a continuation of the transformation that started in the 1950s. So much so that the central principle that distinguishes the pre-1950 from the post-1950 period, 'controlled pluralism' was the preparatory phase of the post-1980 period: "While this pluralism embodied in the axes of statist-private entrepreneurship, ethics-morality, city-country, what is interesting is that one can contain the other as a disguise. It is a social formation that has adopted the hypocrisy of community morality while advocating an individual ethic while being a statist when being a private entrepreneur, a countryman when being an urbanite" (Kahraman, 1999).

Figure 5. Diskotürkü, LP cover (Osman İşmen ve Okrestrası Kısa Dalga Vokal Grubu – Disco Türkü, 1980).

The random movement of dance practices in disco dance changed with the moonwalk figure introduced in the 1990s through Michael Jackson's concert in Istanbul. Through tours and music videos, Jackson and other pop music artists were a profound influence on popular music and dance in Türkiye throughout the 1990s. In addition, thanks to the broadcast of video music channels (MTV-1981, Kral TV-1994) that existed throughout the 90s, visuality and dance became indispensable for sound and music, and the number of pop dance groups with singers increased. In particular, the video music of dance-trained or professional dancer-singers such as Hakan Peker and Yonca Evcimik was influential in the popularization of 'disco-pop dance' throughout the 90s. Yonca Evcimik's song, named *Abone* (Subscriber) was released in 1991 and the special hand gesture during the dance show was very popular among the youth of the 90s.

The Latin dance disease of the 1990s started with the reflection of the international popularization of a Brazilian dance, known as the Lambada, from the popular culture market to the Turkish market. "It was a case of a controversial and illegal dance, the

Maxixe, which later turned into the Lambada. Originally banned by the government of Brazil, later it was permitted because of its popular nature, and once it got out from under the authorities' control, all would be wiggling and swinging their hips sensually, males and females. Lambada was and has been recognized by its notable historians and connoisseurs as "The Forbidden Dance" (as portrayed in the 1989 movie, *Lambada*)" (Otero, 2021: 65). The popularity of Lambada dance in Türkiye, which grew with the story of prohibition mentioned above, is parallel to the same debate. The Turkish version of the musical film, *Lambada* was shot in the same year with the same name. *Lambada*, sung by the Kaoma band and a tropical dance in their music video was the pioneer of Latin-pop genre in discos of the 1990s. Especially in the summer of 1990, Lambada music and dance settled in TV broadcasts, educational programmes, streets, discos, weddings and opening ceremonies. Images of women in swimsuits and close-up dance in the original video music created new debates; It was found to be inconvenient to add the Lambada choreography to the dance shows of young people on official holidays (Bengi, 2017). The black stockings of Kaoma's dancing women, who were guests of TRT in 1991, also demonstrated the 'so-called conciliatory' attitude of the official discourse.

The bodily manifestation of hip-hop culture, whose visibility began to increase in the 1990s, Breakdance spread from disco to the streets since the late 80s and became popular with the electric boogie. "Breakdance shows of this period opened with a ritual-like intro and closed with a meaningful final scene. Throughout the show, the dancers used to take turns one by one and show their skills. Hard breaks, back leaps, and turning over the head, hand and shoulders seemed compulsory for dancers who displayed syncopated and fluid body movements" (Bengi, 2019; as cited in Erdir Zat, 2000).

Large-scale dance clubs, which were added to disco culture in the early 1990s, were also the precursors of a new club culture. The differences of disco and club participators can be seen both in class divisions and in terms of the repertory of dance musics. Participants in the discos consisted mostly of lower- and middle-class youth and they adopted the pop, electronic, Latin-pop repertoire associated with their street culture. Clubbers, on the other hand, preferred mostly techno, electronic and sometimes rock-acid- metal repertoires in relation to the middle and middle-upper class. In addition, the *müzikli barlar* (pubs with music) of this period reflect content closer to club culture. Spatial and class divisions have thus spread the identification of the youth of the 1990s through the

music they listen to or the dance they perform. Subcultures were formed with adjectives such as *rakçı* (rocker) *metalci* (metalhead), *asitçi* (acider), *popçu* (pophead) (Arıcan, 2012).

The *alaturca* side of the 1980s' popular dances began with the special demonstration of belly dance (previously banned), on TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) screens at the New Year's celebration in 1981. Thus, belly dance was officially recognized in the dance category; the on-going presence of belly dance in social practices was reconstructed on the basis of the relationship described by official discourse. TRT's belly dance performances in 1983 poured oil on troubled waters; heritage tourism continues and the body of the dancer was framed with costumes that did not threaten the conservative image of Turkish women. Additionally, the cultural policies of the new liberal neo-conservatisim approach can be seen in the choreography of the Turkish State Folk Dance Ensemble. In 1983, the ensemble performed one of the most debated genres of dance history in Türkiye, *Çiftetelli* (belly dance) which was criticized for vulgarity, reference to Ottoman tradition, and links with the Gypsy/Romani culture. (See further Girgin, 2015). Despite the belly movements and shoulder shimmying, *Çiftetelli* is quite gentrified in comparison with the original belly dance, and the dancer's costume is completely concealing, creating an "amenable and professional version of Çiftetelli" (Shay, 2002: 195). In that context, it is not a coincidence that *Çiftetelli* choreographies were added to the State Ensemble repertoire. *Çiftetelli* carries the meanings of Turkish-Islamic woman's palace tradition to the stage from both conservative and global perspectives.

Political Islam, neo-liberal economy, new nationalistic approaches and the conservative structure were embodied in the cultural texture during 1990s. Thus, disintegration between modern-secular and traditionalist-Islamist poles was centralized in the socio-political life of Türkiye. In other respects, with debates on the Kemalist Republic and its ideology Kurdish ethnicity policies are also added to the government's agenda in terms of citizenship and autonomy. As a matter of fact, because hegemony in Islamism is established by religion and Islam is seen as unifying umbrella over all ethnicities, Kurds are not merely a danger; on the contrary, the Muslim Kurds are potential supporters of the regime. Undoubtedly, criticism of the Kemalist Republic over Islamism and Kurdish affiliation was closely related to the hope of joining the European Union, the pressing issue of the 1990s. By the new discourses, it was promised that the conflict between

religions and beliefs would be left to tolerant relations between communities and ethnicities[15].

During the 1980s and '90s belly dancing generally became the icon of the Middle East in the west's global market, in which Türkiye's practice is positioned as one the local ones of the Middle East. In the 1990s, with the opening of private TV channels in Türkiye, the tension of the 1980s came to seem quietly ironic. Despite TRT's 'restricted' performances, private channels increase the exotic, erotic and oriental content of belly dance as much as possible, made it a part of musical entertainment programmes in particular. During this period, the belly dance which increased its competition mediums and squeezed in the ideology of the state, could never fully supported by government, but it was embedded as a genre of the national cultural heritage in the brochures of the ministry of tourism, or in 'Turkish Night' programme and in the films promoting Türkiye of the 2000s. This contradictory relationship continued after the 2010s with the bans imposed by RTÜK (state media regulator) even on private television channels, despite existing normalization of belly dance in staged folkdance and general social practices.

On the other hand, especially after the second half of the 1990s, centralized identity politics in expansion added the Romani dance to Türkiye's dance culture as an autonomous genre. Romani Dance echoes *çengi*s, *köçek*s and *Çiftetelli*s of the Ottoman period, the belly dance practices of the Republic time, accompanied Rom Dance Tunes existing in the music industry since the 1970s, *cocek* tradition of Balkans and spread to the rest of the country from Thrace. The dance soon became an icon of Rom/Gypsy identity: While it was previously an improvisational moment in the Trakya *Karşılama* dances or *Çiftetelli* choreographies in the traditional folk-dance repertoire, it was repositioned as a distinguished and separate genre in the 1990s.

On the other hand, breaking the state television monopoly and opening private radio/television channels in the 1990s was a critical point in terms of increasing the visibility of different identity representations[16]. Private channels, which increased in

[15] The lifting of the ban on Kurdish music production in 1991 indicates the aim of improving EU relations. Mezopotamya Kültür Derneği (Mesopotamia Cultural Association, founded in Istanbul in 1992, is one of the early institutionalization examples of Kurdish language.

[16] The first private television channel began broadcasting from Germany via satellite in 1990, because it was prohibited in Türkiye by law. Then, in 1993, the establishment of Radio and TV permit was taken from the state monopoly and it was legitimized.

number in the 90s, created a new and large capital area for the global market through the surplus value they obtained from the advertising sector. Privatized and commercialized television broadcasting started to be inspected by Radio and Television Supreme Council, which was established independently in 1994. In this period, after the representation of belly dance on New Year's Eve of 1981 was covered by TRT, the solo belly dancer career became legitimate and this dance became an elite style for urban entertainment. Star belly dancers, created with the increase of private TV channels, were an important indicator of wealth among middle-upper level urban people - to spare ten minutes of entertainment at their son's circumcision celebrations, for example, for 'Oriental Tanyeli'. On the other hand, the urban practices of the Mezdeke group, consisting of three female veiled belly dancers, with pop-Arabic oriental music genre and accompaniment, which emerged in 1994, perhaps surpassing the reputation of a solo oriental dancer, and the naming of 'Mezdeke dance', which evolved over time, played a leading role in the Turkish style dance preferences especially of young women. Bodily expressions in urban practices also reflected the internalized attitudes of dance choreographies seen on TV and long dress rehearsals. The popularization of the mezdeke group was not only associated with the social acceptance of belly dance, but also with the mystery of the veiled and completely unrecognizable faces of female dancers. The influence of the group of professional modern dancers is a very visible case for those who were young in the 1990s, like myself, in terms of the association of *mezdeke* with the word oriental.

The 2000s began with the decision of European Union to accept the nomination of Türkiye – on 10 December 1999 – that resulted in the Helsinki Summit. Debated identities of the 1990s were added to fields of intensive representation by the 2000s. Representational agendas were increased by digital technology and alternative new media, and conflicts and/or fetishization of the ethnic/religious identities were legitimated. For example, Gypsiness/being Romani, which was on the agenda more than ever before, is presented as an ultimate and gentrified genre, contrary to all the meanings of negation and derogation from the past. As well as the Oriental Belly Dance, one of the most popular forms of entertainment is Romani Dance competitions on TV channels, choreographies of Romani Dance in shows, and the title Romani Dance added to dance courses constituting a wide market during the 2000s. Belly dancing in the 2000s was a casual genre that has escaped feverish debates. However, it still remains one of the most critical examples of an

ambivalent political approach: It is featured in promotional videos of Istanbul published by the Ministry of Culture, but belly dancers invited to entertainment programmes on private TV channels at the same time are warned not to wear oriental costumes. (Gence, 2021 web). The fact that the Kurdish ethnicity gained a place in the official media of the state through the TRT Kurdi channel, which started broadcasting in 2008, exemplifies both the recognition of Kurdish identity and making this recognition over the establishment of a relationship with the state[17]. The *halay* dance, which is seen as a common practice in urban weddings, with a variety that changes according to the '*memleket* (hometown)', started to be performed with popular Kurdish songs in the 2000s. The song *Şemmame* (2009) of İbrahim Tatlıses, who is known for his Kurdish identity, a popular *arabesk* singer whose identity started to be mentioned at this time, and the *halay* dance featured in the video clip are important indicators of this change in the cosmopolitan Istanbul centres.

Throughout the 2000s regional repertory and/or private dance titles from a certain area had been added to the repertory of dance culture in Türkiye by global markets beyond ethnicity and religious identity. The pop sound of *Horon*, one of the traditional folk dances that joined to the market in the early 2000s, brings the Black Sea to the stage. In this formation, by using the basic figures of *Horon* dance, the local instrument of the region, *Kemençe* and the region-specific dialect in the lyrics are added to a substructure with pop-disco sound. Examples in this context refer to a popularity created in the axis of regionalism unlike Romani dance, which works with the exoticism of the global world music market.

Kolbastı/Hoptek, one of the most popular dances of the 2000s, is an improvised dance known since 1920, identified with the eastern Black Sea region and performed by at least two people. *Kolbastı*, which means "law enforcement raided us (in back translation)" according to local sources, is a narrative dance. Imitations of fishing and rowing, youthful fights and drunken behaviour, etc. are included in these demonstrations. The music of

[17] The fact that TRT Kurdi started the test broadcast with a folk song for those who died in the Türkiye's War of Independence, sung in Kurdish by the female singer Rojin after the Turkish National Anthem, highlights this redefined relationship. The cultural and artistic aesthetic understanding of this period we are currently in also reflects the hybrid structure of all historical aesthetic views that have been articulated to the new multiculturalist nationalist understanding. Starting with the 2000s, receiving renewed interest in dengbejs and framing it as an integral part of Kurdish cultural heritage (Kuruoğlu, 2017) have created the most controversial examples of this new nationalistic frame.

Kolbastı, which is practiced especially among young people in regional practices, was covered by Erkan Ocaklı, who wrote new lyrics in the 1980s, and its dance was staged as a group choreography in the 2000s. Between 2007 and 2010, it reached a prevalence beyond regions and cultures, from Youtube videos to how to play *kolbastı*, choreographies announced under the name of *kolbastı* show in different celebration programmes, birthday celebrations of daily life, wedding entertainment. (Şahin, 2020).

On the other hand, glocal forms such as *Zeybreak* (a combination of break dance and *Zeybek*) enlarges the repertory of Türkiye's popular dance in the 2000s. *Zeybreak* (analogous with *Anadolu* Break (Anatolian Break) or postmodern *zeybek*), formed by the initiative of a Turk who is a break dancer living in Germany, a new hybrid aesthetic sample containing a mixture of *zeybek* dance figures identified with Türkiye's Aegean region and world-wide breakdance. After the *zeybreak* was transferred to Türkiye by means of the title 'A Turk live in Germany', the dance became popular among *zeybek* dancers who were interested in global examples and breakdancers who were associated with local peculiarities.

In conclusion

As mentioned before, popular urban dances are described as 'excluded from the official discourse but they exist in the cultural practices of the city, whose social acceptance has been realized, and have become widespread by various agents'. Thus, the basic emphasis of urban dances is being out of bounds; dances that are either included outside Türkiye or that are outside the accepted one, which is determined by various adjectives such as traditional, national, official. On the other hand, this whole narrative of exclusivity diverges on two basic levels; *alaturka* and *alafranga*. While the *alaturka* repertory mostly depicts what is considered traditional but except for national folk culture, *alafranga* genres refer to cultural outsiders, including those from Europe and America. Therefore, those who fall outside the officially framed bodily expressions are marginalized, regardless of the emphasis on tradition.

Until the 1950s, European and Turkish content existed in separate environments as distinct repertoires, and began to coexist with each other after this period. While we see the popularity of imported dances in the early period, we see the predominant popularity of belly dance from the 1950s to the 1980s. One of the reasons for this change is

undoubtedly the rural population added to the city. However, it is not limited to this. With the cultural articulation of the rural population, the urban culture that 'increased' turns into a fertile area for the tourism market, which has been included since the 1950s. With the changing power ideology and the rule of traditionalist elites in this period, cultural styles refer to 'ancientness' as much as possible. In other words, while the culture of the empire was a past that should not be remembered in the early Republican period, it turns into a reference that should not be forgotten in the 1950s and beyond. The neo-conservative nationalist understanding after 1980, on the other hand, adopts the style that articulates the local alongside the global. The content of the local is the richest part of the repertory. During the 1980s and 90s, the stretched renewal of the Turkish folk dance repertory with urban practices (such as the *Çiftetelli* that was other until 1980s) continued with the urbanization of styles that were part of the national repertory before (such as techno Horon, *zeybreak* examples) in the 2000s. Those marginalized in the ideological whole are included when necessary, but by continuing to be the 'other'...

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