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Introduction

Ann R. David and Stacey Prickett

This special edition of the Istanbul University Journal of Women's Studies (İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi) focusses on women, dance and music from a wide range of geographical locations (Austria, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, Greece, Hungary, Japan, Spain, Sweden, the UK and the USA) and through a selection of theoretical/practical lens that include ethnography, historiography, dance analysis, practice-as-research, dance activism, and intersectionality. It transverses the fields of transnational feminism, examining how new mediums of dance, movement and music might lead to fresh understandings of women's activism and facilitate resistance to socio-cultural normative gendered patterns. We are thrilled to work with the ten international authors in articles that present innovative research and suggest new ways of looking and understanding these significant and pressing issues. Their work foregrounds questions that seek to unpick the inequalities and disjunctures endured by women both historically and in the present time in performance, in choreography, in social and community dance and in song.

The publication follows on from extensive academic work in this field, beginning in the 1980s when both scholars and practitioners brought the existing multiple feminist critiques into dance performance spaces and into published writing on dance/body (see selected examples from Albright 1997, Allegranti 2011, Brown 2006, Daly 1991, Desmond 1999, Purkayastha 2014, Salami 2020 and Thomas 1993). As Jane C. Desmond noted, "Gender systems are always political in the most fundamental sense of articulating a division of power. They operate in complex and often contradictory ways and intersect with other categories of social differentiation such as race, class, ethnicity, age, national origin, and so on" (1999:309). Such issues of power, politics and protest relating to women's performance are addressed in this special journal edition where the articles continue the extensive research focussed on the use of dance as a protest against such controlling systems (see for example Chatterjea 2004; Prickett 2013, 2016, and Mills 2017, 2021) and the work published on dance ethnography, embodied practice and politics (see Buckland 1999, 2006, David 2013, 2015, 2021, and Grau 2011, 2016).

The authors draw from diverse disciplinary foundations in topics that interrogate historical and contemporary dance practices. In centring women's experience and representation within the lens, they also bring to the fore hidden histories, in some

cases offering empowerment on individual and community levels. Political structures and social dynamics are revealed, alongside detailed movement analysis which illuminates the power of the body. Intersectional relationships emerge, highlighting class, economics, race and social justice themes embedded in creative practices and show how dominant social constructs can be resisted. Similar concerns emerge across dance styles and geographical regions, as authors engage with seminal writings as well as scholarship at the cutting edge of the field.

Three authors (Bejarano, Herrera and López-Yánez) especially focus on issues in the Global South, where as Boaventura de Sousa Santos' work (2018) on deep sensing and the essential nature of knowledge and corporeality proposes, the body speaks, knows and understands – a way of approaching knowledge that is in direct opposition to the body's absent presence in Western epistemology. De Sousa Santos argues how, "the epistemologies of the South concern the production and validation of knowledges anchored in the experiences of resistance of all those social groups that have systematically suffered injustice, oppression, and destruction caused by capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy' (2018: 1). In relation to deep sensing, he discusses the indigenous Andean concept of *corazonar,* sometimes translated as feeling/thinking, signifying "the fusion of reasons and emotions…giving rise to empowering motivations and anticipations" (ibid: 100), or as he likes to call it, "the warming up of reason" (ibid: 99). *Corazonar* not only expresses emotions and reason, it encourages resistance, challenges oppression and "increases reciprocity and communion" (ibid: 101).

All the articles take up themes of resistance and of challenging oppression in differing ways. In *Altering positions through an artistic enquiry of Japanese dance,* Ami Skånberg's practice-led research analysis crosses continents to investigate *suriashi,* a method of walking from traditional Japanese performance that takes on activist potential when removed from its originating context. Reflecting on the construction of gender and its representation on Japanese stages and in society, Skånberg's historical analysis is situated in contrast to a performance in Kyoto where she was joined by the drag artist Bruno the Bad Boy. In shifting between the past and the present, themes of gender difference and social value, performativity and feminist power emerge.

Anna Leon's micro-historical interrogation of ballet in the Romantic era forms the framework through which she analyses the work of an Austrian choreographer. *Reverse-engineering the Sylph: reclaiming female ballet bodies in Florentina Holzinger's TANZ* , offers insight into a provocative production through which dominant aesthetics of

the dancing body are subverted. Theoretically grounded in feminist and sociological scholarship, the perspective of the all-female performers adds valuable ethnographic detail. Leon argues how Holzinger "points to under-acknowledged aspects of ballet history that subvert its own norms, revealing its practitioners as active agents in relations of uneven power distribution, rather than as figures defined by victimhood."

Andi Johnson's *Black women of the Cakewalk: reclaiming the performance though corporeal orature* investigates issues of race, class and representation. Two case studies span a century, drawing on archival research, dance and performance studies and Black history. Johnson reinserts Aida Overton Walker into the narrative history of the Cakewalk, while investigating how Heather Agyepong's contemporary representations of the dance in postcards, lectures and her writing offer an empowering expression of resistance to racial oppression. Johnson's use of the conceptual frame of corporeal orature, borrowed from Thomas de Frantz's writings (2004), reveals how bodily expression transmits beyond the physical to create a political, activist expression through words, thought and cultural signification.

Issues of touch and consent in dance are the subject of two articles that bring into focus case studies from South America and Europe. María Gabriela López-Yánez and Beatriz Herrera Corado's ethnographic and practice-led research interrogates pedagogic practices in dance in higher education. In *How do you desire to dance? A methodological assemblage to foster consent in dance higher education in Ecuador,* the authors challenge Western-centric practices and assumptions about touch. Analysis of the teaching of contact improvisation classes explores the pedagogic strategies they utilise as they work to enhance students' agency as part of their decolonising objectives. Their article offers a new approach to the practice of consent in the dance classroom where both students and teachers work towards developing a toolkit that "envisage(s) in a dance class the training of a professional that approaches with a critical lens intercultural exchange and the prevention of violence". In *Transgressive gestures in the couple dance in a Central- Transylvanian local community,* Dóra Pál-Kovács focuses in on touch that occurs during Hungarian partnered folk dances. Ethnographic accounts reveal diverse perspectives between generations and amongst rural and urban practitioners, while the author also explores the wider socio-cultural environment and gendered relationships within the communities. Differences between revival and local village dancers exposed disparities in understandings of boundaries and transgressive touching that led to certain misinterpretations.

Rosemary Cisneros' analysis of the Roma roots of flamenco investigates how Francisco Franco used the form as propaganda during his dictatorship and how female stereotypes remain strong. *Moving past Franco's art and censorship: the case of the female Flamenco dancer* centres on visual culture and media representations in advertisements and souvenirs, and the documentary framing of the television series *Rito y Geografía* (Rite and Geography) (1971-1974) produced under Franco's authority and still widely available. Challenging the negative representations, Cisneros works to unpack issues of authenticity and discrimination among a marginalised community, noting that "performances can be a threshold between two worlds where the acts of the past, in the form of the present can stand in place of historical references".

Aims of empowerment are the guiding impetus behind the workshops led by María José Bejarano Salazar in rural Costa Rica. The processes are explored in *Community dance and the micropolitics of gender: contributions to the concept of dance activism from embodied life stories with rural women in Costa Rica.* Integrating dance movement therapy methods alongside contemporary choreographic practices, the creative component and community engagement expands the process beyond the individual. Participants reflect on how they developed a sense of agency and expressivity that was unknown to them, serving as well to challenge patriarchal power in the traditional relationships. In moving beyond therapeutic objectives, a screendance and photographic exhibition serve to document and communicate the power of their experiences.

Issues of gender representation and oppression emerge in Sonia Koziou's article, *From the living tradition to presenting the tradition: performing music, performing gender. A Greek case.* Ethnographic research spanning two decades is woven into discussion of the place of female dancers and singers in Greek villages and cities. Koziou strives to reveal the hidden voices of the women, analysing how norms in the social construction of gender remain or have shifted among folk dance audiences and performers, creating a certain tension between those accepted as professional women singers and the more archaic view of women's traditional roles. She notes how the old, "coy bride of the past who wails her separation from the home of her childhood with the marriage dirge has been replaced by a pregnant bride who chooses to present herself to her guests with a *zeibekiko* dance".

Female choreographers and women in folk-tales link two of the articles. Deborah Norris' *Women-made – the future women choreographers are here!* situates the experience of female choreographers working in balletic languages today in

relation to the historical under-representation of women in such positions of power in the professional ballet field. The article summarises how British ballet became institutionalised through the efforts of women-led companies and schools in the 20th century; however, the number of female choreographers is disproportionate to their male contemporaries. To challenge this imbalance, Norris analyses workshops that strive to enhance female students' confidence and skills as they develop as emerging choreographers, utilising ballet as an expressive movement vocabulary. In *Snow White in early 21st c. dance performances: subverting fairy-tale female models*, Charitini Tsikoura offers movement analysis and feminist readings of different versions of the famous story by the Brothers Grimm. The productions encompass diverse approaches to the task, including French contemporary dance creators Angelin Preljocaj and Laura Scozzi, British choreographer Liv Lorent, and the hip-hop crew Addict Initiative's version for the television talent show*, Britain's Got Talent*. Rich detail of the costumes, set and movement reveal ways in which the creators subvert dominant power structures and social mores reinforced by the cautionary tale.

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Table of Contents

ARTICLES

İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ YAYINEVİ

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi, 26: 1-21

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Altering Positions Through an Artistic Inquiry of Japanese Dance

Ami SKÅNBERG[1]

Abstract

Cross-gender acts have saturated Japanese performance history, with men and women using gender as a performative act. This practice-led article investigates gendered embodiment and gendered spaces through the Japanese dance and walking technique suriashi (which translates as sliding foot). It is practiced in traditional Japanese performing arts and in martial arts. Gender in traditional Japanese dance/Nihon Buyō is constructed physically through the positioning and moulding of the body, as well as through costume and cross-dressing. The original suriashi practice is performed in the dance studio or on stage, however my research asks whether suriashi could also be a method to act, as being active, or to activate, in other spaces outside the theatre. I exemplify gendered perspectives through a suriashi walk by myself and the drag queen Bruno the Bad Boy at the yearly Saiin Kasuga Shrine Festival in Kyōto. I propose that the suriashi style created to impersonate women is not only a gender construction, it is also a reminder of the continuous absence of women in Nō and Kabuki theatre, resulting from the 1629-1868 ban of women from stage, the adoption of Confucian cultural values, and teachings of Buddhism. Combining extended practice-based and situated knowledge with historical accounts, I elucidate the act of 'becoming woman' or 'performing as woman' in traditional Japanese dance. This helps to process a global conservatory performer training as well as processing gender issues in the contemporary society, explored through gender theories, performing Hélène Cixoux's sexual difference and Judith Butler's gender trouble.

Keywords

Suriashi, Japanese dance, Nihon Buyō, Kabuki, Nō, Shirabyōshi

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Introduction

My research originates from being a professional dancer and choreographer trained in Europe, U.S. and Japan. It draws from my Nihon Buyō-studies with master Nishikawa Senrei (1945-2012) in Kyōto since 2000 whom I studied with at *Traditional Theatre Training*, and at her dance studio *Senreinokai*, along with other traditional training. It also stems from my PhD thesis *Suriashi as Experimental Pilgrimage in Urban and Other Spaces* (2022) where I propose to experience society from within *suriashi* walking.[1] My research is also affected by concrete experiences of being othered as a foreigner and mother of my then small children in Japanese society between the years 2000-2004. This made me sensitive to the pressures on women and mothers, not only in Japan, but also in Sweden and Australia. In Kyōto, I often biked with my three-year-old on the cargo rack and my one-year-old on the handlebar. I met many Japanese mothers involved in the same activity. As mothers on bicycles, we became foreigners to the people driving cars, and here I also refer to my Western male researcher peers who rarely experienced the very common position 'mother-on-bicycle-with-children'. I experienced the three-fold pressure of being foreign, mother and woman in life and in society, while also performing the ideal 'woman' in the dance studio.

In my teacher Nishikawa Senrei's studio in Kyōto, I encountered important cross-gender acts as part of the Nihon Buyō-lesson. These dance techniques saturated the dance class, with both men and women using gender as a performative act. Each dance lesson began with the walking practice *suriashi* where we practiced gendered movements through the positioning and moulding of the body, and by wearing our kimono in different ways. For example, for male roles we ensured that the collar covered the neck; for female roles, we pulled the collar down; and for 'in-between' roles, the collar was worn in-between male and female mode of attire to perform gender ambiguity. The obi (the belt tied around the kimono) is also worn differently according to the gender portrayed.

The original suriashi practice is performed in the dance studio or on stage, however my research asks whether suriashi could also be a method to act, as being active, or to activate, in other spaces outside the theatre. The practice of suriashi is necessary to the orientation and formation of my research but not as the only output. The original suriashi practice changed focus, and instead developed into a method for experiencing spaces and society in a new way. Suriashi was not performed as a secondary experimentation, but instead served as an overarching strategy. In that sense, suriashi practice is part of the methodological frame itself.

[1] I have studied Nihon Buyō with other masters: Nishikawa Kayorei, Nishikawa Chikage and Ota Emiko from Nishikawa School, Heidi Sakurako Durning and Hakone Yumiko from Fujima school, Nakano Emiko from Hanayagi school and Wakayagi Kayono from Wakayagi School. I have also studied Nō theatre with Takabayashi Shinji, Matsui Akira and Richard Emmert from Kita Nō school, with Katayama Shingo from Kanze Nō school, and with Otomo Jun from Hōshō Nō school.

The suriashi walk with Bruno the Bad Boy was recorded on video but also through a written process journal. The process journal supports the auto-ethnographic narrative that shifted between our own recollected first-person perspective of the events occurring in urban spaces, and contextual information to the purpose of the recollected narrative. This follows a long tradition emerging from common research perspectives in practice-led research and artistic research. The process journal and the video documentation of the suriashi walk and our dialogue was revisited and analysed by me. They functioned as reference for questions asked throughout the investigation and in relation to the suriashi walking.

For this practice-led research, I exemplify gendered perspectives through one particular suriashi walk performed on October 10th, 2015, by myself and the drag queen Bruno the Bad Boy at the yearly Saiin Ka-suga Shrine Festival in Kyōto. I use analytical frames from artistic research, where the subjective experience is considered. I also compare historical representations of women on the Japanese stage with contemporary notions of gendered constructions.

The practice of suriashi is necessary to the orientation and formation of my research but not as the only output. The original suriashi practice changed focus, and instead developed into a method for experiencing spaces and society in a new way. Suriashi was not performed as a secondary experimentation, but instead served as an overarching strategy. In that sense, suriashi practice is part of the methodological frame itself. The suriashi walk with Bruno the Bad Boy was recorded on video but also through a written process journal. The process journal supports the auto-ethnographic narrative that shifted between our own recollected first-person perspective of the events occurring in urban spaces, and contextual information to the purpose of the recollected narrative. This follows a long tradition emerging from common research perspectives in practice-led research and artistic research. The process journal and the video documentation of the suriashi walk and our dialogue was revisited and analysed by me. They functioned as reference for questions asked throughout the investigation and in relation to the suriashi walking.

Constructing The Body for Performing 'The Feminine'

The original agenda for 'feminine' suriashi was an act of 'becoming woman' for male performers. However, when I decided to practice suriashi outside the dance studio, and instead bring suriashi to urban streets, the agenda for performing a gender-stereotype changed. Suriashi instead became a methodology for examining gendered asymmetries in urban spaces. The constant newspaper report on women being murdered when walking the streets, when hitchhiking, when taking the wrong taxi - showed an urgent and continuous need to process the social norms behind violence on women walking in urban spaces. For example, in 2021, the hashtag

#TextMeWhenYouGetHome went viral in support of a global awareness campaign about violence against women.

In Judith Butler's (1990) classic work *Gender troubled*, bifurcated definitions of gender are troubled. Butler argues that both sex and gender are performative, and that physical and sexual differences are constructed in similar ways. Proposing that gender is performative "sought to show that what we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body" (Butler 1990:xv). Suriashi is gendered, and the body alignment is constructed differently with regards to which gender, as well as which social class and age to portray on stage. As such, it very much conforms to Butler's notion of gender being a construction. I have used 'feminine' suriashi in particular, which refers to the body alignment constructed for men to perform as women in Japanese dance/ Nihon Buyō, where theatrical cross-gender practices are normative and part of the tradition. In 'feminine' suriashi, the shoulders are pulled down and back, while the upper chest is pushed forward to portray and construct 'woman'. Suriashi in Nishikawa Senrei's dance studio did not propose a certain fixed sexuality but allowed the embodiment of several genders in the same dance class/okeiko. In 'feminine' suriashi, the shoulders are pulled down and back, while to represent females in traditional Japanese theatre. I thus use a Western feminist lens when working physically and concretely with the 'feminine' body posture in suriashi. This lens supports the practical, embodied investigation of suriashi and gender. Where I combine feminist theoreticians Judith Butler(1990), Hélène Cixous (1975), Simone de Beauvoir (1949), Katherine Mezur (2005), with explanations of embodiment through the Nō playwright Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) - known as father of Nō theatre - and my teacher Nishikawa Senrei.

'Feminine' suriashi was practiced for thirty minutes in Nishikawa Senrei's studio, before studying a piece from the Nihon Buyō-repertoire. This is hard physical work; however, the labour is not visible. The posture itself elucidated the unreasonable demands, usually placed on women, to perform the female gender identity. The 'feminine' performed in suriashi and in Nihon Buyō originally represented an absence. My investigation revealed how the exaggerated feminine suriashi posture found its rationale not only from the Tokugawa banning of women from stage between 1629-1868, but also from the male gaze on 'woman'. 'Feminine' suriashi served as method of 'obscuring maleness' for male actors in the Kabuki tradition as well as a method for female roles performed by both women and men in Nihon Buyō -schools.

There are many variations of suriashi, and all of them are gendered. Initially, I found this both intriguing and problematic. In dance class, the body was used for 12th century narratives about Japan both as a military government and an Imperial nation-state, where I studied the embodiment of the roles of the samurai Satō Tadanobu as

well as the female dancer and cross-dresser Shizuka Gozen. However, these historical accounts are not processed in the dance studio, and therefore rarely discussed. It was not until I engaged with historical research of Japanese theatre, particularly with the work of performance scholar Katherine Mezur (2005), that I understood the issues with these postures. This connection reinforced the importance of engaging with theoretical accounts also in rigorous dance practices. Mezur explained why the female bodily construction of suriashi (and other gestures) was more extreme than the male bodily construction – simply because the female construction was created for male performers as a cross-gender-act. My own reflection on historical and contemporary genedered violence was fuelled by the fact that 'feminine suriashi' was developed as a consequence of the banning of women from stage by Tokugawa shogunate in the 17th century. Historical facts were actualized and processed through my own body, which generated other questions and gave other results rather than just working for the physical perfection of a 'correct' gendered performance. It also deepened my understanding and interest in Japanese culture.

Tending to the tradition and the problem with reiterating a historical representation of 'woman', major Japanese Kabuki companies continue to exclude women from the stage. On the one hand women are being excluded, which means there is an absence. On the other, there is a stereotyping of women in performance, which Peggy Phelan (2013:64) would call excessive presence. Independent scholar Frank Episale (2012) is critical of how kabuki itself has been essentialized in much the same way that gender and culture have too often been essentialized. He refers to scholars who continue to employ "torturous arguments to assert, for example, that the return of women to the kabuki stage would rob kabuki of its 'essence'" (2012:91). I therefore hope that my research can support the continuation of struggle for gender equality and recognition in the Japanese professional performance cultures as well as in the study field Asian Theatre.

A Reluctance to Perform 'Woman'

Encountering my own reluctance to perform 'woman' or a feminine stereotype in my teacher Nishikawa Senrei's dance studio put me right in the middle of contemporary feminism, which conveys that gender is fluid however still often presented in a fixed manner. In the beginning of my Nihon Buyō-studies, I struggled with the fiction and reality of certain body postures and sensed how the more painful 'woman's' body alignment was problematic. My own perception of the pain became an allegory to misogyny and oppression. Therefore, performing suriashi as a feminine stereotype, as a sexual difference, and as *marche féminine* with reference to Hélène Cixous (1988 [1975]) *écriture feminine,* was helpful for bringing forward the ambiguity and complexity of gender. The theatrical postures, repeating the body alignment, and the lived

experiences of performing on streets provided a solution to my problem. Beginning my *marche féminine* in Paris in 2014, and then continuing in many cities and places for years, I was able to collect plural experiences of proceeding through space. The practice continues, and also attracts other walkers, researchers and performers who are eager to practice together with me. In order to draw a line between what theatrical dance postures and actual lived experiences reinforce in relation to gender, I however focus on one specific suriashi walk performed with Bruno the Bad Boy, which I analyse with the help of Simone de Beauvoir (1949), Katherine Mezur (2005), the Nō playwright Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) - known as father of Nō theatre - and my teacher Nishikawa Senrei.

What is a Woman?

In the 18th century, Mary Wollstonecraft demanded that women were given the possibility to become equal citizens of the emerging democracy. In the 21st century, we still work for the inclusion of more female-identifying political and business leaders. Here is where gendered structures are still at play. Therefore, 'What is a woman?' is still a relevant question. Johanna Sjöstedt writes that "while the feminist movement has strived to make gender irrelevant", it seems that "the differences and injustices between the sexes are what gives feminism and gender studies its raison d'être" (Sjöstedt in Johansson Wilén and Sjöstedt 2021:8-9). Growing up as a girl in 1970s Sweden, making gender irrelevant was indeed processed and performed seriously, however never fully achieved. I agree to the question of 'sameness' as it was an attempt to process hierarchies between the sexes. The strive to make gender irrelevant proposed a 'sameness', which however failed to process differences. For example, I played soccer with the boys at school, but the boys did not come to dance class with me. A value system where boys' activities were ranked higher than girls' activities prevailed. Who wants to be a girl, throw like a girl, dance like a girl? For my first job as a professional dancer in the play *Peter Pan* at Nationalteatern 1987, I experienced more agency performing the role as a pirate, than the role of Wendy's daughter. Encountering Japanese dance in 2000, I preferred the male roles or the divine roles that enabled a more ambiguous performance. This confirms that the hierarchical value system between genders was difficult to get rid of. What is also problematic is that the girl's position in society still cannot be used as a strong position for agency.

Using 'drag' as a practice-led response to historical gender stereotypes, I appropriated the feminine posture of suriashi together with Bruno the Bad Boy, who is a professional performer based in Kyōto, Japan. On October 10th, 2015, he agreed to perform a slow suriashi walk with me for my doctoral research in Kyōto. We dressed up in our individual drag personas, me as an androgynous drag-king-queen, Bruno the Bad Boy as a drag queen. He dressed in a Western style long dress and high heels,

and I was wearing a men's shirt, pants, worker men's split sole shoes (*jikatabi*) with a female *obi* (kimono belt). We both wore fake eyelashes and exaggerated stage make up. The art of drag disturbs our preconceptions of what is natural or not, revealing and parodying the artificial gender construction. Parody can be a sign of appreciation, it can be ironic, but it can also be used for a patriarchal ridicule. My aim, however, was not to perform gendered positions as a parodic entertainment show. I aimed at something more complex; problematizing the passing as 'woman' or 'man' both on stage and in society. My objective was to further explore my own visibility in the city, and to process my reluctance to perform the 'woman'. We were both also curious to experience performing our drag personas on the streets, using drag personas originally created for the theatrical stage. Butler explained that "drag is an example that is meant to establish that 'reality' is when one cannot with surety read the body that one sees, is precisely the moment when one is no longer sure whether the body encountered is that of a man or a woman" (1999 [1990]: xxiii). Walking slowly as drag-king-queen and drag queen together, we set out to test something we could not decide the outcome beforehand. The borders between theatrical performance and everyday performance were about to dissolve.

Feminine suriashi was practiced as the most important and central suriashi at my teacher's studio *Senreinokai*. My research found that it is also the grounding for the cross-gender technique of the *onnagata,* a male actor who impersonates the ultra-feminine characters in the Japanese Kabuki theatre. The extreme body construction was originally created by male Kabuki actors/dancers to train to become onnagata. It was however not until 2012, when engaging with theoretical explanations of the onnagata body, that I began to explore the gendered suriashi fully. As Mezur notes:

> All the physical actions used to shape the intentional body, such as pressing the shoulder blades down and together, are onnagata gender acts, [and to] appear small and to create the postural line designated for onnagata gender roles, onnagata shape their standing postures by keeping their knees bent, turned inward, and pressed together (2005:177).

Mezur explained how several male performers used the phrase *karada o korosu* (killing the body), about "the painful physical reshaping and disciplined strength necessary for onnagata gender performance" (2005:280). The feminine dance roles were originally created to hide the male, and to so to speak, 'kill the body'. This is where the performance of the ideal 'woman' disturbed me the most, which I knew not only through my Nihon Buyō-studies but also through my extensive studies of classical ballet, as well as lived experiences of being a 'girl' and a 'woman'. In the ballet studio, there was a similar striving to erase the physical body for the sake of 'ideal aesthetics', where critical discussions about gender did not exist. Classical ballet was as physically challenging as soccer, however not perceived as such. When

I had my first surgery of my achilles tendon in 1991, the doctor refused to understand the injury was caused by performing in pointe shoes, and not by soccer games. Learning the 'feminine' Nihon Buyō-pieces *Kuro Kami* and *Fuji Musume*, I had to lean back in space, with shoulder blades down and together, instead of pushing myself forward through space. This physical labour to make the body smaller affected how the movements were composed from an internal contraction of muscles, never really unfolding fully in space because of the contraction. Trained as a professional dancer, the studying of stereotypically 'feminine' positionings and beings in space was difficult. When I understood however, the historical background of the practice, my reluctance to perform 'woman' instead transformed into a research situation. Understanding what certain movements were supposed to achieve made 'woman' into an intriguing research frame. Repressing physical energy, withdrawing shoulders, kneeling down and performing tiny gestures demanded a lot of effort. The *onnagata* performers explained that the reason they found the 'feminine' postures so difficult was because they are men. The 'feminine' posture "requires enormous energy to even approach that ideal" (Mezur, 2005:180). However, as a female performer, I found it just as difficult.

I also realized how the feminine suriashi actually represented the absence of live women in traditional Japanese theatre since it was created for men to 'become women', a fact I was unaware of during my initial years studying Nihon Buyō. Engaging with an absence, and performing and ideal fictive 'woman', creatively brought forward new findings that were both critical and parodic. For example, when a participant of my research workshop at *The Archives, Art and Activism* Conference at University College London in 2015 compared feminine suriashi with examples from the real world, she explained that she liked the leaning back since it differed from the 'leaning forward', which is what women have been instructed to do to make it in the corporate world.

The Business of Becoming Woman

Nishikawa Senrei explained in an interview that her grandmother had quickly taken her to dance class, because as a child she "was like a boy" (Tsurumi, 2003:19). The Nihon Buyō-lesson should help her conform to the appropriate social codes for being a girl. Nishikawa Senrei's grandmother believed the Japanese dance lesson would make her grandchild more feminine, with more restricted and restrained movements deemed to be appropriate gendered behavior. The story exemplifies Simone de Beauvoir's statement: "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman", which referred to living as a woman in the everyday world, not of consciously performing a theatricalised version of one (de Beauvoir, 1949:301). De Beauvoir questioned the processes behind 'becoming woman' and showed how our notions of the essentialist concept 'feminine' limit and oppress women. It is intriguing to compare Beauvoir's statement with

Nō-theatre playwright and actor Zeami Motokiyo's 14th century instructions for male actors to become women on stage:

> First Truly Become the Thing You Are Performing; Then Find the Skill to Imitate Its Actions as Well. When performing a woman's role, the actor should slightly bend the hips, hold his hands high, sustain the whole body in a graceful manner, feel a softness in his whole manner of being, and use his physique in a pliant manner (Zeami, 1984:77)

Zeami, considered to be the Father of Nō, and therefore still pursued and reconsidered in contemporary times, urged the actors to truly become the 'Thing You are Performing'. This is related to the theatrical posture and the mind of the performer. I argue that it also resonates well with Beauvoir's problematisation of how 'becoming woman' reproduced gender inequalities. Both Zeami and Beauvoir confirmed that " 'woman,' and by extension, any gender, is an historical situation rather than a natural fact" (de Beauvoir, 1949:38). Beauvoir's critique of acts forced upon women and Zeami's theatrical rules for becoming woman were shaped for different reasons and purposes. They both recognize the difference of biological sex and the performativity of gender. They both discuss the act of 'becoming woman' but disagree on what is considered a successful act. The women presented in Nō and Kabuki-theatre are idealized and romanticized, which should be understood in relation to the continuous absence of female performers in these traditional theatre forms. Japan's most famous *onnagata* Bandō Tamasaburō V explained in an interview that his own sense of romance was one reason he became an *onnagata*, and that he thinks of women as "wonderful things which are beyond our reach", but he has no intention of ever marrying one (cited in Lohr, 1982). Bandō Tamasaburō continued: "Most men would try to make their ideal woman into their wife. But I have made the ideal woman into my business'' (1982). Indeed, Tamasaburō's statements on becoming not only woman – but an ideal woman – elucidates the problem at stake. For example, Wollstonecraft, Beauvoir and Butler all ask in different ways if 'becoming woman' could be a successful, emancipated act also for women, where appropriating the lives of men has been one possible strategy.

Indeed, Beauvoir's statement that "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" was not used as an action for success, quite the opposite. Instead, she showed how the female body was limited, shaped and set in motion in a patriarchal structure, where she became the subordinate, the Other. Butler (1988) further explained how Beauvoir, appropriating and reinterpreting the doctrine of constituting acts from the phenomenological tradition, showed how gender is in no way a stable identity. Gender as identity is constituted, she argues "through a stylized repetition of acts",[ ], through "bodily gestures, movements, and enactments" (1988:519). Compared to a Western theatrical context, there was indeed something subversive with the cross-gender acts in Japanese dance, particularly when men study and perform feminine pieces - which is however

part of the tradition, and not an act of parody. In relation to the patriarchal interventions at stake in traditional Japanese (Nō and Kabuki) theatre, which historically pushed and banned women from stage, I have struggled to process this absence of women. My investigation of the 'feminine' suriashi was yet an attempt to process this fact. Zeami's instructions for male actors to portray women and Tamasaburō's statement that he has made the ideal woman into his business showed that male performers in Japanese theatre historically have been praised for performing the female gender, and could make this their profession. In order to be successful, both Zeami and Tamasaburō strived to perform the 'ideal woman', where the lineage from Nō-theatre to Kabuki became more stereotypical. However, female performers in Japan historically have struggled for visibility and professional recognition, showing that 'becoming woman' was not a successful practice for everyone (Kawashima 2001; Klein 1991: Meeks 2011; Nakahara 1999). Also, in many dance studios, in Japan as well as in Sweden, the 'ideal' dancer's behavior is practiced, where patriarchal authority is not questioned.

Beauvoir's statement about becoming woman has gained new traction through Butler and through juxtaposing queer theories where 'femininity' and 'becoming woman' also includes cross-dressing, trans, non-heteronormativity, and anything at odds with 'the normal' (Butler 1993; Danbolt 2010; de Lauretis 1991).The feminist movement continues to arise from the category 'woman' as its landmark but asks new questions about who could be included in the category. Contemporary feminism is not about abolishing the difference between the sexes. Instead, it is a matter of "counteracting a fixation of differences in hierarchical binary pairs based on an affirmation of differences" (Johansson Wilén and Sjöstedt, 2021:13). This is how I have appropriated Beauvoir's statement and applied it in my research. I perform 'the ideal' woman through my choice of suriashi, not as a gender-confirming act, but as a critical and creative response to Beauvoir, Butler, Tamasaburō and Zeami.

Shirabyōshi

I continue to give a historical background to gendered issues in Japanese performance cultures. I walk back in time to find out more about the history of walking steps, dance and the cross-gender-acts. The absence of women in traditional Japanese performance is also manifested in the Nō-theatre, hence why cross-gender constructions have become the norm also in Nō. The historian Eric C. Rath (2004) has investigated the development of the key traditions that constituted the "ethos of Nō", for example the mythologizing of bloodlines as the primary vehicle for transmission of secret information in the Nō-theatre. The misuse of fabricated scripts reinforced gender gaps between professional performers, still experienced today in Japan. My own findings show how in Nō-plays, women are present as spirits, which also finally became their role (of absence), since all roles were played by males (Brazell and Araki, 1986).

The position of women in Japan can be seen as having been affected by the adoption of Chinese (especially Confucian) cultural values, and also by the teachings of Buddhism (Tokita and Hughes, 2007:14). The religious and cultural change decreased female professionals in religious ceremonies and on stage. This change in society is reflected in this song created by the female performers, such as the Shirabyōshi in the Heian (781-1192) and Kamakura (1185-1333) eras:

In the Eastlands are there no women There are only male mediums so the gods take possession of men (Ryōjin hishō 556, Nakahara, 1999:394).

The cross dressers Shirabyōshi were female professional performers with ambulatory lifestyles, who performed secular poems as well as Buddhist and Shintoist prayers and rituals (Kawashima 2016; Klein 1991; Nakahara 1999; Ortolani 1984). I embody the movements of Shirabyōshi since 2011 when Nishikawa Senrei taught me the piece *Shizu no Odamaki*, as well as for my own 2012 performance *Dust Falling, Rain Falling*, which engaged with the situation of the female performer through history. The Shirabyōshi were called upon to bring forward beneficial weather, luck and fortune, which I interpret as an important societal engagement through the performing arts. They held strong positions in society, but there are historical scripts attempting to denounce and ridicule them through prejudices about women with itinerant lifestyles (Kawashima, 2001, Strippoli, 2006).

Sakurai Makiko, *Shōmyō* (Buddhist chanting) expert, performs as a contemporary Shirabyōshi on independent stages in Tokyo. She confirmed that there was a strong sacred female culture in Japan, however since the 8th century, male rulers were favoured to manage the government with China as a role model (Sakurai, 2013 - 2014). This had an effect for female professionals like Shirabyōshi. However, the fact that they dressed up like men and used Buddhist names helped their art to survive for another two hundred years before they were preserved as good or evil spirits in the Nō-plays (Brazell and Araki, 1986; Klein, 1991; Sakurai, 2013-2014). They wore robes consisting of layers of flamboyant fabric on top of oversized trousers, *nagabakama*. Other than *nagabakama* and long-sleeved tunic, they carried a sword and a men's hat for their dancing. They invented a special step – *ranbyōshi* which is the ancestor to suriashi. The myths shaping traditional Nō-theatre tell how Shirabyōshi teach their steps to the originators of the all-male Nō-ensemble before male performers became the norm and before female dancers became ambiguous characters; either good or evil spirits in the Nō-theatre plays. The myths also reveal an early discussion of authority to perform and of immaterial properties, as well as present an obscure positioning of the female dancer of the past, where she can return only as a spirit. These myths were central in the formation of government approved theatre forms and schools in the 14th century. Thus, the absence of women in Nō theatre, and later Kabuki, was also government approved.

Becoming Shirabyōshi

Nō theatre playwright Zeami wrote the following instructions on how male actors should portray the female crossdressers Shirabyōshi:

> As for the look of a dancer or shirabyōshi or, again, a "madwoman," she should hold a fan or a branch of leaves or flowers ever so gently. She is to wear her robe and trousers very long, even stepping on them, and her bearing should be gentle. (Zeami, 2008, 32)

Zeami wrote the above instruction for 'becoming dancer' or 'becoming Shirabyōshi' after the Shirabyōshi had lost their popularity. There is a similarity to how Zeami instructs male actors to become women, as written further above, with how he instructs male actors to become Shirabyōshi. There is the similar 'feminine' code about a gentle bearing but there is no clear instruction of how to perform the gender ambiguity. I also lack the fact that Shirabyōshi were cross-dressers for a specific reason – that female performers were pushed out caused by a change in society. Instead, Zeami presents them as 'madwomen'. Calling Shirabyōshi a 'madwoman' was an efficient way to dehumanize her and dismiss her position as a professional. In the Nō-theatre plays, the Shirabyoshi-characters always wear the *Hannya* mask at some point in the play. The *Hannya* mask wears horns and shows a (betrayed) female character with fully developed madness and demonic tendencies, which shows that her cross-gender act was not considered successful or not even mentioned as such. The powerful cross-gender acts by the Shirabyōshi, which I consider being serious struggles for gender equality, were instead lost in mythology. The aesthetic choices of movement and rhythm in choreography, the theatricalization of mythological steps, and the absence of living female performers formed the creation narrative in Nō-theatre, which has continued to affect traditional Japanese performing arts.

Later in the17th century, the successful shrine maiden and performer Izumo no Okuni entered the historical narrative of Japanese performance. She is now celebrated as the founder of Kabuki, performing on the riverbeds of Kyōto (Hartley 2018; Leiter 1998; Rumánek 2015). Okuni wore unusual costumes (often male), carried a sword, and danced a wild and unusual dance, which was called *kabuki* (Hahn, 2007). However, as I have explained previously, the patriarchal intervention by the Tokugawa regime in 1629 prohibited women from performing in public (Klens 1995; Yamazaki 2001). All female roles were instead replaced by male performers. One reason for the ban was that the women who originally controlled Kabuki received a source of income and power that challenged the rules of Japan's patriarchal society. The ban was reinforced with the motive to uphold public morality, since Kabuki attracted such large audiences and it was therefore difficult to control the mixing of social classes and genders (Klens, 1995:13).

After the ban, boys took over the female roles, however they were also banned from stage in 1652, with the result that only adult men could perform in public. Since all female roles were replaced by male dancers, it became necessary to authorize embodied gestures for males impersonating females on the Kabuki stage. The art of the *onnagata* was essentialized as a central part of Kabuki. During the period of the ban, women would continue to perform in shrines, and on smaller stages owned by wealthy families, and in private associations such as the matriarchal society - however dependant on male audiences - administering the art of the Geisha/Geiko and the Maiko (Downer, 2002)[2]. Thus, women learned performative styles for rounding out etiquette, but they did not have access to main audiences. They were domesticated. Studying dance, tea ceremony and flower arrangement"'were considered a means of developing a woman's social graces" (Hahn, 2007:26). These acts of everyday life also served as examples of what Beauvoir described as activities for "becoming woman" (1949:301). When Nihon Buyō entered the stage in the beginning of the 20th century, women could perform in public again (Yamazaki, 2001). However, both in Nō and Kabuki theatre, then and now, male performers were made the norm on stage. In addition, female masters can run their own dance studios, but all Nihon Buyō-schools must have male headmasters.

The pleasure of theatrical cross-gender acts

The performance artist Bruno the Bad Boy, based in Kyōto, appeared in my 2013 documentary film *The Dance of the Sun*. He compared himself with *onnagata* and male actors impersonating females in early Shakespeare dramas, but he clarified that he was neither an *onnagata* nor a female impersonator. He explained that he was a man celebrating women, which he thought was more aligned to the Western style drag queen than the traditional Japanese performance styles. His drag queen corresponded with my own investigations of a drag-king-queen, created specifically for my own stage performances.

There is something pleasurable in theatrical cross-gender acts. When a woman dresses in man's clothes on stage, there is a vision of a more flexible approach to gender and sexuality. Women dressing in men's clothing avoid a traditional women's lives (Rosenberg, 2000). My research showed that the brave woman walker drifting safely through urban space existed merely in fiction and in-between-spaces. In the real world, the female walker needed strategies that did not shy away from the fact that space was not equally accessible. The author George Sand (1804-1876), aware and frustrated about the streetwalking problem in bigger cities tried a new strategy in an attempt for change: dressing up as a man, walking the streets of Paris (Wolff, 1985). This cross-dressing strategy granted her a fictive invisibility. Wearing men's clothes

2 Geisha (芸者) - 'arts person' - are educated in Japanese traditional arts. Geiko (芸子) refers to geisha from Kyoto. Maiko（舞妓）-'dancing child' - refers to apprentice geiko.

made her invisible, and she could thus move without being stopped and looked at. Through her cross-dressing act, she took a huge risk, since it was technically illegal for a woman to wear trousers in Paris without a police permit. Any woman wearing slacks, a trouser suit or jeans could, in theory, be "arrested and taken to police headquarters", a law that prevailed until 2013 (Lichfield, 2013:n.p.).

I have adopted similar strategies myself, creating stage personas with an indefinable gendered expression, particularly in my own performances *20xLamentation* (2013) and *The Laugh of the Medusa* (2017). The strategy was not at first directed to being able to walk safely in urban spaces, but to be able to escape the male gaze. Thus, I did not make myself invisible, but I found strategies to escape the stereotypical demands of the female dancer having to be youthful and graceful. I allowed my theatrical stage persona to be my strategic drag-persona – a drag-king-queen - investigating issues with gender and gendered spaces in the suriashi walk with Bruno the Bad Boy. The choice to focus on 'feminine' suriashi was more precisely the adult male-to-female variation of suriashi for the theatrical stage.

Walking in 'feminine' suriashi with Bruno the Bad Boy at Saiin Kasuga Shrine Festival

On October 10th, 2015, our suriashi walk took place at the yearly Saiin Kasuga Shrine Festival, which is a large and popular Fall festival with traditional parades and performances held on the second weekend in October. It is a religious Shinto festival and therefore we decided not to walk near the shrine, to avoid hijacking the purpose of the festival. We moved in the marketplace outside the shrine area (see Fig. 1).

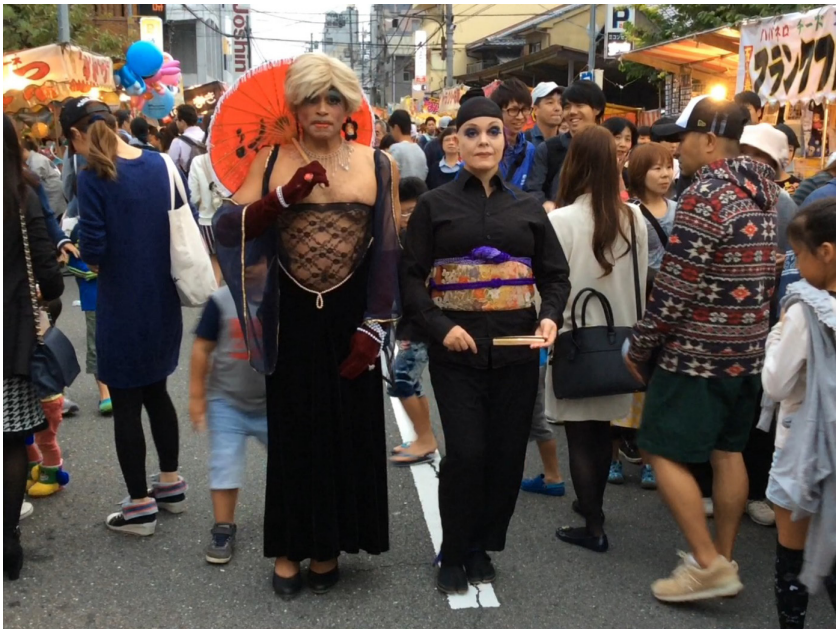

Figure 1: Bruno – the Bad Boy and Ami Skånberg Dahlstedt (photograph by Kenjiro Ishibashi, 2015)

Walking together with drag queen Bruno the Bad Boy in Kyōto showed how suriashi - when leaving the studio or the theatre – was able to engage with lived experiences of gender and gendered spaces. It showed how theatricality from fictive spaces can affect the reality, and the real world. As we began to walk through a rather crowded area, framed by market stalls and food stalls, we realized that our suriashi walk became quite an event for people. This was a surprise. Since the beginning of my suriashi research in 2014, I had become used to walking alone in suriashi without notice. This fact showed how suriashi performed on the street made me invisible and unnoticed, which I think worked as a safe practice for women walking alone on the streets. At the shrine festival, however, people made loud comments about me and Bruno the Bad Boy, laughed, came up close to take selfies, walked next to us to discuss who and what we were. We did not respond to the questions; we directed our gaze to the horizon – which is part of the theatrical technique - and continued walking for two hours.

While relocating suriashi to the festival, we still performed the 'feminine' as a formal dance technique. Bruno the Bad Boy afterwards praised my instructions on how to perform the feminine suriashi, which helped him not to get too distracted by the turmoil our presence created. For example, the directing of the eyes to the horizon enabled him to have his own protected space. An auto-ethnographic journal excerpt appears below, based on our experience of the suriashi walk, written immediately after the walk. Bruno the Bad Boy and I were both still in drag to remain in the experience that the suriashi walk had provided.

Process journal from the experience of walking in 'feminine' suriashi with Bruno the Bad Boy

Bruno the Bad Boy explained his inner voice during the walk: 'I am going over the mountains. There are many things along the way, but I am focusing on the horizon and that is where I am going'. We both noticed how a boy wearing a Pikachu mask walked with us almost the whole time, trying to follow the suriashi technique. The festival has many parades, where people walk, run, and wave portable shrines wildly from side to side to amuse the gods. I experienced how Bruno the Bad Boy and I were able to create a firm rhythm in an unruly and exuberant space as if we had created our own parade, however not announced. Those other high-spirited festival rhythms fed our slow parade and made it distinct and noticeable. I felt empowered and positive after our performance. I also felt a bit sad when people laughed and screamed at us, reflecting the concern that whoever differs from the norm could be ridiculed at some point.

I told Bruno the Bad Boy that it was unusual for my research to walk in suriashi in public space wearing full costume. Bruno the Bad Boy laughed and asked: 'Which costume? No one is wearing a costume here!' He explained that for him, drag is itself the costume. Not only the glamourous female drag but also the distinguished gentleman drag, the Doctor drag, the English teacher drag. Drag works like a façade that we put on to fit into our role for the day. Bruno the Bad Boy thought that our façade worked well with the suriashi walking since we were able to address what gender, or any kind of social construct, is. He meant that 'When you receive that façade, when you receive that role - you decide to follow it. Even if we were breaking with something, we were also following something, only put in a new context. We did not put up a drag queen show. We moved slowly enough and passively enough so that people were invited to observe'. Bruno the Bad Boy heard many people asking Why? What is happening? However, we were just walking, which was our reply. Bruno continued: 'And it was almost to say OK, you asked a question - now you can answer it as well'.

Bruno the Bad Boy explained that even though I had not provided a goal on what to achieve through suriashi, our conversation on gender role models was there as an underlying theme. He shared his reflections on the 'seen' and 'unseen'. He meant that when people see something different there is always the idea of looking, even though we are taught that we should not stare. Bruno the Bad Boy believed our suriashi walk in drag gave people the permission to look. Since we were moving very slowly, we allowed people to acknowledge the uniqueness or the difference. At the same time, people admired our presence. Bruno the Bad Boy explained: 'I heard how people said Sugoi! Sugoi! (wow!), which is not a positive or negative, it means "This is beyond the norm!" And life is more interesting when you experience "beyond norm". Especially when it's non-threatening. They looked at our feet and understood we were doing suriashi, which probably not would have been noticed in Europe or the United States'. Bruno the Bad Boy thought that our suriashi act was something extraordinary, simply because it was not extraordinary, we both felt that we managed to create a space-in-between where we could process each other's views and prejudices. Ending the interview, Bruno asked: "Is this your normal academic drag? Do your professors dress like this?" I replied that I do defend the right to lecture wearing fake eyelashes in an academic context. Bruno advised: "I think you must say that the panel must wear fake eyelashes. Then they must

> *be barefoot, they must expose body hair – and from there we have started."* (Bruno the Bad Boy, 2015)
>
> *I pondered: Our slow moving through space as performers with a huge audience made me think of the history of the performer, and the role of the performer. This is how you had to perform without a stage. Right there in the crowd. Trying to find something that would attract people's attention. To call for laughter and to accept to be laughed at, to question what society believes in, to question what you do in a festival and what you don't do in a festival, how you dress, how you don't dress, how you buy things… Suriashi provided something different; an in-between-space.*
>
> *Our suriashi walk was a constructionist strategy, where suriashi is not natural walking, but artificial walking. By choosing the artificial, we manifested the performing arts' love of the fabricated and the esoteric. We proposed to move artificially and slowly for everything that is considered strange and against anything that goes too fast, celebrating what was considered exaggerated and deviating. (Dahlstedt, 2014-2019)*

Comparing gendered walks at Kasuga Saiin Shrine and Kitano Tenmangu Shrine

Our suriashi walk at Kasuga Saiin Shrine Festival lasted for two hours, which was documented on camera and witnessed by our friends Takewaka Mori and Ishibashi Kenjiro. When watching the video, I noticed that there was a clear difference from the other suriashi walks that I usually performed on my own, wearing instead an everyday drag, and without the golden *obi* and the fake eyelashes. Ten days after our suriashi at Kasuga Saiin Shrine Festival, I walked alone in order to compare my experience walking with Bruno the Bad Boy. As I expected, nobody took notice of my solitary presence at Kitano Tenmangu Shrine. I regained my invisible and safe space as I walked alone again. I remained invisible and safe. Being invisible is however not an ideal position in society.

Performing suriashi with drag queen Bruno the Bad Boy revealed that it was possible to make gender visible as a drag show, also in this slow and silent manner. We were able to create a slow, demanding and political act. The 'feminine' posture provided focus and seemed to protect us from questions and comments. The focus created through the locked gaze, paired with the slow time scale of suriashi, provided both a shield and an observer's distance to the onlookers. However, even though we both directed our horizon, we managed to hear and sense rather intensely what was happening around us. This showed how the embodied logic of suriashi supported a different engagement with space than just the visual register. When we analysed the video afterwards, we considered just how much suriashi affected the space around us. Suriashi in this case did not work as a tool for fictive invisibility; our gendered walking received attention and created a stir. Still, we both felt that we managed to create a space-in-between where people could process their own expectations and prejudices. I also considered the fact that for our feminine suriashi on the streets, we paraded like constructed women.

This was a small shift in comparison with how women historically have walked like constructed men. I believe that our act confirmed the becoming of the non-binary rather than becoming woman.

Butler explained that "drag is an example that is meant to establish that 'reality' is when one cannot with surety read the body that one sees, is precisely the moment when one is no longer sure whether the body encountered is that of a man or a woman" (1999:xxii). This fact provoked people around us. However, since our gendered suriashi parade was understood as non-violent, Bruno the Bad Boy pointed to the fact that people's reactions were positive. In addition, I heard positive comments on how I wore my golden *obi*, outside my black shirt and pants, without the traditional kimono. Dance practitioners might have noticed that I was holding a Japanese dance fan.

The initial intention of our performance was to practice the idea of parading gender as a serious statement. This provided a silent space where we initially did not invite laughter and ridicule. The performative space that we were able to create around us was based on our long experiences from dancing and performing on stage, where we have become experts to even ignore audiences despite sharing the same space. Thus, the suriashi walk at the crowded shrine festival added an extra focal point for us as performers, where we could reach a contemplative state by directing our focus and gaze inwards. We could imagine other presences inside our own presence. I do not expect anyone to perform the same drag performance as ours without experience or practice, since I cannot guarantee that suriashi performed in urban spaces can offer a secure space for everyone at any time.

Conclusion

I propose that the suriashi style created to impersonate women is not only a gender construction, it is also a reminder of the continuous absence of women in Nō and Kabuki theatre, and as a result of the 1629-1868 ban (Klens, 1995:13). My own repeated acts performing suriashi in urban space enabled uncertain encounters with history - encounters that were painful and unsettling. They "draw attention to how we are touched by the past, whether we want to be or not" (Danbolt, 2010:42). Touched by the past, my own move from the studio to the streets forced me to repeat questions about the absences and presences of women in urban spaces.

Combining extended practice-based knowledge with historical accounts, I have elucidated the act of 'becoming woman' or 'performing as woman' in traditional Japanese dance (Hahn 2007; Klens 1995; Zeami 1984; Mezur 2005). This helps to process a global conservatory performer training. We could intensely hear and sense what was happening around us, showing how the embodied logic of suriashi supported an expanded engagement with space, beyond the visual. Still, our suriashi walk deeply

affected the space around us, and was far from invisible in this case. Rather, we created a stir, but we also provided a possibility for projection of expectation and prejudice.

My research showed how suriashi performed on the streets could protect the performer in two almost contradictory ways: First, by being a deeply concentrated performance in a different time scale, distanced the performer from the onlookers, while still providing a reflective surface for their reactions, and a heightened awareness of the surroundings for the performers. Second, by shielding the single performer from attention, by the same time scale difference working in reverse, provided a distance from the surrounding people to the performer, who thus goes unnoticed. As such, 'feminine' suriashi performed on the streets work as a peaceful and slow, but still confrontative, method to ask our society about gender.

Since I was able to compare both walks with regards to my own position as performer, I consider how these experimental suriashi walks were able to also problematize the position that the female performer has taken on - often taken for granted - where it seems that she welcomes any gaze to scrutinize and judge her. This position made her vulnerable, even more so if her performance did not correspond to stereotypical expectations of beauty, and the dance field's repeatedly obsession of youth and athleticism. Allowing the suriashi walks to ask specific questions about gender has shown itself to be a viable part of my personal strategy towards sustainability. My research shows that one personal strategy also can become a collective one. The history of walking steps and cross-gender acts are neither determinant nor conclusive, and therefore allow for a creative interpretation of how to proceed with various professional walking styles. I argue that these performative mythical cross-gender acts in Japanese theatre and dance could be used successfully for a contemporary discussion of gender equality, and for global performer training.Dance scholar Emily Wilcox stated that dance in East Asia has eluded the attention of text-based scholars since dance was considered difficult to engage with because of its embodied expression (Wilcox&Mezur, 2020:1). Wilcox argued that scholars of dance studies 'often lacked the kinesthetic, linguistic, and contextual knowledge to carry out primary research on these dance forms (2020:1). It is important to reflect on how we as researchers and dance educators decide to interpret historical accounts, and for the benefit of whom. Japanese as well as Swedish dance educators rarely relate to the historical background when teaching technique classes. Thus, it is urgent to include discussions on gender also in dance class, otherwise gender inequality continues to thrive through the dance practice itself. Bringing dance/acting techniques from the studio, the theatre, and out to society is a possible start.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Reverse-Engineering the Sylph: Reclaiming Female Ballet Bodies in Florentina Holzinger's TANZ

Anna LEON[1]

Abstract

Florentina Holzinger's 2019 *TANZ* critically relates to ballet history's disciplinary treatment of female bodies. Based on the case study of *TANZ*, this article identifies choreographic and performative strategies through which contemporary dance work reclaims the agency of female dancing bodies; and contributes to a practice-based macro-history of ballet, in which contemporary works become springboards for re-writing historical narratives. The article approaches dance in a methodological framework influenced by gender studies, cultural studies and critical theory. It uses macro-historiographic concepts to analyze interviews with cast members, observations of rehearsals and the resulting performance. It argues that Holzinger's work reclaims female ballet bodies through five interconnected strategies: the diversification of the homogeneous ballet body; the de-essentialization of romantic femininity; the reversal of the male gaze by an all-female group of performers; the development of trans-human, techno-ecological alliances; and the *détournement* (subversive repurposing) of bourgeois-driven romantic spectacle. It further argues that through such strategies *TANZ* points to under-acknowledged aspects of a ballet history that subverts its very own norms. It thus presents contemporary feminist dancemaking in a common framework with the under-acknowledged struggles of historical female dancers.

Keywords

Florentina Holzinger, Romantic Ballet, Feminist Ballet History, Macro-Historiography in Dance

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Introduction

Florentina Holzinger's *TANZ* (German for 'dance') is the third work in a trilogy in which the Austrian choreographer engages with Western choreographic history, and more particularly ballet, interrogating its disciplinary formation of bodies. *TANZ* starts with a ballet class led by Beatrice Cordua, a long-time ballerina now in her eighties. The class is a snapshot of the ways in which the ballet body is modelled; as the piece progresses, it becomes a journey towards conquering – both achieving and occupying, overturning – ballet's disciplinary formation of female bodies. Nudity and body waste, humor and sexuality, stunts and CrossFit participate in a work that looks back to 19th century – mainly French – romantic ballet and critically juxtaposes it with forms of discipline that female bodies in dance and performance still face today. Focusing on the mysterious, ethereal, quasi-disincarnated femininity of romantic ballet (rather than on its exoticizing aspects), Holzinger offers a raw, fully incarnate response to past choreography. This article draws from my work accompanying the choreographer as historiographic/research advisor, interviews with cast members, and detailed observations of the ensuing performances, to frame *TANZ* in feminist ballet history: as an embodied and enacted feminist manifesto about ballet's bodies.

TANZ premiered at Tanzquartier Wien (Vienna, Austria) in October 2019. It is a budget-heavy production that received wide support in the form of co-productions from major European dance institutions. *TANZ* toured extensively and continues to do so almost four years after its premiere. It was invited to the Berlin *Theatertreffen* festival in 2020, a significant marker of recognition for theatrical work in the German-speaking world. It puts on stage twelve performers (including the choreographer and an on-stage camerawoman).

The piece's introductory ballet class soon deviates from typical training. Both Cordua as the teacher and the other performers as her students gradually take their clothes off, their actions and words becoming increasingly sexually explicit, culminating in a scene where Cordua inspects her students' vulvas and describes them to the audience. *Pliés* and *tendus* give their place to stunts, lifts and strength-based feats: performers climb on motorcycles hanging from the ceiling or suspend themselves from a loop thread into their hair. A witch on an electric broom punctuates the piece with comic interludes; a camerawoman follows the performers, selecting perspectives inaccessible to the audience and projecting the material on screens to the side of the stage in real time. Halfway through the piece, the stage backdrop shifts from neutral to artificial nature imagery: green, leafy, slightly menacing. The actions that follow confirm the darker ambience: a performer imitates a birth scene, producing a tiny animal; a wolf's body is pierced by a metallic pole; a body suspension scene forms a triumphant, if bloody and intense, climax. Cordua's presence becomes a red thread throughout the piece,

voicing ballet's internalized, disciplinary and sexist superego but also its undisciplined, revolt/ing subconscious.

My first hypothesis is that Florentina Holzinger's contemporary piece *TANZ* employs and exemplifies performative strategies that allow the reclamation[1] of female bodies from disciplinary, dispossessing and agency-reducing practices present in historical as well as contemporary dance. This analysis of *TANZ* is situated in a context of feminist and gender-theory-informed ballet scholarship. This field of research notably includes Lynn Garafola's (1997) *Rethinking the Sylph,* a revisionist history of romantic ballet that critically undermined the idealization of romanticism, revealing its contributions to dominant ideologies about gender and nation (among other themes); as well as Garafola's more recent (2022) study on Bronislava Nijinska, in which the author examines gender-critical modernist choreography by a female choreographer and names sexism as a parameter influencing her career; Adesola Akinleye's (2021) *(Re:) Claiming Ballet*, a collection including case studies and self-reflections in feminist, queer and intersectional ballet experiences; Peter Stoneley's (2007) *Queer History of Ballet*, which identified evocations of queerness in only-apparently-straight ballet history, a silent and silenced presence to be read through the lines of heteronormative ballet narratives; Susan Leigh Foster's (1996) *Choreography and Narrative,* which culminated its history of narrative ballet with a critique of dance romanticism's staging of muted, sexualized female bodies; and Deidre Kelly's more journalistic *Ballerina* (2012), which contributed to undoing the idealized image of the ballerina, replacing it by a critical analysis of the exploitative, physically dangerous and sexualized conditions in which female ballet dancers have long worked. Complementing such research, this article aims, through the example of *TANZ*, to show how contemporary choreographic *practice* can also contribute a feminist perspective on ballet history.

The second hypothesis motivating this article is that in the process of reclaiming the agency of contemporary female dancing bodies on its stage, *TANZ* also invites a re-reading of the historical (primarily French, early 19th-century) ballet history that it refers to. It thus allows identification of subversive aspects within romantic ballet's highly disciplinary and sexist history, developing a transhistorical sisterhood between early 19th-century ballerinas and contemporary performers. Through this re-reading, critical perspectives on *TANZ* itself may be developed. This axis of my research is related to ongoing macro-historical work in dance studies, which draws connections between chronologically disparate pieces and practices. This includes comparative approaches, such as Frédéric Pouillaude's (2017 [2009]) study of the notion of 'work' in dance with examples ranging from ancient Greek theatre to *ballet d'action*. It includes concept-based diachronic histories, such as Susan Leigh Foster's (2011) analysis of

[1] For another argument towards reclaiming female ballet bodies against the erasure of female desire on the ballet stage see Foster, 2005 [1996].

choreography, empathy and kinanesthesia in a period spanning several centuries and Nicole Haitzinger's (2009) examination of the notion of effect (*Wirkung*) in dance from medieval to 18th-century Europe. It furthermore includes historiographic narratives that revisit dance history through reference to contemporary works and concepts, such as Anna Leon's (2022) macro-history of expanded choreography. The extensive literature on dance and re-enactment (e.g. Franko 2017) finally points at how contemporary choreographic practices themselves also re-work and re-process dance history. My aim in this article is to contribute to such macro-historiographic perspectives in dance by identifying, in the example of *TANZ*, how contemporary practices can rewrite and disrupt historical ballet narratives. In doing so, I underline the import of placing contemporary works in diachronic planes, removing them from modernist isolation in a future-seeking present.

Weaving these two hypotheses and corresponding research aims together, this article sees *TANZ* as a contribution to a feminist history of ballet: both a new performance defying its historically entrenched gender norms and a contemporary invitation to rewrite the history of ballet-dancing female bodies.

Sources and Methods

As a researcher giving historiographic input to the choreographer, I was part of discussions with Holzinger and the cast about how their work related to ballet history and observed certain working sessions during residencies and rehearsals. My presence during parts of residency periods provided glimpses of working processes and choreographic research. One significant way in which these developed was a collective engagement with specific cast members' skills: Cordua giving a ballet class or a circus artist giving a body contortion class, for example. Another significant aspect was invitations to experts from diverse fields (notably stunts, singing and dance history) who worked with the performers on specific skills that Holzinger was interested in using. The piece therefore developed through a combination of already-existing expertise within the cast and in-process learning. In some of these sessions (e.g. stunt training) my position was that of an observer; in others (e.g. ballet class) I was a participant. My presence during final rehearsals provided glimpses of how the piece was refined and details set. Observing these sessions provided important insights into the negotiations between performers' bodily needs or limits (including healing times) and choreographic imperatives of polishing the work for its premiere. Throughout the process, observing interactions during breaks and meals provided an understanding of the cast coming together as a group. Interviews with members of the cast, especially two body-suspension artists, offered additional insights. Their views often diverge, pointing to the diversity of readings that the cast has about the piece; their partiality is complemented by insights from informal discussions with multiple cast members.

Among the work's multiple performers, the suspension artists were selected because they are particularly relevant to the problematics of body modification and feminist reclaiming of bodily actions at the core of this research and because they are iconically connected to romantic ballet figures which they actively rework and transform. The interviewees were self-selected, by responding to my call to discuss their work with Holzinger. The interviews took place online, following a script of open-ended questions that allowed us to delve more into topics raised by the interviewees themselves. Finally, my analysis is based on watching multiple performances of *TANZ* and focusing on the work's selection and use of movement material, staging choices and dramaturgical structure. In analyzing these materials, I consider dance as a socially-inscribed practice and as part of a wider bodily culture, rather than in a modernist conceptual framework of artistic autonomy.[2]

Assessment of my first hypothesis, namely that TANZ develops strategies of reclaiming female ballet bodies, draws on methodological tools and concepts from (queer-)feminist theory. This involves acknowledging, on the basis of the fundamental writings of Judith Butler (2006 [1990]), gender as a non-essentializable category that can, beyond its social constructability, be actively rewritten, including through artistic practice. It implicates considering gender, including 'womanhood' or 'femininity', as categories always and already inscribed in specific historical and cultural frames, with subjects embodying, enacting and experiencing gender in a complex interaction between societal expectations, material constraints, and agent-driven choices. Finally, it involves an intersectional approach – in this case in particular between gender and class – which points to the shortcomings of addressing singular forms of dominance (or resistance) and rather proposes to examine them as compounding factors. Against this background, a terminological clarification is needed. I extensively use, in this text, 'women', 'womanhood', 'femininity', 'femaleness' and related terms. This choice is a descriptive one, as it reflects Holzinger's own decision to perform with an all-female cast, and the absence of explicitly queer bodies in *TANZ*. Nevertheless, in this article these terms refer in an inclusive, non-cisgender-assuming way, to a socio-political positionality predicated onto plural bodies.

Discussion of my second hypothesis, namely that *TANZ* allows a re-reading of ballet history through a contemporary lens, employs two concepts that methodologically frame historiographic transfers between ballet romanticism and contemporaneity. First, I draw from Ramsay Burt's (2004) use of Mieke Bal's proposal for a 'preposterous' history, which she developed in her study of contemporary perspectives on baroque art. Bal writes

[2] In the French dance-historical context more particularly – which serves as a reference point for this article since Holzinger's work looks back mainly at French romantic ballet – a significant methodological shift towards a cultural study of dance has occurred through the work of the Paris Atelier for Research in the Cultural History of Dance, whose work is "a reflection on the methodologies of cultural history as applied to the study of dance" (Atelier d'histoire culturelle de la danse, undated).

> Like any form of representation, art is inevitably engaged with what came before it, and that engagement is an active reworking. It specifies what and how our gaze sees. [...] re-visions of baroque art neither collapse past and present, as in an ill- conceived presentism, nor objectify the past and bring it within our grasp, as in a problematic positivist historicism. They do, however, demonstrate a possible way of dealing with 'the past today'. This reversal, which puts what came chronologically first ('pre-') as an aftereffect behind ('post') its later recycling, is what I would like to call a *preposterous history*. (1999, 1, 6-7)

In what follows I 'preposterously' look at romantic ballet history through the lens proposed by Holzinger's contemporary work. Secondly, I refer to Hal Foster's (1996: xii) notion of the parallax, which he defines as "the apparent displacement of an object caused by the actual movement of its observer. This figure underscores both that our framings of the past depend on our positions in the present and that these positions are defined through such framings". Through this notion, Foster invites consideration of the bidirectional relationship between past and present, whereby a 'preposterous' contemporary re-reading of the past in its turn colors and influences our understanding of the present. These methodological tools are used descriptively but also programmatically: as a proposal for a critical historiography that draws from choreographic practice.

Results and Discussion

A feminist perspective on Holzinger's work identifies five interconnected, mutually supporting strategies reclaiming choreographic command on the female ballet body. Through each of these strategies, *TANZ* appears to counter a disciplinary ballet history. If, however, we avoid a modernist reading of the work as a progress-driven break from a uniform past, but rather approach it as an invitation to seek links between past and present, it becomes possible to see Holzinger's strategies as reminders of ballet history's niches, in which (female) dance artists have always and already resisted regulatory and disciplinary norms. In the following discussion I analyze each identified strategy in turn, explaining how it responds to historical ballet norms, but also pointing out historical instances of resistance to those same norms.

The Diversification of the Often-Homogeneous Ballet Body

Historically and in contemporaneity, ballet dancers have been subject to strict constraints regarding their appearance, accompanied by selectivity from a very early age based on anatomical traits. The romantic ballet body was not subject to the same norms as later 19th century or contemporary ballerinas' bodies (cf. Thomas 2003: 111; Garafola 2007: 155; 1997: 2). Nevertheless, romantic ballet dancers were still selected and evaluated to the point of objectification and their bodies had to be transformed into instruments of their art. Technical requirements have evolved, but skill and virtuosity,

especially in the frontal body opening of turnout and in that high art of defying gravity, were already necessary (cf. Jowitt 2010 [1998]: 217). This normative curation of bodies happened in a framework where the whiteness of ballet was also taken for granted. For the vast majority of dancers in the *corps de ballet*, homogenization also meant synchronicity and uniform motion; self-same costumes and hairstyles; undifferentiated and unnamed roles.

The bodies of Holzinger's performers are much more diverse. Their appearance varies in height, muscularity, weight, as well as through the use of body markings like tattoos and piercings, countering the homogeneity of the *corps de ballet*. Even though they are light-skinned and the overwhelming majority remains white, not all conform to the idealized whiteness of ballet. And contrary to ballet's youth cult, the cast of *TANZ* ranges from around 20 to around 80 years old. This also results in vastly different degrees of mobility and physical ability, accompanied by varying types of skill and training background, from weight training to pointework. This is consistent with Holzinger's previous works, which has involved collaborations with practitioners ranging from sideshow performance (*Apollon*) to boxing (*Inside the Octagon*). Contrary to the identical performance of *corps de ballet* dancers, Holzinger actively adapts to her performers' diverse skills, whose actions correspond to their training background and who each bring different practices to the work.

The diversification of the homogeneous ballet body that Holzinger's work proposes may seem like a contemporary undoing of ballet history's imperative of uniformization. Nevertheless, if one follows Bal's (1999) motion towards a preposterous history troubling historiographic linearity, and thus takes Holzinger's contemporary creation as a lens through which to look at the past, it appears that historical ballet bodies did not always and fully conform to such an imperative. Sources like Danish romantic ballet choreographer Auguste Bournonville's *Letters* (1999 [1860]: 36) speak of the French Opéra's *corps de ballet*'s small gestures of indifference and resistance to the uniform performance expected of them: "[t]he little conversations, the quick glances into the auditorium, the apathy displayed during scenes of enthusiasm, the witty remarks and the derisive laughter during tragic scenes, have always been a particular and distinctive feature of the corps de ballet at the Académie royale et impériale de musique". Beyond romanticism, several voices illuminate the presence of non-white, non-gender-conforming and mixed-abilities ballet dancers both historically and in contemporaneity, while acknowledging the structural conditions that have led to severe under-representations of non-conforming bodies in ballet. Selby Wynn Schwartz (2021: 189-190) quotes several dancers, both cisgender and gender-non-conforming, who have in recent years questioned the rigidity of gender distribution in training and casting, while reminding that genderqueer dancing has historical precedents as well. Joselli Audain Deans (2021) provides a history of Black dancers in U.S.-American

ballet, countering pervasive ideas about African-American ballet's purported absence and thus establishing a genealogy for contemporary African-American ballet. Kelsie Acton and Lindsay Eales (2018) discuss possible transformations of ballet class for mixed-abilities groups including wheelchair users; such transformations illustrate that while professional ballet was and is a field that excludes many bodies, ballet technique and the sociability of a ballet class are amenable to diverse bodies. Such work draws attention to those bodies that do not fit into the dominant historiographic narrative of ballet but that nevertheless constitute a significant part of its history. Holzinger's diversification strategies can be seen as 'incomplete': the majority of the cast is white; nakedness is omnipresent and therefore partly homogenizing. But this incompleteness places her work in the continuation of historical dancers' unfinished struggle, rather than on a contemporary pedestal of successful and complete revolution.

The De-Essentialization of the Idealized Image of Femininity Staged By Romantic Ballet

Romantic ballerinas had to look ethereal and light to embody largely male-defined aesthetics of fragility relating to storylines placing them on the verge of death, as ghosts and spirits, victims to unhappy endings. At the same time, their performance work required strength, tolerance to pain and significant risk taking: stepping onto pointe, hanging from suspension wires, jumping into trap doors, risking accidents that happened all too often, to the point that they were paid extra to compensate for the danger, at the Paris Opéra at least (Kelly, 2012: 84). The illusion of ethereality and otherworldliness required by the romantic aesthetic was further grounded upon other dangers like costumes catching fire in the gaslights used to create the mystery-laden atmospheres of white acts (cf. Kelly, 2012: ch. 3). Gracefulness, ethereality and lightness were aesthetic goals realized through training and stage technology; but they also hid the means that made them possible. The significant amount of physical discomfort and risk-taking tacitly underlying the embodiment of ethereal romantic femininity is paradigmatic of painful and risky procedures that female bodies are still expected to endure but hide. These can range from normalized, low-level pain (eyebrow plucking) to significant body modification that may have health consequences (certain types of plastic surgery). In this vein Garafola (1986: 35) sees romantic ballet as an artistic practice reflecting but also modelling wider norms of female appearance: "even when [the 19th century ballerina] turned into the fast, leggy ballerina of modern times, her ideology survived. […] Like her nineteenth-century forebear, today's ballerina, an icon of teen youth, athleticism, and anorexic vulnerability, incarnates a feminine ideal defined overwhelmingly by men".

Against a heritage of women literally dying on stage to embody the romantic ideal, *TANZ* involves physically demanding feats as well as painful and potentially dangerous

practices. The climax of these tasks is an act of hook suspension, whereby a piercer passes hooks underneath the skin of a suspension artist who is then lifted in the air from ropes attached to the hooks, literally embodying the romantic ideal of defying gravity. In the case of *TANZ* the hooks are inserted on the back, at the level of the shoulder-blades, a wink to the Sylphide's tragedy-bearing wings. But here, contrary to historical ballet, the pain, risk and strength required to complete these actions are not concealed to create an illusion of frailty. They are rather presented in a direct and empowered way that for some spectators is troublesome. In other words, the flying bodies in *TANZ* actively draw attention to the psychological and corporeal energy and effort put into the act of defying gravity, rather than conceal it under a veil of gracefulness. To borrow philosopher and queer theorist Paul Preciado's (2003) terms, *TANZ des-ontologizes* female ballet bodies: it counters the naturalized affirmation of their existence *as such*. It replaces their appearance of otherworldliness, one that grounded an essentialized view of mysterious femininity, by a confrontation with their constructed-ness – and the effort, pain, and risk implicated in that process of construction.[3]

The de-essentialization of the idealized image of femininity staged by romantic ballet that Holzinger's work achieves may again seem like a counter-image to the light, ethereal, seemingly effortless aesthetic of romantic ballet. However, the raw depiction of pain, effort and risk in *TANZ* can also be read as a reminder of the strength, risk-taking and defiance of physical and mental barriers of the only apparently frail romantic ballerina. We know for example that dancers chose to be suspended by pullies despite the risk of falling, in order to be paid extra; or that they chose to wear flammable materials because they deemed them more beautiful (Kelly, 2012: 84, 86). These were decisions made in a context where financial pressure was such that choosing did not represent a freedom to navigate meaningful options; they nevertheless still were decisions that subjects faced with the force and determination required to enact them. Crucially, the (however constrained and un-free) decision to risk accidents and fire was not actually fully compatible with the imperative of concealing the grueling construction of an ethereal, Sylph-like quality. Ballerinas dangled from wires, fell and caught fire in front of their audiences; theatre directors as well as patrons were well aware of these dangers (Kelly, 2012: 85-86; Adair, 1992: 95). In other words, the accidents were not just the price to pay for concealing femininity's constructed-ness; they were the rupture of grace, breaking through its surface to betray its secrets. Holzinger's audiences, facing actions that they at times find excessive, provocative or disgusting, are catching glimpses of 19th-century spectatorship, tense with apprehension that tutu white would turn into blood red. Looking at this connection through the lens of Foster's (1996: xii) parallax, the stunts and body modifications of *TANZ* appear as contemporary responses

[3] For an analysis of the image of the ballerina as both elegant dancing figure and poverty-marked worker, see Sabee (2022). For an overview of the disparity between the myth and reality of romantic dancers, see Jarrasse (2018).

to a dance field that still modifies and curates female bodies through pain and effort, with performers still negotiating the forms, extent, and decision-making of that pain and effort. On a less gory note, romantic ballet dancers may have in any case been more aware of gender's constructed-ness than many of their contemporaries, because they were called upon to embody male roles too. In what is referred to as the phenomenon of female 'travesty dancers' (cf. Garafola, 1986; Foster 2005 [1996]: 11-12), ballerinas donned male costumes and played male parts – and therefore circulated between gender embodiments in a de- and re-construction of gendered appearance, as historical agents prefiguring contemporary gender-critical performance.

The Reversal of the Male Gaze By an All-Female Group of Performers

The figure of the romantic ballerina was modulated in order to satisfy male patrons who exerted influence as paying customers. This was once again most notably so at the Paris Opéra, which from 1830 onwards started functioning, despite continued state support, following the model of a privatized, profit-seeking business (Kelly, 2012: 54; Garafola, 1986: 35). Susan Leigh Foster (1996: 229) explains:

> At the same time that audience members exercised a masculine and heterosexual role in viewing the ballet, they also identified as consumers. The arts, including dance, no longer set standards of aesthetic excellence through which the state partially defined itself; rather, they offered an array of aesthetic experiences for spectators to select. Viewers at the ballet elected to purchase what it offered. The production team at an institution like the Opéra, which included administrators, artists, artisans, and even the claque, manufactured an event that critics evaluated for viewers' consumption.

A mainly male customer base played an important role in influencing aesthetic choices on the stage and curating the appearance of female dancers, turning them from professional agents making decisions about their public-performative image to often objectified elements in a profit-seeking spectacle.

TANZ subverts the external gaze of the audience as an authority wielding power over performers' bodies as objects of desire. Purposefully and consciously acknowledging a history of male gaze, the cast is naked throughout most of the work, in full awareness and engagement with the exposure of their bodies. Indeed the perception and reception of their bodies, the way in which different audiences react to them, are recurrent topics of critical discussion among the cast. The male gaze objectifying ballerinas is even symbolically replaced on stage by the (female) performer filming live material. The hook suspension is one of the practices that most strongly encapsulates the performers' hold on their on-stage actions: while certain audience members may see the practice as not-only-literally scarring, the performers explicitly associate it with empowerment. Suspension artist Luci Fire Tusk, for example, recounts that her early suspension practice troubled and interrogated gender hierarchies of submission/

domination; and engaged with pastiche acts of burlesque dance and striptease leading to euphoric, triumphant experiences of freedom. In Holzinger's work, she considers that suspension is used in a controlled, minimal, non-crowd-pleasing way akin to body art. Luna Duran practices suspension as a profession but also as a spiritual exploration, that she approaches through a postcolonial and feminist lens, insisting on body modification (in this case piercing) as an act of reclaiming agency and control over one's own body. The agency of the performers is also sustained by a frequently-referred-to and prominent sense of solidarity between them, communicated through the concept of sisterhood, that several members of the cast mentioned to me in informal discussions. This becomes evident on stage, most forcefully so in the intense scene of the suspension. When that moment comes, the whole cast is concentrated on the suspension artist; some performers manipulate the ropes, others look up to the suspendee, their engagement palpable to spectators. The piercer, Suzn Payson, is fully dedicated to being-with the suspendee. Duran describes this as a commitment from Payson that "your pain is safe with me" and that she will "hold the space" for the suspension to happen in a caring way. Tusk also speaks of trust, care and looking-after as characteristic traits of Payson's approach to their work together. This on-stage community of care can model reception attitudes, proposing to spectators a position of responsibility (that not all take) to "hold the space", countering the passive reception of entertaining female figures.

The shift of the male gaze by an all-female group of performers in *TANZ* invites a corresponding shift in historiographic approaches of romantic ballet performers. The very prominent position that nudity and sexuality have in *TANZ*, and the self-assured way in which the performers inhabit nudity and relate to sexuality, invites a reconsideration of the idea that the sexualized ballerina was, uni-dimensionally, only a disempowered victim of the male gaze. Indeed despite the certain difficulties and the disadvantaged socioeconomic position from which romantic ballerinas were called upon to expose their bodies for male visual pleasure, one can also see on the romantic stage a space for the embodiment of transgressive femininity. To be a low-ranking dancer, an identity loosely entangled with that of a sex-worker, meant that dancing was an occupation that placed practitioners beyond the limits of propriety; but it also meant that being a dancer allowed access to experiences not limited by the norms of bourgeois femininity. Indications furthermore exist that romantic ballerinas were aware of the way their image participated in an uneven power game with their male audience and could (at least those in protagonist roles) to a certain extent manipulate it. Bournonville (1999 [1860]: 42), for example, interpreted the female 'travesty dancer' phenomenon in France as a strategy by female star dancers to not compromise the imaginary unbounded-ness of male spectators' desire for them by dancing with another man:

> It was, so to speak, a battle of love between the actress and the spectator, who, thinking of himself as the only one favored among the crowd, would have hated any man performing at her side as the object of her coquetry. All this imaginary jealousy was perfectly well understood by [star ballerina] Fanny [Elssler], and in order to reassure her worshippers, she created special engagements for her sister Thérèse […who] even condescended to dress as a man so as to withhold any masculine attention from the enchantress.

Garafola (1986: 39) also points to the sexual suggestiveness of female-female onstage action, of which dancers would have been well aware. Holzinger's performers' discussions about nakedness and exposure, empowerment and attrition constitute a reminder that their romantic colleagues were agents navigating margins of freedom afforded by, precisely, the margin. At the same time, they are reminders of the fact that women performing still negotiate a male gaze that has, over centuries, impregnated ways of seeing of more subjects than men alone. Finally, Holzinger's cast's insistence on sisterhood also invites us to look for indications of solidarity among female romantic dancers, which historical work has identified among members of the *corps de ballet* (Kelly, 2012: 60) as well as in 'para-formal' training and invisibilised knowledge transfer between generations of female dancers, as described by Vanina Olivesi on the case of Marie Taglioni (2017, 47). Male-exclusionary sisterhood haunts romantic ballet plots as well: Giselle may sacrificially save Albrecht, but Hilarion is still killed by a group of women living in the woods without men. Stoneley (2007: 31) invites us to consider such sisterhoods not only from the possibly voyeuristic perspective of their male libretto-writers, but also from that of non-heterosexual women watching a powerful, women-dominated-world unfold before their eyes. It is such a perspective that Holzinger's performers adopt – and invite their audience to adopt.

The Development of Trans-Human, Techno-Ecological Alliances

Romantic ballet developed in a post-Enlightenment period where the human subject was tacitly considered to be white, able-bodied and male. Women and people of color (as well as animals and other non-human beings) were in this context excluded from the status of fully-fledged subjects. As Rosi Braidotti notes (2013: 1), "not all of us can say, with any degree of certainty, that we have always been human, or that we are only that. Some of us are not even considered fully human now, let alone at previous moments of Western social, political and scientific history. Not if by 'human' we mean that creature familiar to us from the Enlightenment and its legacy". The hegemonic human subject controlled and had already started exploiting nature, as well as those humans that did not fit into its purported neutrality. An association between femaleness and nature, both Othered, was correspondingly staged in romantic ballet. The iconic figure of Giselle (1841), after her death, joins a group of female ghosts that haunt a forest at night; the Sylphide (1832), the tempting spirit choreographed by Filippo Taglioni, lures the male protagonist to a forest landscape; the '*Fille du Danube*' (*Daughter*

of the Danube, 1836) is found as a child next to a river and throws herself into one as an act of love and desperation. Many romantic ballets were structured in two-part dramaturgies following a dichotomy between a real, tangible, 'human' world and a mysterious, natural world inhabited by exclusively feminine creatures. As Garafola (1997: 2) writes, the romantic ballerina "inhabited a world remote from home and hearth, the secluded valleys, misty lakesides, secret glades, and wild heaths that in ballet as in fiction, poetry, and opera extolled a Romantic idea of nature even as they coded her as an exotic dwelling on the periphery of European civilization."

TANZ promotes an ecological alliance of its female cast with nature. The performers impersonate and give birth to animals, while, in a humorous wink to romantic ballet plotlines, Holzinger asks the audience to donate money for an apple tree orchard in Austria, where romantic fairies and sylphs can live happily ever after. At first glance, one can here identify a strategy of reappropriation: reworking the association between women and nature in a positive way that turns their relegation into an empowered statement. But Holzinger goes one step further, to de-essentialize the 'naturalness' of nature, just like she de-essentializes femininity, making its construction visible. She does this by making evident the use of technology in her staging of nature and its links with her female performers. Nikola Knezevic's set, in particular, follows the romantic dramaturgy's two-part structure, with the second set in a nature-like realm: the backdrop shifts to an image of sprawling tree roots and leaves referring to Sylphic forests and immersing the stage in shades of green and turquoise. The naturalness of this nature is nevertheless denied, since the set makes the technical means used to create its 'natural' setting evident. The backdrop's realism reproduces the artificial precision of computer-generated imagery; its colors shift the green palette to colder shades not corresponding to natural illumination. Screens on the side of the stage, the perpetually-hanging motorcycles and an operating table on which the preparations for the body suspension are taking place (the piercing happens live and is transmitted on the screens) trouble, by juxtaposition, any possibility of immersion in naturalness. Throughout *TANZ*, non-human equipment (motorcycles and ropes, hooks and sterilizers, pointe shoes and video cameras) extend the female body into post-humanist assemblages. The witch, an iconic figure of Othered femininity in Western Europe who was often also related with a mysteriousness of nature, is present in *TANZ* on her electric broom, in a comic, technologized reappropriation of a stigmatized figure. In these ways, Holzinger's work goes beyond the reappropriation of a naturalized femininity or feminized nature towards a staging of their (technological) construction as ontological categories.

The trans-human, techno-ecological alliances that Holzinger stages provide, at first glance, a counterpoint to romantic ballet's staging of nature, as they contaminate its image of the natural world with the presence and function of machinery and technical

equipment. From the perspective proposed by Bal's (1999) preposterous history, however, by simultaneously blending her performers into technological assemblages and human-animal figures, Holzinger points to how romantic ballet also deviated from clear boundaries between the natural and the technological. Indeed in order to create the illusion of a natural and mysterious realm, romantic ballet extensively used technological innovations. These included new forms of set design and special effects such as trap doors, pulleys, suspension wires; the use of industrially-produced materials like cotton as driving forces in costume design (Kant, 2007: 187); and the use of gas lighting for the creation of effects like moonlight (Garafola, 1997: 2). Romantic ballet therefore employed the technological tools of a rapidly mechanizing modernity in order to stage a natural-feminine realm excluded from that very modernity. Bruno Latour extensively wrote about the technological-cultural, human-non-human hybrids on which the unfolding of modernity depended but that it did not admit (Latour 1993, 12). Romantic ballet's staging of an Othered natural world through deeply technological means – a technologically mediated cultural construction of nature – can be seen as one more of modernity's attempts to negate its own hybridizations. Through a triangulation of the human, technology and nature, *TANZ* troubles the demarcations of nature and culture, the natural and the technological and stages the interpenetrations that modernity did not, in Latour's terms, admit. It thus acts as a contemporary reminder of how female romantic figures also put into question the binaries on which the Enlightenment's conception of the human subject rested. In this sense, Holzinger's work aligns with current critical theory looking at choreography as a practice participating in cultural constructions of nature. Felicia McCarren's (2020) work on late romantic ballet (more precisely *La Source*, 1866) is particularly important in this respect. Beyond explaining how choreography engaged in processes of staging nature, she underlines, just like Holzinger invites us to do, that romantic essentializations of femininity and nature may have failed to dupe their audiences, who understood them *as* cultural commentary (e.g. McCarren, 2020: 51).

The *Détournement* (Subversive Repurposing) of Bourgeois-Driven Romantic Spectacle

Romantic ballet is still widely regarded as a 'high art' dance form. The historical construction of that hierarchical position needs to be understood as a gender- and class-bound process. Romantic ballet was part of a world where a male-dominated bourgeoisie was a strong socioeconomic force that influenced its dramaturgy and aesthetics (and the legitimacy thereof) as well as the conditions of its material production and consumption (cf. Garafola, 1986: 36). Romantic ballet developed a star system that is understandable in a context of privatization and commercialization, concurrent with the early-19th-century-height of the Industrial Revolution and the capitalist modes of production that it entailed. At the same time, ballet depended on the

cheap labour of working-class ballerinas, prototypes of workers who only had their body as available capital (cf. Foster 2005 [1996]: 7, 16-17). When the Opéra turned towards profit-seeking business models pleasing a mainly bourgeois audience, not only did it engage in a commodification of female-dancers-as-spectacle, but also kept those dancers' salaries low and expected them to work in particularly harsh financial conditions (Kelly, 2012: ch.2, Garafola: 1986: 36). In opposition to *étoile* (star or principal) dancers, the anonymous dancers of the *corps de ballet* were not perceived as artists, but as members of a working class, on par with other professional groups performing physical labour (Sabee, 2022: 557, 575). This labour was both performative and sexual. The dire working conditions of the Opéra's *petits rats* (students of its ballet school, subsequently low-ranking young dancers in the company) were associated with backstage arrangements such as paid access to the *Foyer de la Danse*, where wealthy patrons, notably members of the private *Jockey Club*, could meet and engage in affairs with them. In parallel with confirming the gendered socioeconomic distributions of bourgeois society, romantic ballet narratively and dramaturgically confirmed its values and mores. Even if ballet's storylines provided entertainment by hinting at transgressive (in most cases, extramarital) adventures, they ultimately confirmed bourgeois morals of class belonging and sexual norms and the place of women therein (cf. Banes & Caroll, 1997: 92).

TANZ is a clearly spectacular piece: it is a production-heavy and large-budget-necessitating multimedia work playing with impressiveness and illusion. However, its use of the means of spectacle involves the staging of often difficult-to-watch acts that deviate from the pleasing aesthetic and bourgeois ethic characterizing romantic ballet. Excreta (buckets are available on stage), blood (both real, in the suspension scene, and make-believe), sex (through overt positions and explicit texts spoken by the performers) and money (that the audience is asked to contribute to support the fairy forest) take centre stage. This is compatible with Holzinger's long-term interest in trash aesthetics and non-artistically-legitimized practices like sideshow performance, which engage with disgust, perceived strangeness, pain, humour and/or fear. The strategy of using spectacle to subvert its bourgeois-driven historical aims can be characterized through the term *détournement*, which finds its sources in situationist discourse. In these avant-garde practices, especially in the perspective of Guy Debord (cf. Débord & Wolman, 1956), *détournement* consisted in de- and re-contextualizing cultural products or fragments thereof, changing the meaning of the recontextualized element through its new semantic context. This can be utilized to repurpose a work from a commercial-commodified status to a critical perspective upon that status. In this perspective Holzinger re-employs several of the characteristics of romantic spectacle while performing a *détournement* of its purposes of pleasant entertainment confirming bourgeois values. In doing so, *TANZ* transforms the women on stage from commodified, pleasing figures to daring, at times even scary presences; and from financially exploited workers to professional

artists. Indeed the aesthetic *détournement* of romantic spectacle is accompanied by a material one, as Holzinger's performers have a say in their conditions of work. This reflects the contemporary dance field's ongoing negotiation of decent pay, working hours, insurance, pension and recognition – struggles that still need to undo the heavy heritage of underpaid and mistreated dancers to which romantic ballet contributed.[4]

The *détournement* of bourgeois spectacle's aesthetics and working conditions in *TANZ* deviates from ballet as bourgeois-driven spectacle by re-contextualizing elements of romantic ballet in order to transform or even entirely subvert their goals. But contemporary research also shows that romantic ballet was itself subject to *détournements* of its status as a high art form. If bourgeois culture managed to establish its own cultural creations, including romantic and post-romantic ballet, as 'high' culture, Holzinger's deviation from the perception of ballet as refined divertissement hints towards the fact that historical ballet and its artists circulated towards 'low' art forms like vaudeville. Crucially, in these circulations, historical ballet subverted the bourgeois morals that it upheld on legitimized stages. As Sarah Gutsche-Miller (2015: 85-86, emphasis added) notes, when ballet migrated into the music-hall format of romantic comedy,

> [t]he one constant, regardless of a ballet's story line, was a propensity toward sensuousness. Romantic comedies tended to rely on the timeworn premise of two young lovers uniting after overcoming an obstacle, but the standard trajectory of lovers separated, then betrothed, served as a backdrop for scenes of flirtation and seduction *rather than as a mirror of bourgeois values*.

Contemporary research on romantic ballet moreover indicates that its classification as 'high art' is partly retroactive. Geraldine Morris' (2017: 237) illuminating analysis of *Giselle*, for example, argues that 20th century discourse over-stated the ballet's romantic aspects in order to make its Gothic aesthetic less prominent, which would have associated it with popular culture and mainstream taste. In other words, the *détournement* of ballet towards Holzinger's habitual trash aesthetic is rather a *détournement* of its dominant history; a history all too keen on entrenching but also concealing the socioeconomic factors that determine 'high' and 'low' art classifications.[5] That Holzinger's work needs to operate a *transfer* of practices such as sideshow performance *into* contemporary dance nevertheless reveals the pervasion of 'high' and 'low' hierarchies that differentiate these practices in the first place. From a more material perspective, the contemporary

[4] In *TANZ*, the hook suspension constitutes a particular manifestation of how the ecology of production and touring needs to adapt to the healing needs of the body, with performers rotating until they can be safely suspended again. Luna Duran spoke to me about negotiating good conditions for her suspension practice (and not entering the cast until those were granted); while Luci Fire Tusk spoke of enjoying performing in *TANZ* partly because of the good working conditions.

[5] Discussions with cast members also challenge the dichotomy between ballet's stereotypically graceful appearance and other, less artistically-legitimized physical practices' association with body modification: Luna Duran for instance considers hook suspension, bodybuilding, scarification and classical dance as different types of body modification on par with each other.

negotiations of working conditions that *TANZ* is part of relates to romantic dance artists' efforts towards professional recognition, responsibility and pay. Historical work in recent years has increasingly focused on the creations, ambitions and strategic decisions of female dance agents. On late 19th- and early 20th-century France, prominent examples are Sarah Gutsche-Miller's work on Madame Mariquita and Hélène Marquié's work on Madame Stichel. Mariquita was a prolific creator who navigated diverse institutional and artistic contexts ranging from boulevard theater and music halls to the Opéra-Comique, and who integrated significant modernist tropes in her choreography (Gutsche-Miller, 2021); Stichel was the first principal female ballet mistress of the Paris Opéra; her work encompassed choreographing, dancing, teaching but also pursuing significant legal battles for the recognition of (women's) choreographic work (Marquié, 2015). Garafola's study of Nijinska (2022), filtering out her authorial innovations from the overshadowing presence of the Ballets Russes, furthers such work. Earlier in the 19th century, Vannina Olivesi's (2017: 59) re-reading of Marie Taglioni's biography provides hints towards the extra-canonical work of women consciously and strategically "mobiliz[ing] a patiently constructed symbolic capital and professional network". From a parallactic perspective, their strategies illuminate the still-necessary work required to 'untaint' dance from historically gendered and classist connotations resulting in low pay, but also the ways in which contemporary action for better working conditions relates to a heritage of struggle for the amelioration, against the diaphanous image of the Sylph, of the very material conditions dancers worked in.

Conclusion

Holzinger's work in *TANZ* achieves the reclaiming of female ballet bodies through a combination of five interconnected strategies. This reclaiming is not complete: the cast is still overwhelmingly white; its dancers engage in subversive but nevertheless rough corporeal discipline and body modification; despite ongoing discussions and staging decisions, they cannot fully control the sexualizing gaze of certain audience members; the work uses spectacular means rarely accessible to critical contemporary dancemaking. In her essay *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House*, Audre Lorde (2018 [1984]: 17) writes: "What does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy? It means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable." Is Holzinger engaging in a change whose parameters are too narrow? Is the re-engineering of the Sylph in *TANZ* the formation of a new, 21st-century sylph?

It is possible to consider that it is so; but it would also be historically short-sighted to consider that the 'Master's house' of ballet is only built of discipline, bodily formation and spectacle. In an interview titled "The Ethics of the Concern of the Self as a Practice of Freedom", Michel Foucault (1997 [1984]: 292) notes that

> power relations are possible only insofar as the subjects are free. If one of them were completely at the other's disposal and became his thing, an object on which he could wreak boundless and limitless violence, there wouldn't be any relations of power. Thus, in order for power relations to come into play, there must be at least a certain degree of freedom on both sides. (…) if there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all.

Through each of the above-enumerated strategies Holzinger does not only *counter* the gendered norms of ballet. She also points to under-acknowledged aspects of ballet history that subvert its own norms, revealing its practitioners as active agents in relations of uneven power distribution, rather than as figures defined by victimhood. In a parallactic (Foster 1996) move, this re-reading of the past suggests that *TANZ* does not *undo* ballet's disciplinary history but itself forms part of a long-ongoing process of subverting it. If the bricks and stones of ballet's 'Master house' are discipline, homogenization, or the objectification and commercialization of bodies, its mortar contains traces of female agency and strength; non-bourgeois, pop culture influences; more-than-human assemblages and very real, not always homogeneous women. It is to these histories of ballet that *TANZ* points to and invites us to focus on – and it is to the agents of these histories that it pays tribute.

In her history of un-named, silenced female agents of color, Saidiya Hartman (2019: xiii) writes:

> Every historian of the multitude, the dispossessed, the subaltern, and the enslaved is forced to grapple with the power and authority of the archive and the limits it sets on what can be known, whose perspective matters, and who is endowed with the gravity and authority of historical actor.

This article has argued that Holzinger's cast act as pointers towards romantic ballerinas as historical actresses. An open question in the form of a shadow still, nevertheless, persists. In my discussion with *TANZ* suspension artist Luna Duran, she mentioned valuing the historiographic input in the process, which provided her with information about romantic ballet history and therefore helped her make sense of the reasons why Holzinger had included hook suspension in the piece. The Sylphide's dead body, limp without its wings, as well as romantic dancers' bodies, burnt or broken or exploited, give a reason to contemporary bodies to rise and (literally) scream empowerment while suspended from the skin on their backs. But for this connection to be established, ballet history knowledge is necessary: ballet as a central aesthetic and historical paradigm remains a necessary reference point for the piece's trans-historically emancipatory politics to take effect. The 'Master's house' of ballet may be destroyed, but the Master's presence is still haunting its ruins. Florentina Holzinger's *TANZ* is not an emancipation from an all-consuming victimhood; like feminism itself, it is an always-incomplete, always-ongoing, always-to-be-continued part of an emancipatory process.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Black Women of The Cakewalk: Reclaiming The Performance Through Corporeal Orature

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Abstract

The presentation of the Cakewalk through history is contested through white narratives of appropriation followed by Black narratives of reclamation. Originating in the United States as a performance created by slaves, the Cakewalk is a predecessor to many forms of social dance today. However, it is often Black men who receive recognition for the performance while Black women are forgotten to history. In looking at a historical review of the Cakewalk and following two case studies of Aida Overton Walker and Heather Agyepong, this article argues for the importance of Black women in reclaiming the Cakewalk by embedding new narratives into its history through their own bodily presence and agency. The work extends from theories of literature, politics, and media to physical embodiment, understanding that the Black body has agency in the ways it chooses to communicate through visual presence and performance. In doing this work, Aida Overton Walker and Heather Agyepong not only redefine the presence of the Black person through history, but also negotiate how Black identity should and can be presented.

Keywords

Cakewalk, Heather Agyepong, Corporeal Orature, Black Dance, Aida (Ada) Overton Walker

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Introduction

Black performance narratives have historically been dictated, rewritten, or reinscribed by white authors and audiences. Because of this, records of Blackness are often depicted within what Heather Agyepong (2021) labels as "trauma cycles", where depictions of Black history surround topics such as slavery and violence, rather than displaying the successes of Black society. However, artists such as Agyepong have recently worked on reinstating historical Black art and performance in ways that are empowering. This research dives into the negotiations and reclamations that two Black female artists engaged in, Heather Agyepong and Aida Overton Walker, that do the work of reclaiming the Cakewalk and its representations as a Black form of performance through a means of corporeal orature, the ability to engage in communication through the body. The artists not only carry on the intangible cultural heritage and history of the Cakewalk through different mediums, but they also recenter the dance's history away from white colonial interpretations and appropriations and towards a Black history and understanding. Their work acts as a mode of reclamation of the Cakewalk, taking ownership of a historically Black performance that cannot be copyrighted as a social dance and instead claiming it through embedding new narratives and meanings.

This article examines the Cakewalk from multiple points in history: the mid-1800s in transition from a pre-slavery to post-slavery America; the early 1900s during Overton Walker's rise to fame with the performance of the Cakewalk; the early-to-mid 1900s, when 'negrophilia' started to rise in the US and Europe; and finally in 2021 with Agyepong's research and work. This article by no means is a comprehensive history of the Cakewalk and the people who participated in its proliferation to today, but instead highlights the importance of two Black women in preserving the history of the Cakewalk. Acknowledging my position as a white author, I rely on their personal experiences as well as histories, archival objects, and theoretical analysis to explore how their work engages with historical records through corporeal orature, performative gestures that may engage like speech (DeFrantz 2004).

Agyepong's *Wish You Were Here* (2020) revisits the history of the Cakewalk as Black social dance and movement performance. As an artist working across multiple mediums including photography and film, she was commissioned by The Hyman Collection in 2019 to create a response to postcard imagery of the Cakewalk. Agyepong (2021) explains how the exhibition acts as a therapeutic exploration of Black representation through history as she counteracts narratives of Black history as depicted through trauma cycles. She explores self-care and therapy through the creation of an archive, in part by reclaiming Black autonomy by embodying the 'Queen of the Cakewalk' Aida Overton Walker. As someone of Ghanaian heritage, Agyepong's education in white western society depicted Black individuals as a people who were enslaved, victims, or

constantly in need of saving; and she felt surrounded by art that depicted Black people in the same way. Her artistic presentation of narratives of Black people show them thriving, shifting from the perspective that an obsession with 'negrophilia' recreated to once again inspire agency and power to shape their own histories (Agyepong 2021). In doing so, Agyepong's work functions to decolonize the archive, not only uncovering hidden Black histories, but also inscribing new meaning to the imagery. In addition to responding to negative imagery, her work is also intended as a dialogue with Overton Walker, two Black women talking through time in their embodied depictions. By tracing the history of the Cakewalk as first a social dance that was a mockery of white society, which was then appropriated by whites, and continually renegotiated over time between races throughout history, there is a shift in the autonomy of Black narratives eventually embodied through Agyepong herself. In doing this, Agyepong is working through what Hal Foster identifies as "an archival impulse", seeking "to make historical information, often lost or displaced, physically present" through not only her analysis of the archive, but also by building upon it through her own work (2004: 4).

There are many women who should be recognized in the history of the Cakewalk through the 1900s, however, this article focuses specifically on Aida Overton Walker for three reasons. First, Overton Walker is reflected in the work of Agyepong, providing a direct link from the historical past to the modern day. Secondly, the recognition of Overton Walker's importance in performing the Cakewalk is centered around the politics and histories of acknowledgement for Black Americans. Finally, she often receives little notice when the focus is on famous Black male performers such as her husband, George Walker, and their performance partner, Bert Williams. In historical accounts of the Cakewalk, Walker and Williams, along with numerous other male performers, receive the majority of academic attention, while Overton Walker is relegated to footnotes or a few sentences in texts that do not specifically focus on her (see Emery 1988; Gottschild 2000; Hughes and Meltzer 1990; Knowles 2002; Woll 1989). Therefore, this research highlights Overton Walker's contributions to the Cakewalk and recognizes the impacts she had on the artform.

Based on the work of Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1988: xxii) this investigation holds to the idea that dance and performance, and their associated ephemera, may relate to other Black works, whether it be writing, imagery, music, or performance, to continue to build on texts and tropes to create art that continues to resemble itself. Overton Walker and Agyepong engage in the revision of white narratives of Black performance histories in their respective works. Through the repeated performative presence of Black women engaging with the Cakewalk during different periods of time, they continue to lay claim to and rewrite the narrative of the performance of it as one that is specifically of Black culture that resists colonial interpretations.

Overview of Concepts

> Dance steps are not words without grammar, without structure. They point to a bigger conversation, with a place, with people embedded in that place. Listen to how they're talking and why. (Naomi Macalalad Bragin, 2023: 355).

In dance, meaning may be embodied through performance which may express a variety of ideas to be interpreted by the viewer. Latching onto the idea of embodied performance, this research analyzes embodiment through different performative standpoints identified in the history and choreography of the Cakewalk and its related imagery. This expands the research beyond the dance itself and includes culturally specific connotations that ephemera may hold. In exploring how these connotations are understood, I drew from Black cultural theorists and interpreted their communication through Thomas DeFrantz's concept of corporeal orature. Corporeal orature discusses how the expressive movements of dance may "cite contexts beyond the dance" (DeFrantz, 2004: 67). DeFrantz's theoretical analysis seems to be grounded in the live performance aspect of dance. However, the still body is still a body and therefore able to embody meaning. Because the still body can still perform, this article extends corporeal orature to still media.

To understand how corporeal orature may engage culturally specific meanings, I integrate social psychology research into cultural embodiment to bring forth the concept of hard embodiment*,* which looks at how people may express meanings, ideals, and values through movements that could be derived from cultural contexts (Cohen and Leung, 2009, p.1286). Within the study of hard embodiment, the idea of totem embodiments relates that actions may "…operate at a purely symbolic level, having no inherent meaning except that which is commonly recognized within a culture" (Cohen and Leung, 2009: 1285). Totem embodiments explain how we can associate gestures, ways of moving, and physical stature to certain ideas. Though hard embodiment discusses how gestures develop a meaning through cultural practice and repetition, it does not discuss the active communication of these meanings within performance contexts, but instead focuses on how culture is embedded subconsciously into our everyday bodily gestures and actions. This lack of focus on communication within hard embodiment may be because embodied cultural identity "is both perceived, shaped and mostly expressed without conscious awareness" (Galdos & Warren, 2021: 83). Social representations theory (SRT) may expand the concept of hard embodiment to communicative efforts. Cliodhna O'Connor explains SRT as a way to

> explore the socially shared common-sense knowledge that permeates everyday thought, feeling and behaviour (…) Social representations are conceived as residing across rather than within individual minds, inhabiting the 'between-space' where individual and society connect. (O'Connor, 2016: 3-4)

SRT is considered both private, how the individual views themselves though sensory experiences, and public, how the individual has meaning imposed through external social sources (O'Connor 2016). In relation to embodiment, SRT may allow the communication of complex and abstract ideas through performative acts that engage with corporeal orature. I use corporeal orature to move away from formal structures of spoken language and instead attempt to analyze the presentation and engagement of the body through a culturally specific lens. It engages with analysis through theories of communication, literature, politics, social interactions, heritage, etc. to understand potential meanings that are embedded within a performance. Corporeal orature is expressed differently through each of the generations explored through this research.

Black cultural theorists also tackle the ideas of embodied cultural meaning in relation to communication. Each of these following examples relate to the concept of corporeal orature when connected to the efforts of communication through images of the physical body. According to DeFrantz's (2004) discussion on activist and academic W.E.B Du Bois' theory of double consciousness, Black social dances may hold two meanings, one that is publicly visible for all audiences, and a hidden meaning for Black audiences. Du Bois explains that double consciousness comes from the idea that the Black person in the Americas is "always looking at one's self through the eyes of others…" (2007: 8). This concept is built out of the reality of the oppressed Black person in the US but is applicable to other colonial and imperialist systems. Du Bois is also credited with the concept of racial uplift, which is reflected in Overton Walker's writing from 1906. Racial uplift looks at "the Talented Tenth [of African Americans which] pulls all that are worth saving to their vantage ground" (Du Bois, 2007: 193). In relation to embodiment, Overton Walker (1906) notes key concepts such as talent and individual disposition as being relevant to achieving the social political goals of the Black race. Henry Gates Jr. coined the term 'signifyin'', which in the Black vernacular describes an instance that may take on a different meaning through Black critical discourse and understanding than what emerges through the white gaze. Though this started as a spoken and literary technique, it can be applied across a variety of Black interpretive media that conveys a separate message to Black communities which may otherwise be misinterpreted by other racial communities. Signifyin' mostly operates through specific communicative contexts, often moments of parody or pastiche, and holds specific characteristics such as indirection or punning (Gates 1988). Corporeal orature as a concept works to draw each of these theoretical ideas together under one umbrella, backed with psychological concepts that support the possibilities of culturally specific interpretations.

This work in reinstantiating the performance and imagery of the Cakewalk through different moments in time also acts as a mode of claiming ownership through the recognition of the history of the performances. Brenda Dixon Gottschild (2000) notes

that in the appropriation of Black dance styles critics and reviewers of 'negro' musical revues in the 1930s were critical of Black performers using white dance styles within their performances because of a lack of knowledge on how the dances came to be seen on the stage. Gottschild (2000: 74) also cites dance historian Ernie Smith stating that this ignorance about the origins of Black dances is seeded from racist ideas of "black talent, ideas, interests, intelligence, and potential…" which resulted in the "separation of black dance from black ownership". Still today in the US and the UK, dances that are deemed to be social or folk dances are unable to be cleared for copyright because of their lack of choreographic score. This is because the current law does not allow the copyright of individual dance steps, but only choreographed phrases which must be recorded in some form. In general, this may not be an issue for dances passed through and within communities because it allows for the growth and innovation of the dance form. The issues of appropriation of Black dances such as the Cakewalk enters when the original community that crafted the performance goes unrecognized or misrepresented. Historically, the labels of 'folk' and 'social' dances have been used to describe the works of marginalized communities, allowing imperialist control and theft by the dominant culture of traditional performance (Kraut 2016). White minstrel performers instead donned blackface to perform a parody of what they assumed was authentic behavior, using their minstrel performance to claim originality over Black performance (Kraut 2016). The inability of Black American communities to claim this form of performance further relates to issues in historical knowledge and representation of Black dance in mainstream culture. Alessandra Raengo's concept of liquid blackness explains how Black culture can come to be separated and estranged from the community that creates it:

> …blackness flows from the subject to the object and appears as a quality that is acquirable, purchasable, fungible, without regard for people, modes of existence, and concrete living experience (Raengo, 2014: 5).

Raengo notes here how blackness becomes a commodity and may be separated from the black body, allowing the culture to be decontextualized from its performative intentions. Naomi Macalalad Bragin reinforces how as "a calculated strategy of whiteness to overlook black social activity by consuming and exchanging culture as an object", the viewing of Black culture as a noun (object) rather than a verb (lived experience) allows whites to remove Black culture from its context (2023: 348). As she summarizes, "everyone can love black culture so long as black social life is assumed to be immanently exclusionary and valueless" (2023: 348).

Inasmuch as Smith argues that the Lindy Hop being a Black dance "created by African Americans from their African heritage and their experiences living in America" (Smith, cited by Gottschild, 2000: 74-75) the Cakewalk was also created by African Americans in their experiences through slavery. Because American whites refused to acknowledge

the impact that slavery had on conceiving this performance, and how the history of Black slavery negatively impacted African Americans, Black American slaves created a performance that related their grievances through satirical style known as signifyin' (as discussed above). Jane Desmond (1997) explores the context in which signifyin' is relayed (without naming it as such) in recalling the history of the Cakewalk, where Black performance cites white movement as a form of mimicry, engaging with it in a transformational context that makes it uniquely Black. Starting with a brief overview of the Cakewalk, this article explores the history and presentation of the Cakewalk through Aida Overton Walker and Heather Agyepong, primarily investigating how they have changed and reclaimed the Cakewalk using corporeal orature.

Origins of the Cakewalk

> The Cake-walk was originally performed by enslaved people who mocked and mimicked their slave owners and high society. The dance involved couples in square formations, strutting, prancing and high kicking. It is unclear whether the slave owners understood the connotation but nevertheless enjoyed the performances so much that they held contests for the performers. (Agyepong 2021)

The Cakewalk was originally a subversive performance from the pre-Civil War era and allowed slaves to carry over elements from West African traditional dance ceremonies (Krasner 1996). The original performance of the Cakewalk engages the literary technique of signifyin' through both its movements and music, where it took the acts of high-society white people and transformed them into movement in a coding that mocked the performance of whiteness to other Black people (Archer-Straw 2000; Baldwin 1981; Glass 2007; Pugh 2015). The Cakewalk originated as a community-centric performance before it was 'discovered' by white slaveowners, perhaps started as a mode of communal sharing and radical joy as Jessica Lu and Catherine Steele argue (2019). Lu and Steele cite activist and online writer Brittany Packnett in saying "Joy is resistance. Oppression doesn't have room for your happiness. You resist it when you find Joy anyhow" (2019: 823). For Black slaves, the Cakewalk was possibly one way to build community, entertainment, and culture under harsh oppressive conditions.

The dance later became popular performance among white slave owners, encouraging its performance as a form of Africanist tradition as well as engaging in it as a form of minstrelsy (Glass 2007). Canadian Poet Laureate Dionne Brand (2002: 80) notes that when [white] audiences see a performance they like from minorities, they encourage the proliferation of those identities through performance so that "representation becomes a stereotype". With these ideas Brand takes hold of a central concept of how the Cakewalk became popular during the era of slavery. David Krasner cites Chuck Kleinhans' explanation on the dual interpretation of the Cakewalk as

> "the stage representation contributed to the racist myth of the happy plantation", while, at another level, the dance sustained a subtextual message of ridicule. Everyone laughed during the dance, but, Kleinhans adds, "one side laughed differently from the other" (Kleinhans, cited in Krasner, 1996: 70-71).

In this way, the Cakewalk holds a double consciousness, where the Black performer knows their own intention embedded into the performance, but also understands that the white viewer may not be aware of those intentions. Krasner states that "Decoding the cakewalk depended entirely on the audience/performer relationship: who was dancing, who was observing, and in what historic juncture the dance was being assessed became critical components of evaluation" (1996: 72). White audiences turned a Black social and performative movement style into a competition and full performance for their own entertainment, misconstruing the meaning of the original engagement and building their own narrative of Black communities. This was the start of a history of appropriation and reclamation that would continue for the next couple and centuries, where American whites mistook and misconstrued Black American performance, as dance historian Megan Pugh states:

> Amateur white European cakewalkers were imitating professional Black American cakewalkers, who were imitating white minstrel cakewalkers imitating Black slaves imitating their masters, who were unable to recognize that they were being mocked. (Pugh, 2015: 23).

By the 1870s the Cakewalk had made its way from south to north through the migration of emancipated Black Americans and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Cakewalk rose in popularity again (Pugh 2015; Scheper 2016). As a part of the finale of *The Creole Show* in 1889, well known Cakewalker Dora Dean would perform the dance alongside her husband Charles Johnson (Emery 1988). *The Creole Show* is one of the first productions in this time to omit blackface and introduce women into its all-Black cast and was a predecessor to other later famous musicals featuring the Cakewalk (Emery 1988; Kreol n.d.). Dean was well known for performing the Cakewalk in these early years alongside Johnson and became the first African American couple to perform on Broadway. Aida Overton Walker, Bert Williams, and George Walker were later recognized as its "greatest choreographers" (Dean n.d.; Krasner 1996).

The Cakewalk also provided an avenue for African-Americans to access the white performance stage (Gottschild 2000). On July 5th, 1898, the Cakewalk first appeared on a Broadway stage in the production of the all-Black musical, *Clorindy: The origin of the Cakewalk*, with lyrics by Paul Laurence Dunbar and music by Will Marion Cook (Taylor & Rush 2023). It unfortunately took a long time from being written to make it to the stage, until white producer Edward Wright "agreed to give the show a chance" (Bañagale, Hayward, & Goodwin, 2016:n.p.). The rise in popularity of the Cakewalk coincided with the search for a national dance to represent America in the late 1800s

and early 1900s. In 1908 at the first International Conference of Dancing Masters, the Cakewalk (mixed with the two-step) was presented as a representation of American dance, despite the protest that the dance was considered undignified, too easy, or too silly with the implication being that the dance was "too black" (Pugh, 2015: 12).

The influences of aesthetics from African dances can be seen within the Cakewalk such as its use of satire and humor to make social commentaries, which "provided the community a way to laugh at the irony found in difficult situations" (Knowles, 2002: 24). The dance also utilizes similar swinging movements, engaging in a pendulum-like movement as dancers move back and forth consisting of gliding, shuffling, and dragging steps (Knowles 2002; Krasner 1996). The Cakewalk cites other Black and traditional African performance such as the Ring Shout, marked by the movements of flat-footed shuffles, tapping, clapping, and arm waving and described by Pugh as "percussive steps done in a circle" and further traced back to the African Circle Dance by jazz historian Marshall Stearns (Baldwin, 1981; Durkin, 2019; Pugh, 2015: 17). The Cakewalk was also known by other names historically, such as the chalk line walk, the walk-about, or the strut (Knowles 2002, Krasner 1996). The original performance was done as "a straight walk on a patch made by turns… dancers made their way with a pail of water on their heads. The couple that was most erect and spilled the least or no water was the winner" (Knowles, 2002: 44). As it developed, the performance combined movement that was brought over to America by enslaved Africans with a mimicry of white social performance and a variety of stunts (Pugh 2015). Archer-Straw states that the Cakewalk was "based on a formal *quadrille d'honneur* and was performed by blacks in fancy dress who mimicked high-society 'white folks'" (2000: 44), however, this interpretation of the performance may be more based on the Cakewalk before the 1900s and may not sufficiently reflect on its history before it hit the popular stage (Krasner 1996). From the perspective of someone from the 1900s, Overton Walker (2018 [1903]: n.p.) described the Cakewalk as a "gala dance" and she explains her performance of the dance in a 1903 article "as a march you improvise". In keeping this improvisation, Overton Walker stays in line with the original African influences of the dance while still allowing a stylization and structure to the performance, yet she also notes that the steps of the Cakewalk are "of American origin, whatever the original idea may have been" (Knowles, 2002: 23; Krasner, 1996: 70). Further movement analysis reveals that

> In dancing, all the muscles of the body are brought into play, any effort or fatigue is concealed, the shoulders thrown well back, the back curved, and the knees bent with suppleness. The swing, all jauntiness and graceful poise, must come from the shoulders, and the toes must turn well out. The tempo is between the two-step and the march six-eight time (Overton Walker 2018[1903]: n.p.).

There are other important thematic points to the Cakewalk in Overton Walker's description, including the development of improvised technique, an "interested and joyous" temperament, and muscular control (Overton Walker, 2018 [1903]:n.p.). As discussed above, the mention of a 'joyous' temperament could be a sign of black resistance through the history of this performance while also being noted along with the lack of fatigue as an Africanist aesthetic of high-affect (Gottschild 1996). Knowles (2002) highlights choreographic commonalities such as the bent knees, use of improvisation, and the use of six-eight time characteristic of African dance forms. Aspects of impersonation and mockery in performance are also linked to African styles (although instead of animals, white people are being impersonated).

Although the Cakewalk is recognized as a Black art within this article, it is important to acknowledge the ways that Black performers were denied both the narrative and engagement of this performance. The narrative was stripped away through the white public sphere that assumed the Cakewalk was a performance that imitated whites out of a sense of desire, rather than satire. This version spread among white slave owners may be in part what encouraged them to engage with the Cakewalk insofar as to even provide cakes to the winners. Post-slavery, Black performing artists were denied the ability to perform on white stages. Meanwhile, white minstrel and theater performers presented themselves in blackface on stage to create parodies of Black people while engaging in performances such as the Cakewalk (Krasner 2011). When Black performers were allowed to perform the Cakewalk on a white stage they usually had to wear blackface, forced to also create parodies of their own cultures and communities (Krasner 2011). Their own productions were denied the opportunity to be presented on white stages, though shows such as *Clorindy: The Origin of the Cakewalk* and *In Dahomey* proved exceptions for this time (Bañagale, et al. 2016). While the Cakewalk is of Black origin, white society dominated as performance gatekeepers.

Aida Overton Walker teaches the Cakewalk

In the early 1900s Overton Walker became well known for her performance of the Cakewalk, alongside her husband George Walker and his performance partner Bert Williams. Her rise to recognition came in the show *In Dahomey*, which originally did not feature the Cakewalk, but was later inserted because of its popularity (Glass 2007). She became famous for performing and teaching white audiences the Cakewalk in the US and Europe, even at Buckingham Palace in a private performance of *In Dahomey* for the royal family (Krasner 1996). Overton Walker proliferated a performance that was potentially misunderstood by white audiences as an 'authentic' form of Black dance while also ironically teaching whites a form of movement that mocked whiteness (Agyepong 2021; Krasner 1996, 1997; Pugh 2015). She became a popular teacher among high-society white women and emphasized "grace and suppleness" in

her teachings rather than more extravagant movement (Krasner, 1996; Pugh, 2015: 20). Agyepong (2021) notes that Overton Walker's performances depict a "modest femininity" during a time when Black women were depicted humorously or overtly sexualized on the stage. Krasner (1996) believed that Overton Walker's ability to read and understand her audiences allowed her to engage in "articulated and embodied discourse as an instrument of self-representation", showing that the interpretation of her Cakewalk was an intentional presentation to both Black and white audiences as a ploy for acceptability.

Overton Walker used her Cakewalk performances for white audiences as a way of gaining upwards social mobility through Du Bois's racial uplift movement, which believed that conformity to standards of white middle-class gender roles and sexuality would prove that Black people were respectable and deserving of equal civil and political rights (Hill 2010; Krasner 1996). Other scholars note that she choreographed *In Dahomey* in accordance with this racial uplift agenda, subtly challenging racial prejudice (Mayes & Whitfield 2023). As she explained, "When a large audience leaves a theatre after a creditable two hours and a half performance by Negroes [sic], I am sure the Negro [sic] race is raised in the estimation of the people" (Overton Walker, 1906: 571). As with her co-star, Williams, Overton Walker saw her performance as part of a movement for acceptance and equality through her constant interactions with large audiences of different races. However, she faced resistance from within her community from those who saw the Cakewalk as beneath the Black race and as a derogatory spectacle for those who believed that actresses were morally unfit (Krasner 1996). Overton Walker, perhaps in response to these arguments, stated did not believe that stage life was for everybody. She only encouraged women "of good thoughts and habits, [who] chooses the Stage for the love of the profession and professional work" (Overton Walker, 1906: 574). She worked to shift the view of the Black community on the Cakewalk by redefining its choreographic practice and often described her performance as imbuing the movement of the Cakewalk with grace. This in part meant that she did not perform with the same tricks that some of her contemporaries did such as balancing acts or brandishing props in her performances (Pugh 2016). However, Overton Walker also focuses on embodying grace through elastic movements from the knees and the curve of the back, as well as emphasizing fluidity in movement (Krasner 1996). The overall emphasis on grace in her writing may be insufficient to analyze Overton Walker's performance. Although it is described as such many times by herself and other reviewers, there are no archival recordings of her performances. Her embodiment of grace may yet be forever lost to time.

There are a variety of ways that we may be able to read Overton Walker's proliferation of the Cakewalk as intentionally political. Bragin notes that "Black vernacular dance calls on practitioners to sustain intimate, meaningful conversations that stay relevant

to active and changing community traditions, values, and expectations" (2023: 349). This article has already explored how Overton Walker discussed the choreographic technique of the Cakewalk. What may go less recognized is that she also wrote about performing in political ways:

> In this age we are all fighting the one problem-that is the color problem! I venture to think and dare to state that our profession does more toward the alleviation of color prejudice than any other profession among colored people. (Overton Walker, 1906: 571)

Other scholars highlight how Overton Walker performed with the intention to resist (Mayes & Whitfield 2023; Krasner 1996). Her ability to embody the Cakewalk as a premiere professional acted as a point of access and self-exposure as it gained her audiences with high society white persons that in her words "other members of my race in other professions would have a hard task in gaining if they ever did." (Overton Walker, 1906: 571). She may have also recognized the intersectional difference of how being a Black woman impacted her, telling men "good men help women to be good; and remember also that in helping women you are really helping yourselves" (Overton Walker, 1906: 575). It then makes sense that Overton Walker was amongst those who "mentored innumerable girls and young women as they shifted African American musical theatre away from its racist roots in minstrelsy" (Jeanne Klein, cited by Mayes & Whitfield, 2021: 37). Through Overton Walker the Cakewalk transforms for Black communities, signaling a movement for equality through the autonomy of the Black body to present itself and its work. For white communities, it embeds a social acceptance which then allows access to white performance spaces. By ingraining ideas of 'grace and suppleness' into her Cakewalk performance and enacting the dance with a 'modest femininity' Overton Walker was not only presenting herself for the white gaze, but also engaging in a political and social message about the standing of the Black race itself in accordance with the racial uplift values of Du Bois. In this sense her performance holds a double consciousness, communicating to white communities that Black talent belongs in the mainstream while performing a dance that Black communities recognize as mocking whiteness.

However, whatever interest and acceptance that Overton Walker may have garnered may have been obscured by the negrophilia that came both before and afterwards. In the popularity of the Cakewalk, depictions of the performers on postcards were distributed around Europe, some of which portrayed African Americans through racist imagery or through racial stereotypes (Agyepong 2021; Caddy 2007). Though these performances were pushed as a movement for equality through the centering of Black people on stage and in wealthy white circles, there was a narrative conflict of body politic as those presenting themselves on stage had their agency removed through the circulation of these racist postcards, which reframed the portrayal engaged through the performance.

Negrophilia, Black Imagery, and Capturing the Cakewalk

Though Overton Walker may have performed the Cakewalk internationally, the spread of the popularity of the Cakewalk, and other forms and styles of Black culture along with it, may have come from the export of American imagery of Black entertainers outside the US (Archer-Straw 2000). The popularity of Black culture from the late 1800s through to the 1900s is called negrophilia, noted by Petrine Archer-Straw as a cultural understanding of "white people's own ideas about blacks, rather than an accurate reading of black culture itself" which impacted modern art (2000: 20-21). During this period there is a popularization of Black imagery depicting a number of activities and through a variety of formats, including the Cakewalk (Agyepong 2021, Archer-Straw 2000, Baldwin 1981). Agyepong's work situates negrophilia as a cultural occurrence particularly within the French Avant Garde.

Brooke Baldwin (1981) notes that Cakewalk imagery was used as a stereotype of Black people, meant to both sell products and entertain, as black subjects were not only a popular category of cards, but also toys and games, and even films. In stating that photography and film may lend an air of realism to stereotypical imagery of the Cakewalk, Baldwin (1981) encourages us to consider who is behind the creation of images now considered archival, many of which were produced by whites during a period of segregation (in the US). Through archival research, Agyepong (2021) discusses the erasure of the subjects captured within specific postcard images labeled 'Le Cake-Walk' (The Cakewalk), where both the images and those who archived them used reductive language in the description attached to each image. Agyepong notes that over time, the images depicting the Cakewalk not only become more problematic, but also racist, which removes the power that the Black imagery may have originally communicated through the postcards. In some postcards, white people are shown doing the Cakewalk in a way that makes fun of Black performance. Other postcards depict Cakewalkers as animals such as monkeys, making racist comparisons of Black persons to animals.

Heather Agyepong Recaptures the Past

> Can I use the therapeutic framework… of looking back to heal yourself. Can I look back with archives to inform myself of who I am and in exploring different versions of who I am? Can there be a source of inspiration? (Agyepong, 2021).

Wish You Were Here restages the postcards that were created in the early 1900s depicting the Cakewalk through racist imagery, reframing the intent using Agyepong's own body. In an online talk of the postcard recreations, Agyepong (2021) expresses her anxiety and ideas of satire while trying to make concepts of mental health visible through the gaze. She does not simply respond to the postcards from the past with her body, but also makes new ones that interpret the Black performing body through her

own agency, placing her in control of the representation by depicting Black femininity (and masculinity) in photographic imagery. Agyepong's body signifies the histories of successful Black women being depicted through a self-built narrative and attempts to recall positive Black figures of the past to be representations in the present, which she accomplishes through the corporeal orature. Agyepong (2021) notes that through her upbringing "there were looks and gestures that meant so much", speaking on the physicality of communication in relation to the capture of Black performance. The intention of this corporeal orature is expressed through her understanding of physical communication from her Ghanaian heritage, in which specific gestures and movements convey cultural meanings that might only be fully understood by those of similar heritage. Similarly, Agyepong uses her own body to create imagery that may be understood differently by people who identify with her gender, racial, or ethnic background. She purposely embeds interpretive meanings in her works that are meant to relay emotion, feeling, and connection as well as redefine who narrates the meaning of the "Le Cakewalk" through these postcards. She also facilitates their use for people to communicate with others through the visual media of her body in postcard form, allowing people to send their own messages embedded within the orature of her own body, engaging a dual form of communication and meaning through written and visual media.

Agyepong's work also intersects many notions of archive. As discussed above, the artwork engages what Foster calls "an archival impulse", where the work looks to, remembers, and reinscribes the past with new meaning (2004: 4). Although Baldwin (1981) was skeptical about ability of the imagery of the Cakewalk to be more than a depiction of a stereotype because of the lack of knowledge over the identity of the producer in the early 1900s, Agyepong's imagery not only gives us certainty that the producer is a Black woman, but also engages in a multi-pronged revelation about the archive by:

1. Making a direct connection from her artistic work to historical imagery, connecting her art to historical research and the archive.

2. Reinscribing meaning to the archive itself through her personal and embodied experience of engaging with research and creation.

3. Adding to the archive and building upon the histories already there through modern artistic creations.

Unpacking each of these points below offers a greater sense of the work that Agyepong has produced and how it may reinscribe the archive in liberatory ways.

1. Making a direct connection…

The new postcards created by Agyepong directly reference the archival postcards in several ways. The clearest way is the format of her postcards, which mirror the historical postcards in language and formatting by using the title of 'Le Cake-walk', engaging in a numbering convention for her cards on the bottom left, setting initials in the bottom right (it is unclear what these initials stand for), and using a sepia color to resemble historical photographic prints. The biggest difference in this formatting is that rather than using the sub-caption 'Dansè au Nouveau Cirque. Les Nègres', her own caption relays a form of intent with the photograph. She also refers to past historical events in some postcards, such as #1 entitled *Rob This England*, depicting Agyepong in a replica royal English crown and robe, directly referencing Overton Walker having performed and taught the Cakewalk at Buckingham Palace. Postcards #2, *Razzle Dazzle*, and #7, *B***h Better*, present Agyepong in drag, which was not uncommon for some of the archival postcard imagery. Within her lecture she discusses the history of William Dorsey Swann, who was "'The Queen' of a secret world of drag balls in Washington DC in the 1880s" (Agyepong, 2021). She also notes in her work that it is a nod to Overton Walker, who also performed in drag at times after her husband George Walker's death (Agyepong 2023; Library of Congress, n.d.; Thorne 2015).

2. Reinscribing Meaning…

Overton Walker looked to reinscribe meaning into the Cakewalk by redefining how the dance is performed in the public eye. Agyepong also reinscribes meaning through Black media tropes and messaging using imagery of her own body. Part of what inspired her imagery comes from Black cultural production in gif and meme culture, which is shown through her postcards 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3 entitled *Anne Mae* (Agyepong, 2021). These three specific images present themselves together as a visual narrative of movement. The juxtaposition of her own corporeal orature alongside the title of the Cakewalk in these postcards also engage in a form of meme culture, in which rather than relying on text and language to present different meanings to contextual imagery, the images embody different meanings for the viewer. Much like gifs and memes communicate via digital spaces, individuals may send postcards to friends on which they may or may not inscribe notes and messages, using Agyepong's imagery to convey a message to the recipient.

> We know that the gif is not representing our actual body… but by using a reaction gif, we cast ourselves as another body and into its affective and emotional performance of reception (Hautsch & Cook, 2021: 75).

Agyepong's work tries to embed social relationships between image and ideas, actively changing the idea of the Cakewalk to embody a whole new set of concepts around embodied transmission of meanings, whether it is the relation of trauma,

successes, anxieties, self-worth, or beauty. Viewers may relate to what Agyepong is trying to convey because these are experiences that viewers feel in their own bodies (Hautsch & Cook 2021). However, because of cultural differences in race, gender, and sexuality, some of this messaging may continue to be lost on non-Black audiences. Whatever the interpretations, rather than the term Cakewalk being confined specifically to the dance, it also takes on new political life in the negotiation of Black representation through reclamation of the visual concept. Psychological research has suggested that imagery like memes can "frame issues, inform people, space attitudes, and mobilize various forms of political action", while work in social identity and relative depravation research "demonstrate[s] the ways in which the social sharing of information, emotions, and intentions can reinforce individual psychology…" (Leach & Allen, 2017: 544). The social implications of Agepong's imagery could mean that they assist others who identify with her in processing and understanding the same emotions that she attempts to relay.

3. Adding to the Archive…

Agyepong's work builds upon the archive by adding new imagery, information, and modes of presentation. Her imagery presents new items to engage with when looking at the history of the Cakewalk and how it continues to impact art and performance today. Our knowledge of the Cakewalk is enhanced by how Agyepong adds new dimensions through her own experiences, engages in dialogue with the past through the production of works, and brings knowledge of the Cakewalk back to popular culture. Her modes of dissemination, including verbal presentations, digital platforms such as her website, and curated exhibitions, all allow for the broad distribution of the archive to the public for access to this history.

Her exhibition at the time of the writing of this article is set at the *Centre for British Photography* and supported by the Hyman Foundation. Set in a donation-based exhibition center, entry is free, allowing access to the collection to the public. The exhibition includes a video interview on Agyepong's work which expands on the contextualization and history of the archive. Exhibitions such as this one, *London Art Fair: Photo 50,* the digital exhibition for *Foam Talent 2021*, continue to broaden access and attention to the work as well as call forth the history of the Cakewalk. In doing so, Agyepong's exhibition continually engages as a reminder of what the Cakewalk was, bringing it back into popular culture, encouraging education around it, and bringing the performance out of academic centric circles into the public eye.

A Narrative for the Present

Each embodiment of the Cakewalk through history adds to the identity of the performance by shifting how the performance is represented to audiences within

popular culture. The original Cakewalk performances embodied satirical meanings in signifyin' ways as an act of resistance to slave owners. Once white people started performing the Cakewalk on the stage using minstrel makeup for entertainment, Black performers such as Aida Overton Walker reclaimed the Cakewalk by redefining how it was performed and seen on the stage. Not only did she rise to prominence through her performances, but she also redefined the understanding of Black artists creativity and capabilities, fulfilling W.E.B. Du Bois' political ideals of racial uplift through corporeal orature. Agyepong's work responds to the derogatory negrophilic imagery that contradicted Overton Walker's progress. Engaging with a dual role through revival and reinscription, Agyepong takes control of the visual narrative of Black people by both responding to and renegotiating the postcard imagery while also engaging in a therapeutic practice that revives historical narratives of Black autonomy and success. In rewriting media narratives through the body, she re-empowers the artistic works of the past and reclaims control of their own narrative of the Cakewalk as well as Black bodies. Through corporeal orature in each of these historical instances, the Black body signifies the reality of Black lives presented through Black narratives, rather than through a white distortion. They also signify to white audiences the histories of erasure that Black artists have experienced over the years.

In reaching back to the past, Agyepong as an artist also becomes a historian while simultaneously building upon and adding to the archive of work and the legacy that unfolds from it. She also represents reclaimed autonomy of the Black body in the ability to define and present herself while discussing the past and the violence done upon Black people through racist depictions and descriptions that still can be found today. Corporeal orature through these instances are acts of resistance to proliferated narratives of Blackness through white communities. Through this research, each subsequent performance adds to the narrative presented in an effort to revise the white gaze within their practice while also engaging in a form of narrative correction and healing within their own community. In this way, each of these performances get recognized for the revolutionary acts that they were and the erasure that history engaged with around them.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

How do You Desire to Dance? A Methodological Assemblage to Foster Consent in Dance Higher Education in Ecuador*

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Abstract

Emerging from the need to delineate pedagogical tools that address interpersonal boundaries and consent in dance higher education, we display the experience of a female dance teacher in Ecuador in dialogue with the insights from a dance researcher in Guatemala, in order to investigate the discussion on consent and safe(r) spaces. Based on theoretical genealogies from de-colonial studies and situated knowledge, we enlarge the discussion on consent and safe(r) spaces specifically to be applied to dance contexts in higher education. We examine dance classes as situations in which all bodies are at their most vulnerable state. Considering statistics of sexual violence in Ecuador under the context of gender-based violence, we aim to transcend gender as the only axis of violence and proceed to include the condition of vulnerability of students regardless of their identity. We address the conceptual complexity of defining consent and the framework for expressing it both as a verbal and bodily understanding. Inspired by the learnings on personal boundaries from social dance and contact improvisation, we discuss touch from a de-colonial situated perspective. Finally, we suggest practical exercises that nurture methodological tools for dance pedagogy, outlining the specificity of step-by-step successful moments that we have begun to test in our classes. We propose a pedagogical practice which guides students in learning how to distinguish their desires and share their boundaries in dance classes that could further promote their skills as professional dancers and researchers.

Keywords

Consent, Pedagogies, Touch, Personal Boundaries, Dance Higher Education

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Introduction

In 2020, in the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, I started teaching at the Dance Department of the biggest public (state-sponsored) university in Ecuador. At that time, it had just started its activities as the second Dance Department to have ever existed among other Ecuadorian universities. In these novel circumstances, I faced the challenge of designing virtual theoretical and practical classes. I framed the latter as performance-research laboratories for undergraduate students in their 5th and 6th semesters to explore new ways to relate to specific contexts such as Ecuadorian traditional dances or site-specific performances through research-based movement improvisation[1]*. Since students at this university are mainly trained in several techniques of contemporary dance, ballet, and somatic practices, the laboratories served as a bridge between foreign and local Ecuadorian dances. In 2021, when in-person classes were allowed, I delivered a workshop interacting physically for the first time ever with the students. I directed a simple exercise to connect with their own bodies and the space surrounding them. The exercise highlighted the sense of touch and included the option of either touching the space, recognizing their own bodies through tactile experiences, and/or touching each other. I noticed with surprise that most of them began to reach toward each other, touching the others' bodies with hardly any awareness of boundaries and safety related to bodily limits, including their own –especially when male students approached their female classmates. I was afraid that they would harm themselves or others by trespassing boundaries.*

I stopped the exercise and opened a space for dialogue. In the next classes, I tried to deduce if they had any notion of consent culture, a term I understand in three dimensions: the right each of them has to put clear limits on their interactions with their classmates, the recognition of their physical and emotional reactions when approaching other bodies, and how they act accordingly to such reactions in dance classes, regardless of the directions from the teacher. Later on, I asked my colleagues in the dance department how they managed tactile experiences with their students when, for instance, they needed to correct a posture, explain a specific exercise, or propose an exercise that involved touching. Through these conversations, I realized that although my colleagues acknowledged the importance of clarity when explaining the exercises –including the notion of personal boundaries and asking students if they could touch them, in order to minimize any physical interaction– even then, the students needed a space to understand in theory and practice about bodily boundaries and consent. Despite that I had minimal pedagogical tools to respond to this experience, I was certain that I should urgently deal with it and proposed to my students to research about consent in order to create practical exercises. Most of them eagerly

[1] Here I base my in-process methodology on what has been proposed by Ceballos López (2012) as the deconstruction and reconstruction of a dance and by Citro (2018) as performance-research.

opened themselves to this challenge and developed various bodily exercises. Some of these included verbalizing saying yes or no, constantly checking in their feelings and sensations, or just opening spaces of dialogue around 'feeling safe' based on their ethnicity, age, and gender-based experiences.

The above is the personal experience of one of the authors of this paper. The seeds that the students sowed through the process of creating such exercises is what drives us to share in this paper. Speaking from a territorialized specific context, in countries like Ecuador, cases of sexual abuse are strongly present in scenes of dance (Ra, 2021), gymnastics (Ponce, León, Mora, & De la Cruz, 2019), sports (Plan V, 2019) and theater (Ponce, 2022), and have been publicly exposed in the last years. The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL, 2021) estimates that at least 32% of females have suffered sexual violence in Ecuador in 2019. As for universities, this statistic implies that three out of ten females in a classroom may have encountered an experience of sexual violence. Even if they had not personally experienced it, they might have read about or heard stories since "violence affects women and girls, but it also resonates within society as a whole, so that it constitutes an obstacle not only for the sake of equality but for a sustainable peace" (CEPAL 2021)[2]. Considering this overarching state of affairs regarding sexual and gender-based violence (GBV), rooted in gender inequality, we depart from a feminist perspective to frame several layers of complexities beyond gender.[3] It is crucial to articulate our contribution to the discussion about the transmission of consent and boundaries in dance higher education based on our personal experiences, envisioning that such concepts have the potential to be addressed by everyone regardless of their identity. Also, it is not the aim of this paper to insist on universalized solutions, but rather to address a committed construction of consensus and difference based on our "situated-knowledge"[4] (Haraway, 1988: 581). Our perspective is therefore not aligned with a monolithic construction of identities. We consider the fact that gender violence has been methodologically identified with quantitative methods as a key for acknowledging how other layers of vulnerability might affect the people living within such violent contexts. Hence, we follow social critical theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak when she claims that the solution does not lie:

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2 All the Spanish quotations are translated by the authors.

3 We follow Donna Haraway's understanding of feminist epistemologies: "I want a feminist writing of the body that metaphorically emphasizes vision again, because we need to reclaim that sense to find our way through all the visualizing tricks and powers of modem sciences and technologies that have transformed the objectivity debates. We need to learn in our bodies, endowed with primate color and stereoscopic vision, how to attach the objective to our theoretical and political scanners in order to name where we are and are not, in dimensions of mental and physical space we hardly know how to name" (1988: 582).

4 "Situated knowledge" must not be understood as irresponsible relativism whereas any point of view is equitable with another. As Haraway claims "not just any partial perspective will do; we must be hostile to easy relativisms and holisms built out of summing and subsuming parts. 'Passionate detachment' requires more than acknowledged and self-critical partiality. We are also bound to seek perspective from those points of view, which can never be known in advance, that promise something quite extraordinary, that is, knowledge potent for constructing worlds less organized by axes of domination." (1988: 585).

> in the positivist inclusion of a monolithic collectivity of 'women' in the list of the oppressed whose unfractured subjectivity allows them to speak for themselves against an equally monolithic 'same system' (Spivak, 1988: 278).

As dance teachers and academics from two Latin American countries, we regard dance learning in higher education as a bodily activity that entails interactions different from everyday life habits. In addition, we conceive of the wider aim of learning to dance in higher education to undergo corporeal challenges regarding the habitual awareness of one's own body and the relation with the bodies of others (Karoblis 2007). In the context of art education, such challenges are directed toward disrupting notions of creativity that actively push personal boundaries and reshape interactions among students for the sake of enriching their performance skills (Poveda y Herrera 2023). So, despite the constructive initiative of training new bodily habits, we devise pedagogical practices that need to address the process of students assimilating new ways of understanding their bodies beyond a technical or artistic perspective. Following dance scholar Royona Mitra's (2021) delineation of a Global South intersectional approach to the training of *foreign* bodily practices such as contact improvisation –that could also be extrapolated to contemporary dance, ballet, or somatic practices– we acknowledge not only gender-based violence but dimensions of violence against other identities and inequalities such as race, ethnicity, class, and ability, as a layering that composes either privilege or a singular sense of vulnerability. Such is the conundrum that grounds our view on how lacking consent culture in dance classes may contribute to students' inability to recognize and prevent violence within these spaces.

Following the aim of building safety in the context of dance higher education, we highlight the role of discussions on boundaries and consent in order to prevent the "spectacle of testimony" (Appert & Lawrence, 2020: 230) in social media as well as the reduction of personal suffering to the statistical representation of violence. We acknowledge the risks of shedding light on consent in terms of people who are survivals of sexual violence to revive certain experiences or be faced with disbelief (Thompson & Mckinney 2010) and also the possibility of false allegations which, although radically uncommon and overestimated, do exist (Huntington et al. 2022). Taking a different route, this paper aims for the positive construction of safe(r) spaces through situated methodological exercises for dance learning in higher education. We base such exercises on the decolonial premises of the notion of '*buen vivir*' – translated into English as the good living, a good way of life, or the plentiful life (Citro, Herrera, López-Yánez & Bermúdez 2022) – that calls for a collective understanding of individual boundaries, which we are currently investigating in our classrooms in Ecuador. In the first section, we address the conceptual complexity of defining consent and the framework for expressing it, as a verbal and bodily understanding. The second section analyzes the learnings from social dance and contact improvisation about boundaries, engaging

critically from a de-colonial situated perspective. Finally, we outline practical exercises that nurture methodological tools for dance pedagogy, outlining the specificity of step-by-step successful moments that we have begun to test in our classes.

Towards a Bodily Construction of Consent and Safe(r) Spaces

Among the concepts that we have found shaping the discourse on consent and personal boundaries are words such as 'safety', 'intimacy', 'desire', 'harassment', and 'privilege'. Much of this terminology was introduced into the anglophone pedagogical jargon through the popularity of the #MeToo movement in 2017 (McMains 2021; Appert & Lawrence 2020; Clarke-Vivier & Stearns 2019), and the Latin American movements #NiUnaMenos from Argentina (Marturet 2020), and #MiPrimerAcoso and #NoCallamosMas from Ecuador (Loaiza 2017). As global trends under the information society, the "fluidity of the social dimensions implies a major extension, deepness and density of communication" (Casado in Figueroa, 2020: 265) and the appearance of these movements via the *hashtagization* of reality permeates the pedagogical discourses and practices. Thus, we acknowledge how by occupying the digital space on social media platforms,[5] these movements circulated personal stories about harassment and assault. These stories included experiences within pedagogical spaces and higher education institutions around the world (Walters 2022). The impact of the narratives was not only about the disclosure of information, but the way in which they fostered conversations about the public spectacle of testimony, and heightened singularity as a key concern affecting the notion of "truth". As Sara Clarke-Vivier and Clio Stearns describe truth in the #MeToo digital testimonies:

> The definition of "truth" applied here is complex; it seems to have to do with confessing often very painful personal experience, telling the facts of what happened even when you feel like you might be lambasted for doing so, taking a major risk of both retraumatization and ostracization via your confession, and, finally, getting into the details of the matter (2019: 67).

In the context of dance higher education, we visualize the challenge of transcending a fourth wall that separates not the audience from artists, but movement practices from personal experiences. In this sense, the resonances of the #MeToo movement raised an alert on how the singularity of harassment is also built on the violence of speaking conditions (Appert & Lawrence 2020). Precisely, since the purpose of addressing

[5] In the case of the Latin American movements, #NiUnaMenos, #MiPrimerAcoso, and #NoCallamosMas, have transcended the digital space and materialized as street demonstrations. Even more, some of the street demonstrations, especially for the #NiUnaMenos movement, have produced particular performative interventions, such as the performance *Un violador en tu camino* which was enacted in Chile for the first time in November 2019, and then went viral through social media and replicated into other demonstrations across Latin America and the world (Polti 2021; Figueroa 2020). Therefore, we consider how the articulations of digital hashtags and world-wide viralization are intertwined with the on-site local dynamics of social movements and their response to violent contexts. It is in a similar fashion that we consider the impact of such digital manifestations into the context of the classrooms of higher education.

consent is to prevent the publicity of intimacy, the image of the fourth wall illustrates how the duality of *fictional* vs *real* interactions[6] permeates the relationships that are framed into the training of artistic skills, where students should be able to express their contentedness or discontent.

"If we address grievances and social issues in class, do we amplify those issues by shining the light on them?" asks dance teacher Nicole Bindler (Consent Symposium 2020, 02:35). Referring back to the postcolonial canonical question *Can the subaltern speak* (Spivak 1988) we might ask can the students speak and represent their own grievances in a classroom without feeling it as a disruption? Who would listen, then? In the danger of speech being manifested only as a performative act at the beginning of a lecture or conference that is later "silenced or rendered inaudible by structures of power that dictate hearing, listening, and responding" (Appert and Lawrence, 2020: 226), we contend that expressing consent requires the possibility of dialogue and mutual interaction. From her seventeen years of teaching contact improvisation, Bindler defines consent as the "permission for something to happen, or an agreement to do something" (Consent Symposium, 2020: 10:35). This definition contrasts with the hierarchical relationship among a lecturer and students, which we have constantly witnessed. As Clarke-Vivier and Stearns remark, the context of higher education "has a precarious relationship with consent, since it actually relies on compulsory participation. A student might resist but cannot really say no" (2019: 56).

Bindler (Consent Symposium, 2020) remarks how she has received a complaint by some of her students that addressing consent and personal boundaries requires an investment of time and energy and consumes a period that should be spent on dancing. In this regard, we address the concept of 'safety' as an adjective rather than a noun. A *safe* or *safer* space is not magically configured with a performative announcement because "the declaration of 'safe spaces' in fact creates spaces in which oppression masquerades as empathy, demanding that some people speak and that others listen" (Appert and Lawrence, 2020: 230- 231). This is why it is especially importantly to clearly differentiate between consent among students and between the teacher and students. According to the pedagogical experience of Bindler (Consent Symposium 2020), a dance space can only be *safer*, acknowledging that the construction of empathy is a complex process in diverse situations and that it needs to be treated. Situating ourselves in a classroom of a state-sponsored university, with 20 to 30 students, we might only initiate an awareness of safety that embraces differences in all its intersections of inclusion.

[6] The notion of the fourth wall was conceived by 19-20th century western theater masters as separating the action onstage from the audience. Current contemporary Latin American artists are reshaping such concepts by enacting performances where the audience is included as part of the performance, stating that opening the fourth wall means to give birth to a new space and the new possibilities of inhabiting it (Peredo 2020).

Since consent requires the intersubjective possibility of elucidating willingness or uncomfortableness, the conditions in which the utterance happens within the overarching frame of learning to dance, center the students in a contradictory position. Building from Bindler's definition, one cannot manifest an agreement if no one is asking for it or is eager to respond. Both parties need to acknowledge that consent, as a fourth wall, may be opened and attend to the unpredictability of listening to others' desires or limits. Hence, before even considering what a student might need to say, pedagogies need to be centered around pragmatics, the possibilities of speech itself. In other words, we focus on the way in which the terms of the conversation are organized in a classroom to actualize the *safe(r)* space by allowing students to manifest themselves and opening the door of the fourth wall. This means to "focus on the knower rather than on the known" as Walter Mignolo claims (2009: 162). Such acknowledgment of the terms of the conversation[7] is different from proclaiming safety at the beginning of the course or class without the means for motivating a dialogical construction, manifested either verbally or bodily.

What are then the contents of the utterance? Scholars warn against conceiving a black-and-white scenario in which "direct communication of "yes" or "no" is what is used to define consent, not only are women frequently positioned to bear the burden of being "gatekeepers and responsible for not being raped" (Garcia & Vemuri in Clarke-Vivier and Stearns, 2019: 63). Considering the personal intimacies that are revealed whenever expressing when we like or dislike something, the closeness or touching that some dance techniques demand, and the intersubjective trust that is necessary to express discomfort before claiming abuse, we highlight the understanding of ambiguity and the situated present-continuous effort for building consent. As Juliet McMains elaborates on the complexities of establishing consent in social dance "[personal] boundaries are constantly shifting" (2021: 2) and consent might be reversible. Another layer of meaning that affects the contents of the utterance is the dimension of privilege. Bindler (Consent Symposium 2020) remarks how the construction of privilege is centered around a feeling of being comfortable. In her perspective, a person that *holds* privilege does not notice that others might not regard the same comfortableness. This awareness of privilege implies acknowledging that communication might include ambiguous meanings, not reckoning such ambiguity would bring us back to rape culture since we would be affirming that "words, and the interactions in which they are exchanged, exist absent broader personal, social, and historical contexts" (Clarke-Vivier and Stearns, 2019: 63).

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[7] The *loci* of enunciation refers to the location of the speaker, which corresponds to her being in the world, as with her construction of subjectivity in time and place: "The enunciator is of necessity located in the first person pronoun (I) [...] The enunciator can only enunciate in the present. The past and the future are meaningful only in relation to the present of the enunciation. And the enunciator can only enunciate 'here', that is, wherever she is located at the moment of enunciation. Thus, 'there', 'behind', 'next to', 'left and right' etc., are meaningful only in reference to the enunciator's 'here'" (Mignolo, 2009: 163).

Hence, addressing the intimate "deeply personal and inter-personal" (Fenner, 2017: 468) weight of expressing consent, means reflecting on contexts of consent, non-consent, coercion, and desire. Following from the possibility of engaging in the terms of the conversation and the possibility to speak, establishing boundaries should allow a possibility of either eagerness or refusal, as well as the understanding of ambiguity. Even then, whenever there might be a complexity that we will not be able to fulfill, Bindler (Consent Symposium 2020) remarks that spaces can only be *safer,* acknowledging the imperfection that any effort of building consent-culture could entail. Such efforts are historically knitted with the traditions and legacies of the practices that take place in the syllabi of dance higher education. Within the view of proposing methodologies for bodily expressing consent as situated knowledge, we address in the next section the intertwining dance traditions present at public universities in Ecuador, stressing how a decolonial approach is crucial for the actualization of consent culture.

From Social Dance to Theatrical Dance, to Decolonizing Dance Education

In the dance department mentioned above, the syllabus of the BA program focuses mostly on contemporary dance, ballet, and somatic techniques. This is not to say that other dance traditions are not taught, but they are not given the same importance, so that the notions of creativity from the legacy of European ballet, American modern and post-modern dance are highlighted. In the personal experience referred to in the introduction, the *laboratories* are a challenging moment in which students are motivated to *research* local dances not only as part of a repertoire or a nation-building construction of archiving intangible cultural heritage but as creative expressions, as performance-research approaches. Thus, the implications of challenging the epistemological core of dance as an artistic endeavor within multiple legacies, also affects the attention towards the sensorial realm, as well as the relationships that are built in different genres of dance. For instance, in some Ecuadorian dances, the tactile ways of approaching the other are quite intense and negotiated differently than in contemporary, ballet and somatic techniques. Also, in these dances, such negotiation of touch is mostly manifested as a non-verbal experience.[8] As two *mestiza* authors dwelling in Ecuador and Guatemala, we contend that building consent culture is still affected by the construction of subjectivity under colonialism and unsettling notions of identity, which are ultimately present in the ways of learning dance. The ambiguity of the response to consent, beyond the yes/no dichotomy, might lie in the chaotic encounter of movement legacies.

[8] For instance, López-Yánez (2013), in her analysis of proxemics in the Afro-Ecuadorian dance and music based-event of Bomba del Chota, affirms that extremely close tactile experiences among dancers are recurrent and essential. For instance, the action of closely hugging and touching each other with their hands on another person's shoulders, hip or arms while dancing is very common. These actions are also ways of displaying love and care for relatives, friends and partners (pp. 111-124).

Referring to a wider notion of dance traditions, Juliet McMains (2021) has described the complexities of establishing consent in the context of social dance classes. From her ample experience in different scenes and communities of social dance, she raises awareness of consent from both her activism in the community-based salsa scene of Seattle and in her teaching as a professor of dance at the University of Washington. In much agreement with the premises of the previous section, McMains elaborates on the intertwinement of dance genres to address consent culture:

> Social dance genres that have fewer codified steps, such as contact improvisation and fusion dancing, have been at the forefront of many of these efforts in part because the open-ended improvisational nature of these genres exposed personal variation in physical boundaries more readily than dance forms based on more tightly codified vocabulary. (McMains, 2021:1).

Since one of the authors received training in contact improvisation in the USA, UK and in Europe within a canonical western theatre dance syllabus we consider how the situated practice of Ecuador resonates within larger contexts and international practices. Regarded as an in-between practice that merges theatrical improvisation with social dance, contact improvisation is praised as non-hierarchical since the creation of movement foregrounds the skin as a highlighted sense that drives improvisation, rather than visually imitating a sequence of movements (Herrera, 2018). Hence, as a low-restricted dance form whose main rule is to sustain touch as the primary sense of intersubjective composition, in the process of the practice "intimate boundaries are redefined under circumstances of close proximity and how subjective the feeling of intimacy might be" (Vionnet, 2021: 324). Such intimacy has allowed for contact improvisation practitioners to be more familiar with addressing how closeness feels and the identification of several 'qualities of touch', idealizing the practice as a perfect tool for learning about boundaries and consent culture in higher education. Nevertheless, the exposure to intimacy might be a double blade since "to make contact with another person's skin is more than a physical experience because it gives lots of information about grounding, agency, personality, and intentions" (Vionnet, 2021: 325). Such a drastic exposure is grounded within Western notions of post-modern dance as innovation and might not be suitable for dance students across the globe.

Dancer and researcher Mitra puts into consideration how "not everyone can improvise freely without the fear of how power might enact on and harm our bodies in and through our CI [contact improvisation] partner's relational social positionings" (2021: 10). Hence, as much as the tactile vocabulary and awareness of CI could be useful for acknowledging touch in the pedagogies of other dance techniques, just using touch without building a safer space of trust that allows students to express how they feel can convert intended pleasure into silenced obnoxious sensations. Turning back to the notion of privilege linked to the feeling of (un)comfortableness, for dancers from

diverse heritages in the United Kingdom, one of the testimonies in Mitra's appraisal describes: "nobody directly asked me "are you feeling uncomfortable?" But the thing is, the body doesn't lie, so of course they saw I was uncomfortable in my body" (Khan in Mitra, 2021: 20). Interestingly, this testimony mentions how despite others noticed the awkwardness of the dancer, they did not know how to react or display empathy for that feeling. Such silence is the core of our motivation for delineating pedagogical methodologies to address consent in higher education. In this sense, we acknowledge the fact that the complexity of tactile experience within dance classes – either among students or from the teacher to the students– needs to be further discussed and problematized, especially in relation to the prevention of sexual abuse. If decisions towards preventing sexual abuse are made without reflecting upon tactile experiences, there is the risk of turning tactile experiences into a taboo which will lead to building punitive measures and oppression.

In a broad sense, dance can be described as a practice that inevitably connects with intimacy through diverse techniques since it "mobilizes a specific regime of attention" (Gore & Grau, 2014: 130). Grounded in the particularities of each dance tradition, the regimes of attention arise in different ways, but in the contexts of higher education, the multisensorial experience of dance emerges from the directions of a teacher. In the dance department in Ecuador, where the Western legacy of theatrical dance (and performing arts) coexists in dialogue with local practices and traditions, inviting students to challenge their boundaries to meet foreign notions of creativity should not force them into forgetting their own sensation of feeling safe. In relation to the apparent crossroad whence building dialogical consent blocks the way to fostering artistic freedom and innovation, we perceive that addressing the construction of safe(r) spaces in higher education allows students a reflexive account of the notion of creativity, as well as a wholehearted take on the interpersonal relations with their peers. Considering the way in which higher education propels a collective co-existence among students, we consider the plurality of dialogue as a key to our methodologies. Thus, situating the collectivity at the centre, in the next section we build from local notions of *buen vivir* for addressing consent in dance higher education.

Situated Corporeal Seeds: Methodological Tools for Dance Pedagogy

In Ecuador, the concept of *buen vivir* –or *sumak kawsay* in Kichwa– is part of the constitutional rights of civilians. As a pan-indigenous ancestral term that exists in many languages across Latin America, this term insists on an alternative social existence different from capitalism (Citro, Herrera, López-Yánez and Bermúdez 2021). Differing from an individualized construction of "wellbeing" or "wellness", conceiving *buen vivir* as an alternative means to be actualized through collective praxis in active engagement with the world. We raise both the practical and collective

dimensions of the concept as pillars of our proposed methodologies. So, as we engage with the collective construction of consent culture as situated in relation to the people which whom we build understanding with. In this site-specific sense, the concept of *buen vivir* does not mean imposing such a notion in other contexts, but practically addressing other beings with empathy, care, and reciprocity as part of the conditions of speech and bodily expressions.

A few weeks after the conversations and testing exercises on the notion of consent, I traveled with the students to a rural afro-choteño[9] celebration. This fieldwork trip included interacting with community members through dancing, eating, and talking, in order to experience one of the Ecuadorian dancing cultures we had discussed in class. During the dinner, a female student shared that at a moment in the celebration, she felt uncomfortable because a man with whom she was dancing was getting too close to her body and she was not sure how to handle it. When asking her why she did not tell him to back off, she replied she felt shy and afraid of being impolite, and that it all just happened so fast that she did not have time to think. Other female students expressed that they would have felt similarly to their classmate's situation. They talked about how weird it was not to feel ready to corporealize what they were learning about consent, although they were more confident about it. We discussed how notions of consent needed to be trained and practiced over and over in order to be corporealized and used in real-life situations, inside and outside of the classrooms.

Based on this experience, we believe that methodological tools for consent in higher education dance spaces require to be co-created and practiced in long-term processes. Moreover, bodily expressing consent is a never-ending practice that allows us to exist in a safe(r) way. As such, it needs to be constantly adapting to different contexts and different stages of life. At the present moment, we have not worked on consent with students for a prolonged time, nevertheless, we do believe what we have begun to experience could certainly work as 'situated corporeal seeds' to keep growing. Even when engaging in long-term processes, these exercises do not exempt students from the risks related to sexual violence neither do they substitute systematic change, but we hope to contribute to the constantly building together experiences and conversations that otherwise need to be included in dance classes. Envisioning a path towards a world in which all students are safe, we follow anthropologist Tim Ingold's remark: "...but no one – no indigenous group, no specialist science, no doctrine or philosophy – already holds the key to the future, if only we could find it. We have to make the future for ourselves." (2013: 6).

[9] Afrochoteño refers to people who were born in in 'Chota-Mira river basin', one of the two Afro-Ecuadorian ancestral territories, defined as "a specific geographic area that is under the cultural influence as well as the social and political control of one or more Afro-Ecuadorian communities or neighborhoods that share a history in common (García Salazar, 2017: 49). Chota-Mira includes 38 communities located within rural areas in Imbabura and Carchi provinces.

1. Creating a Situated Guideline

A few weeks ago, I asked my students to present a performance-research immersive approach to their fieldwork on Ecuadorian dancing cultures. One of the groups did their fieldwork about Ball Culture[10] in Quito. During their performance, they presented a category called 'sexy siren' which invited performers and viewers to enact their sexiest self by using specific clothes and movements. As a consequence of our previous conversations about consent, the students announced at the beginning of their performance that those who were watching were not obliged to participate. When the members of the group finished their performance and invited everyone to join, a few students voluntarily stood up and participated in the "sexy siren" while others happily cheered their participation. In the next class, I opened a space for dialogue and one of the students who did not participate, shared with the class that he did not feel comfortable even watching the performance. He mentioned that for him, just witnessing "sexy" depictions was a complicated moral experience and he would have rather leave the class, but since he was not given that option, he was not sure it was ok to do it. From this experience, we discussed that although it would appear that in order to build a safer space it was enough for participants to be able to choose whether to actively participate or not, it was important to build situated communal guidelines in order to include as many needs as possible from each group.

A significant procedure for building safer dance classes is to create and follow a situated guideline: a list of agreements constructed from dialogues with the group. Ideally, each guideline should be group-specific making students feel, from the beginning, that they decide what care and respect means for them. This negotiation on freedom implies that everyone has bodily autonomy and the opportunity to opt in and out of activities or express in what parts of their body the others cannot touch without any apologies or explanations needed. This premise might include the language identifications of gender (pronouns), sexual orientation or ethnicity-based sub-groups in order for everyone to feel safer.

Within the process of constructing the situated guidelines, besides in-person dialogue, the teacher or facilitator might conduct anonymous surveys to know how "safe" the students feel in class, or how confident each of them feel in expressing their needs and boundaries. Once established, the guideline should be read with the group for all participants to know about the agreements before the start of the course. This does not mean that the guidelines cannot be modified, it is crucial for teachers to adjust the guideline if they discover during their process with each group that something needs

[10] Ball is an African-American and Latino underground LGBTQ+ subculture that originated in New York City with Black and Latino drag queens who began to organize their own pageants in opposition to racism experienced in established drag queen pageant circuits. Currently, Ball culture has extended to many parts of the world, including Ecuador.

to be added or excluded. Another important factor that goes in line with our proposal of not generating a punitive environment is for the guidelines to include non-violent consequences for members who do not follow the proposed agreements and limits, and to prioritize dialogue and negotiation as much as possible.

2. The Mirror of Privilege

The first time I talked to my students about privilege was in preparation of their first intercultural dialogue[11] *with Ecuadorian dancing cultures, which included in-class laboratories among their peers and fieldwork research. In the context of hybrid classes –alternating between in-person and on-line– I decided to address privilege in a virtual class. My proposal consisted in comparing the privileges among students so to apply the same comparison between them and the members of the dancing culture they were going to work with. At first sight it appeared to me that this topic could be covered by an online seminar and online conversation. Firstly, I elaborated on the importance of acknowledging one's privileges before having an intercultural dialogue, in order to base one's decisions in the detailed understanding of the power hierarchies that are present in each dialogue. Afterwards, I asked students if they would feel comfortable taking the "self-test to reflect on one's privileges" of Peggy McIntosh y Catalina Ruíz-Navarro (2019) and sharing the results with everyone else. McIntosh' and Ruiz-Navarro's test is divided into four sub-tests based on each of the following aspects; class-ethnicity-race, genre, cis-heterosexual privilege and ableist privilege. The test contains a list of situations one has to recognize or not as part of one's life. Each situation one identifies with amounts one point, on the contrary case, it amounts to zero points. Afterwards, one adds the points for obtaining the final score, which reflects the amount of privilege one has on each aspect. I read each of the questions out loud and invited the students who agreed to share their score to put their score in our group chat. Once they were done, I opened the space for dialogue and sensed most students did not feel comfortable with talking. At first, I imagined students were not so interested on the test, but after some brief comments I realized many of them were shocked by the results and urgently needed to process it. In the next in-person class, we began to build together corporeal exercises to break down what we have discovered through the test.*

This exercise is inspired by Bindler's (Consent Symposium 2020) affirmation that talking about consent calls into question the idea of privilege understood as personal freedom. Considering that a numerical representation of privilege might not be accurate in all situations, we depict a scenario in which is possible to inquire about the notion of freedom, especially inquiring whose freedom is more compromised in relation to the absence of privilege. It is clear that in one class one will encounter students with

[11] We use the term "intercultural dialogue" as framed by Bharucha (2005) as part of a methodology for ethical research-based performances of dancing cultures when the researcher-performer is considered a foreigner.

different kinds and intersections of privilege depending on their ethnicity, gender or class. The less privileges a student has, he/she might tend to be more hypervigilant in a class since his/her freedom and comfortableness is constantly at risk. It is also important to reflect on how difficult each student finds to assume his/her privilege as they are not used to feel their freedom compromised.

3. Honoring One-Self as a Visceral Agent

Un cuerpo directo, atento, potente, salvaje.

Un cuerpo directo, atento, potente, salvaje.

(Como mantra).

(Capriotti 2021)[12]

Whenever discussing consent with my students, I have found that it is difficult to feel and to express consent. From not being able to connect with themselves in order to sense how they are feeling, or not being ready to express information about their personal boundaries (eg. saying no when someone is making them feel unease), I realized once more that consent is something that needs to be conceptually first understood and bodily trained. Therefore, the articles and theoretical information was intertwined with the building together of methodological seeds that could train all of us on being open to perceive our limits and sensations. Movement artist Christian Omar Masabanda Poaquiza was invited to some of our classes to assist in the creation of this exercise.

This exercise allows students to constantly perceive their sensations in order to be able to check in if they feel safe and immediately act if they are not. It departs from imagining the skin in three sensitive states: smooth, wrinkled, and extended. The smooth skin includes one's deeper intimate self, considered as sacred and fragile. When one is attuned in this state, there is no modification needed but a profound awareness, acceptance and contemplation. We can ask: what does my body, my deep self, need or want? In this first deep state, movements are imperceptible and direct contact with the other is not needed; it shields what each student does not want to share with anybody else. The second sensitive state of the skin is wrinkled: it is flexible to expand, allows folds, fluctuate and provoke changes that could translate into adapting and occupying more and more space. The third sensitive state of the skin is extended. It allows to push one's boundaries, to project, and go beyond one's limits. Once recognized and understood in practice the three sensitive states of the skin, the group begins to experiment evoking each sensitive state at any given moment, interchangeably, under the guidance of the teacher. It is essential for the teacher to be clear on the fact that each student has total freedom to move to one sensitive state to another. Within the

[12] A direct body, aware, powerful, savage, wild.

discourse of consent, the trained ability to progress from the smooth to the wrinkled, and extended states, is useful to clearly recognize one's bodily boundaries and the effects that each of these sensitive states has in each student and the others. Students can always go back to sensitive state in which they feel more comfortable. For instance, they can go back to their smooth skin and move away from the group activities, if they feel the need to be in touch with their own intimate world. Through each student of the group's trained ability to first identify his/her own changing boundaries and needs and second, feeling able to freely move oneself to a safe(r) state, a safe(r) dance class is possible, although not guaranteed, since it depends on students' desire to be aware and respect the others' boundaries.

Conclusions: Towards The Construction of an Ideal Future

Through these outlined methodologies, we hope to inspire new pedagogical processes specific to each dance legacy or encounter of traditions, that respectfully welcome the bodies that enact them. As we mentioned, we do regard dance as a bodily challenge and wish to enrich the technical tools of students. Hoping that consent culture is not conceived as a restriction for experimentation or the development of virtuosity, we believe that directing the efforts of building safe(r) spaces towards a future in which consent does not require to be targeted, or bracketed as an obligation to be addressed in the middle of the class, but that is already included as a metacommunication in the way teacher address their students, and students relate to their peers. Neither is this a call for consent culture to be confused with punitive measures. This idealized scenario in which the joy of dancing is perceived as a construction with others' sense of enjoyment and pleasure is what we ultimately wish for.

A performance-research laboratory might be a particular space that differs from a dance class that seeks for training a specific technique or learning fixed choreographed movement sequences. However, if students relate to each other, the teacher might choose to stand close or far away from them, or would stare at their bodies assessing the movement qualities. The fact that a movement-based class is not centered on bodily interactions, does not mean that these interactions do not happen. Even before the need of touching another body, the teacher is able to offer an environment in which students can feel welcomed to express how they feel and what challenges are they keen to commit to.

In Ecuadorian dance classrooms, as well as other programs of learning dance inside or outside of higher education in Latin America, the chaotic encounter of movement traditions connected with other discrimination issues, are part of the conditions in which every teacher might be able to negotiate with her students the appropriate way of building a safe space and respecting boundaries. As afro-descendant dance teacher Mauri Balanta mentions "a dance class conceived as a mutual exchange of knowledge means to allow

ourselves to hug the historical, political or geographical and cultural complexities. What they mean in terms of constructing racialized bodies"[13] (Multílogos Danza 2021). In other words, the referred context of gender violence mentioned at the beginning of the text, might permeate the particular understanding of consent. In this sense, rather than advocating for a magical formula that would erase such complexities or ambiguities that stand beyond a yes/no boundary or punitive measures, we propose the 'situated corporeal seeds' with the ultimate purpose of engaging in dialogue with the students.

Inspired by the call for structural change and institutional leadership by ethnomusicologists Appert and Lawrence (2020), we contend that a pedagogic space can be approached in a similar manner as an anthropologist faces fieldwork: in both we inevitably proceed towards the chaos of human behavior and cultural patterns as the intersubjective exchange of utterances and meanings. Since dance is about approaching the unknown and challenging bodily habits, the encounter with the unknown is also manifested in opening the others' sense of desire and uncomfortableness, and such feelings should have a space to be addressed. We consider that dance as embedded in the situated context, should include the role of the dancer/choreographer also as a researcher. Therefore, we envisage in a dance class the training of a professional that approaches with a critical lens intercultural exchange and the prevention of violence. Acknowledging that boundaries relate to the immediate social construction of intimacy and vulnerability, we dream of the expansion of "artistic creative practices" as spaces in which students are demanded to work upon their own vulnerability as part of their professional development.

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[13] Afro-Colombian dance teacher Balanta Jaramillo in interview with dance researcher María José Bejarano Salazar about anti-racist dance pedagogies.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Transgressive Gestures in the Couple Dance in a Central-Transylvanian Local Community

Dóra PÁL-KOVÁCS[1]

Abstract

In Hungarian couple dances the touch, the bodily contact between the dancing partners of a man and woman, has not been dealt with in Hungarian dance research. The question arises whether dance contains only those touches that are organic parts of dance as movement, or possibly contain such extra touches that are not necessarily forms of a formal-rhythmic flow of a dance, not inherent in its inner logic, yet often occur. My article focuses on taction in couple dances in a Hungarian village, Magyarózd, Ozd in Transylvania (Romania) and tries to detect which ones can be identified as structural elements of the dance and which can be interpreted as transgression. It is also worth exploring to what extent the transgression of these boundaries is considered as breaching social norms in a given community, what are the consequences of the transgression of boundaries, and what degrees of transgression exists. In addition to archival material, the research was based on my textual collections, dance filming (organising a carnival ball) and dance analysis. I conducted interviews with middle-aged people young adults and the older age group.

Keywords

Couple Dance, Gender, Transgression, Touch

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Introduction

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the gender division of roles between men and women were widespread throughout European rural societies. This distinction led me to assume that dance, understood as a socio-cultural phenomenon, could also manifest gendered patterns of behaviour. On the basis of this assumption, I initiated a research project (2012–2018) to analyse the behavioural patterns of male-female relations in traditional dances in Magyarózd, a village in Transylvania, Romania. I analysed the gender roles in the village's couple dance, the csárdás[1], which was general of the second half of the 20th century. In Hungarian[2] couple dances the touching, the bodily contact between the dancing partners, man and woman, has not been dealt with in Hungarian dance research. In general, the touching of the partner is one of the basic formal elements in couple dances. This paper will analyse one of the sub-themes of the research started in 2012, 'transgressive/additional touches' of the couple dance (I will define the term below). My choice of topic is motivated by the marked male-centricity[3] of Hungarian folk dance research and the lack of research on the relationship between couple dances and gender roles.[4]

The Field of Research

Magyarózd[5] is located in Maros County, Romania, 20 km south of Luduş. Along the Maros-Küküllő river, in the valley of the Ózd stream, also known as the Malozsa valley,

1 In the book *The Dance Life and Dances of Lőrincréve* (1989) by Zsigmond Karsai and György Martin there is the most accurate description of the Transylvanian Maros-Küküllő valley couple dance: the Csárdás, although it belongs to the new style of couple dances, in terms of its motif-repertory and structure can be classified more as an old style of couple dance. The name of the dance was clearly influenced by the new folk music style wave. The dance is simple in form, with a quarterly rhythm, the turning emphasised at the top is broken up by alternating beats, and its formal units do not fully fit the structure of the accompaniment melody. The couple's grip during the dance is characterised by a relatively constant, closed shoulder-waist grip, which is only released during the changes of direction (Karsai & Martin 1989).

2 After the First World War, in 1920, following the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Hungary lost part of its territory, including Transylvania, which is now part of Romania. Before that time, Magyarózd was part of the then Kingdom of Hungary and still has a significant Hungarian population.

3 Martin also recognizes that in the relatively few Hungarian dance historical sources, data on male dances are much more common. He attributes this to the fact that for observers from abroad, these dances were considered unusual and peculiar (Martin 2004).

4 For example, Lujza Ratkó explains in one of her studies where and how the place of women appears in the Hungarian dance tradition. In the author's view, it is primarily the *karikázó* (circle dance accompanied by singing) that represents the true, genuine female genre, and she also goes into the formal characteristics of this genre in detail. In two separate chapters, we can read about the dances in which women can be considered equal partners such as the dance with the fighting character, which is performed without any contact and the dances in which the dance is about the subordination of the other (the partner) (Ratkó 2001). Ernő Pesovár's monograph, *The Hungarian Couple Dances* (1977), contains historical contributions to dance but does not discuss the gender roles of men and women (Pesovár 1977). In her monograph, Edit Kaposi describes the good female and good male dancing qualities of the villages in Bodrogköz (Kaposi 1999).

5 The ethnography of the village is presented in István Horváth's monograph (Horváth 1980), the men's dances are described by János Fügedi in his studies (Fügedi 2007; 2012) and its folk music is described by István Pávai in his volume *Magyarózd's Folk Music in the Mirror of István Horváth's Collections* (Pávai 2015).

there are seven villages: the two largest are Csekelaka (Cecălaca) and Magyarózd (Ozd) (Horváth 1980). In a village with predominantly Hungarian inhabitants, the economic and social changes after the Second World War burdened the men and they died earlier, so there are far more widows than widowers in the village. The village's population has been steadily declining since the First World War, falling below 300 inhabitants by 2015. I analysed the population structure of the village, its demographic structure, ethnic and religious changes, employment distribution and educational qualifications using a village structure questionnaire (Kovács 2017). There has been no significant change in the ethnic and religious divisions, with census data clearly showing that from the 19th century to the present day it has been a Hungarian-majority, Reformed settlement.

Sources and Research Methods

During the first three years of my research (2012–2014), I explored a broad spectrum of the dance tradition of Magyarózd during several periods of fieldworks. In 2015, I supplemented this research with four months of fieldwork. Even if only for a short period, I became an 'inhabitant' of the village, so I was also required to follow the norms and rules of the village, which the community expected me to respect. I agree with Boglárka Bakó that such fieldwork also provides an insight into the external picture, from which the community's conflict resolution strategies, female-male roles, child-raising practices, and bureaucratic background can be analysed in a different way than from "external data" (Bakó 2004). This helped me to understand the gender roles that existed in the village at the beginning of the 21st century. In addition to archival material[6], the research was based on my textual collections, dance filming (organising a carnival ball), and dance analysis. My research informants were women and men over sixty, who were active in the village's dance life in the second half of the 20th century. In addition to the older group, I also conducted interviews with middle-aged people and young adults.

Revival Dancers as Informants

Dance can be interpreted as an intimate form of movement, more intimate than everyday social situations, as an expression of attraction and in some cases sexuality. Looking for the additional information in the given dance that displays the above-mentioned intimacy, I will come to an analysis of the dance that has been missing from the Hungarian interpretations so far. Due to the complexity of the research, I also initiated interviews with male and female revival dancers who had danced with local informants on several occasions during their fieldwork, and their personal experiences helped me to understand the topic more fully.

[6] The used manuscripts and dance notations can be found in the collections RCH Institute for Musicology: Akt.1388; Tit.1244, 1245, 1248, 1979, 1310, 1323, 1334, 1395, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400.

Károly Marót sees revival as a cultural phenomenon that is revived after a previous loss of function, so its former functions are reinterpreted (Marót 1945) and additional functions emerge in the new socio-cultural context (for the functional analysis of dances and changes in function, see Szőnyi 2018; 2021). Following Marót's definition, revival dancers are those dancers who no longer acquired their dance skills in a traditional way (see Varga 2009), but who learned the different dances of the dance dialects in dance groups and from dance teachers, and who socialized within the revival movement when dance was removed from peasant society and entered the urban space. The necessity of separating the two group of informants is also justified by the following interview extract, since the dance habits of revival dancers and local dancers are different and interpreting them on one level could lead to misinterpretation.

> They know each other, they grow up together, one family relationship, one world, not so consciously, but instinctively for them. Knowing each other is very important (...) My husband danced a lot with Aunt T., and my husband made up his dance from the figures of many dancers, Aunt T. could not adapt to this. But if he whispered in her ear that Z. J.'s figure/dance was coming, she knew it immediately. (Pál-Kovács 2017a)

These two groups of informants (local and revival) should be separated in the analysis and interpretation because researchers from the city were an unusual presence in the villages in the 1980s. It is possible that they were considered underdressed by men, as urban summer dress, short trousers and small tops were not an accepted part of village's dress-code at that time. Added to this, the women researchers were behaving differently from the norms of female behaviour in the village. They initiated conversations, asked questions of the local inhabitants, and may have differed from the known and accepted female role by their distinct appearance. It was not usual for a generation to dance with people of a different age. It may be that they asked the elderly generation to dance for the purpose of learning to dance. The information from two groups of informants, the revival and the local dancers, helps to define and analyse the gender roles in dance and the transgressive movements. The members of these two groups, however, were socialised at different times and in different social environments, which resulted in different boundaries. In other words, this makes comparisons more difficult, because what may be within the boundaries of dance for one group may not be for another.

Theoretical Background

The focus of my research is primarily on dance as a cultural and social phenomenon, and thus focuses on the interpretation of the meaning (presumably) expressed by dance and, in this context, on the analysis of gender roles. Based on this approach, I consider

the approaches and methods of dance anthropology[7] to be predominantly applicable. The study of gender roles began to spread in the academic disciplines in the early 1970s, with gender being used as a simplified umbrella term for the masculine and feminine adjectives resulting from biological sex and from behaviour and competence (Pilcher and Whelehan 2004). After the 1980s, studies on the relationship between dance and gender roles began to appear more frequently in international dance anthropology. One of the most comprehensive books was written by Jane K. Cowan (1990), who in the late 20th century gave a detailed account of the manifestations of gender roles in the village community and dance tradition of a Greek village. In Hungary, research in this field started at the end of the 20th century. Earlier, mainly descriptive works[8] only provided particular information on gender roles.

In my view, the American historian Natalie Zemon Davis articulated most accurately the direction of gender studies in academic discourse in 1996:

> Our goal is to understand the significance of gender, of gender groups in the historical past. Our aim is also to explore the diversity of gender roles and gender symbols in different societies and periods, to determine their meanings, and to learn how they have functioned to maintain social order and to promote its changes. Our aim is to explain why gender roles were sometimes strictly defined, sometimes freer, sometimes noticeably asymmetrical, sometimes more evenly distributed. (Zemon Davis 1996: 78)

In my research, following Mária Nemenyi, I consider gender as a cultural interpretation of biological sex (Nemenyi 1999), which sets patterns of expectations for individuals, regulates the social processes of everyday life, and is embedded in the basic institutions of society, the economy, the family, and politics. One could also say that dance, which is seen as part of society, also has patterns of expectation of gendered behaviour, but these are not permanent, but constantly changing from culture to culture and from age to age.

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[7] In his doctoral dissertation, Máté Kavecsánszki deals with the typical folk dance approach in East-Central Europe, the distinction between dance folkloristics and dance anthropology, which expanded dance folkloristics at the beginning of the 21st century (Kavecsánszki 2015). According to Kavecsánszki, '[dance folklore] is fundamentally interested in morphological, structural, functional and historical issues', while anthropology 'takes a more complex approach, starting from the semantic study of the movements and movements of the human body. To add to this, Sándor Varga notes that, although dance folkloristics does indeed include an attempt to understand the social context of dance, it is mainly descriptive (Varga 2016). Since the early 2000s, the Department of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Szeged and the RCH Institute of Musicology have been conducting more research on dance anthropology and social history (Szőnyi 2018; Varga 2020; Székely 2022)

[8] It would be beyond the boundaries of this paper to give a full description of the background, which I have discussed in detail in chapter 3.4 of my doctoral dissertation. (Pál-Kovács 2019)

A Brief Conception of The Body

In talking about gender roles, couple dancing, and touching, it is necessary to discuss the concept of the body.[9] The different disciplines (such as sociology, anthropology, biology) have given varied definitions of the body but it is not the purpose of this paper to explore and detail all these. In this article, I have only described some cultural anthropological and ethnological approaches that are relevant and guiding for my work. Firstly Sherry B. Ortner (1974) classifies the body into three categories: as nature, as a social construction, and as embodiment and although Ortner's body approach was written in the 1970s, it remains a very relevant and still useful concept in body-theory. This paper uses the socially constructed body as a framework for interpretation because in perceiving it, members of society follow their own social and cultural practices. They associate with a given biological body the pattern of behaviour and socialization roles[10] that they expect boys and girls to adapt in childhood[11] (Pilcher and Whelehan 2004).

Ortner's view reflects Pierre Bourdieu's statement that of all the manifestations of personality, the body becomes one of the most recognizable forms. Bourdieu interprets the body as a language "which is not so much spoken by us as it says something about us, behaving as a language of nature" (Bourdieu 1977: 151–152). Even our own images of our bodies what is beautiful, what is fashionable, what is acceptable male and female dress, etc. are determined by social constructions[12]. Cultures, societies and groups thus determine their own images of the body, define their own boundaries, and legitimize or reject interventions (e.g. a new hairstyle, different dress, etc.) (Bourdieu 1977).

European ethnological research is also concerned with interpretations of the bourgeois and rural communities' worlds. Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, analysing examples from Sweden, detail how

[9] In his study *The human body as a medium of communication* (2009) András Németh deals in detail with different philosophical, historical, and cultural anthropological interpretations of the human body (Németh 2009: 106–115).

[10] A young child's biological sex affects not only the way they dress but also the toys. Klára Gazda, in her monograph on Esztelnek, points out that in the case of fantasy toys imitating the life and work of adults, girls imitated their mothers' life (baking, cooking, etc.), while boys imitated their fathers' habits (herding, etc.) (Gazda 1980). According to Gazda, this is also reflected in traditional toys, with boys playing with cars and miniature animals and girls with miniature replicas of kitchen tools.

[11] In her monograph on childhood, Zita Deáky (2005) points out that, despite the fact that children are the focus of her book, her writing is more about adults, society and the environment surrounding children. Deáky argues that the child can be seen as a reflection of his or her environment, carrying the expectations of a particular historical period and time, and its images of right and wrong education.

[12] Marcel Mauss (1968) was the first to put forward the courageous thesis that there is no such thing as 'natural' movement and behaviour, that they are socially constructed, and that consequently the perception and use of the body are socially constructed.

> in contrast to the rural life, the bourgeoisie was characterised by a 'hidden' body, by prudery, and the body and bodily things were practically taboo. Peasant children if they were mature and observant enough learned (for example, from the reproduction of animals) how a child was born, and how to care for and feed a baby. The mother was a constant presence in the peasant family, and the children inevitably saw her in her underwear. In contrast, in the bourgeois milieu, there were no animals, children saw their mother and nanny all their lives only buttoned up to the neck, and birth and baby care were understood as a private matter for the mother and the baby. (Frykman & Löfgren 1987: 86).

The conclusions of the Swedish authors can also be considered valid for the Transylvanian peasant culture, on the basis of which sexuality could become a natural part of life here, too, but the public expression of intimacy is subject to a completely different perception. In my research, I consider the body not only as a natural object, but also as a socially and historically defined concept.

The Concepts of Transgression and Additional Touching

The movements, touches, judgements and consequently the boundaries of couple dance are all determined by socially constructed patterns of expectation. The term 'boundary' does not, of course, refer to a physical limit, but is a metaphorical reference to social relations, to belonging to a community or to the phenomena that regulate exclusion from a community. It also refers to the boundaries within social relations, which are more strictly regulated by social conventions the closer one approaches the socially intimate bodily areas of the individual (Donnan & Wilson 2002). When applied to dance, the term social boundary also includes socially permissible movements and touches, as well as the possibility of transgression, as individual dances have internal norms and regulating factors that individuals know, accept and use while dancing, and which provide them with a sense of belonging to a community. Michel Foucault writes about the transgression as follows:

> Transgression is an action which involves the limit, that narrow zone of a line which it displays the flash of its passage […] The play of limits and transgression seems to be regulated by a simple obstinacy: transgression incessantly crosses and recrosses a line which closes up behind it in a wave of extremely short duration, […]. (Foucault 1977: 32–33).

I argue that the boundary could include the whole world of movement, and at the moment of transgression the person leaves the whole of the known zone. In other words, at the moment of transgression, the individual is in a specific middle space, he or she is on the very concrete or even abstract border, and he or she has a momentary view of both the territory what is inside and what is outside of border. In my interpretation, the transgression can never be permanent: after it we almost immediately step back into the known, legitimate zone, from which the misdemeanour can happen again and again.

When analysing dances, the question arises: to what extent is the crossing of these borders considered a violation of norms in the given context, what are the consequences of such an act, are there degrees of it? Furthermore, is it possible to create what we consider to be transgression with the acceptance and approval of society? Is it truly misdemeanour if the society in question accepts the movements that I, as a researcher, or more precisely the social norms that I have embedded in myself, define as transgressions? Who set the boundaries: society or the individual? In my study, I seek answers to these questions.

The Touches of Dance

One of my informants said that "dancing is an intimate thing by nature. (...) we touch each other in places where we don't in other situations" (Pál-Kovács 2017b). There are countless culturally and socially defined written and unwritten rules of physical contact that are known, accepted and used by the individuals who live in a given society. In my research, I had the opportunity to observe and experience a number of phenomena related to this topic, of which I will highlight only a few illustrative examples in this study. I hope that it will become apparent to what extent the perception of the touches that I consider to be transgressive, or crossing a boundary is influenced by the personality of the individual, in addition to socialisation.

It is an essential part of Hungarian couple dances that the dancers can touch or grip each other's back, up to the hip line, using the whole arm to hold each other. The question arises as to which part of the body's touches can be considered as transgressive movements that only fit into certain situations or frames of the dance (or perhaps not). If we look closely at the Magyarózd dance films, we can see that in the couple dances, in addition to the touches mentioned above, men touched women's breasts and bottom with their palms, fingers and fingertips. Due to the sexual nature of these body parts, the touching of these areas of the body requires further investigation and analysis.

I examine here some examples of this phenomenon in the Hungarian dance tradition as it cannot be considered as a specific feature of the village. Firstly, in 1953, Márta Kiss and Csaba Pálfi made a film in Szenyér, in the South Transdanubian Somogy. During the dance, although the man does not touch the woman's breast, the dance notation and the textual record shows that in the early part of the dance the man's hand "was raised towards the woman's breast with spread fingers, imitating the touching or 'desire' of the woman's breast" (Fügedi & Vavrinecz 2013: 98). The dancers are not married. Secondly, Lujza Ratkó, a Hungarian dance researcher, in her doctoral dissertation dealt with the dance tradition of the Nyírség, North-eastern Hungary, and notes that before World War I, the bottom grip was natural in peasant dance culture, only afterward did the shoulder/shoulder-blade grip become widespread. This brief example shows us that the different touches cannot be considered uniform and unchangeable, the boundaries

of touch are different depending on age, period, and generation (Ratkó 1996). Thirdly, in 1990, János Fügedi organized a fieldwork study excursion, dance teaching and fieldwork for the students of the Hungarian Dance Academy in Magyarózd, with the help of the village's famous dancer József Jakab, Master of Folk Art.

The image below (Figure 1) is cut from a recording of a dance teaching in 1990, in which József Jakab is dancing with one of the Hungarian revival dancers. After seeing the footage, I wondered if it was a real touch, or if the male dancer just had his left hand in front of the woman's breast without touching it. It is clear from the footage and the pictures that the man, having completed the couple turning, makes the change of direction in a jumping motif that would be much more difficult to do if his left hand was just in the air.

Figure 1: Shots from dance teaching. Recorded by János Fügedi, 1990, Magyarózd, RCH instead of BTK Institute of Musicology, Folk Dance Archive, Digital Film Library, Vt_63_VHS_ Magyarozd_1990.avi, 0:50:42.

The 4/4 metre, energetically paced Csárdás, accompanied by new-style melodies, is made up of several dance parts without pause. After a short, beating section, the couple turning to the right and left, the moving in one direction is interrupted by a short beating-figuring section, after which the dancers turn in the opposite direction. Between the multiple changes of direction, there may also be a longer separate dance, which can be seen as a lure, to release the rotation. The intense back-and-forth turning, including direction-changing figures, is interrupted by a resting section, when the dancers just

step in place, maintaining a closed grip. A common example of additional touches in films is the short beat-figuring phase associated with the change of direction, in which the man holds the breast of his female partner in an almost natural-looking gesture as if to maintain the already closed grip.

I contacted the woman on the video because I believed it was relevant to know her own experience of what happened. Her memories confirmed my earlier hypothesis that the man had indeed touched her breast with his palm, *not roughly, but cunningly* (Pál-Kovács 2017c).

After the examples, I look at how the two groups of informants perceive the different touches in the dance. My female revival informants mentioned several times during the interviews that they had all been touched on the breast by their partner, in most cases a male partner, while dancing with a Transylvanian local informant.

> But this is not the way you perceive it, it is a completely different way. You don't take it as an insult or something I don't know what (...) rather in places in Szeklerland, Sófalva, Nyárádmagyaros, Fenyőkút. There it's completely public, this groping while dancing (...) for example in Sófalva, in a figure, he throws me over and puts me on his thigh and grabs my breast, I felt that it's not to enjoy himself, but that it's the custom. (Pál-Kovács 2017a)

One of my informants from Magyarózd told me: "It's like this, not all sides, because sometimes you just hold your hand, but sometimes you turn around and you put your hand like this /And that wasn't intrusive? No. It was a dance" (Pál-Kovács 2018). So, you can see that this local woman had no difficulty in talking about what I considered to be an intimate subject, for her this kind of touching is part of the dance, it is not taboo at all. This informant was born and grew up in the village, and her husband was also an inhabitant of Magyarózd. During our conversation, she gave me the impression that nothing could be more natural than this, and she did not quite understand why I was asking this question, or why it could be important to me.

One of my revival informants reacted as follows: "The peasant man has a completely different emotional relationship, I think, with his partner. I think it's the same in dance. For them, touching the breast, or maybe touching it in a place that is interesting to us, I don't think they do it for the pleasure of it." (Pál-Kovács 2018)

Here I need to refer back to an earlier idea that the social boundaries in rural society and the urban sphere are different. The last two quotes support this, my local and revival dancer informants agree, both believe that in peasant society these touches while dancing were accepted and tolerated. I also discussed this issue with another elderly couple in Magyarózd, where I met with a particularly contrasting reaction. The woman was rejecting this from the very first moment, denying the existence of the whole phenomenon. I showed the footage in normal and slow motion too, I showed the pictures, but even after

all this she was determined that it only looked like he was touching her breast, in fact, he had stopped his hand before the actual touching and had not touched her breast. The man, in complete agreement with the woman, denied the existence of the phenomenon. At the end of the conversation, I said goodbye[13] to the family. As I knew I would not see them again for a long time, we said goodbye with kisses. As I said goodbye to the old man, he reached under my arm with both hands so that his palm touched the outside of my breast. A similar experience was also reported by a revival informant, who often encountered the situation described above. She had already learned from her many collections which men this could happen to, and in anticipation of this, she would take his two hands or forearms in greeting, to avoid an unpleasant touch.

Conclusions

The examples above have highlighted the fact that the phenomenon of additional touches was probably present in several areas of 20th century Hungarian folk dance tradition. In all but the last example, the dancers are members of the same community, who learned the couple dances together in a traditional way. In the last case, a woman from Hungary is dancing with a local man, so the two partners did not socialize in the same socio-cultural environment and did not learn the dance in the same way. My revival female informants shared their personal experiences of breast touching while dancing. For all of them, it was a strange, unusual touch, as their Hungarian revival dancing partners had never done this before. The local inhabitants of Magyarózd can be divided into two groups according to their perception of the phenomenon. One group considers it a completely natural phenomenon, a part of the dance, the other group denies its existence.

After the examples and the interviews, it can be concluded that these touches do exist in dance, and I believe that they are an extra in the dance tradition. They are not necessarily inherent to the dance process, without them, the dance would not be damaged. However, more informants than expected earlier had personal experience of it. In my view, these movements can be considered as transgressive movements. From the narratives of my revival informants, we have seen that these gestures, which can be called transgression or boundary crossing, can be found in some of the Transylvanian couple dances of the 20th century. The fact that the boundaries between the revival and my local informants are different means that problems are encountered when comparing the touches. In addition to the fact that the female breast can be seen as a biologically erogenous zone, in our urban world we associate it with sexual content, presumably

[13] During the fieldwork, two different ways of saying goodbye became useful: if I knew for sure that I would see you again within a week or two of meeting you, then waving and saying goodbye verbally could be considered as a sufficient goodbye. As I usually try to maintain a relatively close relationship with my informants, when I knew that I would not be seeing them again for a long time, I added the more familiar two kisses to the former goodbye. In the second example I mentioned, I said goodbye in the latter way, which is why the extra touch was given.

thanks to the beauty industry and pornography. As a consequence, the female breast has been subjected to a degree of taboo in which it is automatically associated with intimacy and sexuality as a primary sexual characteristic. It can be assumed that the rural world was less influenced by pornography, where the female breast was used to feed newborn babies, but with the spread of globalisation it is evident that even in this medium it is less and less seen as a body part that simply fulfils this function. In any case, the sexual interpretation of the female breast in peasant society in the mid-20th century seems to be less explicit. The boundaries of dance do not coincide with the boundaries of everyday life, where dancing provides more opportunities for physical contact between men and women than in everyday situations, and dance legitimizes more touching that is not always allowed in everyday life. Examples of this are breast and bottom touching. In conclusion, the perception of these touches is influenced by a number of factors, such as dress, intimacy, and the relationship between the couple. At this point, it becomes necessary to separate the revival and local data sources.

My revival informants learned the dance in the revival folk dance movement, mostly in an urban environment, where the traditional dance learning method is no longer available, and the dance material of the different dance dialects was introduced and learned from dance teachers and dance groups during the education, which emphasized dance technique. It follows, however, that they are masters of the dance material itself, and the society and environment of the dance were only marginally acquired. Thus, the dance material was taken out of its original context, as a result of which, presumably, the movements and moments of the hidden phenomena in the dance, containing metacommunication, were lost, since they only had additional information in or through detailed knowledge of the original socio-cultural context.

The research has allowed me to conclude that the touching of breasts and bottom belonged to a segment of the 20th century Magyarózd dance culture that in certain situations fell within the boundaries of dance. My local informants did not hesitate to discuss this topic in confidence, but open communication on the subject did not fit within the framework of etiquette. If we continue to understand dance as a part of society, it follows that the framework and boundaries of dance in a given society have been appropriated by the people living in that society without being noticed. Of course, we cannot regard these boundaries as a permanent, almost unchanging framework, since they are in a constant state of change. My revival informants, on the other hand, were socialized in a different society, in a different period, where the boundaries of that society and the dance that existed in it were located elsewhere, but they had learned the dance tradition of peasant society. When a revival dancer who has socialized elsewhere starts dancing with a local dancer, these different boundaries collide, and what is already impertinent and unpleasant for the urban dancer is for the other person part of the dance, if not an indispensable part of it, then it is within the boundaries of the dance.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Moving Past Franco's Art and Censorship: The Case of The Female Flamenco Dancer

Rosemary CISNEROS[1]

Abstract

The Roma culture has always been a marginalised community within Spain yet revered for its performance artistry. This article explores flamenco and female flamenco dancers under the Francisco Franco dictatorship, 1939-1975. I discuss censorship under the political leader and its influence on flamenco as well as investigating the dynamics of women onstage within the flamenco sphere as seen through the documentary series *Rito y Geografía* (Rite and Geography) (1971-1974). Gender roles are examined through analysis of popular culture during Franco's Spain and the manner in which he portrayed and romanticised the female flamenco dancer. I argue that he used the flamenco series as the vessel to manipulate discourse. Franco exploited flamenco to promote tourism and capitalised on the female flamenco dancer and used the series to promote a national identity.

Keywords

Flamenco, Dancer, Franco, Spain, Carmen, Tourism

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Introduction

Flamenco singing, guitar playing and dancing are the three main pillars of the art form. Flamenco highlights the history of the *Gitano*[1] community and reveals sexist, classist, and racist ideas that revolve around the community, which I unpack below. The art form embodies the history of the *Gitano* community and underscores the contradictions of the Andalusian region. It is a form of oral history where behaviours, gestures, poetry, dances, music, and emotions all come together to document the past of a people, as well as a region. Flamenco was born from the interaction between the Roma and non-Roma or *Gitano* and non-*Gitanos* and the roots of flamenco stem from the everyday life of the *Gitano* community. It was their social reality and cultural traditions which lent itself to the corporal language now known as flamenco. *Gitanos* were a people that knew how to manoeuvre and adapt to situations (Chinoy and Lagunas Arias, 2022) and who continue to travel and settle in many countries throughout the world. The *Gitanos* have assembled and disassembled flamenco. Family structures are an integral aspect of the art form as flamenco often happens to mark religious and family celebrations, and is inter and intra-generational.

As an insider of the *Gitano* community who understands and honours certain traditions, my flamenco dance practice has oscillated between private and public spaces. In this article I write as a dance historian and dancer who was formally trained in the flamenco dance form and also experienced it in informal settings. My goal is not to oversimplify the discussion or to polarise debates, rather, I delve into the binaries that exist in flamenco and further expand on the "historical sexualisation of flamenco"(Cruces Roldán and Sabuci i Cantó 2005: 9). Education scholar Maria Cuellar-Moreno (2016) and dance scholar Paulina Ossona (1984) suggest that dance truthfully reflects culture and society and my discussion emphasises that art practices, countries and their local environments and art forms have a symbiotic relationship. Flamenco is a clear reflection of such a reality.

Andalusia, Spain is considered the birthplace of flamenco and the art form not only embodies but represents the complex, multifaceted Andalusian identity. The southern region is a land of contradictions which includes the flamenco art form. An amalgamation of the cultures which existed in Spain informed the genre, yet the *Gitano* community laid the foundation for what we now call flamenco. This artform expands a global stage via the economies of cultural heritage, tourism, performance and research, and the flamenco image circulating is a direct reflection of the Spanish

[1] Gitano is the Spanish word for 'Gypsy' although Roma is the preferred term in English and the politically correct one as suggested by the Council of Europe. In this writing I will use the term when referring to the Spanish Roma community. It should be noted that term "Gitano" carries much less pejorative connotation than in other languages. (RomArchive, online https://www.romarchive.eu/en/terms/gitano-gitana/). I am using the term *Gitano* throughout the text partially to reclaim the word and, in Flamenco, *Gitano* is often used when discussing Roma in the art form.

dictator Francisco Franco's imperialist *Franquismo* values. The image of the female flamenco dancer and the *Gitana* woman have been fossilised, in part due to the *Rito y Geografia* flamenco television series (1971-1974). This article explores Franco's censorship laws and introduces the *Carmen-esque Beauty*, a term that I am using to reference the Carmen figure, who was of a lighter complexion and carried herself with an erotic disposition, and whose dancing could be described as sultry with gestures of sexual undertones. This accepted Carmen, often seen wearing red frilly dresses, was a romanticised version of a *Gitana* and developed into a product that was sold to the international community, becoming a national symbol of the female flamenco image. Examining the images that were constructed within the framework of stereotypes created by non-*Gitana* sheds light on the paradoxical relationship Franco had with the female *Gitana* flamenco dancer. Since flamenco is closely associated with the *Gitanos* from Spain, to better understand this relationship a brief historical reflection is needed on the Roma's arrival in Europe.

The Romani (plural Romanies or Roma), also known in other languages as 'Gypsy'[2] in English, 'Cingene' in Turkish, 'Tsigane' in French, 'Gitanos' in Spanish, are a group of people that are living dispersed in many countries. This explains the numerous other names the Roma have been labelled. The Romani people could best be known for their two identities -- "their own actual Romani identity and the one that is familiar to most non-Romanies and which is reflected by those many other names" (Hancock 2007: xvii). Romani is the politically correct term that is desired by most historians, but "the word 'Gypsy' continues to be used, and the transition to 'Roma(nies) is a slow one" (ibid, xviii). The complexity of terms and variety of adjectives used to describe the Romani culture represents the difficulty in recounting the origin of the people. Although, many Roma communities prefer to be called Roma, Spanish Roma often embrace the term *Gitano*. The image that is linked to the Roma community is one that is full of contrasting perspectives. A plethora of opinions arise when it comes to understanding who the Roma are and where they come from, in large part because of their customs of honouring oral traditions. They were an unlettered people who did not document their history and traditions in the western way that historians do today. They based their traditions, customs, culture, as well as their exchanges with others, on verbal accounts and the lack of information that exists in scholarly settings is due in part to the lack of interest in the field. The Roma have lived within the European nation for centuries (see Pusca 2010; Swoboda, Flašiková-Benová and Wiersma 2011).

The Roma community is in constant flux and although there are many character traits that follow the Roma and their historical background, what makes them unique is that they are a people without a homeland. The fact that they are a landless community

[2] The use of the term Gypsy can be seen as derogatory. Outside the UK, the preferred term is Roma. I use the term Gypsy in this instance to honour the author's writing.

who live among host countries, creates a mystic yet unsettled demeanour, causing them to be perceived as a 'homeless' people living off the State. Roma migrated to Andalusia through Europe and their culture finds its roots in the Northwest region of India. Heinrich Grellmann, a Roma scholar, analysed the Roma language, *Romani,* and found that it was primarily composed of Sanskrit words, with "many words still in pure form, and the most closely resembled the dialects spoken in North Western India" (Grellmann,1807: 12). Grellmann therefore concluded that Roma originated in India but began to appear in what is now Turkey, around 855 A.D. Since Grellmann's original research scholars have gone on to develop linguistic research into the 40+ Romani dialects (see Hancock and Mulcahy1979; Halwachs 2003; Matras 2005). The Council of Europe's factsheets[3] address socio-linguistic aspects of the languages and offer insights into the individual linguistic structural levels: lexis, phonology, morphology and syntax. This is followed by a detailed discussion of dialectology with a final presentation of the socio-linguistic situation of the communities. The Roma families continued travelling and settling in different European countries and some literature (see Kenrick 2007, Pusca 2010) suggests that Roma entered northern Spain in 1447 to join with the colonies that had migrated earlier through the south, via North Africa. Although many historians debate this point today, there is no corpus of primary archival sources to facilitate this type of investigation (Cañadas Ortega, 2018). As Roma scholar Stanley Brandes has written:

> In 1425, they were already residing in Barcelona. It is presumed that Iberian Gypsies entered the peninsula from both France and North Africa, but exactly in what sequence or proportions they came via the northern and southern routes is still open to question. (Brandes, 1980: 53)

Brandes' point highlights the complexity in identifying exact dates. As historian and philologist, Araceli Cañadas Ortega writes for the RomArchive Flamenco section, the absence in archival materials to help locate and document the Roma journey in Spain leaves the community vulnerable to misrepresentations. Specifically, Cañadas Ortega says that because their historical context is not understood, this "has made it possible to create and maintain an account of the stereotypical and manipulated reality that underpins the system of exclusion and domination within which the Roma unfortunately have to live, even now" (Cañadas Ortega, online, 2018).

The use of Roma woman serving as inspiration for writers, painters, performing artists and others is a historical reality that has informed collective imaginations across disciplines and countries. Historian Sarah Carmona (2018) focussed specifically on the Roma woman stereotypes in the paintings held by the Louvre Museum in Paris, France and the Prado Museum in Madrid, Spain. She analysed thirteen works by the

[3] Council of Europe's Linguistic Factsheet: https://rm.coe.int/roma-history-factsheets-eng/1680a2f2f8

greatest masters of European painting and says "depictions of the Romani body and of Romani attributes, whether real or imagined, serve majority societies" (2018:146) and have done so since the fifteenth century. Capsulising the Roma figure as a sexualised object is a catalyst for cultural appropriation. Dance historian and performance theorist Ninotchka Bennahum has mapped what she coins a "Gypsy Geography" (2013) that specifically traces the genealogy of the female presence of Carmen, an imagined dancer who has existed in a mirage of publications, stages and historical archives. Bennahum's *Gypsy Geography* excavates the Carmen figure throughout her iconic operatic role and suggests that from her genesis in the ancient Mediterranean world and her emergence as flamenco artist in the architectural spaces of Islamic Spain, her persistent manifestation in Picasso's work were all interconnected. English writer George Burrow's literary interest in the Roma community was well documented (see Bennahum 2013; Pusca 2014). His literature created a wave of popular interest in the Roma community with Burrows characterizing the *Gitanos* as exotic and far removed culturally and socially from Western European society (Hasdeau 2015). Burrows attempted to document his experiences with them by describing their ways, writing about the community's language and customs, and thus romanticizing them as an Eastern people living in a Western land (Bennahum 2013).

This viewpoint was not unique to Burrows as others such as French composer Georges Bizet and French writer Prosper Mérimée also had a fascination with a Carmen figure. Specifically, there were several iterations of Carmen that overlapped each other: i) the French opéra comique, *Carmen* (1875) by Georges Bizet; ii) the libretto by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, based on the novella of the same title Carmen; iii) Prosper Mérimée's *Carmen*, first published in 1845 and was itself influenced by the narrative poem 'The Gypsies' (1824) by Alexander Pushkin. Mérimée read the poem in Russian by 1840 and translated it into French in 1852. Bennahum claims that Mérimée's quest to develop the prototype for Carmen gestated throughout the 1830s and was fed by his research travels to study classical ruins in France and Spain. She further suggests that

> A stream of French writers created, on the ballet and music stage at the Paris Opéra, a Romanticized, orientalist fantasy world that existed only in their imaginations. Gypsy identity — Carmen's fictional and onstage identity — is contained in movement and sung verse. (2013:20)

The essentialism described above is linked to a form of cultural hegemony and is an aesthetic discrimination. The image of the *Carmen-esque Beauty* has locked the Roma into the box of Romantic stereotypical tropes, that started in the mid- 18th century but was fossilised by Franco in the mid-1960s. The tendency of many people to associate flamenco with Carmen, this wild and highly sexualized dancer, is distorted and dangerous and what this stereotypical image omits are the details of flamenco

history. Therefore, before I examine the relationship Franco had with flamenco, it is timely to deepen the understanding of the artform.

Flamenco: a Brief History

This writing contends that flamenco, at a base level, was brought to Spain by the Roma. It evolved into what we now know as flamenco, but that history is in direct relation to the context and environment for which it existed and in which it continues to live. Flamenco as an artform, is linked to the romantic stereotype developed in the interface between Andalusian and *Gitano* traditions (Chinoy and Lagunas Arias 2022). The construction of Andalusian identity is tied to flamenco and *Gitanos* (see Casajus, 2000; Thède, 2000, Cisneros 2010). Flamenco is dance and an art form that evolves each time it is performed. Each moment that a person gets up to sing, play or dance, they become a different being, therefore bringing something fresh to the moment and honouring its specific environment. As flamenco historian Robin Totton says, "and so, unlike folk music, flamenco is constantly changing, not only with the times, but with each singer, and every time he opens his mouth to sing" (Totton, 2003: 18). Antiquity is interwoven with modernity, and the evolving character of flamenco creates a tension which nourishes the complex Andalusian character. The identity of a flamenco dancer is not only in relation to the *Gitano* image but also rooted in the nature of the Spanish context too. Flamenco was and is an outlet for *Gitanos* to share their sadness, happiness, sorrows, fears, insecurities and many studies when discussing Andalusian *Gitanos* focus on flamenco (Chinoy and Lagunas Arias 2022; Casajus 2000; Thède 2000). Flamenco historian Miguel Angel Vargas has criticised the field suggesting that *Gitanos* are of interest to researchers when the community is either marginal and problematic, or dancing and singing, stating "art matters, but not Roma lives" (Vargas Rubio, 2020: n.p.). Flamencologists Clara Chinoy and David Lagunas Arias (2022) have also attempted to refrain from reproducing this marginalised or exotic image and suggest that there were several *Gitano* families that were an integral part of Andalusia, thus positively influencing the Andalusian identity.

Roma, a socially excluded and "emotionally depressed ethnic group, characterised by nomadism and endogamy, was of vital importance for the emergence of flamenco as a way of expressing and transmitting emotions, particularly that of pain and suffering" (Lopera Auñónis et al., 2022: 247). While settling in the South, the *Gitanos* encountered Moorish, Jewish and Spanish communities which ultimately created what we now know as flamenco. This environment that included such diverse groups of people has led to much controversy. Many debates exist on which culture influenced flamenco more and therapists Sabine Koch et al., (2019) describe flamenco as a dance, music and performance form that is based on the expression of deep feelings. Cultural anthropologist Marta Wieczorek (2018) also suggests that there is a tension with the

art form and its debated past highlighting the 'conundrums' linked to the former ethnic conflicts. These entangled controversies are burdened with the notion of questioning if flamenco is both a national and/or local symbol.

Despite the varying schools of thought on flamenco's roots, November 16 is considered the International Day of Flamenco[4] and is commemorated throughout the world. UNESCO declared this dance to be Spanish Intangible Heritage of Humanity in November, 2010, yet, its history has a complex and often debated past. This historical reality has polarised some Spanish elites and as Moreda Rodríguez (2020) suggests flamenco's critics, particularly during the late 19th century and early 20th century, were comprised of three main groups: the Catholic Church and its conservative allies, left-leaning intellectuals and politicians, and leaders from revolutionary workers' movements. During the period between the Restoration and the beginning of the Civil War, from 1875 to 1936, the three groups used flamenco to critique what they saw as Spain's political, economic, and cultural ills. (Moreda Rodríguez, 2020: n.p.) This foundational information sets the scene for the period (1939-1975) that this paper explores.

Franco's Focus on Art and Censorship

Fascism existed in Spain from 1935-1975 and within a fascist regime there was no room for individual expression. Censorship was Franco's way of controlling the arts (Merino 1994). The entire culture was living under his restrictive laws and people were not allowed to freely or artistically express themselves. As philologists Raquel Merino and Rosa Rabadán's research suggests during post-Civil War Spain, "all culture was passed through the censoring filter" (2004:128). That filter was approved by Franco and he chose which art practices were upheld and dictated the manner in which they were shared nationally and globally (Vandaele 2015). Censorship was neither new nor particular to Franco's regime as the Catholic Church was always censoring dance but was not as methodical as the dictator. Ivanova suggests that "the Church supervised and sheltered Spanish dancing and did not hesitate to forbid what they considered to be too sensual" (1970: 69). Much scholarly work has been done on Franco and his suppression of the arts. One organisation named *"*TRACE*"* (TRAnslations CEnsored Project) was an undertaking by translation researchers at the University of Leon and the University of the Basque Country that researched databases exploring censored books, theatre and cinema translations and the broader censorship laws that were passed during *Franquismo* (Merino and Rabadán, 2004*).* Franco's regime and its censorship laws could be divided into two distinct categories: one is post- Civil War through to the 1950s, the second, starting after Minister Fraga[5] took office and established a tourism cabinet, which was in place until Franco's death in 1975. After Fraga's inauguration,

[4] International Day of Flamenco: https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/flamenco-00363

[5] Manuel Fraga Iribarne (23 November 1922 – 15 January 2012) was a Spanish professor and politician in Francoist Spain, who was also the founder of the People's Party.

the tone of tourism had a specific goal and this included promoting a national identity to the rest of the world. The country had a new motive, one which consisted of broadcasting Spain on a global level.

The cabinet controlled local and global materials entering the country, and were stricter towards texts, films, and performances, particularly onstage live performances suggesting that "control of text production, both native and translated, was exalted by *juntas de censura*, committees composed of Church representatives, lower-rank officials and men of letters functioning under the supervision of the authorities" (Merino and Rabadán, 2004:125). Throughout *Franquisimo*, extreme laws had a strong hold on citizens. It was not simply the types of laws that were passed, but the manner which those rules were applied. Franco's way of regulating and censoring the country was not only shrewd but quite methodical and inconsistent. Similar to other aspects of his administration, contradictions were present within the censorship assembly. Depending on what suited him and his regime, Franco would exercise his power and in some cases allow a more lenient approach, whereas in other situations, he adhered to a very strict code. His censorship cabinet was always supportive of religious propaganda and favoured Catholic religious slogans and images. Before plays, books and television shows made their way to an audience, they closely scrutinised by Franco's workers. Censorship was a bureaucratic process and every individual involved in making, producing, or performing any aspect of a cultural product, was clearly aware of the censorship laws. "There was also a subtle form of covert self-censorship: authors were aware of unwritten rules and they knew what had to be done to comply with or subvert the values of the Establishment." (Merino and Rabadán, 2004: 127) Apart from having to go through the bureaucratic filter, before an artist even began working, he/she was conscious of the laws which placed a social pressure on the cultural heritage sector of the times.

With such a broad discussion of censorship laws, the understanding as to why the arts were targeted, needs to be recalled. The arts could lead to social change and oftentimes artists explored ideas that might have been different from the political vogue of the time. TRACE suggests that films and performances (including dance, theatre, musical and any other live staged events) were the most regulated with cultural manifestations likely to be subjected to control. Essentially all forms of public entertainment, in particular theatre performances and films were highly scrutinised and censored (see Merino and Rabadán, 2004; Gonzalez de Garay and Alfeo, 2017; Leyva 2018). Franco re-engineered how he used culture and the arts. For example, the writer José María Pemán, was originally not allowed to show his play and struggled for nearly three years navigating the censoring committees. After many changes and edits, he was finally granted the right to showcase his play to an audience in 1968 and published it in 1969 (Merino and Rabadán, 2004:134). Films, books, and performances were

targets of the censorship bureau and while the country was socialized by mass media, it not only influenced individuals' behaviour but conditioned views and preferences. Moreover, every artistic medium has the potential to mirror some aspect of society. As I move into the discussion about the documentary series, I establish how the films reflect *Franquismo* and its beliefs towards women and *Gitanas.*

Flamenco and Gitanos Under Franco's Regime

Flamenco became a symbol of national identity and during the regime the art form was coined an Andalusian phenomenon. There was a reason why Franco allowed flamenco onstage and it goes back to the hidden agenda that the pragmatic dictator was following. Flamenco was a form of propaganda within *Franquismo* and to understand this symbiotic relationship, I must highlight the *Roma* community and its role within the Franco regime. Roma throughout history have been a people that have been synonymous with terms such as beggar, scum, vagabond, problems, tension (ENAR 2022). The word *Roma (Gitano)* brought a sense of urgency to the surface and there was an immediate response to who these people were, oftentimes the reactions being negative. The *Gitano* community throughout history, has been forced to adopt and assimilate to the host countries' identity. During the Franco regime, this was clearly happening and the threatening undertone facing the *Gitano* community was overwhelmingly present within many areas of the Spanish government. Ethnographer Michael Stewart also researched the way States, countries and policies reflected on and reacted towards Roma living in Europe.

> The very existence of autonomous Gypsy communities apparently quite beyond the influence of state organs was construed as a threat to political stability and ideological hegemony, a carnivalesque incitement to disorder. As such these communities were the object of a concerted campaign at all levels of the state. (Stewart, 1997: 87)

As Stewart suggests, the autonomy of the Roma families was seen to be in opposition to the order of the State. Franco understood the power that the *Gitanos* carried with their autonomous presence, which is why he tried to showcase them using the flamenco art form. His cultural appropriation could be viewed in the same way that his politics were used. Franco framed flamenco in a specific light pushing for it to become a part of the national identity. He invoked flamenco in a frame which made it seem as though he was supporting the *Gitano* community and their art form. In reality he was using the arts as a way to show his tolerance towards a people that throughout Spain's history was marginalised and ostracised. The quote below showcases the conflicting attitudes of Franco towards Roma.

> Resistant Roma artists were treated as no more than benign irritations to the regime, and more docile Roma received positive and favorable treatment in the regime. Such tolerance for Gypsies, who were, and are- widely discriminated against in Europe and

> the Americas, lent credibility to Franco's claim that Spain's government was neither fascist nor intolerant to cultural diversity. The cost of such tolerance was minimal, since Roma were politically unorganized, but its purchase was great insofar as the fledging economic alliance between Spain and the U.S. hung in the balance of such matters as Franco's respect for human rights. (Christordifis, 2007: 236)

The paradox stemming from the political hypocrisy was an ongoing reality. As anthropologist Stanley Brandes researched, *Gitanos* under Franco were negatively branded yet systematically used. Franco's society routinely used both women and *Roma* as scapegoats.

> Gypsies are considered a public nuisance and are said to drain society's wealth through parasitism. Since they embody potentially invisible power, Gypsies must be held under tight and vigilant control.... For whenever social or personal failures become manifest, women and Gypsies can be declared the guilty parties. (Brandes,1980: 207)

The manner that the *Gitanos* were quickly blamed and considered deviant was embedded in the social and political aspects of the Spanish culture. This template of stereotypes sadly perpetuates the problems anlaysed here. The Fascist regime permeated several aspects of society and this was also visible within the documentary series *Rito y Geografía*. Dictator Franco was careful and strategic with the image he advertised and flamenco was an art form he felt was malleable and could fit his agenda.

The Documentary Series Historically Framing Flamenco Within Franco's Spain

Radio y Televisión Española (RTVE) (*Spanish Television*) is the national state-owned public- service television broadcaster in Spain. RTVE's activities are financed by a combination of advertising revenue and subsidies from the national government and began broadcasting in October of 1956. It was on these stations that the *Rito y Geografia* series appeared. Flamenco is comprised of song, guitar and dance and the documentary series *Rito y Geografia* dedicated three mini-series for each aspect of flamenco. The first series was *Rito and Geografia del Toque*[6], focusing on guitar playing and aired in 1964 and 1979. *Rito y Geografia del Cante* followed, covering different parts of Spain to show flamenco singing, its styles and the most representative artists. It was broadcast on RTVE between 1971 and 1973. The final theme was flamenco dance and this series, *Rito y Geografía del Baile Flamenco* consisted of fourteen programmes starting in April 1975. The thirty-minute broadcasts were diverse and filled with re-enactments of historical scenes, presentations of candid ethnographic film footage, and high-quality video recordings of performances coupled with interviews by Fernando Quiñones. The series is in Spanish and does not have subtitles. Copies of the programme are stored in the Spanish National Television archives, but are also sold in most flamenco specialty shops globally and several episodes are on open access

[6] https://www.rtve.es/play/videos/rito-y-geografia-del-cante/ [Accessed on 13 April 2023]

platforms like YouTube and Facebook. This is important because it highlights that these programmes are not only accessible to an international audience, but are used as a reference point for many scholars and open to the general public in a multitude of ways. I must stress that while each series had a focus on one aspect of flamenco, the three pillars (singing, guitar playing and dancing) are interconnected and appeared in each of the series.

The *Rito y Geografía* series had a nostalgic tone as the films offer historical overviews and rely on presenting old scenes. *Franquismo* relied on an evocative past to survive, yet capitalised on stereotypes of modern day society. Film was anchored in the political rhetoric of the times and during *Franquismo,* the film industry represented many things that were in line with the nationalist agenda, helping construct definitions of "Spanishness" and how it should be marketed. Cultural critic Barry Jordan claims that arguments used to support the idea of a national cinema tend to stress the value of a national film industry and to rely on an international projection of certain political and cultural values (2000: 69). In the case of Spain during the Franco dictatorship film directors and national TV channels were not independent, and Franco was an active agent which influenced the outcomes of what, when and where films and TV programmes were promoted. Films became political tools that functioned within Spain and influenced the global market. These visual artefacts became appropriated by other cultures, which then became part of the 'New Spain'. *Rito y Geografía* series carried with it a symbolic power which resulted in a codified flamenco image that sexualised female flamenco dancers and manufactured a specific flamenco perception. Franco took the image of flamenco and capitalised on it, distorted the flamenco art form in the films and sold a local Andalusian identity which advertised women, *Gitanos* and flamenco in formulaic manner. Under Franco's Spain women could aspire to very specific socially-prescribed roles: marriage or motherhood (Washabaugh, 1996; Reeser, 2019). The next section focusses on women and *Gitanas* as portrayed in the series and expands on the thinking that underpins such propaganda.

Women and *Roma* Portrayed in the Documentary Series *Rito y Geografía*

In scholarly works, Franco has been painted as a being who was a ruthless dictator who stopped at nothing to fulfil his messianic beliefs (Moradiellos, 2018). He is also seen as a politician who severely held Spain back and halted the march towards equality (Brandes, 1980). Women were often seen as tied to fertility in both the eyes of the nationalists as well as politicians. Adversely, Franco used propaganda to market the image of the Spanish woman while he allowed women to be icons. On one hand he was agreeing that women needed to be good, pure and virtuous objects, but then created a sex symbol of what a Spanish beauty is and how she should act. Historian Javier Tussell (2007) said that Franco was the only world leader who, in his political

discourses, did not just "refer generally to the divine but made specific mention of particular elements of devotional practice associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary" (2007: 30). Franco underhandedly reintroduced how the national Spanish woman should act and promoted it in the series. This icon, which was delivered through the documentary films, changed flamenco forever.

> Simplistic contrastive portrayals of gender roles, of course, far wider and considerably deeper historically than Franquismo. … the duality of Madonna, the private motherly woman, verses the whore, the public woman, as if it were a central contrast to Mediterranean culture. However, while simplistic dichotomous gender imagery has been conventional in circles that stretch far beyond Franco, nevertheless Franco's use of such imagery was so dramatic, so rigid, and so highly charged with moral value. (Washabaugh, 1996: 105)

Flamenco historian William Washabaugh supports the idea that Franco's Spain reinforced gender roles where a woman was seen in relation to a man and was classified as a domestic item that belonged to *him*. In Spain, the male was seen as a public figure, where the female was contained, virtuous, and honourable only if she abided to the patriarchal society norms.

The discussion above started with an overview of Roma (*Gitano)* history that called attention to the social complexities of the community, where their identity that revolved around them moved from being a problem and to being ostracised, to romanticised and othered. Such binary language also enters the flamenco history conversation as Washabaugh (1996) discusses the difference between "low-brow" and "high-brow" music of Europe. He suggested that low-brow music is believed to be of the streets or in boisterous atmospheres that were alcohol-induced spaces where marginalised and economically deprived classes came to socialise. High-brow was the cultured art that reflected a more privileged group of people. While both Washabaugh (1996) and Moreda Rodriguez (2020) maintain that flamenco in the late nineteenth century was seen as low-brow music in relation to Italian Operas and French aristocracy, this language infers hierarchies of value. Indeed there is an element of division and traditionally the language used in relation to the art form was limiting. Flamenco was connected to *Gitanos* and associated with the streets, bars, alcohol, and included an environment where women were not seen as 'honorable'. This inference that women were 'whores' because they engaged in such activities, was common discourse and Washabaugh writes

> Proper women were said to be out of place in a *juerga*- an all-night binge of song and drink. A woman's presence in the flamenco bars was not only demeaning for her, it made everyone involved uncomfortable and it interfered with the fluidity of the proceedings. Women were, therefore, fated to be left out of much of the flamenco life of Andalusia. Or if included they were treated as if they were men, in accordance with general practice in Andalucía. A woman stripped of her honor becomes a man. (Washabaugh 1996: 109)

Society shamed women who were associated with the flamenco circle and *penas*, those intimate and private settings where *juergas* and festive songs and dances took place. In a *peña,* everyone participated in some way and the separation between stage and audience did not exist. Flamenco historian Timothy Malefyt (1997) has described the *peña* as a space where "at times people clap hands, palm in synchronicity, sing along, and move their bodies in unison; sometimes they get up and dance. Indeed, this high level of involvement is expected from all present in the *peña*" (Malefyt, 1997:69). Furthermore, there are descriptions of the *Gitana* flamenco dance style as spontaneous, radical, and chaotic with a strong ability to improvise (see Goldberg 1995:200, 221-222; Miles 2019). The paradox lies in that women connected to the flamenco arena were shamed, while men engaging in the same activities were considered a component of the underworld, but far from dishonourable. This mentality lingered for years and the Franco administration was aware that flamenco was seen as a form from the streets and related to a marginalised community.

Franco, in an effort to promote *his* flamenco product, revamped the artform and made it suitable to market. We see this with the *peña* in the *Rito y Geografia* series. Rather than capture, on camera, *peñas* that were wild and full of alcohol he showcased women as being deeply involved in the flamenco process but in a 'cleaner' manner.

> These fraternities or peñas were formed in the 1950s, formalized, licensed, and one must suppose, subjected to surveillance as were so many similar associations in Spain. ...On the other hand, *franquista* policies encouraged the development of flamenco spectacles that presented women as examples of detached femininity and untouchable beauty, and in these respects, women became powerful magnets for tourist dollars. (Washabaugh, 1996: 111)

This femininity that Washabaugh speaks of reflects the pragmatic yet paradoxical behaviour of the regime. When a woman was showcased in the *Rito y Geografia* series, she primarily fits one of four specific roles: i) The domesticated woman; ii) the woman as an upper-class consumer of flamenco; iii) the woman as nurturer; iv) the sensual and sexual woman. For the first category, the female physically not present in the scene alludes to the male being the public figure and the female being the domesticated item, that honours and is an extension of him. Washabaugh notes that "The series predictably devoted a considerable amount of space displaying "traditional" flamenco circumstances, that is, ...in many of these representations women are decidedly absent or subordinate" (Washabaugh, 1996: 112) The second position of the female image clearly connects her to the upper-class: a woman with extravagant and expensive clothing wearing pearls and furs and detached from the flamenco scene. In the series, this camera shot implies to the viewer that the female is a spectator not an active participant in the performance. This representation of an upper-class woman, displaying her wealth through articles of clothing highlights the family-friendly flamenco that

Franco was trying to portray (Cisneros 2010). The third image often associated with the female body in the series, is the woman as nurturer. In one of the episodes, a child is nursed while the mother sings, as Washabaugh describes

> The child dozes at her breast throughout the performance. The camera zooms in on the sleeping child's face at the conclusion of her song. Thereby underscoring the significance of the mother-child relationship and securing a significant place for that relationship at the center of flamenco experiences present and past. (Washabaugh, 1996:114)

Rito y Geografía del Baile tried to make flamenco a household name and it achieved such a status because it reinforced the traditional mentality of the times. The final portrayal is the female body as a seductive "sultry lady with a carnation between her teeth and stiletto tucked into her garter" (Ivanova, 1970: 165). Franco sold a sensualised female dancer changing the negative association of flamenco to fit an honourable image. This connection to George Bizet's opera *Carmen* (1875) has become a stereotype of flamenco (Cisneros, 2018; Cisneros, 2022; Puche-Ruíz, 2021) and this figure is depicted on many objects linked with the art form and souvenirs in the country. The images below reflect those stereotypes discussed above in relation to the *Carmen-esque Beauty*. The tourist items date back to the 1960s and are tangible artefacts of this misrepresentation (see Figs.1 and 2 below). In both images, there is a female flamenco dancer performing in a long flowy dress, and the representation of this internationalized and historical exotification of flamenco and Andalusia is on display. In image 1is the caravan in the background and flamenco dancer, who the onlooker can deduce is a *Gitana,* freely dancing. The positioning of the body gives a sense of carefree dancing in a green space.

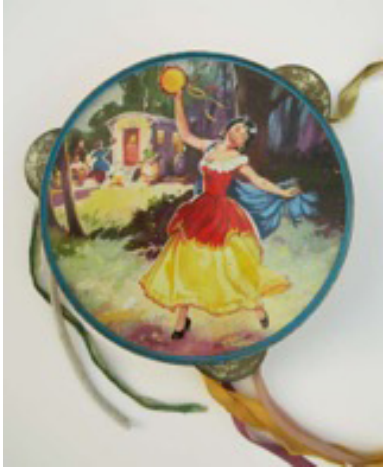

Figure 1: Tambourine – Tin Plate Gypsy Tambourine toy (1960-1969). Courtesy of RomArchive dan_00311. Rights Daniel Baker

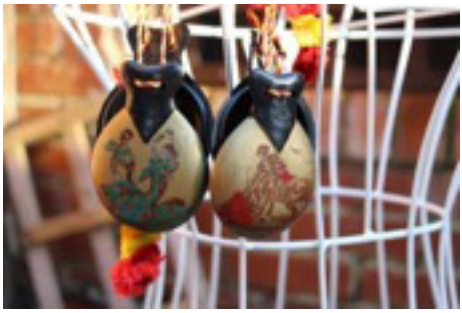

Figure 2: Castanets – Tourist souvenir (2000-2018). Courtesy of RomArchive dan_00455. Rights Rosa Cisneros

This image of the 'Gypsy' woman features in the works of many great composers and writers through the ages, thus reproducing a false image of the Roma female body and dancer. While the association of flamenco and Roma women with the *Carmen-esque Beauty,* the *Carmen-esque* figure may seem rather harmless, yet it actually reflects a deeply rooted misinformed and romanticised image of the community. Film studies historian Marshall Leicester (1994) looks at the stereotypical image of a Roma woman and claims that it is similar to the image of which Mérimée based his novella Carmen in the 1860s. Mérimée's story was about a Spanish soldier who was seduced by a "fiery Gypsy" woman named Carmen. Soon after, the French composer Bizet wrote an opera based on the novella and presented it to a French audience in 1875 (Leicester, 1994). The female body, in *Rito y Geografia*, was on display for the male gaze and was seen as an object that could be consumed by the audience. Volume one, entitled *Baile del Candil*[7] (Dance of lamp-oil) was devoted to the first steps taken by flamenco dancers and focused on its historical roots. Isabel de Madrid dances *el Vito*[8]. In this scene a *Carmen-esque Beauty* is dancing on a table in a bar where only men are present. The female dancer is of a lighter complexion and carries herself with an erotic disposition where her dancing is characteristic of a *Vito*, but the sultry looks and gestures have a sexual undertone. This episode which is part of the fourteen video collection, represents how women, even in a documentary series about flamenco, were typecast as either mother or whore, upper-class or lower-class, or sex symbol or emblem of society.

The *Gitano* community is featured in the film. In volume one, the *Gitanos* from the *Gitano* neighbourhood of Sacromonte, Granada, dance a *fandango* [9]. In this scene a brief history of flamenco and its roots is discussed. The women are dancing outside

[7] *Baile del Candil*- Spanish for "Dance of the Lampoil". This is the name of the first volume in the series, *Rito y Geografia del Baile*.

[8] *Vito*- Andalusian folk song and dance (non-flamenco), which is usually performed on a table. The goal is for the performer to dance without spilling any drinks. If the dancer can accomplish this, s/he is considered a talented dancer.

[9] *Fandangos*- is a lively folk and flamenco couple-dance usually in triple meter, traditionally accompanied by guitars and castanets or hand-clapping.

in a camp-like setting and the setting suggests a more economically deprived community. The trees have no leaves, torn clothes are hanging on a drying-line, and the elder dancers are drinking and carrying on, reminiscent of the 'chaotic' and 'spontaneous' dancer as previously mentioned (see Goldberg 1995:200, 221-222; Miles 2019). This *Gitano* group engaging in flamenco is extremely aged and their behaviour appears carefree. Highlighting this point illustrates that Franco was associating poverty with the *Gitanos*. Although it is accurate to say that many were financially marginalised, the series juxtaposes that image of the *Gitano* community, with the one of the *Carmen-esque* figure.

Not all *Gitanos* that were associated with flamenco, lived in such a situation, nor is it fair to conclude that *Roma* did not cultivate more of flamenco's history than was shown in that short historical analysis. The *Roma* contributed much to the art form. When a series titled *Rito y Geografía* is discussing the historical importance of flamenco, an art form that was born from the *Gitano* community, a five-minute historical overview which pays tribute to a stereotypical community, is not only unjust, but a sad 'product' which was marketed to the international community.

The series was a tool used to show the world that the *Gitanos* in Spain were coexisting in a healthy manner. The series is not an inconsequential product. One hundred programs of the series were shown on heavily censored Spanish television and the programs are full of irony and complexity (Chuse, 2003: 107). Flamenco became a family-friendly art form, yet the series still perpetuated many stereotypes. The films were a way for the dictatorship to make money and to jumpstart Spain's tourist industry. After World War II, Spain used dance and folk culture with tourism as propaganda (Goldbach 2014:40). Gender studies scholar Sandie Holguín (2019) carried out a comprehensive study of how flamenco was inscribed into Spanish national identity and became one of the central cultural tropes associated with Spain. She argues that the flamenco image being embedded into society influenced tourists, cultural heritage institutions and citizens alike as the Franco regime

> pandered to tourists' love of flamenco, increasing the number of clubs that specialized in it, advertising female flamenco dancers on tourism and airline brochures, encouraging professional flamenco performers to star in Hollywood films, and featuring performers in traveling exhibitions like the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair. These strategies worked; the regime was able to bring in millions of tourists and their money to help fund Spain's economic boom of the 1960s. (Holguín, 2019: n.p.)

There was a desire to showcase Spain as a modern country and so flamenco was used in promotional images to help convince Europe and the world of its values. In the images below (Figures 3 and 4) are two posters that were airline adverts in the 1960s and 1970s. The posters reproduce the romanticised representations of the female *Gitana* dancer in the flounced and frilly dress, thus reflecting Franco's blueprint for his

cultural and political discourse of modernity and propaganda. Franco's image of the female flamenco dancer reflects the ethnographic travesty in the touristic and visual artefacts emerging during his reign.

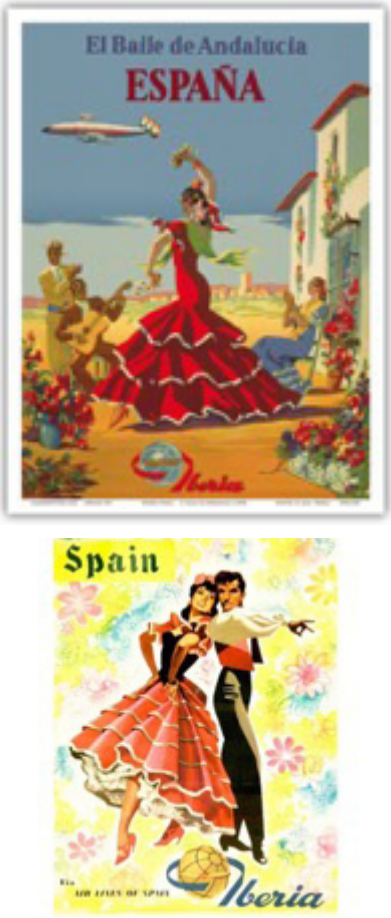

Figure 3.4: Iberia Air Lines, Spain. Flamenco Dancers. Vintage Airline Travel Poster (sourced online and freely available)

Other scholars (see Aoyama, 2007; Vidal, 2008; Cruces Roladán, 2014; Thimm, 2014) have argued that flamenco has an appeal to the cultural tourist industry and Millán Vázquez de la Torre et al., (2019) argues that flamenco serves as a gateway to tourism. In summary, *Rito y Geografía* could have had a much more balanced discussion of its flamenco roots. The juxtaposition of the *Carmen-esque Beauty* after the historical reference to the *Gitano* community was intentional.

Discussion

The contradiction of *Franquismo* fed into the global representation and tension that anchors flamenco in the binary that is the *Carmen-esque Beauty* or the impoverished *Gitana*. This divisive portrayal was reflected in the flamenco of the regime and it was this image which reached an international audience and was a powerful consumerist advertising machine. Franco's systematic approach to promoting a 'New Spain' was based on an imperial history, yet he was a dictator who did not allow the pluralism he promoted to the rest of the world. The arts were a reflection of the paradoxical nature of Spain, particularly Andalusia. He supported the documentary series because he could profit from it as well as market a Spanish Roma and flamenco icon that served his agenda. On one hand he was against the performing arts and any intellectuals with provocative thoughts, yet he was certainly investing in selling flamenco, as a staged art. Franco censored every art form entering the country yet was exploiting others. His ultraconservative agenda was lenient when it was benefiting his ideology, especially that one that made him money. As an example, this Bates bedding advert from 1964 depicts the bedspread in a flamenco-type dress. The textile company's use of the artform reflects the standardised representation linked to femininity and beauty of *Franquismo*. The image below of a woman looking seductively at the camera with a tilted head and a red rose in her mouth, draped by a sheet that hangs like a flamenco dress is dangerous. In image 5 the advert oozes sexual energy and there is nothing ambivalent about its connotations.

Figure 5: A model wears a Bates bedspread like a flamenco dress, in a 1964-1965 advertisement for the Bates textile company. Image courtesy of the Bates Mill Store (Smithsonian, online)

In Franco's Spain, geography was considered a reflection of culture. Certain elements that were characteristic of a region were seen as parts of the province's identity. These regional attributes were publicised and under the regime, Franco made Madrid the centre of attention. He isolated other regions in a manner that "Franco's elevation of Madrid to the status of social hub of the nation in such a way as to marginalize Andalusia." (Washabaugh, 1994: 79) Within the tourism division, Franco promoted the regional cultures of the country, yet in other instances he attempted to eradicate those differences. For example, Franco was against the Andalusian melting pot idea:

> The *franquista* wedge was begun with an active suppression of *andalucismo:* Garcia Lorca, a pro Roma *andalucista*, was murdered, and so too Blas Infante, a pro-Muslim *andalucista*. Curiously, *gitanismo* itself was tolerated. Resistant Roma artists were treated as no more than benign irritations of the regime, and more docile Roma's received positive and favourable treatment in the regime. (Washabaugh, 1994:80)

As Washabaugh points out, *Franquismo* was a contradiction moulding the ever-changing Spanish identity. Flamenco and its Andalusian roots were part of this cultural and historical shift and caught in the crossfire. As Washabaugh (1996) argues, the problem and danger with the *Rito y Geografia* series is that is canonises this version of flamenco and fixes it as a standard for assaying contemporary performances. Female flamenco dancers were forced to fit certain moulds and dance was turned into a spectacle. The series encouraged female flamenco artists to subscribe to certain ways of dancing and as Belen Maya (2022) suggests what is seen as natural becomes the accepted ways. Maya believes that these flamenco norms lack critical reflections and merely repeat themselves and these pre-established codes become recycled tropes. She calls for a break in these standard representations linked to femininity and beauty and encourages rebellious actions that allow for gender roles and norms to be challenged.

Conclusion

Gitanos were not guest workers in the flamenco field. They brought the intangible characteristics of their community, emotions, and way of relating and moulded them into a tangible circle that can be seen in flamenco singing, dancing, and guitar playing. Today, flamenco lives within a space where *Gitanos* and Spaniards co-exist, create and make a living from the art form. The commercial flamenco that has developed out of combining traditional *Gitanos* characteristics with the modern day frameworks of a globalized world, exists and continues to push flamenco to new limits. Performances can be a threshold between two worlds where the acts of the past, in the form of the present can stand in place of historical references. Franco took flamenco to a global stage but colonised it in the process. He made it available to a public but at the cost of fixing it to a dangerous symbol.

At the time of writing, flamenco is a captivating form which archives the history of a people and still reflects the messy and complicated past. The art form draws on its social, political, and economic realities and the current flamenco stereotypes are born out of the *café cantantes* period[10] and Franco's regime. Flamenco and the commodification of the art form has lasted but not as an accident and individuals, artists, politicians, as well as tourists have all assisted in the appropriation of the genre. Although flamenco performances allows a diverse audience to enjoy and share the Spanish *Roma* traditions, the transition from *peñas* to stage and later films, has caused a shift to occur. This reality has located the art form in a canonical loop and also made it difficult for binaries to be broken. Yet, with academic literature, artists and cultural heritage initiatives unpacking the tension and breaking down binaries through a modern and intersectional lens, tiny shifts are taking place.

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[10] Café Cantantes were singing cafés that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, as private premises open to the public for their leisure and entertainment, in which singing, guitar playing and flamenco dancing shows were performed.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Community Dance and the Micropolitics of Gender: Contributions to the Concept of Dance Activism from Embodied Life Stories with Rural Women in Costa Rica

María José BEJARANO SALAZAR[1]

Abstract

A community dance project established in 2021 in the Costa Rican rural location of Los Santos involves fifteen women in the practice of improvisational dance and expressive techniques. Moreover, the creative process approaches life stories as sensitive material held in the bodies and explores the building of body-based narratives related to the territory. The practice of dance created new bonds among women, and creative movement allowed for the expansion of expressive possibilities. These actions are recognized by the women as the main results of the process, bringing new perspectives on themselves, other women, and the patriarchal dynamics present in this society. The article analyses the social and artistic process titled "From Within" from Suely Rolnik's concept of micropolitics, concerned with gender issues within the community. Taking micropolitics as a keystone, the project is viewed as a subjectification device that promotes liberation through experimentation and opens new possibilities for women's life choices. The analysis contributes to the concept of dance activism as a practice that operates on a micropolitical level through embodied micro actions that open channels for social change in everyday life.

Keywords

Community Dance, Dance Activism, Gender, Micropolitics, Rural Women

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Introduction

The dynamic relationship between dance and society is investigated through the case study of a community dance project for women in rural Costa Rica. Dance is conceptualized here as culturally codified movement that involves the performativity of wide societal spheres such as gender, social position, and cultural or ethnic identity, among others. Gender is viewed throughout this article as an aspect of human identity that is sustained in the shape of socially accepted behaviours, imposed generally by a patriarchal system. Based on the work by gender studies scholar Judith Butler (2004), the performativity of gender entails an education system that demands certain behaviours and prohibits others based on the gender identification of the person. Bearing these premises in mind, the article asserts that improvisation in dance is a channel for recognition of these behaviours and the stimulus for their problematization and transformation. The terms "dance" and "community" are analysed as mutually transformative and mutually enriching. Some key questions investigated below include: How can dance allow the revelation and transformation of normative gender patterns in a community? How can dance promote intragender alliances as channels for social change in terms of gender? How can dance allow the rehearsal of new body-based narratives concerning women? How does dance activism target the micropolitical level of gender in body movement and gesture?

Since 2021, the author has been the coordinator and leader of Community Dance workshops based on dance improvisation techniques nurtured by Dance Movement Therapy (DMT) tools in a rural location known as Los Santos in Costa Rica. The dance project does not have a therapeutic framework, but a community one, more related to social participation and empowerment. The results of the process, however, offer some hints about the importance of body-centered, consistent community participatory spaces for social healing.

The article analyses the creative process titled "From Within", portrayed in an audio-visual gallery including a screen dance and 16 'photo performances', in which the creative composition of the images adds another level of performativity. The author is the coordinator, facilitator, and community dance artist behind the dance project. She moved to the community when the project started, which became an ethnographic exercise that complements what was observed within the workshops discussed below. This article discusses the intersection of this community dance process in Los Santos with the notion of micropolitics, specifically on the micropolitics of gender. Moreover, it analyses the notion of dance activism and its impact on a micropolitical level. Analysis demonstrates how dance allows the revelation and transformation of normative gender patterns, and how dance promotes sorority and community as channels for social change.

The first section describes the creative process, including the group building and integration of improvisation techniques. The second section approaches the process from the concept of micropolitics of gender to address how dance activism permeates social change in a micropolitical level. Moreover, it focuses on the social-artistic process creating change of perspectives in an embodied way within the group. Therefore, it explores community dance as a rehearsal of new body-based narratives. Finally, it makes the case of dance activism as a practice targeting a micropolitical level of social change, engaging with performance studies theories combined with concepts by Brazilian scholar, psychoanalyst, philosopher and activist Suely Rolnik (2019).

Dance as the platform for community

Los Santos is located in the southern outskirts of San José, a mountainous region encompassing the communities of Dota, Tarrazú, and León Cortés. The three communities involved in the project are located nearby, their valleys surrounded by mountains, one next to the other, towards the south-central part of the country. It is well known to produce high-quality coffee, among other agricultural products and tourist activities. The social and economic dynamics of the region are marked by coffee production, organised in cooperatives that sustain big, medium, and small coffee plantations. Coffee is also the main feature of the landscape, increasingly a monoculture taking over every corner of the place. Although each community is geographically close to each other, there are important cultural differences between them. Historical events have marked a different culture for the three communities while each has its own local government structured in its own municipality. They present a common gastronomic culture while Tarrazú is known for the development of musical projects such as marching bands, and León Cortés presents a long tradition of community theatre. It is a region full of writers, musicians, painters, and actors, although few community projects are visible to visitors, retaining a low profile among the rest of the country.

Unfortunately, Los Santos is also known for the highest femicide and female suicide rates in the country. In statistics from 2018, the suicide rate in Costa Rica nation was 6% for every 100.000 inhabitants, while the rate in Los Santos was 40% for every 100.000 inhabitants (Molina, 2019). The rates of gender violence are also among the highest. This situation has brought Public Health Authorities' attention to the community and its social dynamics. Several interventions integrating anthropological and psychological approaches have been implemented by public and international organisations. Little has been done, however, through body-centred actions.

Interventions have found evident patriarchal dynamics in this area, where women are commonly violated and abused, not allowed to study or work, or relegated only to household matters and family care. People know about these situations but keep silent, and many local institutions perpetuate structural patriarchal violence through

their management, as told by Andrea Campos, an Anthropologist who has worked in gender violence topic in the area for several years (A. Campos, personal communication January 8th, 2021). Femicides and domestic violence are normalized, and women are expected to follow a certain narrative of being a good wife and taking care of the children. In this context, in January 2021 the owner of an organic local farm invited women of the community to participate in a community dance project. The COVID-19 pandemic situation had worsened the violence and suicide attempts and a group intervention became necessary. A Community Dance group was proposed as a way for participation and collective care in an open, natural space where to connect with each other.

As the first dance experience for most of the participants, the women were led through a self-discovery and self-awareness process in which they could build affective and creative bonds. Although they lived in the same geographic area most of them did not know each other, thus dance offered the medium for building community. Women identified with each other and created a potent process for participation, empowerment, and questioning of normative gender patterns. The process took as an inspiration the mission of the organic farm, involving sustainability principles into the dance space such as: observation, adaptation and diversity. The artistic process took the metaphor of soil regeneration as a keystone, translated it into the women's inner scapes and aiming to regenerate "inner life" through dance practice.

In the end of 2021, the group created an audio-visual gallery exhibition including sixteen photo performances and a screen dance titled "From Within" (website https://linktr.ee/colibricreativocr). This creative process was situated within the activities of the organic farm, as a collaboration with Proyecto Colibrí, a Costa Rican based initiative for dance and social change. The process started with a basic question: Can women regenerate their life stories just as the soil regenerates in the farm? The pieces were screened in several festivals around the world during 2022 and will continue to circulate within academic and cultural activities during 2023.

"Community" and "dance" as mutually nurturing words

Community dance is an artistic methodology for the development of communities in terms of participation, empowerment, equality, inclusion, and social dialogue. It seeks to capture local narratives in body language, gestures, and scenes that arise from the experience of a particular community, including its territory and coexistence (Chillemi, 2015). Using expressive tools such as improvisation, spontaneous theater and performance, it strives to make visible the unofficial history of the communities, the experiences of specific groups, and allows the democratization of the aesthetic experience of dance and movement, making it accessible to everybody.

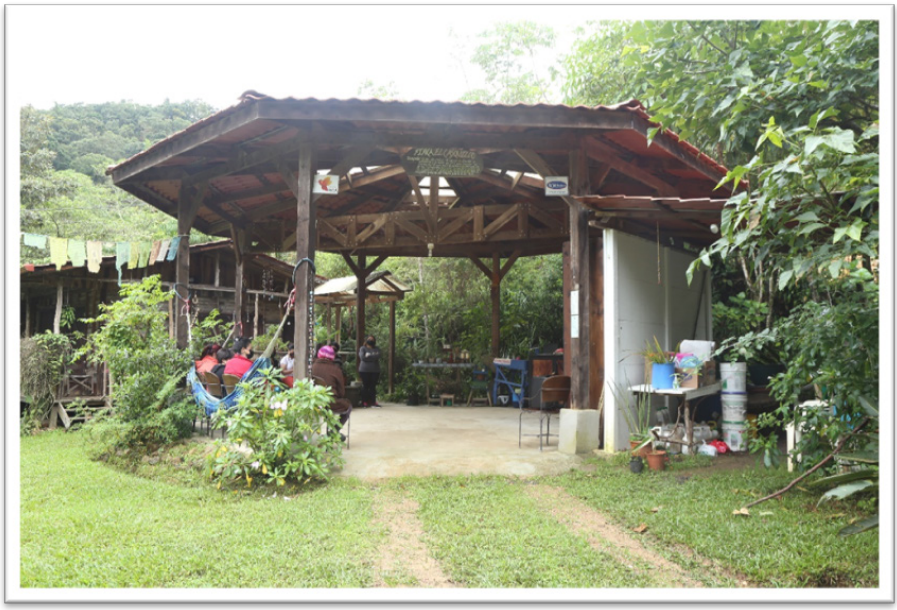
The dance practice is set through improvisation techniques that enable each person to dance according to their possibilities and desires. Due to gender issues such as abuse, violence, and neglect, it was a political decision to open the process only for women in this case. The practice encourages body awareness, creative movement, and the use of space and engaging with rhythm. There is an introspective component of the practice, as it engages also in DMT, an expressive therapy that targets the integration of body, mind and spirit. The introspective process emerged from the improvisational activities, when the movement itself grasped personal memories and experiences lived by the women. DMT's curative processes are many, two of which are related to symbolization and integration of memories through the metaphor of movement and the building of a safe space for expression (Schmais, 1985). It is important to say, however, that the project did not have a therapeutic framework, but a community participation framework. This leap from the clinical to the community approach is analysed below as a micropolitical action, which targets structurally oppresive aspects of the social or collective body for social healing. Patriarchal oppression is taken, therefore, as a structural circumstance that impacts mental health but cannot be solved at an individual, clinical level. The "community" part of community dance emerges in the creation of affective bonds through dance. In doing so, the practice transcends a dance practice based on individual virtuosity or development, in favour of group experiences and collective creations. Others are always present in one's movement creation and movement arises from the engagement among participants within improvised collective dances.

Lastly, the project aims for a situated dance, that is, the creation of movement from the territory's characteristics, activities, and dynamics. The ultimate goal is to create a dance language that narrates the events and dynamics present in the region where the group holds a sense of belonging. Dance is then a means for storytelling, manifested in the quality of movement, gestures, and sounds to which the group dances. Local music, words, and sounds permeate the dance as part of the sensory experience of a geographical location. The work by Argentinian community dance artist Aurelia Chillemi (2015) sheds some light on these concepts:

> I call Community Dance the group phenomenon that provides another look at the aesthetics of dance, stemming from collective creations. Striving not for success, as it is characterised by bringing together dance professionals and students as well as local neighbours-performers who do not have any previous experience in dance(...) The creative interaction of the group (...) gives rise to the production of works with a strong communication and aesthetic sense that responds to a specific spatio-temporal and socio-cultural context (...) Community Dance does not propose to do the dance, but to let the dance be done in the interaction. (2015:18-19) (translation by the author)

Los Santos Community Dance Group

The group is standing in the dancing space, an open hut surrounded by nature (the space can be observed in Picture 1). The facilitator asks "What is gender violence?". Three or four women turn to see each other. One says: "I wish you asked before, I would have told you a lot about it!". Another walks into the middle of the circle and asserts: "It is to be drained!"- while she mimics ripping her clothes with her hands going outwards- "They start taking everything you own and everything you are… Until you end up thinking you are not valuable at all and that you are not able to do anything in life!".



Picture 1: Workspace for the community dance group. Photography by Daniela Salazar, for "From Within" project.

Scenes like this one exemplify the creative process for the community dance group. On the first day, the women connected through their bodies with life memories and experiences they had been through. One of them expressed: "We did not know we could dance for grieving our pain, we are used to locking ourselves in the bathroom and crying!". The movement component of the workshop began with a grounding exercise. The facilitator directed an improvisation in which the participants would explore the different possible body contacts with the floor as their support zones. When standing, their feet were their support; when raising one leg, the remaining support was the other leg; when sitting, their hip and legs provided support. The invitation was to search for wider and narrower contacts with the floor, that is, to gain or diminish support base for their weight. During the exercise, the group could observe which movement was enabled: one part of the body provides support to allow other body parts to move freely.

One of the women was deeply touched by this experience as she had been through spinal surgery, confined to bed rest for six months, and thought she would not walk again. She expressed how the feeling of support in her spine facilitated movement in a standing position which was vital for her in her life story. Finding sustenance in her own body had several profound meanings for her related with this experience. Others also connected the feeling of physical support to the meanings of their own life stories. One woman expressed a sensation of suspension that she associated with the experience of grief, as she had lost her parents recently. Another stimulus for dance was to find the memory of the first time they danced. Most of them recalled events with their fathers or family which created a sense of familiarity. This opened the door for revising life stories through the dance project.

The first workshop lit the process developed later during four additional workshops over the summer, comprising the first phase of the community dance group. Eventually the project received funding from the Ministry of Culture of Costa Rica which enabled the participation of more women in a second phase of work. Fifteen women from Los Santos participated, a mixture of women from Dota, Tarrazú and León Cortés. This is significant due to the historical differences and tension between them. A 12-workshop process was developed, in which we could deepen the investigation. Over the first six encounters of this process, the focus was on the building of group cohesion, as well as the women's exploration of movement trajectories. First, the workshop explored body movement involved in everyday activities that the women perform, for example, walking on steep territories and streets, sewing, taking care of children, among others. Some examples are illustrated in Picture 2.

Picture 2: Everyday gestures and movements.
Picture by Daniela Salazar for "From Within" (2021)

The circle shape was very significant during the first encounters. It enabled participants to look into each other, to be seen and sustained. The shape of the room was also a circle, which offered different views of themselves. Mirroring activities reinforced the sense of belonging. Maybe for the first time for most of them, mirroring others' movement created an identification, a different kind of interaction with each other compared to how they usually relate, and generated a sense of contentment within the group. Taking into account that the participants expressed how common it is for them to experience jealousy, envy, gossip between women in the community, the workshop experiences opened a whole new world of possibilities to change how they relate to each other. Creative bonds were initiated between them, a bond focused on play, on witnessing others with acceptance and not with judgment. These first encounters marked a stage for the development of bonds, identifications, and affection between the women, which created a safe atmosphere to deepen their life stories through their bodies.

Later the creative process took three concepts as triggers for movement creation and introspection: the spaces they inhabit, the objects they manipulate, and body gestures related to their identity. We explored first the objects they usually manipulate in their daily lives such as cleaning devices, cooking, typing or cultivating the soil. Next they explored the how the spaces they inhabited brought different bodily experiences. One of the women wrote this passage about her grandparents' house:

> Only my uncles lived there. In the patio there was a bush of Camellia, and a cactus in Aunt Élida's window. The corridor was long, with rocking chairs. Inside, the bedrooms had their own scent. In the room, old photos of all the brothers, wooden oxen and other wooden ornaments, antique armchairs. In the kitchen, a chequered tablecloth and many earthenware jugs, coffee pots and in the kitchen was the smell of biscuits, with sugar cane water and homemade bread, and the smell of *trapiche*[1], and cattle, cows and steers.

The passage led into a photo performance that can be seen in Picture 3. In that same line, other women engaged with migration experiences, with coffee cultivation processes and taking care of plants, among others.

[1] Trapiche is the place where sugar cane is processed in rural areas. It is an open space with a great bowl made of concrete, where the sugar cane has its process, leaving a very particular smell around it due to the honey that is extracted from it.

Picture 3: The house of my grandparents. Photo performance by Ana Margory Mora. Photography by Carolina Arias for "From Within" (2022).

Lastly, the women engaged in the exploration of gestures that are part of their identities. They sought out their most common gestures, where they were learned or out of which experience they were generated. This brought memories of accidents, giving birth, taking care of babies, sewing, singing, acting, playing musical instruments, and so on. The explorations brought a sense of value to the regular expression of these women. The recognition of their body's expression was important in helping them build confidence in improvisation and triggered dance phrases based on their own way of moving, their activities and their corporealities. They could identify their usual behaviours, the gestures they repeat and that give them identity. They also gained awareness of the roles they occupy in their families and how their everyday life impacts their bodies. In the process, their subjectivity manifested in how they feel, how they think about themselves, other people and their community.

Participation in the group started allowing for the group to learn about others' situations, revealing the obligations and responsibilities of the women who care for their families. Gradually they found common experiences in their lives as women of Los Santos. This brought to the fore the commitment they had with the process, as they were required to organise their schedule, their family support, and activities in order to attend dance every Monday. The process started revealing how their participation brought reactions from their families, husbands, and other relatives. Body expression was sometimes celebrated by their loved ones, and sometimes judged by them. Families reacted in several ways and sometimes brought consequences. One of the dancers could not continue due to her husband's opposition.

The concept of repertoire analysed by performance studies scholar Diana Taylor (2003) as embodied cultural information that manifests through gestures, body motion, body location in space, etc. is key to understanding what is analysed in the community dance group process described above. Embodied information derived from isolation, fear of judgment, insecurities, doubt, low self-esteem, among others, are revealed in the physical disposition of women of the community, seen for example in muscular tension, fear of looking in the eyes, and distance from others. The workshops started loosening these features slowly, impacting the whole behavioural repertoire of the women, and in doing so, impacting their subjectivities. Relying on a safe space for expression and the stimulus for alternative expression combined for the generation of a process of personal and community change.

Through the examples described above, gender is taken as an embodied repertoire, one that is translated to behaviour ruled by the social group to build social roles. These notions are informed by Butler's (2004) theories on performativity. Gender is seen here as embodied information that is sustained in bodily actions and performed regularly to sustain the *status quo*. Situations such as violence, verbal and physical abuse, and oppression are sustained in patriarchal societies to maintain the oppression of women as the base for men's privileges and freedom. The workshops created an atmosphere of validation, acceptance, a nurturing of each woman's individuality, as well as group support for them to experiment ways of belonging, to explore their emotions and identities, and feel secure to explore freedom. The workshops allowed the women to rehearse alternative behaviours unlike the ones imposed by the regular repertoire performed by patriarchal dynamics, having a direct impact on their subjectivities and mundane repertoires.

In this way, as gathered from observations when moving to this community in 2021, rural women in this patriarchal context have certain demands on how to display their bodies, how to dress, how to talk to each other, to be silent in certain activities, and are tacitly forbidden to participate in certain community events such as going out at night, among others. Performatively these demands translate generally in women who do not take part in social groups, who feel uncomfortable being by themselves in social situations, who are socially trained to compete with each other and expect the other to fail, who gossip about others, and in sum, do not feel supported by other women. As shown above, women are severely punished in their intimate relationships, taken as objects, and drained of their talents and desires in order to serve their husband and their families. Most of the women taking part in the group suffered aggression from their husbands, feel judged by other women, and found little to no support in the community. One of the women conveyed how she went to the police to denounce her husband for aggression, and the public worker responded: "Do you know you are breaking family bonds by doing this?" This answer shows how severely gender violence is as a structural condition.

The community dance process initiated for most of these women an alternative path in several ways. First, it generated a circle of support, with the notion of women supporting women. Since the first workshops, women started noticing common experiences held in their bodies, in their life stories, generating a sense of identification and care. The presence of the body is fundamental here, as dance activities set a comfortable tone to be with others, which is expected to turn body memories of competition and shame into collaboration and acceptance. Second, the improvisation techniques they engaged in were new to all of them. Dance in this community is associated with couple social dances such as *bolero*, salsa, cumbia, *merengue*. They had never tried a free movement activity where they could explore their feelings and the space through creative movement. Most of them had never participated in a dance class. Moving freely created for them a sense of authenticity, of being valued and recognized for who they were. Most of them lived this free movement with awkwardness at first, but then started allowing for their expression to flow. Free movement posed the question for their desire, their own criteria, their own experience, within a context that is always expecting them to obey and repress.

Moreover, the community dance process opened the stage for a collaborative process – unlike a competitive one -- with a common goal to reach: filming a screen dance and producing a photography exhibition related to their life stories. The feeling of cooperation among women diminished the repertoire of competition. As each person engaged in a process of self-discovery, they created an atmosphere of care for the sensitive material being discovered and revisited. Most participants brought painful memories to the space and the creative process. These memories and content were treated with full respect and care by the others, dwelling in a sense of trust and sorority that was new for them.

The women's own words describe these ruptures with the status quo brought by the project and associate these with gender notions. They expressed how they value being part of a group where collaboration happens among women. They affirm how rare it is to have this in their community, and how competitive groups led them to create distance and feel isolated and lonely. Unaware creative movement existed, dance for them was a rigid technique only permitted to a few people and a few body types. They described how free they feel, how comfortable free movement makes them feel in their own bodies, but mainly how this process has made them feel valued for who they are. One of the participants expressed this notion with these words: "I liked the workshop a lot because there are only a few spaces where one can be oneself".

Following this, the creative process brought a new sense of symbolism for them. One of the participants explained: "Now I understand what art is about, I could tell my story without telling it entirely, without making it a big deal". Thus, the process

gave them the possibility of the metaphor. Turning painful or hard memories into art enabled them to find new perspectives of themselves and others. It allowed self-enunciation and integration. Dressing up, putting on different makeup, questioning their usual body posture, and posing on a stage, took them out of their everyday lives. All of these actions entail deep changes in how they think about themselves, their life stories, other women, their relationships, and their communities.

Having a common goal nourished the sense of cooperation, as they helped each other in lending garments, doing each other's makeup, etc. Filmmaker Carolina Arias was director of photography of the screen dance, directed by myself. A collaborative script-writing process evolved into a discussion about the gaze we set on women in film, questioning the feminist filmmaking term "male gaze", generally used in commercial filmmaking. "From Within"[2] is a dance film that focuses on the micropolitics of gender in itself, on the micromovements that resist gender issues and violence in everyday life. It is also a claim for diversity in dance. The filmmaking process is portrayed in Picture 4. The filmmaking process will be explored in another publication, leaving the focus here on the dance process details, with particular attention to the micropolitical actions that arose. My aim is to explore the dance micro actions as the foundation for the alternative gender notions for this group of women, and as the base for social change that dance activism quests using the lens of micropolitics.

Picture 4: Filmmaking process in Santa María de Dota, Zona de Los Santos. Photography by Carolina Arias Ortiz for "From Within", 2021.

[2] The English subtitled piece can be watched here: https://youtu.be/CnLolcn5_4Y

Suely Rolnik and micropolitical activism

The following sections analyse the micropolitics of this community dance process as manifested in the small actions of dance improvisations. In previous work (Bejarano, 2012; Bejarano, 2022) I referred to the political weight of a change of gesture or an alternative body movement in research done through dance-based methodologies in vulnerable communities of San José, Costa Rica, and Colombia, respectively. This article locates these micro actions of dance within the concept of micropolitics. The narratives, discourses, and phenomena found in the field engage primarily with the theoretical corpus developed by Rolnik (2019). The following discussion brings to the fore some notions that are useful to build upon the idea of dance activism. As the analyses by Rolnik are deep and complex reflections on the global political scene, this overview does not intend to be exhaustive, but to couple them with this artistic process concerning gender.

Rolnik (2019) bases her assertions in the concept of micropolitics by Félix Guattari, who described them as all the intimate spheres of life that had been excluded of reflexive and political action because of being perceived as private. These spheres include sexuality, family, affection, care, body, or intimate communication (Rolnik & Guattari, 2006). Although Rolnik recognizes the achievements of social movements in a macro sphere, she asserts that power instances appropriate and manipulate our subjectivities embedded in the private and intimate spheres. Therefore, the main target for activism and social change would be located in the little, everyday actions, not in the big picture of a utopian revolution on a macro-political level, as strived for historically through activism (such as the Paris student protests of 1968, and the 2019 Latin American revolts in Chile and Ecuador).

Rolnik claims that before any cultural information, we are part of the biosphere and are therefore affected by our surroundings as much as any living creature. Rolnik develops this image to claim that our lives are part of a bigger living system whose main task is to endure life itself. A "germination potency" (Rolnik 2019: 47) is part of humanity's essence that continues to create structures, channels, and systems in favour of life. Every time limitations are reached, life finds new paths to protect itself, what Rolnik (2019: 47) names as "knowledge-of-the-body" and "pulsional body".

On the other hand, the system in its modern version, which Rolnik refers to as colonial-capitalist-neoliberal-patriarchal, nourishes itself from our vital force instead of our workforce, as the Fordist system used to do. This means that social and economic powers use our vital forces to earn capital and macro political power. The normative system proposes subjectification devices that are not aligned with life in its fundamental purpose but, on the contrary, manipulates our vital desire to profit from it. Social media, media, and other tools are used to promote certain quests that benefit

both the capitalist and the conservative political-religious instances. What the author calls subjectivities devices are represented in health institutions, faith cults, media influence and so on. All of these become manipulators of public opinion, translated as generators of subjectivities. Examples of this are many, such as the manipulation over general elections that have been denounced in EEUU (2016), Brazil (2018) and Argentina (2015) in the Cambridge Analytica case, which affirms that democracy was manipulated through social media and opinion devices. Rolnik & Guattari (2006) explain in the following long quote what they call subjectivation devices:

> Everything that is produced by capitalistic subjectivation—everything that comes to us through language, through the family, and through the equipment that surrounds us—is not just a question of ideas or significations through signifying statements. Nor is it reduced to identity models or identifications with maternal and paternal roles. These are direct connection systems between the great productive machines, the great machines of social control and the psychic instances that define the way of perceiving the world. The «archaic» societies that have not yet been incorporated into the capitalistic process, the children not yet integrated into the system or the people who are in psychiatric hospitals and who cannot (or do not want) to enter the dominant system of signification, have a perception of the world completely different from the one that is customary to have from the perspective of the dominant schemes. This does not mean that the nature of their perception of values and social relations is chaotic. They correspond to other ways of representing the world, undoubtedly very important for the people who use them to live, but not only for them, their importance could be extended to other sectors of social life in a society of another type. (2006: 41)

According to Rolnik (2019) when a questioning of the *status quo* happens, that means a tension between what we already know and the creation of something new, we can act from an active or reactive mode of micropolitics. Active micropolitics engages in the tolerance of the discomfort and finds a channel to lead the vital force into creation of something new. The state of discomfort is "fertilised with an embryo of a new world" (Rolnik, 2019: 48), and has the potency to find a new way of being, committed with life in its endurance. The reactive way would be to quench the discomfort through therapy, medication, or any of the infinite tools the system has to bring us back into the normative path. The tension that wants to open another form of life is lived as a threat to the existence as it is materialised, turning it into an anguish in the subject.

Rolnik describes a social topology -- such as a surface filled with opposing forces -- where the materialisation of the normative system and the ever-new possibilities cohabit. Art offers both possibilities for Rolnik, but it is definitely a privileged space for allowing the leakage of meaning that protects the germ of new worlds and where the "knowledge of the body" can regenerate and endure life. In those terms, artistic practices, such as dance, are located as possible channels to create alternative narratives, especially in a group setting, where a network of identifications builds political resistance based on affections. The experimental character of art provides a special

scenario for building new narratives that escape from the ones imposed normatively, allowing the diversity of subjectivities to arise in favour of life endurance. Artistic practices such as the community dance space would be understood from these perspectives as experimental gatherings where the discomfort and distress produced by the normativity is managed and channelled collectively. This would generate new life paths to protect the vital force of life. Discomfort is understood here in the shape of patriarchal norms that generate an oppressed life form for women. Rolnik sheds some light on this experimental space, centered in creation, which enables questioning and transforming gender norms, and rehearse new ways of behaving, feeling and acting in the world at a micro political level, that is, in the intimate spheres.

Departing from the premise mentioned above that affirms gender as a repertoire in Taylor's terms (2003), supported by the Butler's (2004) concept of performativity, it is understood that gender is a cultural construct manifested in behaviours such as gestures, body posture, and use of the space, among others. The community dance process is understood as a form of micropolitical activism in its experimental format, which allowed the creation of identification among women who gathered together to reflect upon their life stories, their expected social roles, to express their identities but also their discomfort in the oppressive system that forbids certain activities, and the rehearsal of alternative behaviours from those their community permits. For instance, several women started setting boundaries to their families so they could attend the workshops, some of them started having difficult conversations with their loved ones, and so on.

Applying Rolnik's concepts, the community dance space enabled an affectively safe platform for an active response to the patriarchal conditions the women lived in, setting the stage for a group response to a common problem that could impact their personal subjectivities. The circularity of affections of the group presented in their fears, insecurities, acceptance, care, and identification with common experiences, among others, and facilitated by dance-making interactions, led to the construction of new perspectives in their sensitivity and knowledge. This is a group of women whose health and education is dependent on structures that promote patriarchal views. Therefore, the dance space is important in questioning the status quo, in the expression of their desires, and in the healing of the social body that carries similar body memories for many women.

Micropolitics in movement: Pointing at the micro actions in dance

The exploration of micropolitics supports the case that the actions described below compose the primal matter for dance improvisation practice as a subjectivity device for channelling collective discomfort in terms of gender. Community dance as presented here entails a mechanism for social affective organisation and the creation of new life

paths questioning patriarchal normativity. The list is not exhaustive, but descriptive of a micro level of actions that can be understood to impact the production of subjectivity. The actions are considered as topological prints or possibilities for an active micropolitical activism allowed by the practice of dance improvisation within a group setting. The reader is invited to consider these apparently insignificant actions as ruptures with the everyday performativity of gender in conservative and patriarchal schemes. Thus, the following elements point to concrete actions where dance activism is viewed as an opening of new possibilities within embodied information imposed by culture.

Free movement

Moving freely from their own possibilities provided participants with tools and new qualities of movement, creating an alternative to the body sensation of discomfort and self-doubt. The process brought dance activities that involved changes in body weight, use of levels, different speeds, use of the space, and amplitude of gesture, for example. Creating new possibilities of bodily expression impacts each person's subjectivity, the way they think and feel as mirrored by the movement variations. It also broke restrictions on how they could move, finding new trajectories that were comfortable yet possible for them. The engagement in free body movement following a stimulus creates new solutions within the movement itself, new perspectives on the actions of the body, another person's body and the space.

One of the workshops engaged in the exploration of the basic effort actions coined by movement theorist Rudolph Laban (2011), which have diverse interpretations according to different researchers. Among the basic actions there are: wring, press, flick, dab, glide, float, punch, slash. The action of punching brought distress to the group. The women felt unable to do it, the instruction itself brought a questioning of what women can and cannot do. The group expressed how women are not expected or allowed to be angry, and therefore do not know how to handle anger. Altogether, this experience brings the continuity of movement as an experimental situation that constantly distances and approaches the normative behaviour set micro politically by a patriarchal macro political system. Sometimes it will reveal the way the body behaves in everyday life, for instance, in the way women are asked to move. On the other hand, it will create the possibility to move in somewhat alternative ways that nourish new sensations, feelings and thoughts.

Dancing among women as a path to sorority re-elaboration

As discussed above, the community of Los Santos practices social dances, mostly danced in couples. Couple social dancing is generally led by the man, and the woman follows. These women found themselves dancing to their own rhythm, quality, and desire, while following only their feelings and establishing corporeal connections with other women.

Actions such as holding hands, creating a circle, looking at each other, having another woman as a careful witness all question the usual dynamic of following passively, producing a search for their own feelings and desires which sometimes caused distress. Some participants inhabited this possibility freely and enthusiastically, but others looked distressed, distracted themselves from the dance, and moved away from the group. One of the most dangerous traits of patriarchal norms is that it usually infantilizes women: they are expected to follow orders and not trust their own desires and opinions. Having the possibility to get in touch with one's own subjectivity is threatening when every action is organised and ordered by somebody else. Thus, the importance of opening exploration spaces where one's own desire can be recognized and accepted.

Touch

Allowing careful touch among women is an embodied act of collaboration and cooperation, an action that breaks existing competitive feelings. Moreover, touching themselves may have been a new experience, as they were situated within a patriarchal system that places women's bodies at the service and pleasure of men. Allowing a careful and tender touch where violence had been felt, allowing physical contact with their bodies in caring ways offered a healing experimental experience that entails feeling oneself, knowing our own bodies, and getting in touch with our true feelings. This experience was marked by guilt and shame in some cases due to religious beliefs and patriarchal norms that have attributed guilty feelings to the body sensations, mainly body pleasure. Having religious principles as certainties may install a sense of body shame that still needs to be worked on.

Searching for answers within the practice

Engaging in bodily practice without talking and creating bonds without words enabled alternative paths for relationships to develop. It is understood that whilst words are discrete, movement is continuous. In this sense, free movement involves a process of meaning-making that can bring up unexpected, preverbal content of life and subjectivity. Likewise, dancing with another woman or group of women can generate very particular bonds based on embodied information. Playing and experimenting, not having all the answers, and facing uncertainty allowed for curiosity and self-discovery. These notions are at the base of improvisational techniques. Involving the body in free movement creates a rupture with everyday trajectories within the body territory. Having other people as witnesses, touching differently, using the space in new ways all create a sense of uncertainty that can only result in new rhizomes of affections, sensitivity, bonds, reflections, etc. This translates into the findings on new meanings.

Diversity

Inhabiting diversity in body shapes, ages, possibilities, and body movements made them question the hegemony of certain bodies portrayed by media. The community dance group is diverse in these terms. There is a strong intergenerational component that questions adult-centric positions generally established. There is a circularity in the affections that are moved within the dance space. There are crossed identifications among the women. Nobody expects to be like someone else, they are all allowed to be themselves and in that sense, they start transforming more freely.

Picture 5: Micro actions in community dance: Touch. Photography by Daniela Salazar for "From Within" project (2021)

Meaning making

Given this analysis, it is significant that the community dance group operates in a private space of an organic farm, with little to no institutional interference. This means that everything that is done responds to the dynamics, questions, desires, and events that composed the creative process without a hidden agenda. This makes it relevant as a space for participation and empowerment that acts upon the reflections, concerns and solutions proposed by the women only. This fact makes it a powerful device for the resignification of what it means to be a woman from a patriarchal perspective as well as rehearsing new ways of giving meaning to it.

Conclusion: A new look on dance as embodied, micropolitical activism

Braiding together the community dance process of Los Santos and the theories proposed by Rolnik and others about micropolitics has brought fresh insight into dance activism. This analysis has shed some light on the potencies of community dance processes for raising new perspectives, meanings, and ways of being, in terms of gender. Specifically for the group of women in question, the process described here has questioned the place of women, their possibilities, their desires. It has revealed the places, postures and gestures the patriarchal system legitimises as beauty, success, good and bad, only to create cracks on these certainties and usher in other ways of thinking about those notions. Several consequences were identified after the first project finished, as the women described changes in their levels of intimacy, such as alternative ways of responding to conflict, or setting boundaries with their partners which in one case turned into a divorce. The women themselves point to the process as the base for the changes they experienced, and identify how their perspectives on other women changed, compared to women who were not part of this process.

The community dance group has endured and engaged in new creative projects. In October, 2022 the group performed for the first time in front of an audience. The piece was about what women wish to be. During the creative process, one of the women said "I want to be happy". The facilitator posed the question: "What is happiness? I need something more concrete". This enabled a discussion about the multiple interpretations of happyness which later was interpreted through the body in a diversity of ways. This is just an example of the active and reactive micropolitics taking place within the group scenario, in a never-ending work on resistance, reflection and action towards normativity set by the patriarchal system.

It is more necessary than ever to question the ways in which activists are searching for social change. Given the entangled network of meanings, representations, and information that nurtures (or pollutes?) our world, it becomes urgent to create spaces of pause that allow reflection on the paths we are building. It is necessary to create group spaces where it is possible to question our unconscious, our desires, and our decisions within a system that is constantly sending messages of what people should be or quest for such as success, happiness, or beauty. The community dance process has also revealed the importance of having long-lasting projects that are sustained for and by the community, to engage in group activities that can truly function as subjectification devices that can sustain and reproduce choices in accordance with life endurance throughout.

The concept of micropolitics clarifies the perception of artistic practices that Rolnik describes as, "spaces fertilised with embryos of new worlds" (2019: 48). As stated above, this is a constant practice, which needs to be sustained within a social system

that is wider and heavier in its devices. Dance improvisation as a tool for dance activism is portrayed here as a device that can open up life paths, meaning systems, create community, allow alternative ways of affecting each other to create new universes of meaning. It is also contextualised within micropolitical activism that touches a patriarchal system by the very core of its impositions: acting on the body. If social change happens in the micro actions that compose everyday life, how potent can it be to rehearse collectively alternatives in our ways of feeling, perceiving, acting, communicating, and relating to each other? More needs to be researched and followed through the thousands of ongoing projects like the one explored here, bringing the embodiment of alternative ways of living that respect life as a whole.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

From the Living Tradition to Presenting the Tradition. Performing Music, Performing Gender. A Greek Case

Sonia KOZIOU[1]

Abstract

This article discusses the interaction between the dominant ideology of a society about gender and its musical and dancing practices. More precisely, the article relies on material compiled in the process of pursuing my doctoral dissertation. The research focused on the area of my hometown, Karditsa, a small town in central Greece, and a number of neighbouring villages. It is worth noting, however, that the interchange of expressive and cultural codes between the rural and urban culture of Greece, between the country and the city, between the traditional and more modern or professionally skilled performances has been continuous and indisputable. The analysis concerns certain female activities related to music and dance in the context of traditional community life but also the professional presence of women in the local music scene. Thus, although the transition from the analytic category *women* to this of *gender* has theoretically been accomplished long ago, Greek folklore and ethnomusicology have silenced female voices and have been indifferent to or deliberately ignored the manner in which women confirm and reproduce or question and subvert social gender stereotypes through their song and dance. Consequently, this text begins with women, not of course as a general, abstract and undifferentiated category, to approach the performance of gender and music.

Keywords

Performance, Music, Dance, Femininity, Gender

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Introduction

When, a few years ago, I published my PhD thesis (Koziou 2011) and chose to dedicate it to my 'voiceless'[1] grandmother Stavroula, many hastened to ask me if she was really mute. The truth is that, until a certain age, I thought that my grandmother did not have a voice, since she rarely ventured to speak during the numerous gatherings of my mother's multi-membered family. I later came to realize that, like many women of her generation, social origin and class, she had been taught to endure and remain silent. Nevertheless, by lightly stirring my memories, I can almost hear her sing to me a Greek guerilla song with a quick rhythm while, as we both grew older, I had often observed her dance in the village square with the other women and accompany their slow, long- drawn dance with the appropriate vocal song.

On the other hand, the same family gatherings in the village coffee house owned by my grandfather, where various musical feasts were organized from the 1950s up to the mid 1980s during community festivals, were filled with allusions to professional female singers usually derogatorily referred to as 'tragouthiares' (female singers, chanteuses). They were women who played a leading role in the musical performance as well as in the male fantasies. Women who had, for various reasons, transgressed the ideology of society respecting their gender by becoming professional singers. Women who performed a necessary function but remained obscure, who were known professionally only by their first name (often an alias), who met with the outcry of society and were treated with indifference or disdain by the traditional music researchers.

Indeed, what Suzan Mc Clary (1991) observed in the early 1990s about the indifference or even the fear displayed by musicology towards women, towards feeling and the body, remains a reality for Greek ethnomusicologists. Although in several texts, written mostly by earlier and later folklorists, who approached the Greek folk song as a text, reference has been made to the role of women in the creation and dissemination of folk songs (Fauriel 1956, Κυριακίδης 1978, Τζιαμούρτας 1998, Αναγνωστόπουλος 2010), the question of power and authority has never been broached, the relations between genders have not been explored and music has rarely been studied in its interdependence with gender ideology. So, even though this article is being written in an era when the theoretical transition from the category *women* to the concept of *gender* (Koskoff, 2014:13-30,) has been realized, I feel the need to start by talking about women (or even better, to let them talk) and conclude with analyzing the performance of gender and the gender of musical performances (Magrini 2003).

Significantly, during the 1970s and under the influence of the feminist movement, the interest of the social sciences began to focus more on women. In this era women's anthropology interpreted female subjugation cross-culturally and across time through

[1] A term used by Edwin Ardener (1975).

universal models. Soon, however, these models were criticized as Western-centric, while the category 'women' itself was considered to silence individual differences within the female gender, which had to do with class, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation. So the transition from women to social gender is gradually taking place. The latter term was brought into more mainstream usage by sociologist Ann Oakley in 1972. The concept of gender as a social construct gave hope that things could change.

In any case, the term women does not refer to an abstract, homogeneous and monolithic category but to real, physically present women who try to communicate and express themselves, to comprehend the reality of their existence or to simply make a living through music. They are women who agreed, sometimes willingly and sometimes reluctantly to share with me their lives and their experiences, musical or otherwise. At the same time, while talking about their contribution to the creation, dissemination and performance of the folk songs of my country, the discussion cannot be carried out as if this genre concerns a given, established, static and not specified in time product registered as either text or sound. Song, music and gender can be studied together as continuously interchangeable constructs in time and space, as cultural performances that shape one another (Butler 1990; Sugarman 1989).

The field survey covered a period of approximately 15 years, starting in the early 1990s and includes the extensive study of pertinent folklore literature, the recording of ethnographic material at a variety of festivals and a large number of interviews conducted both with professional musicians as well as ordinary people who were willing to share their memories of the musical, dancing and cultural practices which date back to the beginning of the 20th century.

Living the Tradition

By focusing on the notion of performance, two main phases of folk song and, by extension, of the female contribution and female presence can be discerned (Kavouras 2000; Koziou 2015). Succinctly, it could be said that on the one hand lies the group vocal song, the product of a transgeneological practice, of a long collective creation which expresses a generic community ethos present in many areas in Greece in the late 1940s and early 1950s. This collective song of the company plays a crucial part in the celebrations of the various stages of life (birth, marriage, death) and of time (religious festivals and fairs) but also, in the everyday informal occasions of farming life, like working in the fields all through the day and night. Without instrumental accompaniment, it functioned as a means of entertainment, communication and self-expression among the members of the community which enabled them to transcend their individuality and experience their unity.

In this phase, where the folk song is a communal celebration, the component part of a ritual, opposed to the song as a professional performance, women have a defining role in its creation, reproduction and dissemination. However, although many Greek folklore researchers as mentioned above, have acknowledged this contribution, they limited themselves to describing in detail or recording only the texts and ignored all issues that had to do with the mutual relationship between music and gender. This fact, of course, does not mean that the musical phenomena cannot be reassessed under this new perspective. And since, while discussing the Greek folk song of this period, the unity of speech, music and movement cannot be broken, there are observations to be made on how a society represents and internalizes its ideology on gender through the manner in which its members sing and dance.

I will use as an example a female practice of song and dance which was widespread in my area until the early 1950s and often revived in the following decades called the *sergiani.* During the large religious festivals and fairs the women of the village used to set up in front of the church or in the village square a dance accompanied by group vocal songs. The audience for this performance consisted of men, children and those women of the village who were in mourning and did not participate. The entrance of a young girl in the circle of the dance signified her availability as a future bride and offered an opportunity for the appraisal of her qualities. The dancing style of the *sergiani* was peculiar, slow and in walking-style, a symbol of female modesty. As Jane Sugarman (2003) remarks in her example of the Albanian women of Lake Prespa, by moving their bodies as a whole they made certain that the spectators would not turn their attention to specific parts of the body, while, by their lowered and even vacant looks, they exhibited their self-control and moral propriety. Or, in the words of my interlocutor, Garoufalia

> We were serious in the *sergiani*. One didn't dare look at anyone. If one looked and her eyes fell on a boy, she would look away instantly. Because we were observed (and pitilessly criticized accordingly). The whole village was gathered there. If you were seen looking or nodding, you couldn't show yourself in the village the next day. Some girls who were in love would look but then the young men didn't want them anymore. They would say that she gave bold looks. And if a girl did something naughty they would call her lewd and promiscuous. If a girl would move her body more freely during the dance or raise her arms, they would say that she is not fit to be a wife and run a house. (Karambekou Garoufalia, interview at her home, Karditsa, May 2007).

This practice of observing and of being observed implies a relationship of power (Foucault 1978) exercised over women even in the midst of joyful circumstances as in the festive occasion described above, that rendered their enjoyment ambiguous. According to John Berger, quoted by Jane Cowan (1998:196) in her research on dance in northern Greece, "A woman must always watch her deportment. She is constantly followed by her own image. She must monitor everything she does, because what she

looks like in the eyes of others, especially in the eyes of men, is of vital importance for what is normally considered to be success in her life". Garoufalia continues in the same interview, underlining what Berger has depicted,

> It was definitely considered an enormous failure for a girl to marry a man from a strange village or an older man. It was out of the question for any girl to dance immodestly because then no one in the village would ask her to marry them. One girl married a man in Kalogriana (a distant village). Although she had done nothing seriously wrong, she was loose in her behaviour and people thought she was disgraced.

Through this performance of song and dance the women were given the most direct representation of the rules, the beliefs and the expectations of the times and of their community as far as the roles of the two sexes were concerned. Their singing and dancing manners, however, were not merely defined by the beliefs of the community on what constitutes proper male or female behavior but also contributed decisively to the internalization of those beliefs on behalf of the young people. The term 'habitus' used by Pierre Bourdieu (1977) to describe how through everyday activities the individual internalizes the objective structures of society can be applied to describe and analyze the role that expressive activities such as singing and dancing in ritual form play in the recreation of social models and in the elicitation of consent on the part of women as to their domination. The habitus, according to Bourdieu, or in this case masculinity and femininity, is cultivated through interaction with an entire symbolically structured milieu and is registered in the form of the body and schemata of the mind. Cowan (1990) remarks that beliefs on gender and gender relations which are always relations of power, are embedded not only in songs and dances but in simple, everyday social practices.

At the same time, however, women gained new communicative abilities through their songs and were able to express in their everyday speech and in a culturally acceptable way thoughts and feelings that were forbidden and would remain untold under different circumstances. The 'marital dirge', the songs sung during the separation of the bride from the home of her parents after an arranged marriage is a typical example. At this moment taut with emotion, the young women know what awaits her in a strange home and having been left with no choice, expresses her grief through this song, "On a Friday and on a Saturday evening my mother sent me away from home and my father also tells me to leave". Likewise, as women cannot complain about the hardships of their everyday life in a rural society that duly appreciates hard work, discipline and obedience from female working hands, they sing, "Mother, you married me off badly and gave me away to the flatlands. I cannot bear the flatlands, I cannot drink warm water, my lips will wither and turn yellow". They could not say that they did not want to work in the heat, so they sang.

Women also found a unique mode of relief in the dirge when they lost loved ones. Additionally in many songs the redemptive role of humour can be detected. In a social system that regards sexual relations as a threat and where a woman's value (as well as that of her family) is judged by her ability to handle her sexuality, they use their songs to fall in love, to explore their sexuality, to let themselves get carried away by their strong emotions, and to proclaim their love for someone. Using the expressive means and cultural codes of the community they manage to express themselves publicly, often critically, to communicate, to indulge in self–reflection and become emotionally discharged.

Of course, social changes can also be seen through the lyrics of their songs. Thus, the women's participation in the national resistance during World War Two and their subsequent armed guerilla fight during the civil war (1946-49), their occupation with public life and the recognition of their struggles could not pass unregistered. So the shepherdess who traditionally sits on the top of the hill holding her distaff, an archetypal symbol of femininity, in the guerilla folk song becomes the partisan who holds a gun and wears strings of bullets around her chest rather than jewels (Koziou 2015).

I have presented two examples of how various music and dance practices that have already been recorded can be re-interpreted in order to demonstrate their connection to gender ideology of their relative society and time. I also show how the folk song became an important tool for the female farm workers of the countryside which enabled them to construct their identity and make their voices heard. I observed that these practices cannot only reflect the rules of society as to proper male and female behavior but they can also serve to reinforce and reproduce them.

Performing the Tradition

At the other end of this collective, dialogical (in the sense of a wider communication and exchange of thoughts and feelings) ritual performance lies the monologue of the professional musicians who are specialized and work for money. These artists radically separate themselves from and spatially place themselves in juxtaposition to their audience. This new condition is connected to numerous aesthetic innovations - characteristic features of the monologic (as opposed to dialogic), solitary way of life in the impersonal, big cities. For example, from the 1930s innovations in new, electrically amplified sound, new instruments like the electric piano and accordion, and a new hyperlocal repertoire taken from the record industry.

The demanding improvisational playing of the instruments by the skillful musicians and their singing in front of the microphone emphasizes the idea of individuality that dominates this new condition. Apart from the fact that the singer plays the leading role, another innovative feature of the folk songs of this time is the appearance of the

female singers as members of professional music bands. In Karditsa this had already started to happen in the 1950s. A very characteristic phrase used by the music house owners while negotiating an appearance and conveyed to me by the musicians was the following, "If you don't have a woman, you don't get the job". "We found the woman first and then made the deal", confessed most of them. Athens and Piraeus supplied the small towns with women performers or just "women". There were agencies where one could hire female singers through photos. Later it was found easier for the musicians in Karditsa to look for women in their local area starting by introducing their wives to the stage.

But what led the village men to make this demand? When I put this question to the men I interviewed, professionals and others, they agreed that in Karditsa the forerunners of professional female singers in the festivals were the singer in public places of entertainment called 'café- aman' and the 'café- chantants'. According to the writer and scholar of the local history of Karditsa, Nikolaos Vogiatzis, "in the closed space of such a coffee shop, female artists from Vienna, Hungary, Constantinople, Armenia and Smyrna offered musical and other delights to the Turkish masters and later to the young men of the bourgeoisie" (Βογιατζής 2005).

In the words of one of my informants, a professional musician of traditional clarinet:

> In the old days, before our women appeared, there were shops called 'café- chantants'. These were frequented by the aristocracy of Karditsa. Let me tell you how they worked and the similarities with our women nowadays. Let's say that there were two singers. They would sing a couple of songs or none at all and then they would come down and keep the customers' company. The way it is done now in the 'skilathika'. In this way our women began appearing in the fairs. It started in one fair, people liked it and asked for them. There were some women among them who could sing very well. (Zervas Athanasios, interview at the musician's coffee shop, Karditsa, May 2009).

The term «skiladika", although witnessed at least since the 50s, has been used more widely since the beginning of the 1970s to stigmatize the commercial music that prevailed during the dictatorship and especially the infamous shops that proliferated in those years. Typical entertainment practices in these places were the breaking of plates, the throwing of countless flowers, the multitude of revealingly dressed singers and dancers and, above all, their availability to offer company to the customers (Κοκκώνης, Γ., Κοντογιάννης,Γ., and Οικονόμου, Λ. 2019).

The key phrase in the narrative above is "the aristocracy of Karditsa". The poor farmers have internalized the notion that bourgeois entertainment, according to Western standards, is superior to their own tradition of the countryside. So, they do whatever they can to imitate what is, in their conscience, prestigious entertainment. The musicians, who no longer come from the community but are paid to play, have to stand on a

stage as in the city shops. Bales of hay or grass are used for that purpose or sometimes a wagon. In the rich days of the early 1980s these were replaced by a tractor platform.

By paying for their *order*, their right to choose the song to be played by the orchestra, they secure the right to occupy the dancing space for themselves and their company. Another tactic to enhance their symbolic capital, besides ostentatiously giving money to the musicians, is to dance with the singer. The man who would bring the singer down to hold him while dancing would be an object of discussion and envy by the other men in the coffee house the next day. The way the men addressed the 'artists' was extremely derogatory and reflected the relations between the musicians and the audience which had the background of financial transaction. A similar example is the spitting on the bank note so that it would stick to the player's forehead. Very often my informants conveyed phrases like these, with which the customers addressed the female singers: "You are a singer, aren't you? You will sing alright. And you will dance. We are paying you, aren't we?"

Demetra was one of the first great singers of my home area and these words made her exclaim,

> I hated singing. This job. A man would come drunk and pull me by the dress and tell me to stand up. It was a disgrace to stand up. We had to sit in a chair and wear a long dress. If our knees showed a little or if we wore trousers we were considered immoral. I did stand up. But to step down and hold someone while he's dancing? Never. I categorically never stepped down to do a man's favor either when they were drunk or crazy or if they wanted to show off. Because the next day everyone in the coffee house would say: "Well done! How did you get her to come down?" It was all about showing his power. That he could humiliate you and get his own way". Some of my colleagues did it. And then, when we went to the villages, people used to say: "the gypsies[sic] are here with the *diseuse*" [a French word used pejoratively for female singers]. (Alexiou Demetra, interview at my home, Karditsa , September 2009).

This narrative is an important testimony of the multidimensional role of such an artist not only as the protagonist of the musical performance but also of the construction of male identity - of the 'poetics' of manhood, or else, its performance.

In every case the reasons that forced a woman to 'come out' and sing were financial. Even the phrase 'come out into the profession'[2] signifies the ideas that society holds regarding the organization of space in connection to social gender. The female singers transgress the home boundaries and enter the male space of the coffee house, often adopting male practices such as drinking alcohol in public or smoking. But apart from

[2] Renee Hirshon (1978) uses the symbolism of space to describe the places of male and female activity that were acceptable by traditional society. It has been cross-culturally noted by various ethnographers, especially in societies in which professional female musicians are equaled to courtesans, that these women, although they move in circles inaccessible to their peers and enjoy a certain freedom, acquire a social stigma that follows and isolates them from the wider social tissue and other "respectable" women.

placing their voice and their bodies in public view, the financial transaction with a paying audience is the basic difference with the women who in the previous dialogical condition gained prestige and enhanced their symbolic capital by their singing which constituted a part of a wider ritual of the community.

What can easily be observed here is that with time and socio-economic change the de-ritualization of music takes place and the spontaneous, collective participation of the community in the creation and preservation of music tradition loses its strength. Even more so does the role of women who are no longer the protagonists of a trans-genealogical cultural practice but have to limit themselves to dancing to the songs ordered by men from the professional bands.[3] This practice which could indirectly influence and partly shape the musical program has also become scarce.

I have presented how music and dance has traditionally been an appropriate field for the representation, the public construction and also for the internalization of social beliefs about gender identity. However, through the practices of music and dance the ruling ideas can be questioned, challenged or even replaced. The vital social transformations of the past decades and the changes in the status of women have had an impact on the way they sing and dance. Many anthropologists and ethnomusicologists (see below) have now come to the conclusion that modern women, even in conservative environments, use the language of music and dance to show the freedom they have gained, to cast off years of restrictions, to proclaim their independence, to express wishes and emotions, to demonstrate their sexuality. A central part of several ethnomusicological studies in the Mediterranean is the exploration of how the members of a community sing what cannot be said, how they express thoughts and feelings forbidden in everyday conversations, and how songs can provide a voice for those who have less power and autonomy like women (Abu-Lughod, 1986). Anna Caraveli (1986), Suzan Auerbach (1987) and Nandia Seremetaki (1994) specifically examine how women express their discontent about their social position and their own perspective on reality through their dirges. Tim Rice (1994) has recorded many songs that show the feelings of terror and threat experienced by women towards men. On the other hand, Jane Sugarman (1997) mentions wedding songs in which the grief and disillusionment of the bride are expressed through a sense of humor.[4]

I will use another example of my own research. The venue is a wedding celebration in a wedding hall in the city of Karditsa in the late 1990s. The coy bride of the past who wails her separation from the home of her childhood with the marriage dirge has

[3] Marie Virolle (2003) notes when talking about the Algerian rai which women played a leading role in creating and disseminating in the 20th century, that the global market system and the ethnic music industry have succeeded in silencing women, something that had not been accomplished for years by the stern patriarchal system of the country.

[4] For the expression of freedom, gained by women, through music and dance see the work of Jane Sugarman (2003), Goffredo Plastino (2003), Caroline Bithell (2003) and Konstantinos Dimopoulos (2017).

been replaced by a pregnant bride who chooses to present herself to her guests with a *zeibekiko* dance, while at the same time she is singing the following lyrics, "Why don't you ask around about who I am? I'm a fine, open-hearted woman that has men wrapped around her fingers". In this musical event women have a leading and defining role both when they dance to the traditional folk songs and when they use their skill for a particularly sensual *tsifteteli* which is a frequent choice of the musicians. With their spontaneity, their mirthful cheers, the theatrical representation of methexis (a really deep psychic involvement) and joyfulness, they abandon themselves to a liberated and liberating way of their bodies, not caring about how this will be construed by the people around them.

The men of course do not sit idle; they answer back by ordering a slow *tsamiko* and change their grip, holding each other by the shoulders, taking up as much space as possible on the dance floor in a theatrical effort of masculinity maintaining its ground. Jackets are strewn on the floor, boxes of champagne start arriving, they pour out a bottle of whiskey and set it on fire. That is a very conscious choice, not at all random, since, despite the emancipation of women and their substantial contribution to the family budget, the men almost always pay the bill and take care of the tips in all public social events. They are having fun and get out of line but they can afford the money for it. They pay because they are men and they are men because they pay. So, they use the rhetoric of dance and an ostentatious generosity to perform their male identity.

The point, moreover, where previous collective representations of female modesty are fundamentally subverted is the *zeibekiko.* Here is how Πετροπουλος Ηλίας (1990) describes the performance of this dance:

> The *zeibekiko* is danced by one person. Each man dances in his own completely personal way. The *zeibekiko* dancer dances looking at the ground. His face is serious, almost menacing. When the band plays the *zeibekiko* only one man dances on the dance floor. It would be an unprecedented scandal for a woman to dance the *zeibekiko.* And a sight like that could be the cause of lethal altercations. Only prostitutes danced the *zeibekiko*.

Now a days more and more women perform this dance in an attempt to claim more dancing opportunities, to expand their expressive abilities, to form and project a newer, more dynamic and emancipated female self. Thus, through the course of years of this male, exclusively individual dance which could in the past even lead to the killing of any uninvited 'intruders' on the dance floor who spoiled their 'order', one can imagine men's displeasure when they ask for their favorite dance, only to find the dance floor occupied by a woman.

Women's relation to instrumental folk music remains as prohibitive as it was in the past. In the older days of hard farm labour, at least until the late 1970s especially in rural areas, the hands of the women were always busy with their innumerous tasks of

motherhood and child rearing, housework and working in the fields. Their sole means of expression was their voice. The only point that differentiates the professional women is that they always appear playing the tambourine (see Figs. 1,2,3,4)[5] which no man performed on stage, but this is not considered a real instrument by the collective conscience, as many of my informants reported to me. Helen Koskoff (2014:129) points out that "Instruments, their sounds and performance contexts associated with women tend to be devaluated in many societies, often seen as amateur or associated with children". Especially in the Balkans the frame drum, (*def, daire, ντέφι*) has been associated with Muslim Rom female performers for at least a hundred years (Pettan 2003, Silverman 2003) and this association also led to the instrument being treated quite disparagingly.

Only two decades ago when the teaching of the traditional clarinet started in the music high school of my town female students were teased by their classmates. My experience in teaching the flute to primary school students can confirm that. This of course, for obvious reasons, concerns mainly wind instruments. Gradually, female artists who accompany their songs with a traditional instrument are starting to appear as well as all - women's bands that play traditional music. It remains to be seen how forceful and lasting their presence in the musical scene will be.

Figure 1

[5] Figs. 1 and 4 were entrusted to me by the featured singer, Eleni Palioura, and Figs. 2 and 3 by the featured clarinet player, named Thanasis Zervas. The location and identity of the photographer are unknown.

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

A Final Reflection

The limited scope of this article explores the two-way relationship between a society's gender ideology and musical thought and practice. On a continuum in space and time, through the dialogue between more traditional and professional performative practices, music, dance and song have been approached as symbolic sites where gender identities are not only represented, but constructed, affirmed and often challenged. Particular emphasis was also placed on highlighting the professional presence of women in the field of traditional and popular music from the past to the present day and how this is connected to society's dominant gender ideology.

Therefore, it can be argued that to a great degree many past prejudices about women's professional occupation in the music industry have been overcome. I recall the question my mother was asked very naturally by her acquaintance when she decided to bring my sister and I to our first music teacher for piano lessons: She was asked if she wanted to make us into singers. And though this concerns people who belong to an older generation and notions of the past, I will add the spontaneous reaction of a young man a few years ago, when talking to a female friend at a wedding a few years ago when she got up on the dance floor to sing. Rather shocked, he stated, "What? You'll sing? But you don't look like a *trago ythiara*".

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Women-Made – the Future Women Choreographers are Here!

Deborah Kate NORRIS[1]

Abstract

The marginalisation of female ballet choreographers at the time of writing in 2023 is as evident as it was thirty years ago. Whilst a few exceptional women (Cathy Marston, Helen Pickett, Annabelle Lopez Ochoa) excel in using a balletic language to create dance works their male contemporaries dominate the world's ballet stages with elevated positions as artistic directors and choreographers. Since dance scholar Lynn Garafola raised the alarm in 1996 the conversations relating to the dearth of women choreographers have accelerated and whilst the changes are not as significant as one would hope there does appear to be a more consistent approach to women breaking the glass ceiling in this artistic arena. This article aims to challenge the question "where" are the women? in exchange for "why" aren't there more women making ballet? I examine the educational constructs and potential barriers found in conservatoire training to illuminate the perspectives of the next generation of ballet makers. Finally, I present the ethnographic data collected from a practice-led research residency that took place at St Hilda's College, Oxford in 2022, to demonstrate how and what may be done to educate and advocate for women to adopt a balletic choreographic practice in the future.

Keywords

Ballet, Choreography, Marginalisation, Feminism, Practice-Led Research

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Introduction

The substance for this article grew from a practice-led research project to investigate how female dance students engage with choreographic techniques to create ballet works. Noticing the different approaches to educating young dancers in the art of choreography[1] it became apparent that whilst they are often interested in making work they lean towards contemporary dance as a medium rather than using a balletic language. Exploring the institutional roots of British Ballet in relation to training emerging dance artists, short case studies were structured using ethnographic interview and observational processes, to further understand the current position of professional women ballet choreographers and their lived experience of creating work over the past thirty years. The article offers perspectives from dance scholars who have examined the work of women choreographers, notably the work of Lynn Garafola (2006) and Julia Gleich (2022). The scholarship is complemented with observations of the work of British ballet choreographer Cathy Marston and her rich trajectory as a female choreographer in the twenty-first century.

The vexed issue of gender imbalance among prominent choreographers continues today, despite Garafola's initiation of the debate in 1996 in a presentation at the Institute for Research on Women and Gender conference at the University of Michigan. In order to raise awareness of this urgent problem with a group of women choreographers, this article positions a practice-led research residency that took place in Oxford in July 2022 a part of the Dance Scholarship Oxford (DANSOX) Summer School series as an ethnographic case study to explore the role of women choreographers in today's creative ballet world. Examining the participants' work and reflections offers an opportunity to understand educational approaches for choreographing ballet, emerging artists' observations on the gender imbalance for women ballet-makers, and the impact of recent changes within ballet's leadership roles on recent choreographic commissions.

At the time of writing there appears to be an inevitable slow but necessary overhaul within ballet training, particularly in relation to the binary gender focus of the genre, attention must also turn to the question; why do so few women ballet students aspire to choreograph ballet? Whilst there is often a focus for female students to follow and sustain a teaching path, post-performance career, discussed during their training, there is limited engagement in the concept of a choreographic career specifically focused towards ballet-making by women students. During my thirty-five years as a student, teacher, and doctoral candidate researching women ballet choreographers it has become apparent that there are some fundamental gaps within most ballet training programs that do not support women's choreographic ambitions towards creating in a balletic

[1] The Creative Workshops explored choreographic methods defined by artists such as Jonathan Burrows, Merce Cunningham, Twyla Tharp or Improvisation Classes exploring modes of moving in the post-modern contact improvisation style of Steve Paxton or Gaga Technique created by Ohad Naharin.

language. This article reports on a practice-led research enquiry to investigate why there is such a dearth of female ballet makers, and what could potentially be stopping the flow of emerging women choreographers using ballet as their medium to make dance.

Background Context

Where are ballet's women choreographers?

(Garafola, 1996)

Dance historian, Lynn Garafola's paper 'Where are Ballet's Women Choreographers?' was presented in 1996 at the Institute for Research on Women and Gender conference at the University of Michigan. Garafola revisited this enquiry in her book *Legacies of Twentieth Century Dance* (2005) acknowledging that three decades on the question is still relevant and unresolved. The essay fundamentally challenges the generalisations and assumptions as to why there were so few ballets choreographed by women during the twentieth century. Garafola gives six fundamental reasons to validate her counter-argument by questioning what constitutes "genius" in choreography and showing how value judgement was formed exclusively by male writers. She states "by viewing the ballet past as a succession of individuals of genius, this approach consigns most of ballet history to the dust-bin" (Garafola, 2005: 216) having acknowledged Jean Georges Noverre, Jules Perrot, Marius Petipa, Michael Fokine, Frederick Ashton, and George Balanchine as 'the individuals'. She continues "Yet it is here, in the now invisible crannies of the popular, … one finds the women choreographers of early twentieth century French ballet" (Garafola, 2005: 216). She examines the work of several significant French women ballet choreographers including Madame Mariquita, Louises Virard, Adelina Gedda, Rita Papurello, and their creative practices before acknowledging that after the golden years of Diaghilev's Ballet Russes (1909-1929) in Paris, including the work of Bronislava Nijinska, the French institutions "closed their doors to women" (Garafola, 2005: 216).

Garafola's 2022 publication *La Nijinska: Choreographer of the Modern* is the first biography of Nijinska, and as 2023 marks the centenary of the premiere of her work *Les Noces* (1923) it is a timely contribution to the recovery of the significant role Nijinska played in ballet history as a woman choreographer. Delivering a guest lecture about Nijinska in 2020 for DANSOX, at St Hilda's College, University of Oxford Garafola states in her opening remarks that there is "unfinished business" surrounding the conversation about the absence of women choreographers in ballet (Garafola, 2020: n.p.).

Garafola worked as artistic advisor for the co-edited book *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Dance* (2021). This rich volume hosts chapters by over thirty scholars and practitioners, and was the outcome of *Contemporary Ballet: Exchanges, Connections,*

and Directions an international conference held at Barnard College, Columbia University and The New York University Center for Ballet and the Arts in 2016. Editors Katherina Farrugia-Kriel and Jill Nunes Jensen acknowledge the text was meant to "highlight the relationships within the discourse of dance, to set in motion new ideas of what could be possible, and to open channels for ballet to contemporize" (Farrugia-Kriel & Nunes Jensen, 2021: xv). The prominent women interrogating the role of women as ballet makers are all present within this volume, notably Julia Gleich, Molly Faulkner, Deborah Norris, and Carrie Gaiser Casey, all of whom make impactful contributions to support the research initiated by Garafola in 1996. Observing the creative trajectories of Nijinska and American choreographer Karole Armitage, Faulkner and Gleich note that "there is an eerie commonality of marginalisation both in how they are perceived as artists and in their ability to push the art form of ballet into the margins" (Faulkner & Gleich, 2021: 62). With these two prolific, groundbreaking choreographers of the twentieth-century being identified as 'marginalised' it becomes more apparent for further examination into why women still appear so reticent to adopt a balletic creative practice, and how dance education could adopt a more proactive approach to encourage future women ballet makers.

1. British Women Ballet Choreographers – Past and Present Positioning

In relation to this gendered history of ballet, the UK's situation was distinctive in the twentieth century. 'British Ballet' can be credited to the work of two women, namely Dame Ninette de Valois and Dame Marie Rambert. De Valois's Vic Wells ballet, founded in 1926, has a rich history, establishing its home at Sadler's Wells Theatre, London in 1932 and creating a host of celebrated artists in the British Ballet landscape as performers and choreographers, throughout the twentieth century. Now The Royal Ballet, at Covent Garden, De Valois's legacy is entwined within the company's history and repertoire, which included several of her own works.

Another major figure, the Polish dancer Dame Marie Rambert, established her school and later company in London in 1926, had initially choreographed her own solos as a recitalist. She became an artistic mentor and abandoned her own choreography, favouring the opportunity to nurture and encourage the talent found in her school and company. "Of the two, de Valois was the institution builder; Rambert the gleaner and nurturer of talent; among her many "finds" were Frederick Ashton and Anthony Tudor" notes Garafola (2005: 223). Whilst both women are celebrated for the companies they established and that continue to flourish and dominate the contemporary ballet and dance global field, their first success came from the schools they created. Here they experimented with and explored balletic language through their teaching and encouraged creative and artistic expression in their students. De Valois' The Academy of Choreographic Art, and Rambert's Ballet Club, were crucial to the development

of ballet training in Britain. Arguably considering de Valois' attraction to the work of Nijinska, she was not responsible for supporting creative talent in other women choreographers at the time in comparison to Rambert (Garafola, 2005: 224).

However, Garafola shows the tension between administrative leadership and choreographic creativity in this situation: Ironically, given her admiration for Nijinska, de Valois did little to foster choreographic talent in women. Rambert, by contrast, nurtured the careers of two major women choreographers, Andrée Howard and Agnes de Mille' (Garafola, 2005 p. 224). Rambert's tradition is in fact sustained at the school today. One hundred years on, it is most encouraging to note that women students at Rambert School continue to be nurtured and supported as individual, creative dancers with regular choreographic lessons, and student choreography platforms happen termly alongside their technical training in both ballet and contemporary dance.

Whilst historical pedagogical practices appear to thwart many ballet conservatoires and training institutions Rambert School has made significant advances into progressive teaching methods, particularly within the ballet strand of the curriculum in relation to gender. Ballet teacher Paul Clarke recently presenting at the Northern School of Contemporary Dance, Leeds, shared the creative process he and colleague Nicole Guarino led to choreograph a gender-neutral repertoire solo to be performed by any student regardless of their gender identity (Clarke, 2023, n.p.).

To further emphasise the restrictions imposed upon female dancers from a young age in relation to stifling their creativity, Susan W. Stinson (2005) reflects upon the notion of discipline and silence in the ballet studio. Her article observes how this creates a sense of conformity for women but offers a springboard for men's creativity:

> Most women begin dance training as little girls, usually between the ages of 3 and 8. Dance training teaches them to be silent and do as they are told, reinforcing cultural expectations for both young children and women. In their landmark work, *Women's Ways of Knowing* (1986). Mary Belansky and her colleagues point out that adult women are silenced much more often than men…Traditional dance pedagogy, with its emphasis on silence conformity, does not facilitate such a journey. Dancers typically learn to reproduce what they receive not to critique or create. (Stinson, 2005, p. 53)

Whilst some of the significant British ballet institutions were established by women, their power has diminished over the years, to the point that in 2013 British dance critic Luke Jennings echoed the question Garafola explored years earlier – where are the women choreographers? As part of my doctoral research, my ethnographic investigation centralises the work of British ballet choreographer, Cathy Marston, whilst positioning this wider question in context of the current demographic of female choreographers making ballet in Britain.

> As a nation we are well supplied with choreographers. Matthew Bourne, Akram Khan, Wayne McGregor, Liam Scarlett, Christopher Wheeldon… the list goes on. All are highly acclaimed, players on the world stage, their services booked for years ahead. So why are their female colleagues struggling for visibility? Why, when British dance was founded by women like Ninette de Valois and Marie Rambert, and has always employed more women than men, are there no high-profile women choreographers? (Jennings, 2013, n.p.)

Marston's works are at the centre of my doctoral research, and her penchant for narrative is important to her position as a woman choreographer and has arguably allowed her to cement a place amongst her male contemporaries, whilst battling for the same exposure. Her work was finally elevated to the Royal Opera House main stage in January 2020, with her biographical work *The Cellist*, which explores the traumatic life of cellist Jacqueline du Pré.

In an interview Marston (2016) considers why there are so few women engaging in balletic choreographic practices, as she comments on the very essence of her creative processes, and also her position within the debate relating to women ballet makers. Her view stems from her early experience at The Royal Ballet School in London. Her male contemporaries Will Tuckett, Christopher Wheeldon, Christopher Hampson and Tom Sapsford, were all offered contracts with the company and quickly given choreographic opportunities. Her mentors Norman Morrice and David Drew, who had led the choreographic components of the curriculum, fought for her to be offered a similar opportunity but in vain as Marston was denied a contract at The Royal Ballet as a dancer. However her choreographic talent was recognised by Deborah Bull who was Creative Director of the ROH2 programme, for which Marston created *Ghosts* (2005) (Marston, 2016). Having worked with Marston for the past six years has deepened my knowledge of her work. Recent elevation as a world leading choreographer stems from commissions for San Francisco Ballet, Houston Ballet, The Royal Ballet, and a new position as Artistic Director of Ballet Zurich in Switzerland later in 2023. I am even more curious to explore the reasons why there still seems to be so few women interested in making ballet during their training and beyond.

As a Lecturer in Dance at Rambert School I was able to investigate this topic further. With the support of the principal, Amanda Britton I developed the following practice-led research project in partnership with the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, supported by its Head of the BA Modern Ballet Programme Kerry Livingstone. The objective was to gain greater understanding and to ignite some enthusiasm and curiosity amongst the current students at both institutions with an ambition to nurture and encourage them to create in a balletic language.

2. Cultivating Choreographic Practices using a Balletic Language

Shifts in ballet training in the twenty-first century are becoming more and more apparent and the dialogue amongst ballet pedagogues shows the potential for change.

It is not a small feat to challenge and alter a century of dance teaching methods, and yet there is arguably a need for reform. With dancers becoming more aware of their physical, emotional and psychological needs within their training programs it is the responsibility of the leaders of conservatoires and training institutions to find new and improved methods of delivery and engagement, allowing for accessibility, diversity and inclusion for all aspiring ballet dancers.

As explained above, Clarke and choreographer Guardino created a 'Gender-Neutral' ballet solo as part of the progressive curriculum at Rambert School for Ballet and Contemporary dance in London, allowing all students to access ballet vocabulary that has previously been relegated specifically for either male or female dancers.

The Research Project – Stage 1

In June of 2022, a research project was advertised at both Rambert School of Ballet and Contemporary Dance, London, and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Glasgow, offering female students the opportunity to participate in a series of workshops to investigate the lack of women making ballet. A voluntary, unpaid educational research project, the students were given some contextual information and a selection of titles for each workshop. Ethical considerations were explained, and consent given and all of the students who expressed an interest in the project were invited into the project. Each conservatoire had a slightly different schedule to accommodate the workshops, yet the outcomes were similar at each institution.

Workshop - The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Glasgow 16th June 2022

I delivered a three-hour workshop at the Wallace Studios in Glasgow. The twelve student participants were at different stages of their training from across three-year groups, ages 16 to 21. The focus of the workshops was to firstly ascertain the students' knowledge and understanding of context and rationale for the project. Thus, the session began with a brainstorming exercise which posed the following questions,

1) Name as many Male choreographers as you can

2) Name as many Female Choreographers as you can

3) Name as many Female BALLET choreographers as you can

The student's answers confirmed the hypothesis, that whilst training on a ballet programme they are less familiar with female choreographers than male choreographers, and more significantly even less so with female ballet choreographers, only naming Sophie Laplane, Helen Pickett, and including Crystal Pite into this demographic, based on the amount of works that she has made specifically for ballet companies. Once the discussion had sparked debate amongst the students, there was a mounting

surge of curiosity as to why this situation had arisen in relation to the lack of women making ballet.

A further conversation led to questioning why, during the choreography modules within their taught curriculum, they chose to create contemporary dance works, rather than works using a balletic language. Reasons cited included contemporary dance choreography allowed for 'more expressive movement and was used 'to highlight world issues' and also to explore 'real life situations, gave more freedom and enabled choreographers 'to provoke discomfort' (Students, RCS Workshop, 2022).

However, in discussion about the potential of creating in a balletic framework, a series of positive and negative concepts were highlighted and the students proposed that ballet offered a sense of structure and a codified language. They also recognised that ballet as an expressive art form has great potential for storytelling and that it is a dance style that offers the opportunity for wide audience engagement as it is arguably a familiar genre to many.

In contrast, some issues were raised concerning the restrictive potential of working in a balletic language as it potentially offers less freedom for creativity with physical actions and can be perceived as too traditional. The students also acknowledged that there are stricter ideals on the physical body aesthetics of a ballet dancer which inevitably appear to impact the choreographic choices when using a balletic language.

In order to understand their rationale for these opinions the workshop developed into a series of practical choreographic tasks that were designed to provoke a re-evaluation of their reasoning as to why they were not drawn to choreograph using a balletic language/structure. These tasks were also used as the framework for the series of workshops delivered at Rambert School of Ballet and Contemporary Dance, over a period of six weeks, with each workshop lasting ninety minutes, allowing for in depth discussion, debate and practical exploration.

Workshop Series – Rambert School of Ballet and Contemporary Dance June/ July 2022

In correlation with the longer workshop delivered in Glasgow, the series of weekly workshops at Rambert School were made accessible to all of the participants from the Glasgow experience via Zoom, and some of the dancers were able to engage with the workshop series to enhance their understanding. Seven students from across each year group at the school attended each workshop, and other students were invited to be dancers within the choreographic explorations, thus enabling the participants to focus on their role as the choreographer. The schedule of workshops (Fig 1.) shows the focus of each session in relation to ballet choreography.

7th June	Introduction - Balletic Language in Creative Practice
15th June	Narrative versus Abstract
21st June	Pointe Work with Julia Gleich
30th June	Music – Composition & Collaboration with Chris Benstead
5th July	Structure - Traditional/Contemporary (Pas de Deux/Pas de Quatre etc.)
12th July	Evaluation - Choreographic Trends

Figure1: Schedule of Workshop Series

Rambert School supported the project with studio space and time, and the Ballet Faculty were invited to attend the sessions. Recordings/documentation were disseminated to facilitate their engagement with the project, to support their day to day teaching practice.

Whilst the workshop series, led by myself, offered a plethora of starting points for discussion and creative experimentation, two of the workshops were led by guest practitioners in order to broaden the conversation and dialogue with specific areas, pointe work and music collaboration.

Julia Gleich: A Women Choreographers' Ambassador

On the 21st June 2022 American Choreographer and Dance Educator Julia Gleich was invited to speak with students via Zoom, about her role as an activist and ambassador for women ballet makers and her interest in pointe work. Gleich has been questioning the role and work of women ballet choreographers for many years. She has 'long issued an advisory to the code and conduct deemed proper by classical ballet—a form ruled historically by a patriarchy' (Gleich Dances Website). In order to amplify the impact of the patriarchy on the lack of women making ballet Gleich co-curated an annual platform 'CounterPointe'. This was for women choreographers to collaborate with women visual artists to create and share original ballet works with a focus on the use of the pointe shoe.

Gleich's dedication to making this platform internationally accessible and increasingly visible to a wider community of artists, dance critics and media has most certainly made an impact, and there is much to be grateful for, 'A lot of people have described it as life changing in terms of their artistic impetus' (Gleich 2022)

> **CounterPointe** is dedicated to presenting the latest experimental, innovative, risk-taking choreography that shows a depth of investment in ballet by women dance makers working with the pointe shoe. Investigating new and old territory the series highlights new work, opening up discussion, and creating a forum for women, young or old, emerging or established, to take risks. (Norte Maar Webpage. n.d.)

During the workshop with the students, Gleich's infectious sense of determination helped them to question the lack of work made by women choreographers and encouraged them to further engage in this debate. Gleich quoted author, Virginia Woolf to support her observations as to why women are arguably faced with multiple challenges within

an artistic environment, "a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction" (Woolf [1929] 1935). This emphasized how Gleich's feminist view point is arguably driven by the wider landscape of gaps in modern history where women are invisible or at least unwritten.

Having presented my choreographic work at three of Gleich's annual CounterPointe events in New York and London, the platform elevated my own choreographic work as a woman ballet choreographer to new audiences. My work pictured in *Fig.2 A Waulking Song* (2020) was created in collaboration with visual artist Anna Hymas to celebrate the waulking process[2] used in the Scottish Highlands when making tweed. Participating in each event ignited a strong sense of community amongst the women involved, encouraging in each female artist a renewed confidence that we are capable of making important, expressive and innovative ballet works.

The opportunity to create ballet works with other women artists enables a powerful collaborative experience drawing from a collective understanding of how women think, process and activate ideas. Gleich's CounterPointe platform has been a catalyst for several female ballet makers including Elisabeth Schilling and Jo Parkes.

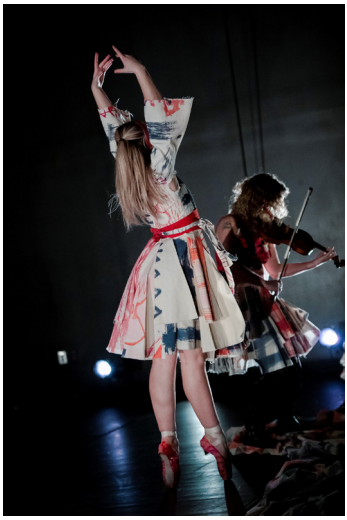

Figure 2: A Waulking Song (2020) Melissa Braithwaite and Anna Esselmont in performance at Counter Pointe 2020. Photographer: Jeremy Ward

The Art of Collaboration: Compositional Focus

Composer Christopher Benstead is a member of Rambert School's music faculty and accompanies ballet and contemporary classes using a hybrid approach with piano,

[2] Waulking is an alternative term for fulling woollen cloth, which is a traditional process used by women across the Scottish Highlands to cleanse the fabric from impurities.

voice and percussion. His expertise as a composer however, was most interesting to the participants of the workshop series where he shared his experience of over forty years' worth of choreographic collaborations composing more than 150 scores for full orchestra to chamber music, choral and ballet works. Having received commissions from Rambert, English National Ballet, London Contemporary Dance Theatre, Royal Danish Ballet, Gothenburg Ballet and many more, Benstead's work has an international reach (Villa 2020) and he is currently composing a new score for choreographer Robert North in Germany.

Whilst not a trained dancer, Benstead uses a physicality in his composition workshops that engages dancers with the kinesthetic qualities of music, alongside the audible aspect. Discussing his role within a collaborative process Benstead guided the dancers through a series of tasks, focusing on embodiment of tempo, rhythm and structural processes that are used in music making. He explained that listening to a wide range of music and engaging with a variety of styles is key to pursuing a career in composing for dance noting that

> the research usually constitutes continuing a dialogue with the choreographer/dance-maker, finding a common language, discovering a sound palette, a style – and often immersing oneself in writings (prose/poetry/biography), paintings, nature, theatre – whatever might seem relevant to the current project, thus allowing oneself to absorb different influences and then to find one's own individual voice. (Benstead, quoted in Villa, 2020: n.p.).

The final task required the dancers to listen to a piece of music, choose one of the instruments within the orchestration to follow and to conduct or move their arms to the pattern or flow of the music. This physical understanding is crucial to Benstead in its benefits to the collaborative process and how the music and dance must connect and appear in dialogue with each other. He recommends that composers take a dance class to truly understand the processes undertaken by dancers and choreographers.

The workshop led to an informed discussion about the similar gender gap found in music, particularly in composition and conducting. Whilst there are balanced numbers of men and women studying music, there is a gender imbalance in the music profession demonstrated by the demographic of women working as composers compared to their male contemporaries. Classical music has been dominated by male composers for hundreds of years, and yet as in Garofola's research, female composers are being discovered. Whilst their work has been largely unacknowledged there are many historical examples, such as the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Maddalena Casulana and Vittoria Aleotti, eighteenth-century Charlotte Bachmann, nineteenth-century Clara Schumann, Fanny Mendelssohn, and early twentieth-century Ethel Smyth. When working with Cathy Marston on her adaptation of *Jane Eyre* (2016) for Northern Ballet, composer Philip Feeney used melodies written by Fanny Mendelssohn (1805-1847), Felix Mendelsshon's sister, at Marston's request to demonstrate her influences as a female composer of the Romantic period.

Woman Made: The Future Choreographers Are Here!

The Research Project - Stage 2

Dance Scholarship Oxford (DANSOX) was founded in 2013 by Susan Jones, Fellow and Tutor in English Literature, St Hilda's College and University of Oxford. She was formerly soloist with Scottish Ballet. With patrons Dame Monica Mason and Sheila Forbes, and support from The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities (TORCH), DANSOX, was created to provide a platform for dance scholarship in Europe and has been significant in raising practice as research led dance projects and cultivating "dialogues between prominent academic disciplines and the worlds of dance theory and practice" (DANSOX Webpage n.d.). Based at St Hilda's College, Oxford, an annual Summer School provides dance scholars the opportunity to host a series of residencies, offering space and time to collaborate, investigate and disseminate their creative practice.

The culmination of the Workshop Series hosted by Rambert School and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland led to a five-day residency as part of the DANSOX 2022 summer school. Six dancers, three from each institution, participated in a week of lectures and workshops and were given time and space to begin a creative rehearsal process for their own work using balletic language as their medium. Curated by myself and hosted by Jones, we invited some highly experienced women choreographers, Kate Flatt, Susie Crow, Jennifer Jackson and Julia Gleich, to deliver practical workshops and seminars to lead the choreographic explorations and enable further discussion amongst the dance students.

The aim of the residency was:

> To encourage and support an open dialogue about the dearth of women choreographers making narrative ballets this research project will consider the creative process, the role of the woman choreographer and the specific working practices associated with balletic texts. (Norris, 2022:n.p.)

The opening Keynote Lecture was delivered by Gabriela Minden, from the University of Oxford with a focus on narrative, gesture and corporeal storytelling in a dramatic context. Minden facilitated a discussion with the dancers about the potential of collaboration between dancers and dramatists as she guided the participants through excerpts of a dramatic text. They were asked to perform their own interpretation of scenes and stage directions, using every day gestures, and creating dialogues from within the text, responding to the spoken word solely through movement. This was a challenging experiment but was a carefully informed way to commence the week of choreographic exploration that was to follow.

Over the next three days women choreographers from the world of ballet and theatre were invited to explore ideas and methods from their experiences to provoke and encourage originality and creativity amongst the participants. The practical workshops offered a safe space for criticality, experimentation and reflection, and challenged the participants to embody and engage with the medium of a balletic language as a movement vocabulary from which to create.

The following discussion articulates the choreographic style and interests of each of the women in relation to their creative processes. A brief biographical insight examines their position and work within the 'made by women' ballet canon, which is supported by an analysis of the intention, aims and objectives, and outcomes of the workshops they delivered as part of the practice-led research residency.

Movement Direction: Character and Narrative

The first choreographer to share a creative exploration into characterization at the residency was Kate Flatt. Flatt is a celebrated movement director and choreographer, who has been creating work in text-based film, dance, opera, and theatre for over forty years, notably on the original production of *Les Misérables* with the Royal Shakespeare Company. Her connection to ballet stems from her original training, and she led the choreographic studies of the upper school programme at The Royal Ballet School (2000-2019). In her book Flatt discusses her research into Louis XIV, and C. W. Beaumont' translation of *Le Maître à Danser* (1775) by French choreographer, Pierre Rameau (Flatt, 2022, p.93). Discussing the "certainty and correctness still to be found in the formal training studio etiquette of classical ballet" in relation to the fundamental requirements at court in the 18th century, devised by Louis XIV "how to advance, retreat, remove a hat, to bow and curtsey, hand movement and appropriate deportment" (Flatt, 2022: 45) it is clear that these elements are still an important part of the creative process.

Flatt comments upon 'A Dream Play' (2005) directed by Katie Mitchell at the National Theatre, London and details how ballet was used as the main language of the play;

> We examined the sensations found within the principles of classical ballet;
>
> · Verticality, by using an uplifted torso and spine
>
> · Line, symmetry, using extended arms reaching through the upper back to the fingertips
>
> · Elevation as nimble, springy, small jumps in a devised sequence
>
> · Balance achieved by how a dancer feels connection to the ground
>
> · Lightness, embracing both poise and grace
>
> (Flatt, 2022: 82)

As Flatt worked with the students during the workshop she embodied all of these elements, articulating the experience for the dancers physically and verbally, offering a series of imagery and possibility throughout. Flatt's workshops opened up an opportunity for her to "introduce ballet principles as a flexible framework for intervention…to find new ways of developing material and action, not from a choreographic or dance point of view but more from the movement director's perspective, and involving intention, circumstance etc" (Flatt, 2022).

Martha Tribe, a student of Rambert School, reflected on the workshop posing a series of self-directed questions / intentions from which to work creatively from in the future, including: "How would your character enter the space? How do they interact with others?" She also observed that there were opportunities to develop her work, critically examining her process and offering intentions such as aiming towards "clearly painting the scene/setting to become more convincing", considering how "it helps to go 'too far' to be able to test both extremes" and to, "think about the background of the character – Context matters!" (Tribe, 2022).

Tribe engaged with these workshops in relation to her choreographic work and her keen interest in narrative through literature. During the residency she created a dance centrally positioning the Charlotte Brontë novel, *Villette* (1853) as a stimulus, using three dancers to explore a site-specific environment in the conservatory of the Jacqueline du Pré Music Building. Entitled *Chapter 19 – The Cleopatra*, Tribe used music by Alexandre Desplat, and worked with Amy Groves and Felicity Chadwick to explore an encounter between the two main protagonists of the novel, Lucy Snowe and M. Paul Emanuel. Tribe created the scene with two women, dismissing the original gender of the characters, whilst exploring the directorial tools including slow motion walking shots and the use of symmetry as used by the film director Wes Anderson.

In the final sharing as sunlight streamed through the windows, the audience observed the dancers from outside viewing sculptures and paintings in the conservatory area. Tribe reflected on how she was interested in the relevance of space and the set, and the importance of directing the audience's gaze, questioning "how can you draw attention to a specific area of the space?" Whilst the creative process was engaging, it brought challenges to the emerging choreographers and feelings of fear, and meeting self-expectations became apparent especially in relation to translating ideas amongst the performers, Tribe noted challenges such as "choreographing pas de deux when not dancing – what is physically possible and what's not?" Her aim became clear in her reflection, as she sought to use space effectively, whilst figuring out if she was being too ambitious within the specific timeframe available. (Tribe, 2022).

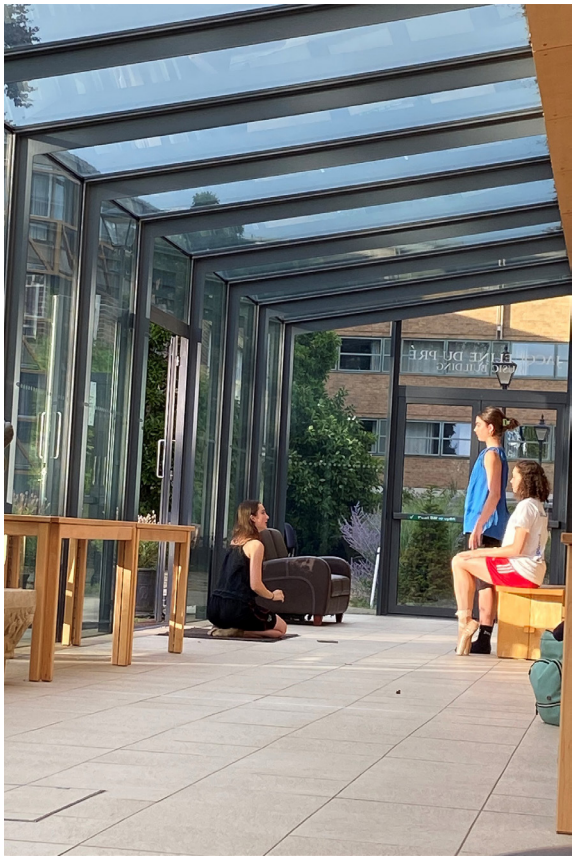

Figure 3: Martha Tribe choreographing with Amy Groves & Felicity Chadwick Jacqueline du Pré Building, Oxford (July, 2022) Photographer: Deborah Norris

En dedans and En dehors: From Class to Choreography

Jennifer Jackson is a former soloist with The Royal Ballet, lecturer at the University of Surrey, and choreography tutor at The Royal Ballet School. She was Artistic Director of London Studio Centre's *Images Ballet Company* and has choreographed for ballet companies and vocational schools. Her recent publication *Ballet: The Essential Guide to Technique and Creative Practice* (2021) has quickly become an essential resource for both teachers and students and has a focus on finding parallels between the technical aspects of the ballet class and choreography.

Jackson's writing and lecturing on ballet in diverse contexts raises questions around the placement of creativity in vocational ballet programmes:

> You may be on track for a successful career as a ballet dancer. Why study choreography? Can choreography be taught? You might be able to teach someone how to write a dance but does that make a choreographer? And many people say, 'choreographers are born, not made.' … A course of study will not 'produce' a choreographer…but we can explore aspects of choreographic craft…we can stimulate creative thinking and action around the elements, nurture confidence in the dance artists' creativity and provoke questions…
>
> (Jackson, 2021p.156)

Jackson studied with ballet master Roger Tully for many years acknowledging how his approach and methods have informed her understanding of the balletic language. The concept of centering, and working inwards and outwards, towards and away from the spine, is essential in the weight placement and framing of the space around the body within classical ballet. Jackson proposes that "the principles of *en place* [in place]*, en dehors* [outwards]*, en dedans* [inwards] describe actual physical shape and movement as well as inferring sensibility and psychological states" (Jackson, 2022).

As part of the workshop Jackson invited musician/composer Patrick Wood to provide a soundscape for the dancers to work with. For Jackson, "The particular music/dance relationship is fundamental to ballet creation. I have found that approaches from contemporary dance practice (e.g. working in silence, juxtaposition, random mixed tapes) have helped me open up the dynamic of balletic movement/shape itself and working in the way can lead to insight and surprising, often delightful, outcomes" (Jackson, 2022).

The dancers' individual sketches of created movement, drawing material from the ballet class, were then performed with improvisations by Wood, on piano and guitar. They were challenged to find dynamic responses, shifts, or highlights in their performance in response to his accompaniment. Participant Olivia Hunter, from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, experienced a range of responses and reflected on her choices in the moment:

- Music versus silence: More use of potential expansion and presentation, with presence of self-rhythm.
- Expression through use of repetition: Difference between piano and guitar texture
- Rhythmic / Dynamic clarity: Clarity of breath with the music

(Hunter, 2022)

Music and Movement: A Class Improvisation

Susie Crow performed as a soloist with The Royal Ballet and Sadlers Wells Ballet for over twelve years and has since choreographed numerous works internationally, including *FIBBA* (2000) for the National Youth Ballet and *Black Maria* (2007) Her company *Ballet in Small Spaces* "makes and presents ballet-based works for small and unconventional spaces in response to its local environment" (Ballet in Small Spaces Webpage n.d.).

Figure 4: Susie Crow takes class with dancers, Felicity Chadwick, Elizabeth Ortega, Amy Groves, Rose Barford, and Olivia Hunter in the Jacqueline du Pré Music Building, St Hilda's College (July 2022) Photographer: Deborah Norris

> Discussing her aims for the workshop in Oxford, Crow reflected on how ballet class material has a "communicative potential as a resource for choreography" (Crow, 2022). A concept that coincidently found a parallel in each workshop, Crow's encouragement for the dancers to use class not only as a place for technical progress, "but as an opportunity to start to explore how those skills and that knowledge may be used to creative and expressive ends" (Crow, 2022).

Participant Elizabeth Ortega reflected on the similarities between Jackson and Crow's creativity workshops in response to the classical codification of steps and expressive creativity:

> Three movement principles that we explored creatively were en dehor, en dedan and en face. We then improvised and created material using the idea of these concepts applied in movement in various body parts whilst applying these three concepts simultaneously. This heightened my awareness to my kinesphere, as well as thinking about the use of spirals. A common theme explores across the improvisations creation process was the idea of finding nuances in movement in form and structure.
>
> (Ortega, 2022)

Considering the choreographic ideas discussed in earlier workshops it was of great interest to the dancers to explore concepts that were so specific to the balletic language and creativity. The notion that ballet could be created from the conventions of the ballet class has been at the heart of research by both Jackson and Crow and is arguably essential for emerging ballet choreographers to draw from the wealth of codified material whilst acknowledging the form as a creative medium.

Critical Activism from a Balletic Viewpoint

Gleich and her longtime collaborator, Molly Faulkner re-joined the discussion exercising their thoughts on the role of women choreographers as activists. They focused on their co-authored chapter (Faulkner & Gleich 2021 p. 29) that is "a seven-point manifesto of inclusion that considers the nature of the female ballet canon, illustrated through examples of creators, both past and present, addressing the pitfalls of tradition and the seemingly radical notion of inclusion". They question "if the large ballet institutions continually omit non-male choreographers from their regular programming, could/should there be canons of works by female choreographers and would they be examples of inclusion or isolation?" (Faulkner & Gleich, 2021: 29). In dialogue with the dancers this question acknowledged their own experiences in relation to gender-bias within creative processes, guest choreographers, and repertory projects and there was a positive response by participants to this proposal to elevate and position the work of female choreographers more significantly within their own canon of work.

Whilst all this dialogue evidences the consideration of the role and position of women choreographers within academic research and investigation it is important to note the lack of awareness of this issue amongst current dance students. Initial questions at the start of this research project demonstrated that most were not aware that there was a problem, or had even thought about the gender imbalance within the creative industries as a whole:

> I had recognized patterns in leadership, especially historically, of the male leadership figure. Growing up most of my teachers were women and my directors has always been too, therefore I had never felt a barrier towards a leadership role in the dance industry… Since I had never been a part of discussions where a choreographer career had been an option for me, nor did I see many women as large scale choreographers, I think I had subconsciously exiled this as a possibility in the near future; that I would need to succeed in a career as a dancer before I could consider choreographic work.
>
> (Devine, 2021)

Women Making Waves: Reflections for the Future

The current landscape for women making ballet is changing very slowly, but there are definite shifts and patterns emerging within ballet's global picture. Whilst individual artists are receiving regular commissions from companies of all sizes, there is notably more conversation and interest in the actual cause, which in turn is helping to increase the visibility, and necessity to engage with more women choreographers internationally.

As the quantitative data gathered by the American-based organisation Dance Data Project demonstrates, a gender imbalance is still prevalent amongst the directors and choreographers engaged by ballet companies across the US. However it also identifies the progress that is being made, albeit slowly as it emerges that there is shared a responsibility from ballet training programmes and faculty members to ensure that future women choreographers are prepared, confident and empowered to be able to fight through the glass ceiling, at whatever height it may be in the future (Dance Data Project, 2022).

Considering the wider landscape being examined by the Dance Data Project it is timely to acknowledge the impact of the decision made by leaders both professionally and within educational settings that are limiting the opportunities and learning for women ballet chorographers. The motivation for this research arose within an educational context, and the outcomes demonstrate that there is room for supporting female students' balletic choreographic work with renewed investment. Acknowledging Rambert and De Valois' mission to nurture creativity, it is perhaps a timely opportunity for a revised approach to teaching choreographic practices through a balletic lens in dance conservatoires with a more invested focus on women graduating with the knowledge and practical skills to create ballet in both abstract and narrative forms. Noting the frequent guest ballet choreographers employed in conservatoires to make new work for student performances, is there potential for choreographic residencies to include mentoring or assistant opportunities for students to be more closely involved in the creative process from an external position, rather than as a performer within the work? Can choreography modules be designed with a focus on using and adapting the balletic language and structuring ballet? For example, The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

offers a collaborative module for students from the BA Modern Ballet programme to choreograph ballet work with piano students from the music programme. Innovative inter-disciplinary modules such as this inevitably broaden creative understanding and give students practical opportunities for research and exploration enabling them to develop a choreographic practice.

When asked to reflect on their understanding and position within this landscape participants from the Women-Made research project articulated their thoughts:

> It is sad that there are not a lot of women ballet choreographers, but that also means that there is a lot of room to insert myself in there as well (Arizmendi, 2022).
>
> There is a need for wider debate as to what extent ballet is gendered, whether and how female ballet choreographers bring inherently different perspectives to the use and presentation of balletic material, and to challenge norms which have traditionally been set by predominantly male directors and choreographers (Crow, 2022).
>
> By making ballet more accessible as a creative medium, less controlled by rules and expectations of ballet vocabulary and its established order. Also, to understand its components and gifts as a language to manipulate and shape to expressive ends (Flatt, 2022).
>
> I quickly became aware of this small yet highly knowledgeable and passionate community that promotes women's ballet choreography. The space gave me confidence to feel like I had something to offer in the ballet space (Tribe, 2022).

An apparently invaluable research project, the opportunity for emerging choreographers to be emboldened by the experience and knowledge of women makers is inspiring. The current canon of work by female ballet choreographers is significantly smaller than that created by male contemporaries, however there is definitely a growing awareness, which gives hope that perhaps a new generation can by further informed and prepared to establish their choreographic voice within ballet's challenging environment. The women who have been working in this field for some years are essential to this shift, and the residency demonstrated the importance of conversation, sharing lived experience and opportunities for choreographic exploration to ensure this awareness becomes an active response and resolve to re-address the gender balance amongst ballet choreographers in the future.

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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

Snow White in Early 21 st c. Dance Performances: Subverting Fairy-tale Female Models

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Abstract

Fairy-tales are usually initiatory stories, serving as auxiliaries when crossing important stages in life or as foundation for moral reflection. Some convey images which are upsetting even disturbing for the modern era with regard to the status of women. This is even more evident today since that status has improved over time, evolving from a situation of dominance to a progressive conquest of women's freedom and rights. In the light of this, fairy-tales can be a testimony of past times while their adaptations in the 21st century can be evidence of occurring changes. Writing in 1958, modern dance pioneer, and choreographer Doris Humphrey in *The Art of Making Dances* compares dance to Sleeping Beauty pointing out that, like Aurora, it needs to wake up, renounce the role of the delicate princess and present to the world its independent, passionate nature. Seemingly following her advice, contemporary choreographers stage fairy-tales subverting female roles that have become role models for generations of girls (and boys). Through four choreographic adaptations of brothers Grimm's fairy-tale *Snow White* by Angelin Preljocaj, Laura Scozzi, Liv Lorent and hip-hop crew Addict Initiative, this article studies the modernisation of archetypical female figures in the tale under the prism of intersectional feminism and gender: princess, mother, villain and (as it happens) mirror. It aims at examining each choreographers' approach; evaluating staging and narrative choices through a specific lens while avoiding reductionism; pinpointing the stereotypes and received ideas and denouncing how dance and/or the performing body serves as means or opportunity for a discourse on hegemonic conceptions of sexuality, femininity and gender.

Keywords

Snow White, Dance, Intersectional Feminism, Fairy-Tales, Contemporary Dance

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Introduction

Initially told and written by adults for adults, fairy-tales are initiatory stories, serving as auxiliaries when crossing important stages in one's life or as a foundation for moral reflection. However, as a form of literature for adults, and studied under the prism of intersectional feminism and gender, some versions of fairy-tales perpetuate stereotypical perceptions of women or convey images which are upsetting, even disturbing in the modern era with regard to women's status. This is even more evident today since that status has improved over time and has evolved from a situation of dominance to a progressive conquest of women's freedom and rights. German brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's 'The Tale of Little Snow-White' (story n°53, published in Grimm's collection of German and European folk tales and popularized stories in 1812 under the title *Grimm's Fairy Tales*) or simply *Snow White* (as we know it from the 1857 version) can be a characteristic example to be discussed in that context. In fact, the 19th century story can be a testimony of past times whereas its choreographic adaptations and rewritings in the 21st century as well as their recurrence can be evidence of occurring changes.

In 2008, Angelin Preljocaj placed the stepmother at the heart of his staging of *Blanche Neige* (*Snow White*) to question the figure of the (female) villain who, driven by her narcissistic nature, is not willing to give up on seduction; he focused on what bodies, energies and space say. In 2014, the dance crew Addict Initiative presented a short and extremely condensed adaptation of *Snow White* for the television show *Britain's Got Talent*, casting a powerful Snow White who does not hesitate to kill the evil stepmother herself, who refuses to be a victim. Also in 2014, Laura Scozzi creates *Barbe-Neige et les sept petits cochons au bois-dormant* (*Snow-Beard and the seven little pigs in the sleeping-forest*) parodying well-known fairy-tales to denounce received ideas on women's position and life purposes, strict Catholicism, the idealisation of physical appearance and the myth of the all-powerful male perpetuated through them. In 2015, Liv Lorent staged the 1812 Brothers Grimm's version of the fairy-tale to comment on dysfunctional mother-daughter relations and excessive female vanity.

This article studies the modernisation of archetypical female figures in the tale – the princess, the mother, the villain and, as it happens, the mirror[1] – under the prism of intersectional feminism and gender. Its aim is to address the following questions raised by these performances: Are 21st century dance adaptations of traditional (fairy-)tales indicators of evolution and changes in mentality regarding female identities, women's emancipation and status or, on the contrary, remain a vector of patriarchal values? To what extent are fairy-tales able to free themselves from stereotypes and hold a poststructuralist gender-neutral discourse on sexuality, femininity and gender? In this

[1] Henceforth, a capital letter will be used for the personification of the mirror to distinguish the role from the object; she/her pronouns will be used when referring to the dancer that embodies it.

context, how does dance reflect these issues through the performing body, how does it illustrate them and what story – of women, of femininity – does it tell?

Theoretical background

According to historian Lucy Delap (2020) feminism can be considered as "the most ambitious of political movements"; she also points out that its evolution was a succession of 'waves' spread out in almost seven decades. However, feminism is also a philosophical movement claiming political, cultural, juridical, economic and social equity between men and women both in the private and public sector. As early as the 1980s researchers and scholars in gender studies and sociology pointed out that the main three systems of oppression - race, class and gender - may interact as well with other power relations and inequalities, introducing the notion of intersectionality to gender studies. Sociologist Mary Romero affirms that

> As an activist project, intersectionality provides analytical tools for framing social justice issues in such a way as to expose how social exclusion or privilege occurs differently in various social positions, and it does this by focusing on the interactions of multiple systems of oppression […] It also helps us to understand privilege (Romero, 2018: 1).

In 2014, civil rights advocate and scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (2023) used the term to explain that it is impossible to study or examine inequalities in only one field of research, for example feminism, since the experience is not the same for white and non-white women. By extension, race and gender power relations should also be taken under consideration when talking about social inequalities and therefore an intersectional approach is key to the study and understanding of such inequalities. As such, intersectionality is a study tool that describes inclusivity, highlighting the complexity deriving from various power relations and the necessity of addressing discriminations (racism, sexism, ageism, etc.) as a whole rather than separately. In other words, intersectionality serves to fight against inequalities within inequalities. Intersectional feminism takes into account the various and variable ways each woman experiences inequalities and discrimination, transcending or intertwining race, class and sexual orientation, thus examining feminism through a broader, more inclusive lens where these factors overlap or concur. The intersectional dimension is also a way to overcome a strict, short sighted or monolithic feminist approach that goes beyond the disagreements that feminists may have within the movement. In view of the above, it would seem more accurate to examine gender relations in fairy-tales under the prism of intersectional feminism interpreting them as stories for adults. Gender relations in fairy-tales are mainly viewed in binary terms or opposing dualities favouring positive stereotypes (good, beautiful, smart etc.) (Rettl, 2001), whereas this article will favour a poststructuralist view of those relations as being fluid, multiple, and produced through contextual intersections. In other words, the article establishes that despite the fact that

in fairy-tales gender relations matter, in modern rewritings or representations of fairy-tales gender relations become irrelevant through the female characters' empowerment.

Data and Methodology

This research is approached through the prism of gender and in particular the intersectional dimension of feminism as applied to dance performances. The approach involved the viewing and analysis of the four performances followed by the interpretation of various observations in order to pinpoint the different ways in which the modernization of fairy-tales in dance raises and answers gender issues and to catalogue the axis that are most recurrent in the choreographers' works. The analysis also establishes how dance and body movement in general reflects those issues (sexuality, class, ethnicity). Observations included the context of the performances at large as well as the context of specific scenes, and technical elements such as set and costume design, or music. The focus is not only on the visual elements but also on the dancers, their placement, gestures, and other aspects of interaction between them associated with gender power relations and feminism.

Empirical Results

The Princess

If studied according to contemporary standards and perceptions, the image of the princess in fairy-tales is gendered or even sexualized: she is a young, beautiful, desirable woman who does not have to do anything to be chosen by the prince, and can only identify or fulfil herself through him. In addition, she is a damsel in distress and therefore considered fragile and weak. In the same context, the story of Snow White can be interpreted as a girl's coming of age process, a woman's social, psychological and sexual maturity, in other words, an initiatory process. However, since the 1980s, choreographers have been diverting from the original female models of fairy-tales, adapting them to the modern era to convey messages and denounce stereotypes through their choreography and staging. In fact, modern princesses go against the model of the housewife and her reproductive role promoted since antiquity[2].

In 2008, Angelin Preljocaj's *Blanche Neige* premiered at the Lyon Dance Biennale, transcending the legend of Snow White to illustrate the story in a gothic choreographic universe, focusing on what bodies, energies and space say and reminding the audience of the fairy-tale's initiatory character. Although the creator mainly retells the Grimm's version by maintaining the Evil Queen's punishment, he modernises the well-known, child-friendly Disney version of the tale. Fashion designer Jean-Paul Gauthier chooses white for Snow White's costume which certainly rehashes the stereotype relating

[2] Aristotle is one of the first to mention the weakness of the female gender. His account of "female nature" emphasises on what females cannot do, going as far as to compare them to animals to deduce their inferiority. (Aristotle, 2021[1912]).

the colour to innocence, chastity and/or virginity. The costume's design, a plunging neckline, sexy, Grecian type dress sewn on a leotard which leaves her hips bare, obviously breaks the conventions and hints to a more sensual princess. Moreover, the choreographer opts for an Asian dancer thus non-conforming to norms related to Snow White's ethnicity that usually depict her as a white female. In order to highlight Snow White's coming of age, Preljocaj illustrates her physical growth: as a baby, in her father's arms, she disappears behind a wall at the back of the stage on the left side and comes out on the right (alone) as a young girl, only to disappear again pirouetting in the opposite direction to come out as a young woman. Then, the audience witnesses the awakening of her sexuality during the reception at the palace, expressed by the innocent flirtation with the prince (also a non-white dancer) and underlined by the red scarf that he offers her. However, Preljocaj's Snow White does not hesitate to choose her prince among the suitors present, timidly walking amongst them and shaking her head in disagreement until she finds "the one". The narrative hints at an emancipated young woman who contrary to her docile equivalent in the original tale has the courage (and the right) to assert her opinion. She is the one that initiates the game of seduction with the prince by dancing in front and around him, only once touching him by sliding her hand lightly from his face all the way down to his torso. She bows before him in invitation, then playfully escapes with a light hop when he takes her hand, until they finally engage in a *pas-de-deux* consisting of identical movements of the dancers either facing or parallel to each other and rarely touching, mostly during lifts. Her naughty and mischievous behaviour while interacting with the creatures during the sensual forest scene (playing with the above mentioned scarf as if playing with her sexuality) as well as the more intimate embraces with the prince throughout a routine repeated twice, with and without music, confirm her physical and sexual coming of age. Finally, an apple scene between Snow White and the Evil Queen establishes this maturity since the fruit is considered a symbol of the transition to adult sexuality. In view of this, Preljocaj's Snow White is closer to the 21st century perception of modern young women clearly breaking from the 19th century stereotypical female model.

In 2014, choreographer and ethnologist Laura Scozzi created *Barbe-Neige et les sept petits cochons au bois-dormant*, a commission for the Festival Suresnes Cités Danse. The creator adapted well-known fairy-tales in a one-tells-all story which questions the traditional sociocultural models they impose, the codes they inculcate and their absence of perspective to denounce stereotypes and long-standing ideologies about gender identity and (female) gender performance. Opting for a Disney-like universe and mainly pink cartoonish set designs, stage objects and props, Scozzi's dance-theatre adaptation parodies fairy-tale characters pointing out their obsolescence and denouncing biased, male-gaze storytelling. Through caricatured stupid, wicked, sexy and likely to fail male and female characters she addresses their stereotypic perception as well as the ambient sexism of fairy-tales. The choreographer states in her note of intention:

> I wanted to assassinate the 'imposed' blueprint of romantic encounters, the worshipping of beauty, the moralising good that offers up examples of obsolete Catholic virtues and, above all, the supreme myth of the Prince Charming in every fairy tale destined for young girls. […] I wanted to subvert the myths, dissect the characters, distort the key actions, and massacre the imagery of Walt Disney mass culture (Scozzi, quoted in *numeridanse.tv*, 2014).

In Scozzi's retelling of *Snow White* the subversion is flagrant, breaking both ethnicity and gender conventions: the choreographer reverses the roles by using one (non-)dwarf and seven Snow White(s), three of whom are non-white and three male. The seven protagonists are grotesque replicas of the now stereotypical Disney representation of the princess, all wearing identical costumes, that is, the identifiable blue and yellow dress with the short red cape and red bow on their head. Achieving an almost identical physical appearance for both female and male dancers leads to subverting gender performance stereotypes that ultimately replaces the male providers of the tale with female ones. This is further accentuated through the choreography which alternates between feminine and masculine short routines. For example, the seven Snow White(s) enter the stage in little hops (forward takeoff with a knee-bend while the other leg kicks back stretched), holding their skirts and squealing as little girls would; then, holding axes in their hands, they perform what vaguely resembles a hip-hop version of a *haka* dance (a traditional Māori ceremonial dance which in its sports form aims to intimidate the adversary)[3]: it consists of a series of energetic jumps close to the floor landing on spread legs or on one knee, accompanied by aggressive war cries and offensive arms movements resembling an attack. Throwing the axes in the air they run away with high-pitched yells to avoid being hit. Picking up their axes and throwing them over their shoulders while skipping and giggling, they leave the stage as they entered, seemingly heading off to work. Furthermore, they are depicted as seven hysterical nymphomaniacs that sexually harass their (non-)dwarf counterpart. In one instance they chase him while taking off their clothes piece by piece to reveal attire associated with 'pinup' photographs, high waist shorts and push-up bra; luring or pulling him seductively in the roughly illustrated pink house (resembling a child's sketch) where garments start to fly over its roof before he runs out exhausted and terrified. They also harass him verbally when they aggressively give him orders or when one of them dismissively sends him to fetch a beer. Scozzi's choice to reverse the roles is doubly significant: on one hand, it clearly indicates that a modern Snow White would not be a housewife but a working woman who is able to provide for the household and do physical labour as well as a man. On the other hand, the macho-man model is denounced while implying that although women might be as competent as men, they can also have the same flaws. In this sense, this is a feminist yet non-radical and rather refreshing observation that is not often alluded to in feminist discourse,

[3] For more on the significance and history of the dance see Jackson, S. J., Scherer J., & Héasm S. (2007). https://www.cairn.info/revue-corps-dilecta-2007-1-page-43.htm [Accessed 10 January 2023].

namely radical feminist ideology which opposes men and women in a decisive way.

The choreography further confirms Scozzi's non-discriminative, inclusive approach. While it uses a classical music score by Niccolò Paganini, it does not hesitate to dip into all sorts of dance techniques as the performers mix elements of hip-hop, breakdance, ballroom dance and voguing with classical ballet in pointe shoes and contemporary dance, as well as with mime and theatre to create an iconoclastic show. Using scathing yet intelligent humour, Scozzi choreographs an ode to tolerance which, although sometimes seems superficial, transcends origins and genders, beyond Bruno Bettelheim's (2003) psychoanalytic interpretation of fairy-tales. As an ethnologist, Scozzi also seizes the opportunity to point out that fairy-tales have had a negative effect on women's identity:

> All these influences have, in my mind, led generations of women to identity issues, to the inexorable and interminable wait for a day that will never come, to the confrontation of the impossibility of this dream and, finally, the difficult acceptance of compromise in the face of daily life (Scozzi quoted in *numeridanse.tv*, 2014).

Scozzi's realistic retelling of the fairy-tale is a sharp look at society and time at the turn of the 21st century where things do not always end well. The final scenes of the performance make that abundantly clear, namely through the reversing of roles: Snow White acts as a macho-man lying on a couch and asking for a beer while the (non-)dwarf cooks and cleans. However, Scozzi emphasizes the fact that women today are part of a generation determined to renounce or subvert the story they have been told before going to sleep, women who know how to defend themselves, choose to make fun of their so-called Prince Charming and marry the dwarf instead. Through her feminist approach to the fairy-tales, Scozzi seeks to reverse or completely rewrite them. She then puts them to the test through urban dance and modern scrutiny to break the moralizing impulses of known stories in order to bend the rules and denounce long-standing ideologies and perceptions of gender performance.

Also in 2014, the horror themed hip-hop crew Addict Initiative presented a short and extremely condensed, concise and revised adaptation of *Snow White* in one minute and forty five seconds for the televised talent competition show *Britain's Got Talent* (created in 2007 by entrepreneur and Sony Music executive Simon Cowell). They cast an emancipated, powerful Snow White who does not hesitate to confront the evil stepmother herself and refuses to be a victim. Although Snow White is female and her physical appearance is intentionally a copy of the sweet Disney princess using the same trademark dress and hairstyle, the heroine is far from gullible, nice and tender: she is a fighter. When the Evil Queen demands her heart, she shouts "never", affirming herself by standing tall, legs spread, torso pushed up, arms stretched parallel to her body and hand fisted, indicating she is ready to fight. She immediately calls

for help after the Evil Queen's demand and as soon as her peers arrive (there are no dwarves in this version), a confrontation similar to the dance-off battles in hip-hop crew competitions ensues. Snow White and the Evil Queen engage in a simulation of hand-to-hand combat in which the former finally prevails, grabs the Evil Queen by the back of the neck and forces her to submit before throwing her on the ground declaring "it's over". The public (and the judges) are struck not only by the variety, speed and precision of the movements and the absolute synchronisation of the twenty-six dancers onstage moving as two opposing groups, but also by the energy, violence and aggression released that infects the (clamouring) audience. However, if the battle scene is a clear illustration of a Good vs. Evil confrontation, the crew's version of the fairy-tale reveals a deeper reflection on contemporary power relationships. On the one hand, the allusion to women's empowerment and freedom from patriarchal restrictions or sexual objectification is obvious since there is no prince in this retelling of the story and Snow White not only fights her own battle but appears as the leader of her own gang/crew. Indeed, Addict Initiative's version focuses on the female protagonists as it highlights Snow White, claiming her right and asserting her power over the Evil Queen. On the other hand, a second reading in the performance suggests that this short battle scene also denounces the recurrent issue of bullying and points out a more effective way to resistance: asking for help. Thus Addict Initiative not only addresses the problem but also gives an alternative to solving conflicts through dance, using a very effective paradox: promoting non-violence through the depiction of a violent battle.

In 2015, Liv Lorent and her company balletLORENT's *Snow White* modernized the fairy-tale, based on the 1812 Brothers Grimm's version to comment on dysfunctional mother-daughter relations, excessive female vanity and social class inequalities. *Snow White* is the second tale of a broader artistic program on fairy-tales which premiered in Newcastle (home of the company) including *Rapunzel* (2012), *Snow White* (2015), *Rumpelstiltskin* (2017), and a new tale by Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy *The Lost Happy Endings* (2019). The original tales were rewritten by Duffy and all the performances included in their cast a group of children selected through castings in each community where the balletLORENT toured. Lorent walks the thin line between fantasy and reality, keeping the magical elements of the story like the magic mirror which she personifies and the true love's kiss that awakens the princess. She replaces the dwarves with a group of mine workers; the public is informed by a narrator[4] that the Head Miner also acts like the queen's Huntsman. The choreographer modifies the prince's role and makes him a trophy husband that the queen aspires to marry without success. In fact, the superficial young prince's open interest in the young Snow White instead of his betrothed becomes the reason and at the same time explains why the queen turns into

[4] The fairy tale is narrated by Olivier and Tony Award winning actress Lindsay Duncan (recorded voice). Duncan's authoritative and dry although compelling voice brings out both the cruelty and the compassion of the story. Her final sinister words leave the audience in suspense and maybe a little fear: "and so they all lived quite beautifully ever after…pretty much…".

a villain. Female characters are therefore established from the start as independent, power holding women: the queen rules after the sudden death of her husband and decides to remarry, choosing her own consort. On the contrary, male characters are presented either as servants, auxiliaries and mere workers or as superficial young men preoccupied with marriage and beauty. Standardised heteronormative perceptions are thus reversed related to women and men's sociocultural conditions and behaviour.

The heroine's appearance is stereotypical to comply with the voiceover narration of the Grimm's tale, stating clearly that "the queen had her wish. A little daughter who was as white as snow, with lips as red as blood and hair as black as ebony"[5]. As in Preljocaj's ballet the three stages to adulthood are emphasised. Snow White's growing up is centred on the main set piece designed by Phil Eddolls. The compact set is a three-faceted rotating structure possibly alluding to the importance of the mirror in the tale, and this version in particular, with lines that recall the Gothic elements of the original story. The structure starts as a huge vanity or dressing table with a set of drawers on each side that serves also as the royal palace and bedroom; it turns to become the enchanted forest retreat or reveal the home of the mine workers. Seven-year old Snow White rises from one of the right side drawers to briefly interact with her mother playing at catching an apple from her hands. The queen continuously deprives Snow White of it during the game which might refer either to the mother protecting her daughter's innocence or (befittingly) preventing her from discovering her sexuality (in accordance with the apple's symbolism). The older Snow White, dressed in a simple white mid-length dress, rises from one of the left side drawers and continues to play the apple game with her mother although it is noticeable that the mother still will not allow her to bite into the fruit. At the same time, the narrator informs the audience that the queen taught Snow White "to love pretty things and to learn how to look gorgeous at all times […] perfect, pretty, pouty", stressing out the queen's excessive vanity that will turn her to a villain. The allusion to the princess' passage to adult sexuality is illustrated by a large red ribbon that she candidly attaches around her waist at the end of her duet with the queen. Lorent's *Snow White* depicts an emancipated heroine who not only chooses herself her happy ending but instead of the prince she marries the queen's Huntsman doubling as the Head Miner. This choice is at the same time a tribute to romantic love (Snow White still falls in love with her saviour) and a denunciation of social class discrimination. By deciding to marry a man of a lower social status, that is, an ordinary manservant to the palace, Snow White goes against societal norms dictating one's choice of consort, highlighting the fact that such categorizations and imperatives are obsolete and not applicable in the 21st century.

[5] All quotations from the dance's text are drawn from a transcription of the narration.

The Mother

In fairy-tales, the figure of the mother often serves as a channel for crossing cultural boundaries by addressing social and generational issues relating to parenthood and, by extension, the fine line between filial adoration and resentment. In this context, the tale of *Snow White* can be viewed as a reflection or an illustration of the stepmother-daughter or the mother-daughter relationship in the case of the 1812 version of the story.

In Preljocaj's ballet, the heroine's mother is an unconventional, eerie character; she enters stumbling on the smoke covered stage dressed in total black and her face is veiled by lace that does not allow the audience to distinguish her features or her facial expressions. The ghostly, sinister figure would be more suitable to a personification of death if she was not holding her protruding belly. After the apple scene, she literally flies down towards her daughter, takes her in her arms and completely reversing her body as she is pulled up, she lifts Snow White with her while maintaining their upper body contact. Holding the position, she descends again, places her daughter back on the floor softly and flies away. The slow movements that initially appear ominous lead to a tender caring embrace that turn the mother into a dark yet divine protector when she obviously decides against lifting Snow White to her death. At the same time, as with all female protagonists in this ballet, the mother's sensuality is accentuated. This happens twice during the introductory scene while giving birth to Snow White and when she dies; a third time, when she comes to Snow White's rescue after the latter has bitten the poisonous apple. Her costume is composed of materials that conventionally have a sexual innuendo: high heels, lace, netting, and tulle. Her mysterious, forbidding attitude, her concealed face and her slow moves make her appear like an unattainable sexual fantasy since when she walks, crawls or rolls on the floor, when she flies and even in her death posture her bare legs, thigh and hip are revealed. In other words, the choreographer replaces the stereotypical image of the mother as a luminous, smiling dedicated housewife by an equally caring and devoted yet utterly obscure one. In addition, by painting her as a sensual woman he suggests that her role as a mother does not imply she ceases to be a desirable almost idealised lover. He thus breaks from patriarchal perceptions of the wife as a means of reproduction and the mother as a carer and household manager.

BalletLORENT's rewriting focuses on the mother-daughter relationship, and on the mother as the villain. Duffy adds more details to the narrative: Snow White's father dies shortly after she is born and when her mother decides to remarry, the potential husband's clear preference for Snow White triggers the mother's jealousy, bringing to the surface her dark, maleficent side. The queen is depicted as a vain woman, preoccupied only by her beauty and her well-being, and using everyone around her to ensure that she lives in luxury (a casually mentioned detail with a clear socio-political

connotation on the exploitation of workers). The mother/queen's frivolous nature and her gradual addiction to physical appearance are accentuated as she teaches her 'values' to Snow White via a mother-daughter duo where dancers play with hand mirrors. They use identical gestures: they place the mirrors between their big and second toe, stretch their legs in a *developpé*, then bend the leg at knee height behind them while still looking into it as if to change the perspective. When asked about the main theme being the loss of beauty Lorent replied affirmatively and explained:

> That comes from my training in dance, as with most dancers, which was based on comparing your own body with someone else's and ultimately being a failure due to the loss of beauty, like in *Snow White* (Lorent quoted in Jevons, 2016).

The mother's gradual loss of beauty and youth is inversely proportional to her relationship to Snow White which becomes progressively dysfunctional and the audience witnesses the initial tenderness between mother and daughter degrading through their dance. Initially, in the mother-daughter duet, the dancers' intertwined bodies interact with liquid fluidity and convincing affection. However, although balletLORENT's *Snow White* reveals the importance of inner beauty and forgiveness[6] it also addresses the issue of competition. The mother loves her little girl until she jeopardises her status as the 'fairest of all' and creates a feeling of jealousy. As is clear in the episode with the young king, Snow White's sexuality is eclipsing the queen's: the king dances a few steps of a box-waltz with the queen, but every time she approaches him, he turns on his heels putting distance between them; he then reaches Snow White who escapes his embrace with a pirouette and brings him back to her mother. The change is also reflected in the mother-daughter dance or lack thereof: after the Mirror's unpleasant reply, the mother clearly distances herself from the daughter and practically avoids her touch, never interacting with her again until the end of the story. However, it would seem that although the figure of the mother carries cultural expectations of domestication through marriage and motherhood, the fact that the mother takes charge of the entire kingdom at the death of the king (father) promotes an empowered female model. In addition, the narrator specifies that she makes the decision to remarry and chooses her future husband (as Preljocaj's Snow White chooses her suitor) implying that her decision was a result of her vanity and her need to feel desirable and not dictated by cultural expectations of marriage or the need to be protected and cared for by a man. This twist in the narrative is indicative of the evolution of the female model becoming self-sufficient and no longer dependent on the male. Duffy's and by extension Lorent's approach can be viewed as feminist, and the mother's narcissistic features can be interpreted as those of a modern self-confident woman, and therefore, positive since in the 21st century, a woman who takes care of herself and her appearance is no longer reprehensible.

[6] In this version the villain does not die dancing. The Mirror shows her she was wrong and, horrified, she repents. The narrator informs us later that "Snow White said she loved and forgave her mother [because] she had found love where she had least had hoped for" meaning the lower-class Huntsman.

The Villain

In fairy-tales villains are (unsurprisingly) mostly female, old and monstrous; they physically and morally abuse the persons in their charge by being vindictive and condescending. Preljocaj places the stepmother at the heart of his staging to subvert the figure of the (female) villain. Certainly, the Evil Queen's imposing and aggressive entry on stage illustrates her meanness but also reflects her social status as a queen and justifies her provocative attitude. Furthermore, Gaultier's costume underlines her sensuality: a black and red dress with leather details and a train, fitted mid-thigh high heeled boots, arm length satin gloves and a spiked crown immediately bring to mind both the original tale's gothic universe and a sadomasochistic one establishing her as a dominatrix. Her intense gaze completes her menacing open-armed gestures and high leg kicks compelling everyone to cower from the energy emanating from her body, allowing her to dominate her surroundings; fittingly, she is accompanied by two feline submissive creatures (reminiscent of film director Tim Burton's characters). During the apple scene, the Evil Queen disguised as an old woman engages Snow White in a violent hand-to-hand combat before the former asserts her dominance by sitting, victorious on the princess' inert body. However, contrary to the fairy-tale descriptions of the evil-witch characters, the Evil Queen does not lose her sensuality in her old form: she looks wilder and sexy despite the worn-out black coat she is wearing which reveals the plunging neckline of her black satin leotard, her long bare legs and her slim figure. She remains arrogant and menacing even during her impending punishment when she struggles fiercely against her jailers: her energetic dance in the white-hot iron slippers is reminiscent of tap dancing while its intensity becomes increasingly aggressive until her ultimate defeat. Her craftiness and power are considered 'unnatural' and threatening placing her in the villain camp and therefore qualifying her as the one to be put to death because they are an expression of her physicality and her assertive creative energy. Although the two examples clearly suggest that Preljocaj's Evil Queen subverts the villain model by depicting a self-sufficient, powerful yet still desirable and sexy woman, they also address feminist issues. The choreographer's take on the Evil Queen denounces indirectly the stereotypical perception of the (female) villain as a narcissist. He is thus associating their dominant personality and their desire to be seductive with sexual deviance and, by extension, evil. This may in turn suggest that an individual's attractiveness and erotism should be acknowledged as such regardless of their classification as good or evil. Moreover, in both examples the Evil Queen refuses to be side-lined in a world obsessed with youth which is a denunciation of ageism, as a system of oppression and privilege intersecting with sexism and undoubtedly with feminism (Calasanti 2006). In this context, Preljocaj criticizes received ideas such as the discrimination of women based on their age, the perpetuation of which leads to the perception of an aging woman wanting to be seductive as an anomaly.

In Addict Initiative's version, the Evil Queen is equally fierce and extremely aggressive. She is the first to appear, suspended from the stage ceiling *via* a steel-wire lifting device placed on a higher level than everyone else, as if to assert her dominance as well as her royal status. From the waist down she is covered with what appears at first glance to be a very long skirt. Her acolytes will pull it to reveal attire which clearly suggests an evil character: tight fitting black vinyl pants and a corset with a high collar adorned with black feathers that evoke Disney's Maleficent or the stereotypical costume of a dominatrix or possibly a vampire (although those references are not mutually exclusive). Interestingly though, the 'skirt' also serves as a screen where the face of Snow White is projected or reflected suggesting she views the princess as a subordinate or inferior and therefore unworthy of power. In addition, the idea of the reflection alludes to the mirror as a magical object. In this case however, instead of being at eye level, the mirror is placed under the Evil Queen as if it was at her command[7] which further increases the extent of her dominance. Considering that Addict Initiative members' age span were seventeen to thirty-one years old when they presented *Snow White*, it would seem that young men and women are not concerned, much less intimidated by a woman's power. This suggests that long-standing ideologies about gender identity and (female) gender performance tend to be discarded by new generations. Instead of illustrating the battle of the sexes Addict Initiative centre the conflict on the more pressing contemporary issue of class, through the confrontation of a polished elite group – the Evil Queen's – versus what appears to be a second-rate one – Snow White's – both led by strong, confident women.

The Mirror

In every fairy-tale, magical or enchanted objects impact the story's plot and/or outcome either positively or negatively as is the case of the mirror in *Snow White*. In Preljocaj and Lorent's versions a (female) dancer embodies the object to accentuate a feature of the villain's personality. Preljocaj devises an intricate face-to-face scene in front of the mirror frame underlining the dominant power of the witch, further accentuated by the physical duplication: the two dancers, dressed identically, mirror each other in perfectly synchronised and thoroughly detailed movements. BalletLORENT opts for a more subversive Mirror who castigates the queen using caustic humour and faint praise. She goes as far as to imprison the queen, taking her place to make her see the error of her ways. Moreover, the smoothly flowing style of the Mirror's classical ballet solo becomes (progressively) more demanding in physical strength through the accumulation of pirouettes. Thus the developing strength of the Mirror's movements reflects the queen's developing conscience. Contrary to the Preljocaj version, the Mirror and queen's moves in balletLORENT's are variations of the same movement and

[7] This detail is not mentioned in the original story; it is a plot twist used in the fantasy adventure TV series *Once upon a time*. In the series created by E. Kitsis and A. Horowitz (2011-2018), the mirror is one of the Evil Queen's victims bewitched to serve her to eternity.

not identical, as one would expect from a mirror image. The Mirror's classical ballet movements are held and suspended whereas in the mother's contemporary style, they become more rounded and closer to the ground. Thus each dancer's individuality and at the same time the main principles of each dance are preserved without diminishing expressiveness. Of further interest is the fact that classical ballet rigidness is here juxtaposed to contemporary dance versatility; by analogy, the Mirror represents tradition and old practices or perception of women whereas the queen's modernism represents feminist ideology and emancipated strong women. By extension, the similarities and differences in the dancers' gestures, could lead to an understanding of the mirror's relation to the queen as an individual's relationship with their reflection and an incentive to self-criticism.

According to feminist literary critic Sandra M. Gilbert and women's studies scholar Susan Gubar "[the story] dramatizes the essential but equivocal relationship between the angel-woman and the monster-woman" (quoted in Bacchilega, 1988: 2) as they are perceived by the tale's authors and, by extension, a man's authority. As such, they reflect a male gaze towards early 19th century German society and societal norms. Interestingly, the mirror's words do not specify the gender of the 'fairest of them all' in any version of the English translations of the fairy-tale, merely replying to an individual's question by attesting their supremacy. On the contrary, in Duffy's rewriting, the Mirror replies directly to the queen, through the narrator: "Queen, your beauty is a gift, from scissors, surgery and facelift" and criticises in modern terms (some) women's excessive vanity while denouncing the stereotypic association of vanity to femininity. In any case, the mirror feeds the (step)mother's narcissistic side but also carries and perpetuates societal expectations and appropriate behavioural models about beauty and the importance of physical appearance. In this context, the Mirror is present to define the two women, Snow White and the queen, as fairest and ex-fairest thus establishing the rivalry between them as the base of their relationship. It also reflects the mother's internal image of herself externalized as a wish for a daughter with specific features. In other words, the Mirror reveals how complementary and at the same time diametrically opposite Snow White and the queen are, possibly reflecting disagreements within the feminist ideological frame.

Snow White and Intersectional feminism

Undoubtedly, the fairy-tale revolves around timeless themes such as wealth, beauty or the struggle for survival, and seemingly illustrates stereotypes of sexuality (the feminine features, the manly prince), ideals of women (young and beautiful) and social success (marrying a prince). However, the examples studied suggest that the fairy-tale is reviewed and rewritten at the turn of the 21st century to transcend long-standing gender related ideologies. Preljocaj's contemporary dance choreography, Scozzi's

and Lorent's fusion of various dance styles with theatre and narration and Addict Initiative's hip-hop approach of *Snow White*, engage bodies beyond their conventional representation. They also challenge stereotypes of gender, race, sexuality and physical abilities, while denouncing practices and ideologies that influence our daily lives.

All in all, the four dance rewritings of *Snow White* confirm, through their choreographies, that in the 21st century, princesses and villains break from traditional fairy-tale models. The dancers' bodies contribute through the virtuosity of forms, the precision of poses and postures, the beauty of their presence, and especially of their movements. It may be deemed acceptable that the heroines/princesses of fairy-tales are rewarded with an allegedly happy ending, that is, becoming the wife of a future king. But it is certainly disturbing for the modern woman that the only thing Snow White learns is that men can be at the service of her beauty and always there to save and/or protect her. Such is the case of the dwarves and the prince in Preljocaj's version or the miners and the Huntsman in balletLORENT's. In this sense, calling fairy-tales initiatory stories makes one wonder how relevant this initiation would be today. That is why, in my view, Preljocaj's Snow White chooses her prince herself and takes the initiative in the game of seduction, Lorent's decides to marry the Huntsman, Addict Initiative's stays single and Scozzi's seven Snow White(s) reverse the roles but still do not live happily ever after. The staging and choreographies suggest that as the representations of Snow White in dance performances evolve, the heroine becomes a much more complicated being thus reflecting the complexity of the contemporary era through subversive representations of socially constructed stereotypical female roles. The performances analyzed here prove it; they propose four different endings to the fairy-tale, each feminist in its own way and all reflecting modern 21st century society where Snow White, as an individual acting freely, has no need of any (magical) intervention.

The intersectional dimension of these feminist approaches is also clear, since the performances address at the same time class, ethnicity, appearance, age, and sexuality discriminations. The choreographers focus on the choices Show White owns up to as a self-sufficient individual who depends on herself and does not in any case need, much less want to be saved, who is capable of asking for help without it meaning that she is weak. All these highlighted features confirm that *Snow White* is certainly a timeless tale but the protagonist is now revised and updated to fit/conform to modern standards which are far from their Disney or literary equivalents; as if they illustrated the history of the emancipation of women. It is clear through the observation of the narrative dialogue of bodies and the mastery of the details in staging and choreography that the creators convey subtle messages on equality between the sexes, the power of women and the irrelevance of gender identities. Thus they build a bridge between generations and highlight social evolution through the rewriting of the well-known fairy-tale.

Conclusion

If fairy-tales serve as foundation for moral and/or sociocultural reflection, then *Snow White* can be considered as evidence or a hint to social practices, behavioural norms and conventions of an era. Its timelessness can serve as a link between eras and generations or as an uninterrupted chronological map of the evolution of society, perceptions of women, and female identities. Indeed, the ideal of beauty in *Snow White* does not merely prescribe features of appearance, but also images of accepted female conduct. The works examined under the prism of intersectional feminism clearly subvert the tale by transcribing text into movement through the language of a performer's body. In addition, the creators read into the fairy-tale focusing on the archetypical female characters and the way a stereotypical female model resonates in the 21st century (or rather does not) with regard to social and gender power relations, in an obvious effort to develop and encourage critical reflection. As explored here, feeding on stories by removing their stereotypes or replacing them by questions closely related to contemporary sociocultural feminist issues is essential to raise awareness as well as tolerance and acceptance of diversity and possibly to obtain a new type of happy endings.

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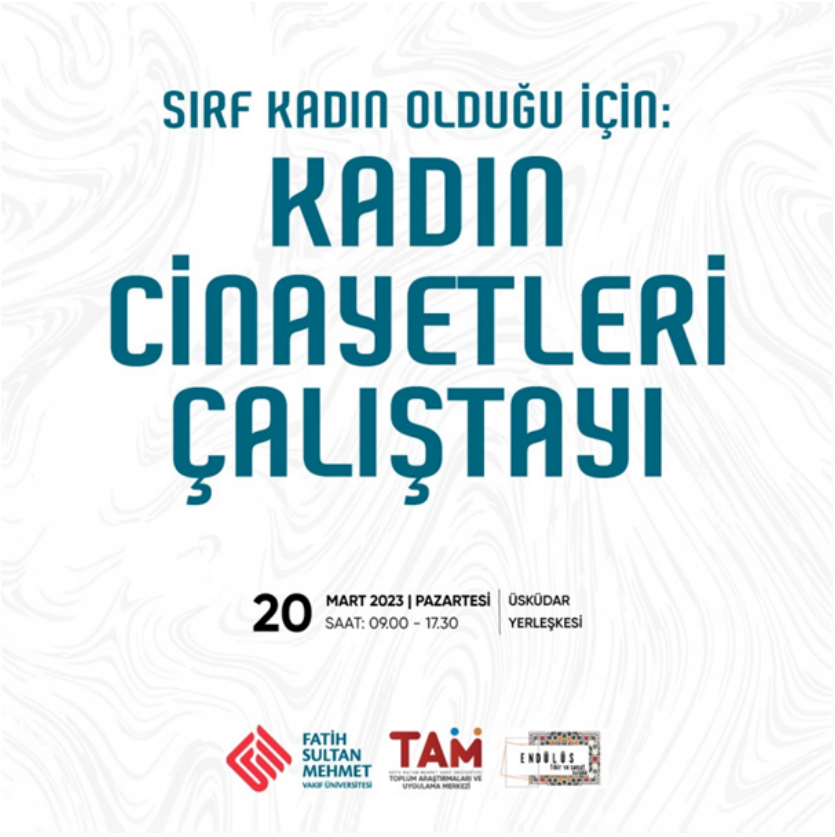
CONFERENCE REPORT

Simply for Being a Woman: Conference on Femicide (20.03.2023, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Foundation University, Istanbul)

Berna TERZİ ESKİN[1]



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Simply for Being a Woman: Conference on Femicide (20.03.2023, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Foundation University, Istanbul)

On Monday, March 20, 2023; a three-session conference titled "*Sırf Kadın Olduğu İçin: Kadın Cinayetleri*" (Simply for Being a Woman: Femicide) was organized by Community Research and Application Center of Fatih Sultan Mehmet University in collaboration with the Andalusian Idea and Art Student Club at the university's Üsküdar campus. Academics, representatives from civil society organizations, and field researchers from various disciplines attended the conference.

The Chairperson of the Conference Organizing Committee, Dr. Zeynep Kevser Şerefoğlu Danış, stated that the primary motivation for organizing the conference was to clarify the debates on how discussions on femicides are conducted and which cases are included under femicide. She mentioned that the committee aimed to focus on the extent to which the law can provide deterrence against femicides in theory and practice, the reasons why it may fail to do so, and proposals for improvement. She mentioned that they also aimed to address the aspects of femicide that are reflected in the media, along with the problems that arise from such reflection, and to find solutions to these issues.

In the first session of the conference where femicide is discussed around disciplines such as law, sociology, and philosophy, Assoc. Prof. Gülay Arslan Öncü delivered her presentation titled "Femicide as a Form of Discrimination and CEDAW". Arslan Öncü first addressed the phenomenon of gender-based femicides, emphasizing the need for new concepts and strategies, and clarified the concept of femicide used for gender-based killings and discussed which killings are considered within the scope of femicide. In this context, she stated that the victim is deprived of life due to her gender and that is what characterizes femicide. She also stated that femicide is a severe and unacceptable violation of the most fundamental right of women and girls, which is the right to life. After Arslan Öncü, Prof. Dr. Gülsün Ayhan Aygörmez presented her paper titled "How Much Does Criminal Law Protect Women?". Aygörmez expressed that criminal law would be the last step to take in terms of protecting woman and the law would be in effect when it comes to punishing the offender rather than protecting the victim. She also pointed out that the first thing to do is to work on preventing the crime. Aygörmez claimed that no matter how long the offender stays in prison, the potential risk may continue if they do not participate in a development program that addresses the conditions that led them to commit the crime, and added that the possibility of psychological and psychiatric assistance for the offender could be particularly effective in preventing the crime from happening again.

Asst. Prof. Nursem Keskin Aksay, who addressed the issue from a sociological perspective, stated in her presentation titled "The Mental and Social Background of

Femicides" that women have been positioned as objects since Plato and Aristotle, and have only been considered in terms of reproduction and the continuity of the lineage, and as such, they have been accepted as a dark entity without knowledge or competence. She revealed that the philosophical perspective has not changed over the centuries, and women have been viewed as a passive creature defined in the private sphere, and these fundamental ideas still affect the contemporary atmosphere. The final speaker of the session, Prof. Dr. Gülriz Uygur, highlighted the importance of terminological unity in her presentation titled "Understanding Femicides on the Basis of Gender Equality". She stated that the concept of femicides can also be discussed within the framework of concepts such as "*kadın kırım*" (women-killing/femicide) or "*cins kırım*" (gender-based killing). She underlined that the lack of clarity in terminology leads to using hegemonic language and makes it difficult to find an answer to the question of what the indicator of gender-based violence is in cases of femicide.

In the second session, the presentations were about violence against women with a focus on law, femicides within the framework of hate crimes, and femicide within the context of criminal law. Firstly, Prof. Dr. Bertil Emrah Oder presented his paper titled "Violence Against Women: Counter Movements, Civil Society and Judicial Protection". Oder explained that movements opposing gender equality are mainly focused on custody, alimony, household relationships, fathers' rights, behaviours/acts of divorced fathers, and, most importantly, discussions around gender identity. She acknowledged that this phenomenon is not only valid for Turkey, but similar issues can be observed in different geographies, continents, and countries as well. She also pointed out that this phenomenon appears as an intersection of less established democracies and established democracies. Oder drew attention to the existence of bar associations supporting strategic litigations, women's movement representatives, and their support-coalition partnerships in Turkey. She also emphasized that, considering all these aspects, the fundamental mechanism that needs to be legally defended should be the one in the Law No. 6284. After Oder, Asst. Prof. Asuman Aytekin İnceoğlu took the floor and in her presentation titled "Evaluation of Femicides Within the Framework of Hate Crimes," she discussed whether femicides should be considered as hate crimes and where the recent incidents of violence against women, intentional homicide, intentional injury, and other crimes should be positioned as aggravating factors. She stated that the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe refers to "honour crimes" as hate crimes and expressed that she also believes that all murders based on discriminatory attitudes towards gender constitute hate crimes. She argued that a comprehensive policy is needed to eliminate inequality caused by gender roles. Aytekin İnceoğlu emphasized the need to use gender in the context of social gender perspective, not in the biological context in femicides.

The third speaker of the session was Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ozan Ercan Taşkın with his presentation titled "Femicide as a Crime in the Context of Criminal Law on Victims: A General Framework". Taşkın pointed out the reason why murders are defined through women even though the killer is male, and underlined the need for criminal law to be defined through the victim. In this context, Taşkın expressed that the term 'femicide' is inclusive and also addressed the issue of unjust provocation, stating that no one deserves to die for anything they have done, such as infidelity. He emphasized that from this perspective, most of the women's suicides could be considered as femicides, and underlined the need to address this issue as well.

The last speaker of the session was Elif Naz Arıkan, with her presentation titled "Traces of Femicide Concept in Turkish Criminal Law and Normative Suggestions." Arıkan put an emphasis on the concept of femicide and claimed that women's murders are the last link in a systematic chain of violence, and that the driving force behind these acts of killing is the desire to suppress women, control them within societal norms, and prevent them from determining their own destiny by using violence. When this aspect of the action is considered, Arıkan indicated that the most consistent solution is to include a regulation about killings with the motive of violence against women as a qualified form of intentional homicide. She stated that it would prevent the uncertainties and difficulties of proof that could arise from concepts such as misogyny and hatred against women, and also it would enable the legislator to exhibit an effective stance in the fight against violence targeting women and femicides by punishing the injustice involved in the act of murder targeting women with the intention of violence against women, more severely than the basic form of the murder crime.

In the third and final session of the program, two women's organizations gave presentations to inform about what can be done before the occurrence of femicide and to raise awareness of the work being carried out in the field regarding the issue. First, Attorney Selin Nakıpoğlu from Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation gave information about the working area of Mor Çatı. Nakıpoğlu mentioned that the foundation adopts feminist principles as its working method and operates shelters for women and children in need of accommodation. She also noted that these shelters are kept confidential as part of security measures and that utmost attention is paid to ensure the safety of women staying in the foundation's shelters in the city. Nakıpoğlu expressed the importance for the victimized women of being occasionally contacted by the police or the hospital inquiring about their safety or health status, respectively, to help them feel safe and secure while living under a restraining order or receiving medical treatment due to violence. Nakıpoğlu noted that it is not appropriate to refer to the accommodation facilities where women who have experienced violence seek shelter as temporary guest houses, because women and children who run away from violence in desperation cannot be considered as mere guests. Nakıpoğlu highlighted the issue

of women being forced to return to the place where they experienced violence due to the policy of not accepting boys over 12 years old in existing guesthouses. She stated that this is not the case in Mor Çatı Women's Shelter. Lastly, Nakıpoğlu explicated the importance of reporting and complaining about domestic violence, highlighting that everyone has a legal responsibility to stand against it. She also pointed out that as awareness increases, many women and children's lives can be saved.

The second field presentation was conducted by Zeynep Demir, the General Secretary of the Women and Democracy Association. Demir explicated that they conduct various activities to raise awareness about violence and to enable social transformation, while also advocating for positive change in legislation and policy-making circles. Demir focused on a new initiative of the association and mentioned that the Women's Support Center, which was established two years ago, aims of providing a case-based innovative support model to women residing in Istanbul. She stated that a team was established within the center to seek solutions to problems arising from being a woman and to provide psychological support. Demir emphasized that they aim to provide support that enables women to stand on their own feet, taking into account that each woman comes from different cultural backgrounds and may have different religious beliefs. She also stated that the solidarity groups were formed within the association, and they approach the women who consult for these groups according to their specific needs. Demir also mentioned that breastfeeding rooms and playrooms were arranged for the women and their children, and pointed out that while striving to provide top-level support to women in need, they do not force them or impose ready-made solutions during the support process.

After the presentations, case studies and field presentations; a conference session was held where all participants engaged in discussions and inquiries through question-and-answer format. The main focus of the conference was on the relationship between gender inequality and femicides. The majority of the participants emphasized that although criminal sanctions are important, they are not sufficient for deterrence. It was highlighted that it is of primary importance to reflect upon the cultural norms, root causes, and ultimately the societal perception of gender that underlie the idea that "a woman's life can be deemed disposable", "her death may not be seen as equally important as that of another gender", and "any action can justify her murder". It was pointed out that the main problem is the perception of women as "deserving to be killed" or "needing to be punished with death". The question of whether cultural norms, root causes, and existing gender perceptions can be considered as the precursor to the act of "planning a murder" was also opened up for discussion. It was noted that the term "murder of women" does not automatically label the male gender as killer/murderer. It has been demonstrated through tangible data that women can also commit femicide and that in the minds of those who have internalized patriarchy, murder can be associated with women.

The issue was thoroughly discussed from both theoretical and practical perspectives in the conference that involved many academics and professionals from the field, and created a diverse and interactive environment. The conference brought together academics with a focus on the field, representatives from women's research centers at universities in Istanbul, and individuals from women's organizations and non-governmental organizations that operate in the field of women issues in Turkey, all of whom contributed to the discussion with their questions, answers, and suggestions.

In addition, representatives from the Üsküdar District Governorate, Üsküdar District Social Service Center, Üsküdar Women and Family Solidarity Center, Women and Children Directorate of İstanbul Provincial Gendarmerie Command, Women Services Unit of Provincial Directorate of Ministry of Family and Social Services and ŞÖNİM (Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centre) Unit of the Ministry of Family and Social Services as well as other representatives, doctors, lawyers, and mediators who focus on the issue and conduct fieldwork, contributed to the heterogenous and interdisciplinary discussion environment.

It is planned that the outcomes of the conference "Simply for Being a Woman: Femicide" will be evaluated and a report will be prepared based on these outcomes, which will be presented as a recommendation document to policy makers, particularly the Ministry of Justice, and then lobbying activities will be carried out for its follow-up.

TANIM

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi'nin yayınıdır. Açık erişimli, hakemli, yılda iki kere Nisan ve Ekim aylarında yayınlanan bilimsel bir dergidir. 1993 yılında kurulmuştur. Dergiye yayınlanması için gönderilen bilimsel makaleler Türkçe ya da İngilizce olmalıdır.

AMAÇ VE KAPSAM

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi, kadın sorunları ve araştırmaları alanında Türkiye'deki en eski hakemli dergilerden biridir. Dergi kadın çalışmaları konusunda bilim camiasına katkıda bulunmayı ve araştırmacılara bir platform sağlamayı hedefler. Dergi kadın çalışmalarını ve toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmalarını bütün yönleriyle ele alan araştırma ve çalışmaları yayınlamaya odaklıdır ve (sosyoloji, felsefe, tarih, edebiyat, dil, sanat, kültür, hukuk, siyaset bilim, iktisat, sağlık, vb pek çok) farklı disiplinlerde yürütülen araştırmalara açıktır. Derginin hedef kitlesini akademisyenler, araştırmacılar, profesyoneller, öğrenciler ve ilgili mesleki, akademik kurum ve kuruluşlar oluşturur.

EDİTORYAL POLİTİKALAR VE HAKEM SÜRECİ

Yayın Politikası

Dergiye yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makalelerin içeriği derginin amaç ve kapsamı ile uyumlu olmalıdır. Dergi, orijinal araştırma niteliğindeki yazıları yayınlamaya öncelik vermektedir.

Genel İlkeler

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir.

Ön değerlendirmeyi geçen yazılar iThenticate intihal tarama programından geçirilir. İntihal incelemesinden sonra, uygun makaleler Editör tarafından orijinaliteleri, metodolojileri, makalede ele alınan konunun önemi ve derginin kapsamına uygunluğu açısından değerlendirilir.

Bilimsel toplantılarda sunulan özet bildiriler, makalede belirtilmesi koşulu ile kaynak olarak kabul edilir. Editör, gönderilen makale biçimsel esaslara uygun ise, gelen yazıyı yurtiçinden ve / veya yurtdışından en az iki hakemin değerlendirmesine sunar, hakemler gerek gördüğü takdirde yazıda istenen değişiklikler yazarlar tarafından yapıldıktan sonra yayınlanmasına onay verir.

Makale yayınlanmak üzere Dergiye gönderildikten sonra yazarlardan hiçbirinin ismi, tüm yazarların yazılı izni olmadan yazar listesinden silinemez ve yeni bir isim yazar olarak eklenemez ve yazar sırası değiştirilemez.

Yayına kabul edilmeyen makale, resim ve fotoğraflar yazarlara geri gönderilmez. Yayınlanan yazı ve resimlerin tüm hakları Dergiye aittir.

Açık Erişim İlkesi

Dergi açık erişimlidir ve derginin tüm içeriği okura ya da okurun dahil olduğu kuruma ücretsiz olarak sunulur. Okurlar, ticari amaç haricinde, yayıncı ya da yazardan izin almadan dergi makalelerinin tam metnini okuyabilir, indirebilir, kopyalayabilir, arayabilir ve link sağlayabilir. Bu "https://www.budapestopenaccessinitiative.org/translations/turkish-translation" BOAI açık erişim tanımıyla uyumludur.

Derginin açık erişimli makaleleri Creative Commons Atıf-GayrıTicari 4.0 Uluslararası ("https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/deed.tr" CC BY-NC 4.0) (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/deed.tr) olarak lisanslıdır.

Telif Hakkında

İşlemleme Ücreti

Derginin tüm giderleri İstanbul Üniversitesi tarafından karşılanmaktadır. Dergide makale yayını ve makale süreçlerinin yürütülmesi ücrete tabi değildir. Dergiye gönderilen ya da yayın için kabul edilen makaleler için işlemleme ücreti ya da gönderim ücreti alınmaz.

Hakem Süreci

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir. Gönderilen ve ön kontrolü geçen makaleler iThenticate yazılımı kullanılarak intihal için taranır. İntihal kontrolünden sonra, uygun olan makaleler baş editör tarafından orijinallik, metodoloji, işlenen konunun önemi ve dergi kapsamı ile uyumluluğu açısından değerlendirilir. Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar.

Seçilen makaleler en az iki ulusal/uluslararası hakeme değerlendirmeye gönderilir; yayın kararı, hakemlerin talepleri doğrultusunda yazarların gerçekleştirdiği düzenlemelerin ve hakem sürecinin sonrasında baş editör tarafından verilir.

Hakemlerin değerlendirmeleri objektif olmalıdır. Hakem süreci sırasında hakemlerin aşağıdaki hususları dikkate alarak değerlendirmelerini yapmaları beklenir.

- Makale yeni ve önemli bir bilgi içeriyor mu?
- Öz, makalenin içeriğini net ve düzgün bir şekilde tanımlıyor mu?
- Yöntem bütünlüklü ve anlaşılır şekilde tanımlanmış mı?
- Yapılan yorum ve varılan sonuçlar bulgularla kanıtlanıyor mu?
- Alandaki diğer çalışmalara yeterli referans verilmiş mi?
- Dil kalitesi yeterli mi?

Hakemler, gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir.

YAYIN ETİĞİ VE İLKELER

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi, yayın etiğinde en yüksek standartlara bağlıdır ve Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Open Access Scholarly Publishers Association (OASPA) ve World Association of Medical Editors (WAME) tarafından yayınlanan etik yayıncılık ilkelerini benimser; Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing başlığı altında ifade edilen ilkeler için: https://publicationethics.

org/resources/guidelines-new/principles-transparency-and-best-practice-scholarly-publishing
Gönderilen tüm makaleler orijinal, yayınlanmamış ve başka bir dergide değerlendirme sürecinde olmamalıdır. Her bir makale editörlerden biri ve en az iki hakem tarafından çift kör değerlendirmeden geçirilir. İntihal, duplikasyon, sahte yazarlık/inkar edilen yazarlık, araştırma/veri fabrikasyonu, makale dilimleme, dilimleyerek yayın, telif hakları ihlali ve çıkar çatışmasının gizlenmesi, etik dışı davranışlar olarak kabul edilir.

Kabul edilen etik standartlara uygun olmayan tüm makaleler yayından çıkarılır. Buna yayından sonra tespit edilen olası kuraldışı, uygunsuzluklar içeren makaleler de dahildir.

Araştırma Etiği

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi araştırma etiğinde en yüksek standartları gözetir ve aşağıda tanımlanan uluslararası araştırma etiği ilkelerini benimser. Makalelerin etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır.

- Araştırmanın tasarlanması, tasarımın gözden geçirilmesi ve araştırmanın yürütülmesinde, bütünlük, kalite ve şeffaflık ilkeleri sağlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma ekibi ve katılımcılar, araştırmanın amacı, yöntemleri ve öngörülen olası kullanımları; araştırmaya katılımın gerektirdikleri ve varsa riskleri hakkında tam olarak bilgilendirilmelidir.
- Araştırma katılımcılarının sağladığı bilgilerin gizliliği ve yanıt verenlerin gizliliği sağlanmalıdır. Araştırma katılımcıların özerkliğini ve saygınlığını koruyacak şekilde tasarlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma katılımcıları gönüllü olarak araştırmada yer almalı, herhangi bir zorlama altında olmamalıdırlar.
- Katılımcıların zarar görmesinden kaçınılmalıdır. Araştırma, katılımcıları riske sokmayacak şekilde planlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma bağımsızlığıyla ilgili açık ve net olunmalı; çıkar çatışması varsa belirtilmelidir.
- Deneysel çalışmalarda, araştırmaya katılmaya karar veren katılımcıların yazılı bilgilendirilmiş onayı alınmalıdır. Çocukların ve vesayet altındakilerin veya tasdiklenmiş akıl hastalığı bulunanların yasal vasisinin onayı alınmalıdır.
- Çalışma herhangi bir kurum ya da kuruluşta gerçekleştirilecekse bu kurum ya da kuruluştan çalışma yapılacağına dair onay alınmalıdır.
- İnsan öğesi bulunan çalışmalarda, "yöntem" bölümünde katılımcılardan "bilgilendirilmiş onam" alındığının ve çalışmanın yapıldığı kurumdan etik kurul onayı alındığı belirtilmesi gerekir.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telife bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir. Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır, bu bağlamda "yazar" yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise, makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek ve / veya revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel süpervizyonu tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır ve yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar yazar sıralamasını **Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formunda** imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar.

Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler "teşekkür / bilgiler" kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir.

Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkiler, çıkar çatışması ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler. Bir yazar kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse, bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve işbirliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Editör ve Hakem Sorumlulukları

Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar. Gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalacağını garanti eder. Baş editör içerik ve yayının toplam kalitesinden sorumludur. Gereğinde hata sayfası yayınlamalı ya da düzeltme yapmalıdır.

Baş editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Hakem atama konusunda tam yetkiye sahiptir ve Dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemlerin araştırmayla ilgili, yazarlarla ve/veya araştırmanın finansal destekçileriyle çıkar çatışmaları olmamalıdır. Değerlendirmelerinin sonucunda tarafsız bir yargıya varmalıdırlar. Gönderilmiş yazılara ilişkin tüm bilginin gizli tutulmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir. Bazı durumlarda editörün kararıyla, ilgili hakemlerin makaleye ait yorumları aynı makaleyi yorumlayan diğer hakemlere gönderilerek hakemlerin bu süreçte aydınlatılması sağlanabilir.

YAZILARIN HAZIRLANMASI

Dil

Derginin yayın dili Türkçe ve İngiliz İngilizcesi'dir.

Yazıların Hazırlanması ve Yazım Kuralları

Aksi belirtilmedikçe gönderilen yazılarla ilgili tüm yazışmalar ilk yazarla yapılacaktır. Makale gönderimi online olarak https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iujws adresinden erişilen http://dergipark.gov.tr/login üzerinden yapılmalıdır. Gönderilen yazılar, makale türünü belirten ve makaleyle ilgili detayları içeren (bkz: Son Kontrol Listesi) **Kapak Sayfası**; editöre mektup, yazının elektronik formunu içeren Microsoft Word 2003 ve üzerindeki versiyonları ile yazılmış elektronik dosya ve tüm yazarların imzaladığı **Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formu** eklenerek gönderilmelidir.

1. Yazılar **Makale Şablonu** kullanılarak hazırlanmalıdır. Makale ana metninde, çift taraflı kör hakemlik süreci gereği, yazarın / yazarların kimlik bilgileri yer almamalıdır.
2. Türkçe ve İngilizce olarak 150-250 kelime arasında öz olmalıdır. Öz anlaşılır ve de dilbilgisi açısından doğru olmalıdır.
3. Türkçe özün altında çalışmanın içeriğini temsil eden 3-5 Türkçe anahtar kelime olmalıdır. İngilizce özün altında içeriği temsil eden 3-5 İngilizce anahtar kelime olmalıdır.
4. Çalışmaların başlıca şu unsurları içermesi gerekmektedir: Türkçe başlık, öz ve anahtar kelimeler; İngilizce başlık, öz ve anahtar kelimeler; ana metin bölümleri, kaynaklar, tablolar ve şekiller.

5. **Makale Türleri**

Araştırma Makaleleri: Orijinal araştırma makaleleri derginin kapsamına uygun konularda önemli, özgün bilimsel sonuçlar sunan araştırmaları raporlayan yazılardır. Orijinal araştırma makaleleri, Öz, Anahtar Kelimeler, Giriş, Yöntem, Bulgular, Tartışma, Sonuçlar, Kaynaklar bölümlerinden ve Tablo, Grafik ve Şekillerden oluşur. Öz aşağıda belirtildiği gibi yapılandırılmış olmalıdır. Özden sonra Giriş, Yöntem, Bulgular, Tartışma ve Sonuç bölümleri yer almalıdır.

Öz: Türkçe yazıların İngilizce özetlerinde mutlaka İngilizce başlık da yer almalıdır. Araştırma yazılarında Türkçe ve İngilizce özetler 150-250 kelime arasında olmalı ve aşağıdaki şekilde yapılandırılmalıdır:

Amaç/Aim: Yazının birincil ve asıl amacı;

Yöntem(ler)/Method(s): Veri kaynakları, çalışmanın iskeleti, çalışmaya katılanlar, görüşme/değerlendirmeler ve temel ölçümler;

Bulgular/Results:Ana bulgular;

Sonuç(lar)/Conclusion(s): Çıkartılacak sonuçlar belirtilmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Giriş: Giriş bölümünde konunun önemi, tarihçe ve bugüne kadar yapılmış çalışmalar, hipotez ve çalışmanın amacından söz edilmelidir. Hem ana hem de ikincil amaçlar açıkça belirtilmelidir. Sadece gerçekten ilişkili kaynaklar gösterilmeli ve çalışmaya ait veri ya da sonuçlardan söz edilmemelidir. Giriş bölümünün sonunda çalışmanın amacı, araştırma soruları veya hipotezler yazılmalıdır.

Yöntem: Yöntem bölümünde, veri kaynakları, hastalar ya da çalışmaya katılanlar, ölçekler, görüşme/değerlendirmeler ve temel ölçümler, yapılan işlemler ve istatistiksel yöntemler yer almalıdır. Yöntem bölümü, sadece çalışmanın planı ya da protokolü yazılırken bilinen bilgileri içermelidir; çalışma sırasında elde edilen tüm bilgiler bulgular kısmında verilmelidir.

Bulgular: Ana bulgular istatistiksel verilerle desteklenmiş olarak eksiksiz verilmeli ve bu bulgular uygun tablo, grafik ve şekillerle görsel olarak da belirtilmelidir. Bulgular yazıda, tablolarda ve şekillerde mantıklı bir sırayla önce en önemli sonuçlar olacak şekilde verilmelidir. Tablo ve şekillerdeki tüm veriyi yazıda vermemeli, sadece önemli noktaları vurgulanmalıdır.

Tartışma: Tartışma bölümünde o çalışmadan elde edilen veriler, kurulan hipotez doğrultusunda hipotezi destekleyen ve desteklemeyen bulgular ve sonuçlar irdelenmeli ve bu bulgu ve sonuçlar literatürde bulunan benzeri çalışmalarla kıyaslanmalı, farklılıklar varsa açıklanmalıdır. Çalışmanın yeni ve önemli yanları ve bunlardan çıkan sonuçları vurgulanmalıdır. Giriş ya da sonuçlar kısmında verilen bilgi ve veriler tekrarlanmamalıdır.

Sonuçlar: Çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar belirtilmelidir. Deneysel çalışmalar için ana bulguları kısaca özetleyerek tartışmaya başlamak, daha sonra bu bulgular için olası mekanizmaları veya açıklamaları ortaya koymak, sonuçları diğer ilgili çalışmalarla karşılaştırmak, çalışmanın sınırlarını belirtmek, gelecekteki araştırmalar ve uygulamalar için bulguların işaret ettiği olası çıkarımlara değinmek yararlı olacaktır. Sonuçlar, çalışmanın amaçları ile bağlantılı olmalıdır, ancak veriler tarafından yeterince desteklenmeyen niteliksiz ifadeler ve sonuçlardan kaçınılmalıdır. Yeni hipotezler gerektiğinde belirtilmeli, ancak açıkça tanımlanmalıdır.

Şekil, Resim, Tablo ve Grafikler: Yazı içindeki şekil, resim, tablo ve grafikler Arap sayıları ile numaralandırılmalıdır. Şekillerin metin içindeki yerleri belirtilmelidir.

Derleme: Yazının konusunda birikimi olan ve bu birikimleri uluslararası literatüre yayın ve atıf sayısı olarak yansımış uzmanlar tarafından hazırlanmış yazılar değerlendirmeye alınır. Yazarları dergi tarafından da davet edilebilir. Bir bilgi ya da konunun vardığı son düzeyi anlatan, tartışan, değerlendiren ve gelecekte yapılacak olan çalışmalara yön veren bir formatta hazırlanmalıdır. Derleme yazısı, başlık, öz ve anahtar kelimeler, ana metin bölümleri ve kaynaklardan oluşmalıdır.

6. Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makale ile birlikte yazar bilgilerini içeren **kapak sayfası** gönderilmelidir. Kapak sayfasında, makalenin başlığı, yazar veya yazarların bağlı bulundukları kurum ve unvanları, kendilerine ulaşılabilecek adresler, cep, iş ve faks numaraları, ORCID ve e-posta adresleri yer almalıdır (bkz. Son Kontrol Listesi).
7. Referanslar APA 6 stiline uygun olarak hazırlanmalıdır.

KAYNAKLAR

Referans Stili ve Formatı

İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi, metin içi alıntılama ve kaynak gösterme için APA (American Psychological Association) kaynak sitilinin 6. edisyonunu benimser. APA 6.Edisyon hakkında bilgi için:

- American Psychological Association. (2010). Publication manual of the American Psychological Association (6th ed.). Washington, DC: APA.

- http://www.apastyle.org/

Kaynakların doğruluğundan yazar(lar) sorumludur. Tüm kaynaklar metinde belirtilmelidir. Kaynaklar aşağıdaki örneklerdeki gibi gösterilmelidir.

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Kaynaklar metinde parantez içinde yazarların soyadı ve yayın tarihi yazılarak belirtilmelidir. Birden fazla kaynak gösterilecekse kaynaklar arasında (;) işareti kullanılmalıdır. Kaynaklar alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır.

Örnekler:

Birden fazla kaynak;
(Esin ve ark., 2002; Karasar 1995)
Tek yazarlı kaynak;
(Akyolcu, 2007)
İki yazarlı kaynak;
(Sayıner ve Demirci, 2007, s. 72)
Üç, dört ve beş yazarlı kaynak;
Metin içinde ilk kullanımda: (Ailen, Ciambrune ve Welch 2000, s. 12–13) Metin içinde tekrarlayan kullanımlarda: (Ailen ve ark., 2000)
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Kaynak yazımı ile ilgili örnekler aşağıda verilmiştir.

Kitap

a) Türkçe Kitap
Karasar, N. (1995). *Araştırmalarda rapor hazırlama* (8.bs). Ankara: 3A Eğitim Danışmanlık Ltd.

b) Türkçeye Çevrilmiş Kitap

Mucchielli, A. (1991). *Zihniyetler* (A. Kotil, Çev.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

c) Editörlü Kitap

Ören, T., Üney, T. ve Çölkesen, R. (Ed.). (2006). *Türkiye bilişim ansiklopedisi.* İstanbul: Papatya Yayıncılık.

d) Çok Yazarlı Türkçe Kitap

Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y. ve Sever, H. (2002). *Türkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme.* Ankara: Total Bilişim.

e) İngilizce Kitap

Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

f) İngilizce Kitap İçerisinde Bölüm

Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

g) Türkçe Kitap İçerisinde Bölüm

Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi. M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi kitabı* içinde (s. 233–263). Bursa: Dora Basım Yayın.

h) Yayımcının ve Yazarın Kurum Olduğu Yayın

Türk Standartları Enstitüsü. (1974). *Adlandırma ilkeleri.* Ankara: Yazar.

Makale

a) Türkçe Makale

Mutlu, B. ve Savaşer, S. (2007). Çocuğu ameliyat sonrası yoğun bakımda olan ebeveynlerde stres nedenleri ve azaltma girişimleri. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Florence Nightingale Hemşirelik Dergisi, 15*(60), 179–182.

b) İngilizce Makale

de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society, 10*(2), 149–173. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002

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Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine, 372,* 2087–2096. http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184

d) DOI'si Olmayan Online Edinilmiş Makale

Al, U. ve Doğan, G. (2012). Hacettepe Üniversitesi Bilgi ve Belge Yönetimi Bölümü tezlerinin atıf analizi. T*ürk Kütüphaneciliği, 26,* 349–369. Erişim adresi: http://www.tk.org.tr/

e) DOI'si Olan Makale

Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly, 27,* 261–278. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07317131003765910

f) Advance Online Olarak Yayımlanmış Makale

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867

g) Popüler Dergi Makalesi

Semercioğlu, C. (2015, Haziran). Sıradanlığın rayihası. *Sabit Fikir, 52,* 38–39.

Tez, Sunum, Bildiri

a) Türkçe Tezler

Sarı, E. (2008). *Kültür kimlik ve politika: Mardin'de kültürlerarasılık.* (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi). Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara.

b)Ticari Veritabanında Yer Alan Yüksek Lisans Ya da Doktora Tezi

Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (UMI No. 9943436)

c) Kurumsal Veritabanında Yer Alan İngilizce Yüksek Lisans/Doktora Tezi

Yaylalı-Yıldız, B. (2014). *University campuses as places of potential publicness: Exploring the politicals, social and cultural practices in Ege University* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from: Retrieved from http://library.iyte.edu.tr/tr/hizli-erisim/iyte-tez-portali

d) Web'de Yer Alan İngilizce Yüksek Lisans/Doktora Tezi

Tonta, Y. A. (1992). *An analysis of search failures in online library catalogs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). Retrieved from http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/~tonta/yayinlar/phd/ickapak.html

e) Dissertations Abstracts International'da Yer Alan Yüksek Lisans/Doktora Tezi

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering, 65*(10), 5428.

f) Sempozyum Katkısı

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome.* Symposium conducted at American Psychological Association meeting, Orlando, FL.

g) Online Olarak Erişilen Konferans Bildiri Özeti

Çınar, M., Doğan, D. ve Seferoğlu, S. S. (2015, Şubat). *Eğitimde dijital araçlar: Google sınıf uygulaması üzerine bir değerlendirme* [Öz]. Akademik Bilişim Konferansında sunulan bildiri, Anadolu Üniversitesi, Eskişehir. Erişim adresi: http://ab2015.anadolu.edu.tr /index.php?menu=5&submenu=27

h) Düzenli Olarak Online Yayımlanan Bildiriler

Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 105,* 12593-12598. http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105

i) Kitap Şeklinde Yayımlanan Bildiriler

Schneider, R. (2013). Research data literacy. S. Kurbanoğlu ve ark. (Ed.), Communications in Computer and Information Science: Vol. 397. *Worldwide Communalities and Challenges in Information Literacy Research and Practice* içinde (s. 134–140). Cham, İsviçre: Springer. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-03919-0

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Çepni, S., Bacanak A. ve Özsevgeç T. (2001, Haziran). *Fen bilgisi öğretmen adaylarının fen branşlarına karşı tutumları ile fen branşlarındaki başarılarının ilişkisi.* X. Ulusal Eğitim Bilimleri Kongresi'nde sunulan bildiri, Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi, Bolu.

Diğer Kaynaklar

a) Gazete Yazısı

Toker, Ç. (2015, 26 Haziran). 'Unutma' notları. *Cumhuriyet,* s. 13.

b) Online Gazete Yazısı

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Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepp: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/

d) Online Ansiklopedi/Sözlük

Bilgi mimarisi. (2014, 20 Aralık). Vikipedi içinde. Erişim adresi: http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilgi_mimarisi

Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/

e) Podcast

Radyo ODTÜ (Yapımcı). (2015, 13 Nisan). *Modern sabahlar* [Podcast]. Erişim adresi: http://www.radyoodtu.com.tr/

f) Bir Televizyon Dizisinden Tek Bir Bölüm

Shore, D. (Senarist), Jackson, M. (Senarist) ve Bookstaver, S. (Yönetmen). (2012). Runaways [Televizyon dizisi bölümü]. D. Shore (Baş yapımcı), *House M.D.* içinde. New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

g) Müzik Kaydı

Say, F. (2009). Galata Kulesi. *İstanbul senfonisi* [CD] içinde. İstanbul: Ak Müzik.

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Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y., & Sever, H. (2002). T*ürkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme* [Performance evaluation in Turkish search engines]. Ankara, Turkey: Total Bilişim.
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Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi [Organization culture: Its functions, elements and importance in leadership and business management]. In M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi* [Organization sociology] (pp. 233–263). Bursa, Turkey: Dora Basım Yayın.

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American Psychological Association. (2009). *Publication manual of the American psychological association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

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Mutlu, B., & Savaşer, S. (2007). Çocuğu ameliyat sonrası yoğun bakımda olan ebeveynlerde stres nedenleri ve azaltma girişimleri [Source and intervention reduction of stress for parents whose children are in intensive care unit after surgery]. *Istanbul University Florence Nightingale Journal of Nursing, 15*(60), 179–182.

b) English Article

de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society, 10*(2), 149–173. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002

c) Journal Article with DOI and More Than Seven Authors

Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine, 372,* 2087–2096. http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184

d) Journal Article from Web, without DOI

Sidani, S. (2003). Enhancing the evaluation of nursing care effectiveness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research, 35*(3), 26–38. Retrieved from http://cjnr.mcgill.ca

e) Journal Article wih DOI

Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly, 27,* 261–278. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0731713 1003765910

f) Advance Online Publication

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867

g) Article in a Magazine

Henry, W. A., III. (1990, April 9). Making the grade in today's schools. *Time, 135,* 28–31.

Doctoral Dissertation, Master's Thesis, Presentation, Proceeding

a) Dissertation/Thesis from a Commercial Database

Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 9943436)

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d) Dissertation/Thesis abstracted in Dissertations Abstracts International

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering, 65*(10), 5428.

e) Symposium Contribution

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome.* Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

f) Conference Paper Abstract Retrieved Online

Liu, S. (2005, May). *Defending against business crises with the help of intelligent agent based early warning solutions.* Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Enterprise Information Systems, Miami, FL. Abstract retrieved from http://www.iceis.org/iceis2005/abstracts_2005.htm

g) Conference Paper - In Regularly Published Proceedings and Retrieved Online

Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 105,* 12593–12598. http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105

h) Proceeding in Book Form

Parsons, O. A., Pryzwansky, W. B., Weinstein, D. J., & Wiens, A. N. (1995). Taxonomy for psychology. In J. N. Reich, H. Sands, & A. N. Wiens (Eds.), *Education and training beyond the doctoral degree: Proceedings of the American Psychological Association National Conference on Postdoctoral Education and Training in Psychology* (pp. 45–50). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

i) Paper Presentation

Nguyen, C. A. (2012, August). *Humor and deception in advertising: When laughter may not be the best medicine.* Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

Other Sources

a) Newspaper Article

Browne, R. (2010, March 21). This brainless patient is no dummy. *Sydney Morning Herald, 45.*

b) Newspaper Article with no Author

New drug appears to sharply cut risk of death from heart failure. (1993, July 15). *The Washington Post,* p. A12.

c) Web Page/Blog Post

Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepp: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/

d) Online Encyclopedia/Dictionary

Ignition. (1989). In *Oxford English online dictionary* (2nd ed.). Retrieved from http://dictionary.oed.com

Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.). *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy.* Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/

e) Podcast

Dunning, B. (Producer). (2011, January 12). *in Fact: Conspiracy theories* [Video podcast]. Retrieved from http://itunes.apple.com/

f) Single Episode in a Television Series

Egan, D. (Writer), & Alexander, J. (Director). (2005). Failure to communicate. [Television series episode]. In D. Shore (Executive producer), *House;* New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

g) Music

Fuchs, G. (2004). Light the menorah. On *Eight nights of Hanukkah* [CD]. Brick, NJ: Kid Kosher.

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