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Traditional Dances of the Serbia Sandžak Region Migrants in Türkiye

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ABSTRACT

In this study, the socio-cultural interaction of Turkish–Serbian traditional dances will be analysed within the context of historical socio-political relations between the Anatolian and Balkan peninsula regions. Based on field research conducted in Serbia and Türkiye since 2008, morphological partnerships or dissociations in traditional dances will be identified. Our sources mainly come from the limited information acquired through samples from the Sandžak region in Serbia and from the migrant Sandžak Bosniaks living in the cities of Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa in Türkiye. In particular, the dance structure of the people who have migrated to Türkiye from Serbia in the last 50 years will be mentioned. In addition, the traditional dance structures of the Muslim people who live in Serbia's Sandžak region (today in Serbia's Raška District) will be examined.

Keywords: Sandžak, migration, traditional dance

Introduction

Many different dance and music forms are seen in the Balkans, where people from different ethnic identities live. However, it has been observed that common values have been formed due to acculturation in areas that are geographically close and have a common history. "Acculturation is what a person learns in other cultures or what a society receives from others and the mutual impact of different societies. The theory of acculturation also suggests that even if one of the groups is dominant, both systems are affected by this cultural relationship and have been modified" (Güvenç, 1991, p. 126). As in many other areas of life, manners, moral values, ceremonies and traditions have created common forms over time by influencing each other. A similar culture, dance and music tradition has formed among the peoples of different ethnic identities and cultures living together in the Balkans.

The term ethnicity is perceived as a 'privilege of society', which is thought to fill the social gaps encountered during the identification of society as a whole. "This term allows us to move from specific and 'authentic' questions 'in' music about identifying signs concerning identity and move towards questions like how social actors native to locality use music to install boundaries and protect the differences between 'us' and 'them', and how terms such as 'authenticity' are used in the proving of the necessity of these boundaries" (Stokes, 2013, p. 128). Today, the concept of ethnic dance is used to point out its distinct elements which separate it from the general dance culture within dominant cultures.

Local environments in which the traditional dances of a society are formed and performed come from a specific geographical area. When the geographical setting changes for certain reasons, while locations, boundaries, and identities are collectively reconstructed in the positioning process, individuals can use music and dance in the determination of their unique identity. With the idea that dance symbolises social boundaries, migrating societies recognise traditional dances not only as static symbolic objects, but as a context for the realisation of a new dance formation. Folk dances play an important part within the contexts of in-society communication, educational services for cultural transmission, social location determination, social order determination and the establishment of national community consciousness in 'exchanged societies'.

The expansion of the Ottoman Empire from Africa to Central Europe led to massive population changes with migrations. This caused a change in the ethnic cultures of the societies within the empire by virtue of the fact that they were influenced by each other. "Directly proportional to state strategies, at times, an Ottoman environment was tried to be created in conquered countries with the people sent from Anatolia. And at other times, the people who contravened with the administration were subjected to forced migration" (Özbilgin, 2009, p. 271).

Throughout the history of the 'Sandžak region' various terms have been used to describe its location. The current administrative geographical term is 'Raška District'. "Located between Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo triangle, the Sanjak region is an important crossroads. The Sanjak (Sandžak) region is a region where Bosnians live intensely, and Serbia and Montenegro are located within its borders. The Sanjak region includes towns such as Tutin, Rožaje, Sjenica, Novi Pazar, Priboj, Bijelo Polje, Nova Varoš, Plav, Berane. Its center is Novi Pazar (New Market). Approximately 86% of its population consists of Muslim Bosnians" (Sümbüllü & Feyzi, 2022, p. 553).

By the 20th century, a reverse migration from the Balkans to Anatolia of Muslim or Turkish populations had begun to take place. Yugoslavia's first internal migration movement to other Balkan lands and partially towards Anatolia started with the Russo–Turkish War of 1877–1878 called the '*93 Harbi*' (War of 93). It continued with the Balkan War of 1912–1913, and took place at individual and family level between 1923 and 1951, at mass level between 1952 and 1967 and again at individual and family level between 1968 and 1996 when the movement of migration was towards Anatolian territory (Bandžović, 2003, p. 22; Tekin, 2018, p. 250).

Five hundred years of uninterrupted cultural interaction has had a major impact on the dance and music culture of Turkish and Serbian peoples living in this area. The mass migration of different ethnic communities, especially in the 20th century, as a result of new political schemes established in the Balkans and Türkiye, has brought a great cultural diversity and wealth to the lands they came to. Even today cultural ties between Serbia and Türkiye are seen to be increasing. With the contribution of global communication, it is evident that a high level of cultural interaction between the dance traditions of the Turkish and Serbian people continues to flourish.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Migration, Forced Migration

Migration, both individually and extensive, is the act of changing one's place of residence due to political, social and/or economic reasons. Etymologically, it is defined as "the act of moving from one country to another or from one settlement to another due to economic, social, or political reasons by individuals or communities" (TDK, n.d.). Conceptually, it is the establishment of new lives in different regions by communities who, voluntarily or forcefully,

moved away or were removed from the regions they lived in due to their economic conditions, social structures and social life[1]. Migrations, which were initially caused by factors such as the desire for better nutrition, shelter, security and climate, later started to happen for cultural, political, economic, religious, educational and industrial reasons (Akıncı et al., 2015, p.62). Migration includes a process that influences and transforms socio-cultural and economic relations as well as geographic and social environment change. In addition, it draws both sides into a whole new network of relationships. Briefly, migration is evaluated as the entirety of processes which starts with a change in perception, continues with a change of place and concludes with the adaptation to the arrived place (Aydemir & Şahin, 2018, p. 147).

The migration phenomenon has been classified by several disciplines in terms of scope, content and qualification according to its causes, purpose and objectives (Günay et al., 2017, p. 38). It is defined as "internal migration" or "external migration" depending on whether it is in or out of the social system (Tekeli & Erder, 1978, p. 17). Migration can take place due to people's own choice (voluntary migration) or due to people being subjected to the imposition of an authority (forced migration).

"Forced migration is the settlement to another region from the populated area without the will of the population due to reasons such as war, natural disaster or oppression. During the process of the establishment of new states in Anatolia and the Balkans, especially in the late periods of the Ottoman Empire, forced social migrations took place. During this time, millions of people were displaced under the name of 'ethnic group' " (Özbilgin et al., 2017, p. 27).

Cultural Identity, Cultural Memory

Identity is the process of self-creation and the cultural, religious, political and economic describing of 'the self' by a person in their social construction. In the fields of anthropology and sociology, the concept of identity includes adjectives such as collective or cultural. In this study, the use of the concept of 'cultural identity' is preferred in terms of the ethnochoreology discipline. Cultural identity is the answer to the question 'Who are we?' by a group or community with shared values in response to the individual's question 'Who am I?'. Cultural communities transfer their shared values, languages, experiences and worldviews by influencing each other; they create common meanings and build their cultural identity by reinforcing their sense of belonging (Tevfik, 2014, p. 22).

Although memory roughly means 'the ability to remember', there are deep meanings to memory, and with them, new meanings are gained. While we cannot determine how the common mind that decides what needs to be remembered works, the memories that are recorded, the ones that are memorized, the ones that are kept in mind are altered according to the needs of the age. This has been the case from pre-history to the electronic cultural phase (Demir, 2012, p. 185).

The study of memory is an interdisciplinary social phenomenon in which the concept of human memory is treated physiologically, psychologically and socially through the retention of vital segments of life in the mind. It is structured by remembering and it is always connected to space and time because time and space are the basic conditions for the establishment of belonging and ownership. Communities create spaces as a basis for their identity and past, creating a symbolic common life between the group and their space (Assman, 2015, p. 43). Communities guarantee their belonging through memorable places. The change or destruction of the spatial areas and the separation of the individual from those areas will change the concepts of belonging and ownership. An individual's personal memory, which is the person's connection to the past, makes references to the future, and undergoes changes by concrete and abstract new images, such as sound, smell and appearance, belonging to the new location it is in. Traditional dances exist within cultural memory in their renewed form through collective selection and elimination and through the diversity of images created in memory by changing time, space and possession, by concrete or abstract transformations.

Cultural memory studies, seen today as a rich data field, were ignored before the 1990s due to the claim that they were not scientific by virtue of their subjectivity, manipulability, and lack of having documentary quality (Depeli, 2011). In the 1990s, the progress of social sciences towards being interdisciplinary led researchers to focus on cultural memory. Since cultural memory is a determinant of concepts such as belonging, individuality and identity and due to its acceptance of sustainability, it can be said that intangible cultural data and ethnographic materials are key elements in the transfer of cultural memory. Traditional dances, a means of communication, accumulate in individual and cultural memory within the continuity of the past, present and future. Ethnology, cultural anthropology and ethnochoreology concentrate on abstract and tangible (intangible) images being transferred through cultural memory in the form of traditional dances taking shape in the body through collective consensus.

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[1] For more information please see from the Preface in Toros, A. (2008). *Migration in Troubled Regions*. Authors Hisae Nakanishi, İbrahim Sirkeci, Hatem Cabbarlı. Ankara: Kozan Ofset. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/15217802/Sorunlu_Bolgelerde_Goc-Migration_in_Conflict_Areas Access Date: 26.02.2020.

In this study, material from traditional dance research is discussed in terms of concepts of cultural identity and cultural memory. The role of traditional dances in rebuilding the identity of migrants is revealed through cultural analysis. Oral history studies on traditional dance enable access to data that illuminates the causality of many social elements, such as group identity, location, and belonging in the cultural memory of the participants. It is seen that dancing has an important function in transferring the migrant identities and cultural memory from the older to newer generations.

Traditional Balkan Dances in Türkiye

Given that migration societies come from many parts of the Balkans and have been placed in different regions of Anatolia, there is difficulty in identifying and classifying the traditional dances of these migrating societies. Dances of migrants that have interacted with local dance traditions throughout the hundred-year process differ in shape and structure in different regions today. It can be seen that their diversity increases depending on many factors. Therefore, it is necessary to remind the reader that all the determinations given in this section are generalisations based on research among Balkan migrant societies.

Balkan dances can be divided into two classes according to their formal characteristics:

1. Hand-held *hora* dances: Danced by linking hands or shoulder-held, arranged in a half circle.
2. Non-hand-held *karşılama* dances: Danced in two opposing rows and with symmetrical steps.

In the performance of Balkan dance in traditional environments, an order of dancing is observed. In this order, it is seen that the dances towards the end of the dance cycle have a faster tempo than the first ones danced. In the traditional environment of Balkan dances, these are played in an order with the later dances played at a faster pace than the earlier dances. In addition, the three stages of each dance, which can be called the introduction, development and conclusion, have increasing changes in pace. Dances can also have only two stages, slow and fast. When moving from one dance to another, the dances stop. This gives the opportunity for the dancers to prepare for cross-dance transitions with different *makam*s within a musical context. Moreover, the metronomic differences seen at the start and end of dances in different rhythmic structures are eliminated, allowing the new dance to start at a faster pace than the end of the previous dance.

In the Balkanic dance repertoire in Anatolia, the music diversity is greater than the movement diversity. The fact that some dances can be accompanied by multiple tunes and the inconsistency of the names between the dances and the tunes can create confusion. According to statements from members of the instrumental team who we interviewed, the migrants dance the same patterns of movement to different music and with different names.

Until the 1990s, in hand-held dances, men and women would form separate lines even though they danced in the same space. This has changed today, and both men and women can be seen dancing together in the same lines.

In mixed dances in traditional environments, a male dancer is seen leading the line. The dance is led by a highly capable dancer who is first in the sequence. If there are different people who are talented in different dances, the good dancer takes the handkerchief and takes over when that dance starts. This indicates that dances are danced with leaders changing. Regarding the age and status of the dancers for dances facing each other, it is considered inappropriate for a young dancer to face an older one, unless they are related. Young people join the dances at the end of the line in hierarchical order, meaning that the dancers are hierarchically sorted by proximity to the musicians. Master dancers are located in front of the musicians because the drummer follows the lead dancer's foot movements, leading the rhythm of the dance. The drummer changes the tune in the dance, depending on the command of the team's leader. The leading dancer guides the band and the dancing group. Musicians have to speed up and slow down the dances according to the dancer in charge. Actions other than what the lead dancer commanded are seen as an insult.

In the light of social situations, the patterns and styles of movements, form of interpretation, gender, age, affinity, marriage etc. in traditional dances determine the social level of the communication among individuals, and between individuals and groups. Due to its effective power, dance can also be used to plan, protect or change a social system based on the ideology and socio-political interest of a group (Giurchescu, 1994, p. 15). In a social sense, traditional entertainments with dances form an educational service for cultural transmission, an ideal indicator for the notification of the social structure, and they are thus an important tool for the creation of social consciousness (Özbilgin, 2014, p. 91).

The kinaesthetic actions of the dance function as a bearer of meaning and as a way of building thoughts, supporting narrative elements, and strengthening the impact of the message. In terms of communication, dancing transforms meaningful or encrypted body movements, facial expressions, music, verbal expressions and social rules into hierarchically meaningful products. For example, the *Temenna Alma Geleneği*, seen in immigrant societies from Novi Pazar, is a dance ritual where the bride declares that she will obey the family by adhering to traditions. The bride dances around her mother-in-law with movements that have meanings. She kisses her mother-in-law's hand three times

by making symbolic gestures to symbolise respect during the dance. These patterns of behaviour shown in dance by the bride to her mother-in-law mean 'I will respect you and my husband (your son)'. After the *Temenna Alma* the mother-in-law measures the degree of acceptance of her daughter-in-law by giving one hand or two hands to the latter so that she can kiss her.

For Balkan immigrant communities, dance is a national element that unites all communities in the context of national culture, as well as the continuity of ethnic culture. For example, for Balkan immigrants, entertainment organised when soldiers depart for the army plays an important role in the internalisation of political concepts such as homeland, freedom and nation among young generations. Today, it can be seen that many symbols that highlight Turkishness are used in the celebrations of Balkan immigrants. Performing traditional Balkan dances is intended to strongly emphasize their Muslim and Turkish identity. For example, usage of the Turkish flag when dancing is considered to be a symbol of 'Turkishness'.

Migrant communities from different parts of the Balkans who came to Türkiye in the 20th century have been organised under geographical names that identify their ethnic identities (Bayraktar, 2014). In these structures, both the region where they came from and the region where they settled are prominent in their identification. For example, the name 'Istanbul Anatolian Side Bosnia Sandžak Social Aid and Culture Association' also indicates that there are other Sandžak Bosniaks in Istanbul. The organisation of Balkan communities is seen as the creation of groupings that refer to geographical and cultural differences. However, Balkan migrant organizations tend to gather different ethnic migrant communities under a single identity of a Balkan immigrant. According to them, migrants who previously lived in closed societies in small settlements are increasingly distant from the closed society structure due to current technological and global conditions. The idea that the prevalent urban structures have led to cultural erosion is a dominant opinion. Preserving cultural identity requires small groups to unite in order to build a greater power. With this idea, Balkan immigrants have been trying to develop a holistic rhetoric under the definition of belonging to the general Balkan immigrant community that shares the same fate. In this way they seek to ignore cultural differences within themselves. Under the concept of 'cultural unity' versus cultural erosion, it is seen that there are large interactions and partnerships in the context of dancing among Balkan migrant communities with different dance divisions. Popularised traditional dances like *pajdushko horo, Damat halayı, Ramo Ramo* are co-performed by all Balkan immigrants, regardless of their ethnic origin, especially in the light of current dance modes.

Bosnia Sandžak Traditional Dance Culture in Türkiye

Various communities living in the same period in Anatolia and the Balkans, along a path of migration throughout history, have interacted with each other, transferring their products, their beliefs, their traditional values to each other, and have had a multicultural structure. The Sandžak region (Raška district currently, where the Bosniak Sandžak communities live) is one of the featured geographies where multiculturalism is seen. By way of example, Oğul (2019, p. 188) mentions heroes such as Jusuf Mehonjić from Sandžak, and other Muslim heroes, such as Reco, Dizdar Agha, and Musa Kesić found in epic tales, which were conveyed by the immigrants to Türkiye, so that they keep the feelings towards their former homeland alive. In the context of ethnicity and cultural identity, different perspectives have been used to define Bosniaks living in a complex cultural spiral. According to Turkish researchers, local communities that collectively became Muslim after the Ottoman Empire conquered Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1463 are called 'Bosniaks'. Prof. Dr. Aydın Babuna states that the term Bosniak in the Ottoman state was first used by the governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Topal Osman Pasha (1861–1869). The Bosniak concept was officially used in the Austrian-Hungarian administration after 1878 as a separate national identity. Bosniaks described themselves as *Turčin* (Turkish) or Muslim during this time. In the early 20th century, Bosniaks were considered as 'Muslim Serbs or Croats' in the political order of the Balkans. In the socialist period, 'Bosniak' was initially not recognised as an ethnic identity. However, the Bosniak ethnic identity was reintroduced in the 1971 census. Finally, the Bosniak identity officially gained international acceptance after the 1995 Dayton Agreement (Babuna, 2022, p.50).

Bosniaks started migrating to Anatolia from the 19th century, due to ethnic and religious conflicts. The migration of Bosniaks to Anatolia is recorded by historians as comprising five major mass migrations. During this period, which starts with the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878) and ends with the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1992), the dancing elements of Bosniak communities migrating to Anatolia further enriched the multi-layered cultural colour of traditional dances in Türkiye. This has contributed to the formation of the multicultural 'syncretic' system of cultural policies in the Republic of Türkiye.

Today, Bosniak Sandžak communities in Türkiye perform their traditional dance in their traditional celebrations. In addition, efforts to continue to revitalise dance traditions in the organizations of solidarity and charity associations for Sandžak migrants have increased. In events such as festivals and special occasions, the extensive use of traditional dance culture as a symbol of cultural identity is prominent. In this context, cultural and solidarity associations collaborate with academic units to keep their group identities and cultural memories alive by conducting practical and theoretical studies on traditional dance.

In this article, two different perspectives were developed to determine the traditional dance repertoire of Bosniak peoples from a morphological perspective. First, the dance performance in traditional environments of Bosniak communities was studied. The dances covered under the second title come from the dance repertoire of the folk dance groups in Sandžak associations.

Sandžak Region Balkan Dances Performed in Traditional Dance Environments

In this study, in order to determine traditional dance structures in the Sandžak region, dance traditions in Sandžak migrants' social environments were observed through participant observation. For example, women's dances performed in the women's entertainment held in Izmir on 27 August 2021 were recorded through participant observation. Balkan dances performed during the henna night for Selin Bozkurt, living in Urla İzmir, whose mother's side is from Bosnia and whose father's side is from Novi Pazar, were analysed and classified. In keeping with traditional practices, the bride changed into three different outfits during the entertainment. The traditional rituals which took place included a performance of the *Temenna* the henna ceremony itself. The *Temenna* tradition is a ritualistic dance practice, seen only among Balkan immigrants, that represents the loyalty of the bride as an individual to her mother-in-law and to her husband. Popular dances, local Anatolian dances and local Balkan dances were also performed.

On that particular henna night, during the woman's entertainment, a total of six different dance motifs and step patterns in the context of Balkan dances were used. All the dances showed the women to be dancing in an anti-clockwise circle with their hands held.

In addition, Sandžak dances were reviewed online via netnographic methods (Catterall & Maclaran, 2001, p. 228–237) to make general observations on Bosniak dances. The dances at the activity organized by the Bursa Bosnia and Herzegovina Charity, Solidarity and Culture Association on 29 January 2018 were analysed.

Our analyses of Bosniak dances were brought to a close with discussions on 31 August 2022 with the head of the youth organisation of the Izmir Bosnia and Herzegovina Culture Associations Federation, Aykut Taylan Varlı, when detailed research was done on Bosniak dance culture. As a result of the analyses, two main types of dance structure were identified in traditional environments.

A- Dances with stable step patterns to different music
These are the dances created by fitting a specific stable step pattern to the rhythmic structure without being dependent on the music. For example, a 6 measure basic *halay* step, performed to both 7/8 metric and binary rhythm music.

B- Dances whose movements are built depending on music
Dances where the changes in step structure are dependent on the parts of the music and where a step pattern is completed with the end of a musical pattern. *Damat halayı* can be given as an example.

Basic Step Motifs of Traditional Bosniak Dances

1. Basic Walking

   - Two metric walking steps, comprising 4 units: step right and point, step left and point.
   - Four metric walking steps, created by tripling the first step, comprising 4 units: stepping right-left-right-pause, stepping left-right-left-pause.

2. *Halay/Shota* step, a six metric step pattern: walk (right), walk (left), step right, pull left to 1st position, step left, pull right to 1st position. Commonly danced in Türkiye, and known as *basic kolo* in Serbia.
3. Symmetric walking step, four metric pattern: walk (right), walk (left), walk (right), step left, pull right to 1st position, and repeat symmetrically to form 8 units.
4. *Çâçak* step; the basic asymmetric *halay* step pattern has an added 'step and pull to 1st position' making the repeated pattern symmetric: [*halay* pattern] + step right, pull left to 1st position, and repeat in symmetry to form 16 units.

Figure 1. Two Metric Basic Step

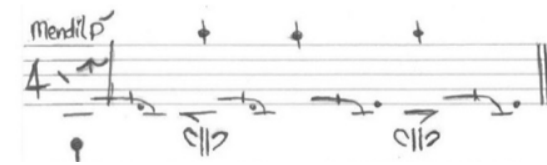**Figure 2.**Four Metric Basic Step

Figure 3. Basic *Halay/Shota* Step

It is often seen that the construction of Bosniak traditional dances consists of a combination of the four key motifs mentioned above. For example, *rijetko* is a tripled variation of the *çâçak* step and is called *topčino* (slow), *rijetko* (medium speed) and *užičko* (fast) dances from slow to fast as the dance's metronome value changes. The *rujmari* dance is a combination of a two-stroke basic step of the *çâçak* pattern. Similarly, the dance called *Yusufe kolo* is a dance performed by playing with a partner four times as a result of 'four' repeated symmetrical walking steps.

The traditional dance repertoire of the Bosniak communities in Türkiye is performed by internalising their own dances as well as the dances of other Balkan communities. The *Damat halayı, Arabaya taş koydum* and *pajdushko* dances, frequently performed by Macedonian migrant communities, are seen as indispensable to the traditional dance
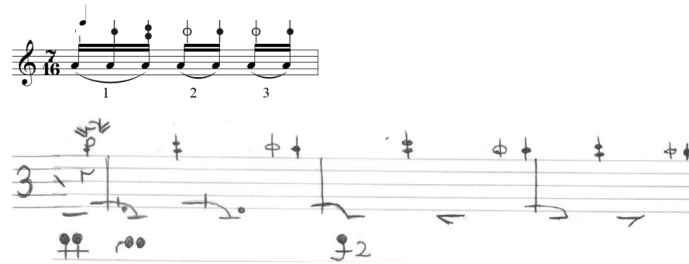
Figure 4. Basic *Halay* Step (7 Metric)
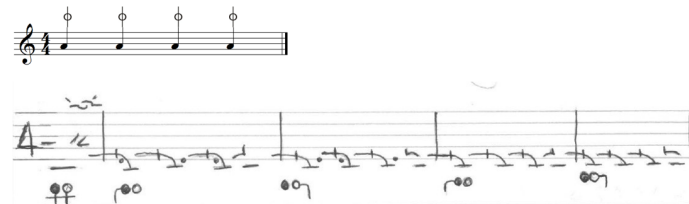
Figure 5. Four Metric Symmetric Walking Step
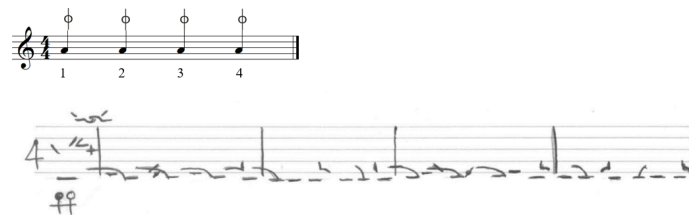
Figure 6.16 Metric Symmetric *Çâçak* Step
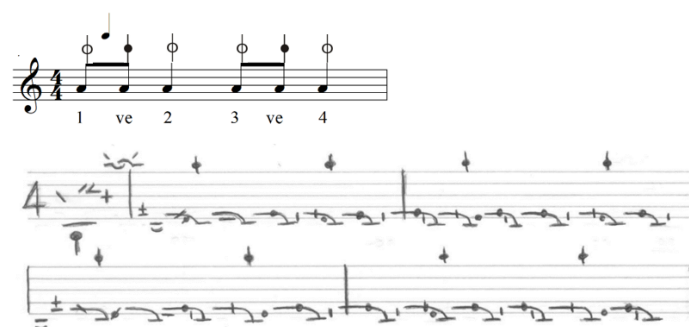
Figure 7.*Rijetko (Topcino/Rijeko/Užičko Kolo)*

repertoire of Bosniak Sandžak communities. The *Ramo Ramo* dance, which is frequently danced by Bulgarian migrants today, is also among the most popular dances in traditional Bosniak entertainment.

Our research showed that the symmetrical step order is mainly used in the traditional environment of the Bosniak dance in the Sandžak region. Depending on the level of pleasure the dance atmosphere gives to people during the performance, the steps of the dancers can be diversified with skipping, jumping and similar motifs, producing a wide range of combinations of personal improvisations without disrupting the basic form of dance.
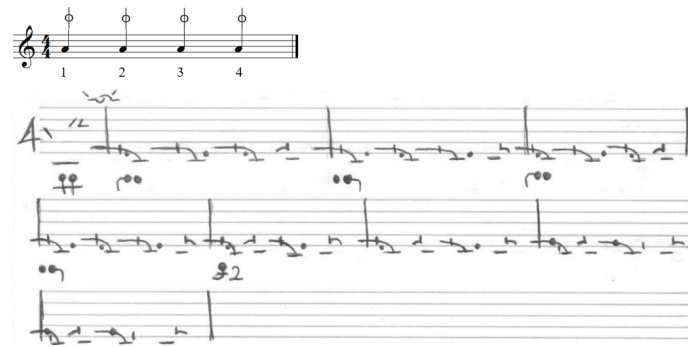
Figure 8._Rujmari_
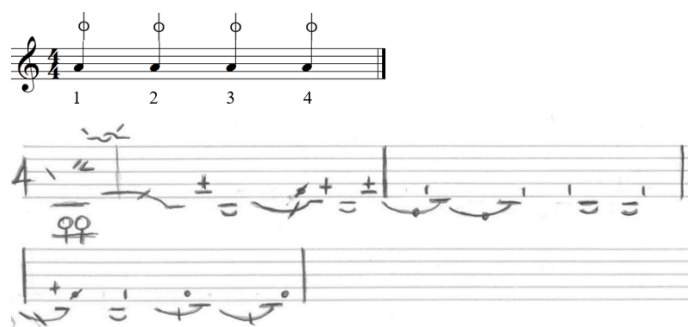
Figure 9._Krimino_ Asymmetric 12 Metric Hopping
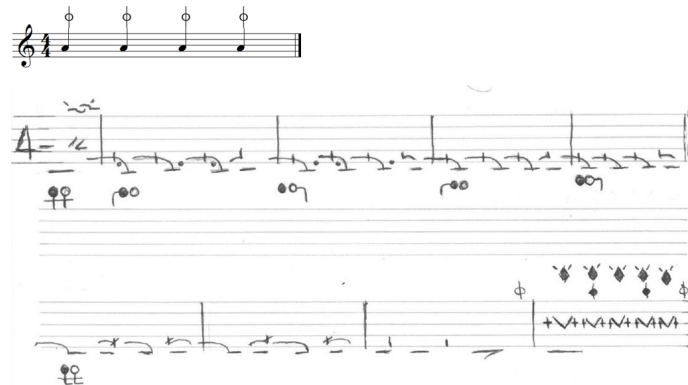
Figure 10._Damat Halayi_ Half Asymmetric
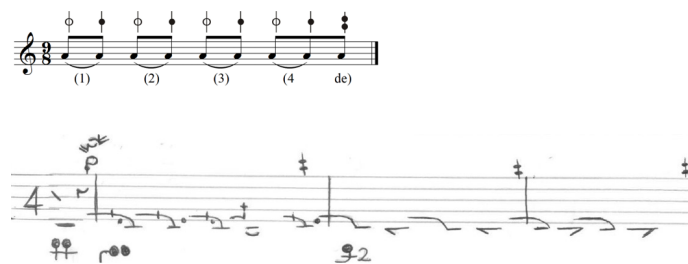
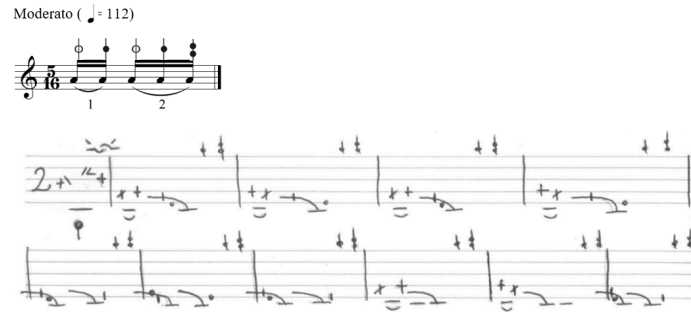**Figure 11.**9 Metric 3 Step Asymmetric _(Arabaya Taş Koydum)_
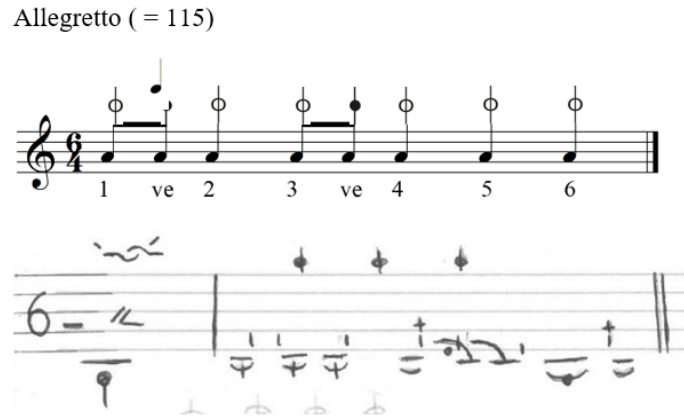
Figure 12. *Paydushko* Asymmetric

Figure 13. Asymmetric Novi Pazar *Tursko Kolo - Gayda*

Sandžak Region Balkan Dances Performed in Folk Dance Works

In order to determine the dance repertoire of the Sandžak region folk dance ensembles, this study conducted research through participant observation of the activities of the Istanbul Pendik Sandžak Bosniaks Association and the Izmir Sandžak Bosniaks Association folk dance groups. In addition, meetings with folk dance instructors were recorded. The dance staging of the Sandžak folk dance communities was reviewed over the internet to allow us to make a general deduction on the dance staging and choreography of Bosniak folk dance teams. The dance repertoire was determined by studying the Bosniak folk dance ensembles in the Teferič and Pita festivities of the Sandžak Bosniaks Charity, Solidarity and Culture associations. As a case study, the rehearsals of the Istanbul Bosnia Sandžak Social Assistance and Cultural Association Children's Folk Dance Ensemble on 27 August 2021 were recorded through participant observation. Information about the staged dances was compiled through discussions with the folk dance instructors about the dance repertoire.

Conclusion

Traditional dance in migration societies serves as an important social factor in the context of social communication, cultural transmission, determination of social and economic hierarchy and the establishment of a community consciousness based on belonging. The analysis of the dance culture of migration societies contributes to understanding the social structure, given that one of the most important symbols depicting cultural identity is traditional dance.

Today, the Sandžak region Bosniak dances are grouped under a separate classification with its unique structure within the Turkish dance culture. Cultural dances of Bosniak communities, which were displaced as a result of migration, can be addressed in two main contexts.

Firstly, traditional dances are owned as a national identity. Bosniak migrants have a political commitment to the dances of the geography that they have been separated from under the psychology of 'return to motherland'. For them, traditional dance is an identity that shows ethnic existence in the motherland. Therefore, it can be said that Bosniak societies show more intense interest in intellectual national values in traditional dance environments. Also signs and symbols that reveal Turkish identity are widely used.

Secondly, Bosniaks own their traditional dance as an indicator of their ethnic society. Ethnic societies set boundaries

between them by restricting their relations with external societies due to disparity and common experience. They clearly demonstrate their commitment to the 'inner group' by separating themselves from the 'outer group'. The argument is that as long as they are successful in maintaining their differences, it will be possible to maintain their own identity. In environments surrounded by different cultural structures, Bosniaks resist interaction and change, and the existence of a desire to preserve traditional culture in the form of a closed society is observed. Bosniak societies use their dance to communicate messages with internal and external groups, including political-ideological, educational, religious and economic features that define their ethnic culture.

The dances in Sandžak migrants' cultural memory play an important role in the context of cultural identity, in remembering the past, positioning the present and moving expectations into the future.

The basic functions of traditional dances in the cultural memory of migrant people can be classified under three main topics:

- to remember the network of archaic symbolic systems that ensure the internal integrity of the group and ensure the continuation of their traditions
- to emphasize the difference between other groups by drawing their boundaries with other cultures
- to ensure the social integration of the new generation in the self-awareness of Bosniak culture within the socio-economic system that becomes hybrid and globalised.

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