

**A LATE-MODERN STORY OF ARGENTINEAN TANGO:
THE CASE OF 21st CENTURY ISTANBUL**

By

Melin Levent Yuna

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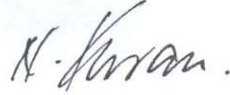
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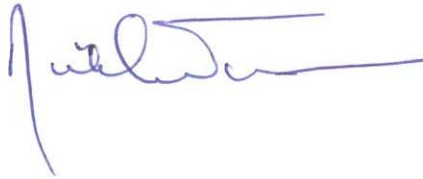
Prof. Dr. Akile Gürsoy



Prof. Dr. Nedret Kuran Burçoğlu



Prof. Dr. Nükhet Sirman



Asst. Prof. Dr. Aybil Göker



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I dedicate this study and the whole process of producing this study to my sweet little daughter Tayra and to my husband Selim.

ABSTRACT

This study presents the contemporary story of tango in Istanbul. Nevertheless, it is the story of modern way of being in a Westernized culture. It asks the question of how is it possible that a 19th century lower class urban product of a culture and society that is different than 21st century Istanbul exists, circulates and is being practiced in the 21st century urban Istanbul. To answer this question, the study presents a contemporary story with three protagonists in the context of Istanbul tango: The rational capitalism; the emotional social; and the modern powerful progress seeker. It shows that contemporary tango in Istanbul is a symbol which presents the story of the modern individuals who I believe to have these three protagonists as one in themselves to different extents and in different equilibriums. I propose that tango as a practice and a dance form has become the symbol of the complex world order and late-modern conditions of life which shapes and is shaped by the educated late-modern individual in Istanbul in the late 20th and early 21st century. The modern social actors of tango use the practice and the community to reflect themselves when constructing their self identities. They deal with their identities on global and local scales, constantly adapting new information produced in social life to present, understand, define and redefine themselves, with his / her two basic modes of existence, from his / her point of view: Having and Being. Their reflection concentrates on possessions of power, progress, possibilities of self-creativity on the one hand and needs of sharing, love, socialization into a community and getting involved in productive activities on the other hand. The modern social actors use tango as a symbol of their increased interest in the search for intellectual capital/ new information, their desire / need to consume it and compete around it in their leisure times. They create and get involved in a culture industry in urban Istanbul, which has a strong tendency for commodification of various aspects of social life and art. These modern individuals use tango as one way to shape and reflect a Westernized urban middle and upper-middle class culture in their leisure times with their attempts to combine local and global scenes of life as well as reproducing a contemporary secular understanding of Turkish self in relation to newness, claims to Europe and global connectivity.

To realize this study, I was involved in a fieldwork with participant observation, in depth interviews and qualitative content analysis. I chose to study with the first generation tango instructors, organizers and experienced practitioners of tango in the community. I chose to study with three particular tango schools in Istanbul and I participated various classes, *milongas* and festivals to have an understanding of the community and its social actors.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma İstanbul'daki tango pratiğinin çağdaş hikayesini sunmaktadır. Ancak bu hikaye aynı zamanda Batılılaşmış bir toplumda modern varoluşun hikayesidir. Çalışma şu soruya yanıt aramaktadır: Nasıl oluyor da 19. Yüzyılda üretilmiş olan alt sınıf bir şehir ürünü 21. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda var olmaya, yaşatılmaya ve üretilmeye devam ediyor? Bu sorunun cevabında rol oynayan üç tane başrol oyuncusu mevcut: Rasyonel kapitalizm, duygusal sosyal ve modern güçlü ve ilerlemeci. Çağdaş tango'nun hikayesi içinde bu üç başrol oyuncusunu barındıran modern bireyin hikayesini sunmaktadır. Tango dans ve pratiği 21. yüzyıl şehir İstanbul'unun eğitilmiş bireyini şekillendiren ve yine onun şekillendirdiği karmaşık dünya düzenini ve geç-modern yaşam hallerini anlatmaktadır. Tango yapan modern toplumsal aktörler bu pratiği ve cemaati kendilerini yansıtmak ve kimliklerini kurmak için kullanmaktadır. Aktörler bu cemaatte global ve yerel mecralarda var olmaya çalışarak, toplumsal yaşamda sürekli olarak üretilen yeni bilgileri hayatlarına uygulayarak ve temel bir ikilemi deneyimleyerek kendi kimlikleriyle başa çıkmakta ve onu yeniden kurmaktadır. Onlar Eric Fromm'un anlattığı "sahip olmak ve olmak" arasında gidip gelerek yaşamı deneyimlemektedirler. Bu ikilem güç, ilerleyebilme / büyüyebilme ve kendini yeniden yaratabilme olanaklarının peşinden koşmak ile paylaşma, sevgi ve bir cemaate / toplumsal gruba sosyalleşebilme / entegre olabilme ihtiyacı üzerinden yaşanmaktadır. Modern toplumsal aktörler tangoyu entelektüel kapital / yeni bilgi peşinden koşma ihtiyaçlarını ve boş zamanlarında bunu tüketip bunun üzerinden rekabet etme ihtiyaçlarını gidermektedir. Onlar İstanbul'da bir kültür endüstrisi üretmekte ve toplumsal ve sanat hayatının tamamen ticarileşme sürecinin bir parçası olmaktadır. Bu modern bireyler tango aracılığıyla boş zamanlarında ve bazen profesyonel olarak batılı orta ve orta-üst sınıf kimliği tanımlamakta ve bunu yaparken de hayatın yerel ve küresel taraflarını birlikte tutmaya çalışmakta ve yeniden Avrupalılık, yenilikçilik ve küresellik iddiasıyla laik bir Türk benlik yaratmaktadır.

Bu çalışmayı gerçekleştirebilmek için katılımcı gözlem, derinlemesine görüşmeler ve niteliksel içerik analizi gibi araştırma metodları kullanarak bir saha çalışması yaptım. Bu cemaatin kurulmasında ciddi roller oynamış olan birinci nesil tangoculara odaklandım. İstanbul'daki bu nesil okullardan üç tanesini özellikle inceledim ve düzenli olarak özellikle İstanbul'daki *milonga* ve tango festivallerine katıldım.

PREFACE

I am an anthropologist born in Istanbul to a very particular urban life: a woman from a secular liberal Jewish family, whose past generations spoke a dialect of Spanish, Ladino. My upbringing thus enabled me to have what anthropologists call commonly a ‘second birth’ right here in Istanbul, instead, of as is normally experienced, in fieldwork outside of one’s familiar surroundings. Such fieldwork is often called a second birth in that it instills maturity and growth as we learn to understand a culture other than our own, and thus, in the process, understand ourselves. With the diversity of my heritage, I chose to undertake such a kind of an anthropological journey within my homeland. Nevertheless, my choice to remain at home does not imply that I did not pass through various stages of maturity to understand myself and others, nor did I lack curiosity for a culture different than my own. In the case of my proposed area of study, the Argentinean Tango, I am an insider and yet outsider of the culture. Argentinean Tango is not part of the traditional Turkish culture because it is a tradition of Argentina. Nevertheless, the dance, and all that is associated with it, has become part of the middle and upper-middle class urban Istanbul culture within the last 15 years.

Although a Jew with Spanish roots, I have never known Latin American culture, language, and practices prior to my fieldwork in the tango; I have never previously considered, for example, visiting Argentina or Uruguay. My curiosity for my research, as is necessary for every anthropologist, led me to visit Argentina three times. I learned, furthermore, the dialect Castellano because of my curiosity of the tango culture in relation to the Latin American one. Furthermore, what led me to learn this language was my immersion in the culture I chose to study-- the practice of the tango. Tango was new to me and I had to learn its language to understand its culture better than a well versed practitioner does who practices tango once or twice a week.

At the beginning of my research, I was interested in fieldwork in Buenos Aires. Then I changed my mind for two reasons: one related to my journeys to Buenos Aires; the second, to concept of place Istanbul held in anthropological and dance studies. Although Buenos Aires was the “authentic” homeland of the tango, Istanbul

was a colony, far away, with practitioners devoted to the dance. And as such, offered a fieldwork experience unlike any other.

My first visit to this homeland, Buenos Aires, was very unique. It was in 2000: winter in Istanbul; very hot summer in Buenos Aires. I did not know what to expect in my first visit. I only knew that Buenos Aires greatly differed from my home not only in its climate but also to what was regarded there as the tango. Although Buenos Aires was the home of the practice, it was not yet much populated by European and Turkish tango tourists. There were European tango tourists but they did not make up the considerable part of the tango scene in the city *milongas*. Even in the most ‘touristic’ and ‘nonlocal’ *milongas*, there were local dancers that carried the traditional codes of tango including *el cabaceo*. It was possible to find Toto in La Viruta. I was a foreign young lady with whom the elder local dancers offered to dance so as to teach me the tradition of this practice without words. Ezequiel Paludi, was not yet one of the globally famous products of tango industry, but on the way to be so. Gustavo Naveira was the greatest *maestro* of all.

In my second visit, I started to transform. Tango was on its way to be transformed into a culture industry. I was also changing by gaining experience in this practice. I was becoming a part of a tango network primarily based first on friendship. I was surprised by friends who, when appreciating my dancing, asked me to perform in their countries. I realized that the social and the economic did indeed coexist in this practice. My last visit to Buenos Aires was in January 2006. What and whom I found in Buenos Aires in many of the places I visited were not very much different than what and whom I found in Europe. Europe had pioneered a considerable part of the tango world system next to the USA that was all in Buenos Aires. It increased the connectivity of the tango world from Buenos Aires to Istanbul.

My last visit to Buenos Aires showed me that the tango had become economic and industrial. It was transforming into a global culture industry where the social and the economic dimensions coexisted and conflicted. Many young instructors of Argentinean origin, for example, had come onto the horizon. Argentina also started to host some European and a few Turkish instructors. The tango was evolving: transforming into a market place in which its practitioners were constantly travelling

to consume and produce tango in different parts of the world. Once upon a time, the presence and power of the elder generation of practitioners was the reason why people travelled to Buenos Aires. However Buenos Aires lately had become an arena where practitioners of all different origins and of different countries went to perform in the *milongas* where the elder generation of tango once used to dance and tell stories about the past of tango, Argentina and its *sufimientos*

The second reason why I decided to change my fieldwork from Buenos Aires to Istanbul relates with the place of Istanbul both in the world tango scene and the contemporary studies of dance anthropology. Many tango studies and studies of dance anthropology usually told stories of Argentina and the US or they included Europe in their stories. Many of these studies, however, told nothing or very little about Istanbul. Nevertheless, Istanbul is not only an important part of the contemporary tango scene but also an important part of this culture industry. Therefore, I decided to work in Istanbul rather than Buenos Aires, with its unique aspects as an integrated part of a world system. This decision gave me the opportunity to try to understand myself both as an insider and as an outsider in this culture. This dual role provided me unique experiences and sentiments toward this culture, a role which is and would be definitely different than that of my outsider in Buenos Aires.

A LATE-MODERN STORY OF ARGENTINEAN TANGO: THE CASE OF 21st CENTURY ISTANBUL

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Tango as Symbol of the 21st Century Life and Individual Self: Local Meanings in Relation to a Global System

My study presents a story at two different levels. At one level, the story tells of the relation established between my emotions / feelings and my intellect--my intuition and my rationalism. On this level, this study depicts the process by which I intellectually identify perceptions apprehended emotionally but not yet been able to rationally define. My process of identifying emotions helped me understand myself, particularly my frustrations better than before. Thus, this dissertation attempts to give meaning to a very particular practice that invaded my life for the last 12-13 years, which metamorphosed over time, resulting in a piece of writing authored by myself, the practitioner.

On the second level, this study presents a contemporary story of tango, a story with three protagonists in the context of the particular Istanbul tango: the rational system of capitalism, the emotional social, and the modern, powerful progress seeker(s). Contemporary tango presents the story of modern individuals whom I believe possess in themselves these three protagonists as one, albeit in varying degrees and settings. My findings propose that tango as a practice and a dance form symbolizes the complex world order and modern life which shapes and is shaped by the educated late-modern individual in Istanbul in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Tango retells the story of modern individuals who deal with identity on global and local scales. Practitioners constantly adapt new information to present, understand, and define themselves, with their two basic modes of existence, from his / her point of view: Having and Being as formulated by Eric Fromm (Fromm 1997: 2-8, 13-14). The Having mode of the modern social actors of tango concentrates on obtaining the possessions of power, progress, possibilities of self-creativity, and sometimes aggression in competition as well as the desire to be "The One". The Being mode of these social actors needs sharing, love, socialization into a community,

and involvement in productive activities. Therefore, my study tells of a contemporary tango story, which is practiced, produced, and reproduced by these late-modern individual social actors and their modes of existence.

My study shows that these actors shape tango as a symbol of their increased interest in the search for intellectual capital / new information, their desire / need to consume and compete in it in their leisure times. They create and become involved in a culture industry in urban Istanbul, which has a strong tendency for commodification of various aspects of social life and art, particularly Westernized ones. These modern individuals use tango to shape and reflect a Westernized urban upper- and middle class culture. In their leisure time, they attempt to combine local and global scenes of life as well as reproduce a contemporary secular understanding of a Turkish self vis-a-vis late-modernity, claims to newness, Europe, and global connectivity. Moreover, tango has thus become the symbolic text of the 21st century's late-modern socio-economic life. This text is shaped by an understanding of time based on speed, dynamism, and a rapid change; such attitudes thus account for a text that differs from the understanding and experience of time as depicted in the late 19th and early 20th century.

My study shows that Argentinean Tango in Istanbul is currently a space for self-presentation in Erving Goffman's terms. It is the contemporary space where modern individuals present and realize their projects of self. It is the space where educated individuals revise themselves and their practice with constantly produced new information, along with the urge and necessity to reach globality in their self-definition and sense of belonging. Tango is the space where they experience their self-dichotomy of emancipation and express uniqueness together with their desire to integrate and socialize into a community which, unlike traditional Turkish society, cannot be realized with familial relations. Some contemporary social actors begin by practicing the tango as one of their leisure-time activities. Others, on the other hand, make it into a serious leisure – time activity which means that they attain an expertise equivalent to the training they possess in their own professions. Such individuals eventually may practice it for professional ends, for their sole livelihood. Nevertheless, all the social actors of the urban Istanbul tango community, by definition, reproduce their secular selves by repeatedly experiencing tango in a city in

a period when a fundamentalist way of life is openly expressed. The practice serves as a space where secular body and self is experienced in the 21st century Istanbul.

One part of my study deals with the educated, modern global women in tango and their self-positionings within the tango community as well as in the tango dance in relation to their attempts to combine their socio-economic and educational backgrounds with the ideology of traditional tango practice. Argentinean tango is a dance characteristicized by technique, a rational system that shapes and disciplines the contemporary body as well as a method of expressing emotions. One part of my study tries to understand how this technique is experienced and what it is transformed into on the 21st century dance floor in urban Istanbul. I propose that this technique is transformed into a symbolic space where the men and women find various ways to present themselves sometimes in harmony with each other and sometimes in need of presenting and expressing their uniqueness. I limited this section only with woman's perspective since woman in Turkey has always been the site and the instrument of social change and cultural values. Nevertheless, I believe that man's perspective should be studied to have a full picture of this transformation. This section on woman's perspective shows that women present and define themselves in particular ways with strategies which do not necessarily reject a male ontology but develop instead strategies of a female way of being, sometimes parallel to, sometimes harmonious with and sometimes conflicting with that of males.

My study also shows that practicing tango itself does not necessarily provide a considerable social mobility. Nevertheless, it is possible to realize a social climbing from within the tango practice and community. This is made possible by becoming a node of global relationships.

It should be noted that this study should not be generalized to all Turkey. It takes these events as the ultimate products of educated global men and women in Istanbul. These events are not only the symbols of the attempts / desires of modern social actors to be global self-realizers of Istanbul but also as social actors and individuals who seek to make claims to newness and modernity.

Overall, this study cannot be totally generalized to all Turkey, particularly to nonurbanized small areas where it is not very possible to speak about information society and consumption-oriented social groups. This is most true for those small, nonurbanized areas where discussions are few and far between regarding an information society and consumption-oriented social groups. Nor should this work, in a similar sense, be generalized to the lower socio-economic areas of urban and rural Istanbul since, the Turkish rural and working classes possess different patterns of consumption, self conceptions, and understanding of the components of leisure time. This point is particularly evident when comparing this group to urbanites and/or upper-middle and middle class individuals of the city; moreover, this less privileged group differs in how these patterns and understanding relate to that notion of the self. The literature examining self in groups indicates that the lower- and rural classes tend to have less of the individualistic and more of collectivistic aspect of self in a social group when compared to the self construction process in upper-middle and middle class individuals / consumers in urban areas. (Bellah et al. 1988, Brewer 1991, Daab. 1991, Kohn 1969, Lukes 1973, Parsons 1949, Triandis 1988, 1990, 1995). Tango practice and experience is the experience and the culture of Westernized regions and middle and upper-middle classes of urban Turkish society, a phenomenon which is mainly guided by urban Istanbul.

Then my study is organized and presented as follows: In Chapter II, I review the literature concerning my study and explain how its contribution to the social sciences as well as preparing the theoretical framework of my study. Chapter III presents my field, the fieldwork, and methodology. With Chapter IV, I reintroduce the tango practice and its socio-cultural significance by presenting a short historical review. This review includes the late 19th century and early 20th century Argentina, Buenos Aires and particular historical characters, its distribution to EurAsia and the change in its socio-cultural meaning as well as its significance in Turkey in the early republican period. The last part of Chapter IV asks how tango can be understood in modern urban Istanbul. In Chapter V, I introduce the major global and local social actors that make this practice circulate and transform in the 21st century, I name these actors as the producers and consumers of the practice. Chapter VI pictures the setting of the contemporary tango in Istanbul. With this chapter, I present the virtual and

physical social settings that the contemporary practitioners interact and present themselves.

Chapter VII begins by presenting how contemporary tango practice starts to receive meanings in 21st century urban Istanbul from its modern social reproducers. I show how tango is transformed by its contemporary social actors using the tools of information society to become not only a social symbol of an information society but also a source of social status, power, and identity through access to this information. Chapter VIII continues presenting how contemporary tango practice is given contemporary meaning and transformation by the actors so that it can circulate in the 21st century. I show that contemporary social actors of tango develop local and global ways of organizing tango, practices which reflect 21st century world order. I propose that they currently popularize the industry of tango culture for distribution on a global network. On a local scale, the industry is based on formal and informal social formations in which government related dance federations work with a respected, widespread system of apprenticeship. The professional and nonprofessional aspects of relations formed in the industry, moreover, go hand in hand in some cases yet conflict in others. This contact and support system reproduces itself by periodically creating and consuming objects of desire. This chapter also introduces the function of language in Istanbul tango as a symbol of these global and local aspects in power.

The lengthy Chapter IX aims to answer the question of what tango does for the contemporary individuals who enable this practice to circulate in the 21st century. In this chapter I first show that tango works as a tool that can alternately satisfy the socio-emotional and professional needs of the modern individual. Then I focus on how modern individuals use tango as a tool to develop and reflect the life politics of the modern self in different dimensions.

Chapter X explains the urban Istanbul tango community's understanding of the modern in the 21st century. I show that modernity relates to two main concepts: one follows the new and is globally connected; the second reproduces the secularism of selves. Tango is employed as an instrument in the process of being modern in the 21st century by integrating itself into the new and global. Additionally, tango as instrument reproduces in its practice the experiences of secularism in relation to

developing a rational conception of the body and its use. In Chapter XI, I deal with the contemporary roles of the leader and the follower from the woman's perspective because most literature focuses primarily on the male perspective in tango. Examining the woman's role as a follower enables me to attempt to provide a partial answer to the question of how a dance technique is transformed on the 21st century dance floor and among its late-modern practitioners immediately during the practice. It deals with the state of the woman's role in tango in and out of the dance within the global world of the 21st century. I analyzed this role in two spheres/aspects: the first, in relation to their bodily expressions; the second, to a female discourse they create, which I call *woman-talk*.

The XIIth, the last chapter, takes three tango events as contemporary modes of modernity and being/experiencing self. Furthermore, the chapter examines the forms through which contemporary individuals present their desires to follow/pursue global connectivity.

1.2 Research Objective

My study is not mainly concerned with focusing on the structural and morphological features of the contemporary Argentinean Tango practice. My work thus does not mainly intend to present detailed descriptions and analysis of the steps and body movements of Argentinean Tango since they are not directly relevant for the main questions of my study--although my study does give particular descriptions of the dance and changes within the last 10 – 12 years to explain some cultural notions. My work rather aims to present the cultural significance of the contemporary practice of Argentinean Tango in 21st-century-Istanbul. I strive to answer the question of how such a product, one created in a late 19th and early 20th century society far from Istanbul, was then circulated, practiced, and accepted in 21st century Istanbul. These descriptions have the goal of providing information on the forms and connotation of the tango dance so that its symbolic and contemporary cultural meaning and function can be understood.

Any kind of dance form is both cultural practice and product. It symbolizes a particular social order, cultural norms, and concerns, the dominant, emergent, and

oppositional cultural values as Raymond Williams puts it, as well as the meaning systems of a particular cultural context that Clifford Geertz proposes (Williams 1977), (Geertz 1973). It is a sphere of interaction and self-presentation. With the insight that Geertz and Williams offer, I offer tango practice as a contemporary text and symbol that coexist and conflict with each other in the lives of upper-middle and middle class dwellers of Istanbul. In other words, how the interaction of the intelligent - the rational - the consumptionist and - the informative capitalism; the emotional need for social interaction in an individualizing context; and the power / progress-seeking ego enables the practice's survival in contemporary urban Istanbul.

My study aims to show that the current practice of tango can be accepted, on the one hand, as a historical reenactment of the late 19th and early 20th century. It now has been, on the other hand, largely transformed, reproduced, reconstructed to endure as one of the cultural symbols of the contemporary urban culture. With this awareness, my study develops a new anthropological and perhaps sociological alternative to the traditional discourse of tango as “the passionate, the exotic, and the primitive” (Savigliano 1995: 2).

My study asks the question of how it is possible that Argentinean Tango, which was a local product of 19th century Argentina, Buenos Aires, now finds a social space of existence, practice, circulation, and therefore, meaning in the 21st century urban Istanbul? What does its circulation, for example, provide for the modern society and individuals of contemporary Istanbul? What does tango, in 21st century urban İstanbul, enable for its individual citizens so the practice that can survive and flourish?

My study attempts to show that the practice of Argentinean Tango has evolved into of the major symbols of the late-modern info-consumption society of urban Istanbul, a symbol which is enriched with meaning by its practitioners, the modern educated social actors. In this sense, the practice carries multiple meanings as it presents notions of class, the modern individual and his/her needs, social order and contemporary understanding of modernity—all of which is shaped by its contemporary practitioners in Istanbul.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review

Although most literature on body and dance is very recent, it is also possible to include the larger literature on both topics in social theory, an area to which I believe my study can contribute.

Berthelot claims that there are almost 500 texts on the body since 1945 until the 1980's (Berthelot 1993). However, the body has emerged as the topic of social theory when feminists and structuralists started to question enlightenment thinking. Feminists, structuralists, and post-structuralists challenge the dichotomous and linear understanding of western philosophy, which has strong roots in a Jewish-Christian philosophy that considered the "body" in opposition to the "mind" (Işık 1998). The body started to be understood as a socially constructed phenomena. Mary Douglas, Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman are the major theoreticians that consider body not in opposition to mind but as a socially constructed entity.

In *Natural Symbols*, Mary Douglas develops the idea that body is a receptor of social meaning and a symbol of a society (Douglas in Shilling 2004: 64). Michel Foucault, on the other hand, understands body not only as given meaning by social discourses but as wholly constituted by discourse. He analyses individuals to be produced as embodied subjects and connected to institutions (Shilling 2004: 65). Erving Goffman engages in discussions upon the characterization of the body with the understanding of body as social unit. In *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, he examines the position of the body in social interaction through his work on behavior in public and private places, the presentation of self, and the management of stigma (Goffman in Shilling 2004: 72-73).

When we examine body as the main tool in performance, it is dance which symbolizes many culturally dominant, marginal ideas, values, roles, and power relations. Dance has been the subject of a number of historical and ethnographic studies as an expression and practice of the relations of power and protest, resistance

and complicity, a potent symbol of identity for various ethnic groups and nations (Reed 1998).

Desmond's anthropologically informed article analyzes dance and movement styles as transmitted across class, ethnic, and national lines. He shows how issues of class and locality can be embodied in the changing lexicons of movement (Reed 1998). Colonialist dance studies show the importance of dance in the civilizing process and the refiguration of both local and European culture (Cooper & Stoler 1997, Dirks 1992). For instance, Poole's analysis of choreography and history of Andean ritual dance focuses on the complex ways in which Spanish Catholic and Andean conceptions of dance converge. The Andean dance was forced to work within the space of Catholicism and the church whereas for the Andeans, the dance symbolised a means of gaining individual status and power (Reed 1998).

The ways in which identities of indigenous dancers shifted as they became indicated in the changing discourses of colonialism, nationalism, and orientalism is the focus of Meduri's study of the *devadasis* (Indian female temple dancers of South India) in the late 19th and 20th centuries (Meduri 1996). The image of *devadasi* dramatically shifted from precolonial practice to 19th century prostitute and currently 20th century emblem of the nation (Reed 1998). Dance as integral to social life is also pointed out by Sue Jennings (Jennings 1985). Her study of the of Teminar dance among Teminars living in Malay Peninsula observes dance as a process which can only be appreciated in relation to their culture and one that maintains social values and beliefs among adults (Jennings 1985: 47).

Early research by Adrienne Kaeppler, Joann Kealiinohomoku, Anya Peterson Royce, Judith Hanna, and Drid Williams prepared the base of the anthropology of dance in the 1960's and 1970's. These studies emphasized the form and function of dances as well as dance with respect to nonverbal communication. Kaeppler worked in the South Pacific on Lakalakan Crich Tongan poetry, music, and dance. She claims that fundamental cultural values are constructed and passed to next generation. She argues, in particular, how structured movement systems can express and reciprocate emotions. In terms of dance's various social meanings over time for different cultures,

Anya Peterson Royce wrote on creativity and interpretation in Ballett Mime in her fieldwork among the Zapotec of Juchitan.

Nevertheless, the most relevant studies of dance for my research have been the studies of the politics of dance and the relations between culture, body and movement. For instance, political ideologies play a critical role in the selection of national dances. Strauss analyzes the ideological reasons for the adoption of ballet during China's Cultural Revolution (Strauss 1977). Strauss claims that reason of this adoption relates to ballet's narrative possibilities, movement vocabularies that stressed strength and action, as well as its flexibility in expressing gender equality through movement (Reed 1998). Daniel's studies of the Cuban Rumba represent a particularly striking case in which a national dance form was selected for ideological reasons related to its identification with a particular community--the lower- class, dark-skinned workers of Cuba (Daniel 1991, 1995). The emotional power of dance as a national symbol is evoked in Shapiro's studies of Cambodian court dance in contemporary refugee communities (Shapiro 1994, 1995). In this setting, refugee Cambodian dancers are emblems of the Cambodian nation; in a morally acceptable set of steps, they depict a continuity to a place/past while tango manuals and congresses contribute to its domestication, a choreographic transformation suitable to French manners and good taste (Savigliano 1995: 122).

Dance has been studied as an important tool by which cultural ideologies of gender differences are reproduced. Through movement vocabulary, costuming, body image, training, and technique, discourses of dance are often rooted in ideas of natural gender differences. As Daly describes, movement lexicons of males and females demonstrate the ideals of gendered difference in action (Daly 1987).

Ann Daly's study of Isadora Duncan and American culture provides an model for interpreting the cultural significance of theatrical dance. Daly presents a model for understanding the ways in which dancers mirror and transform gender, ethnic, and class identities. Similar to Ann Daly, Cynthia Novack understands dance in relation to cultural values. In her article "The Body's Endeavours as Cultural Practices", she argues that dance may reflect while simultaneously resist cultural values: she gives

the example of the ballerina who embodies yet enacts stereotypes of the feminine (Novack 1995).

Dance has been understood within a contemporary global/transnational contexts as well. For instance, Martha Savigliano presents tango as a complicated, contradictory practice that has been produced and continues to be reproduced through the process of exoticization. As a symbol of the passionate Other and of Exotic culture in a global capitalist economy, Savigliano shows the ways in which the tango has been commodified for imperial consumption. She also focuses on the global context of the production and appropriation of the dance. She explains how the imperial bourgeois classes of Europe constituted the exotic as both desirable yet repulsive, fascinating but scandalous (Savigliano 1995, Reed 1998).

My study of contemporary Argentinean Tango in Istanbul attempts to integrate various subtopics of the presentation of the self through body as an intermediary together with dance literatures within a particular perspective of time--late-modernity and info - consumption culture and place--Istanbul. My research tries to combine the literature of contemporary information-consumption society by the process of interpreting the contemporary, modern self. My study interprets tango practice as a medium that is being transformed to serve and reflect its social actors' needs for a particular mode of being, in this case, that of the modern educated individual.

In addition, this study also focuses at this 'alien cultural practice' in a very marginally researched site in dance and body: Turkey, Istanbul. Comparative studies of dance and dance community in Africa, Europe and India, such as Poole's study on Andean ritual dance, have focused on the complex ways in which convergences between Spanish Catholic and Andean conceptions of dance as devotion have allowed the dance to be sustained over centuries (Reed 1998). There are studies of dance in India under colonial rule with similar focus (Allen 1997; Kersenboom – Story 1987; Marglin 1985; Meduri 1988, 1996; O'Shea 1997, 1998; Srinivasan 1984, 1985, 1988). The study of Szwed & Marks (1988) is another example. It describes how African-Americans in the Americas and the West Indies took up European court dances. The study argues that these dances were not only both "Africanized" and adapted for sacred purposes but were also restructured to become the basis of popular culture in

the New World (Reed 1998). However, few studies of dance in the contemporary Turkish society exist similar to those mentioned above, with the exception of the studies of Arzu Öztürkmen (Öztürkmen 2002). There are, for example, studies of dance in the Ottoman period in relation to folk dances and professional *saray* dances (Öztürkmen 2002); however they neither relate to social theory nor are contemporary.

Most dance literature in Turkey does not undertake tango dance and practice as its subject matter; moreover, nor do these studies understand tango as a contemporary cultural symbol. Although the first study of dance was realized by Rıza Tevfik and Selim Sırrı Tarcan in 1900 and 1928 (Öztürkmen 2002: 142), the research was based on one of the local dances of Turkey, the *Zeybek*. Öztürkmen's focus work is on the most well-known dance studies in Turkey but her studies primarily examine the Turkish folk dance (Öztürkmen 2002). Comprehensive dance studies that do include tango in Turkey are basically historical studies; they are not based on 21st century contemporary Istanbul. Fehmi Akgün is the most important researcher who worked on tango. Akgün's *Yıllar Boyunca Tango* studied tango from 1865 – 1993 and presents a very good historical account of tango originating from Buenos Aires, traveling to Europe, and then Turkey. His focus is mostly on the music, though, rather than the dance. Other studies of tango in Turkey take tango either as one part of the main body of the work or as a historical object of the nation's process toward nationalization and modernization. For instance, Leman Yılmaz's M.A thesis from the History Department of Boğaziçi University, is one of those studies which analyses tango as one part of her study on dance and the Republican period. Funda Cantek's research is another example. Working on micro-history and the sociology of communication, dance and tango is discussed only as a section of her *Yabancılar ve Yerliler*. However, she also considers dance and tango from within the perspective of Turkish nationalism and westernization in relation to the Cumhuriyet period and the building of a modern nation-state.

My research thus differs from those above; I analyze the meaning of tango both in the contemporary cultural system and from a perspective broader than westernization and nationalism, without disregarding their significance, however. Studies of tango in Europe have mostly focused on Argentina the period when the dance originated, its social meaning its relation to Europe, the tango lyrics as a male

discourse, issues related with the national identity construction of Argentina, colonization, machismo, class identity of Argentina, and gender positioning, such as the work of Eduardo Archetti (1997). Martha Savigliano is another famous contemporary researcher and anthropologist to study Argentinean Tango in the broader perspective including colonialism, class, and gender identity (Savigliano 1995). In addition to Archetti and Savigliano, Anahi Viladrich offers a contemporary study on tango. She studied tango immigrants in contemporary New York City and examined the importance of the Manhattan tango world as a reservoir for social resources to satisfy their members' social and health needs (Viladrich 2005). However, contemporary Turkey is excluded from all of these studies. Most studies on tango do not consider contemporary Turkey in their maps. In this sense, my work is not only a contemporary tango study occurring in a city of Turkey but also takes into account the relation to one other different cultural aspects. These aspects include but are not limited to issues of late-modernity in 21st century urban Istanbul, its position as an info-consumption society, as well as modern self and class identity formation.

2.2 Theoretical Framework: Modern Self, Identity, and More

2.2.1. Self and identity of late-modern times: Presentation of self and self as a modern project

Self has never been so problematized as much as in post-traditional societies (Giddens 1991; Kellner 2003). In the traditional social order, one's identity was fixed, because it was pre-given. Identity therefore was provided by properties of family and traditions: "It was a function of predefined social roles and traditional systems of myths, which provided orientation and religious sanctions to define one's place in the world" (Kellner, 2003: 231). In other words, identity was not subject to discussion, change, or reflection. In post-traditional social order, identity became open to change, multiple, self-reflexive and personal with modernity. In modernity, identity is a personal and theoretical problem since individuals realize that it is constructed, rather than a pre-given.

Anxiety is an important part and experience of modern identity. The modern person searches for certainty in his/her the choices. Moreover, s/he is also anxious about the recognition and approval of her / his identity by others. One chooses to be something and may later on get bored of being that ‘thing’; therefore that individual might revise his / her ontology (Kellner 2003: 232).

Identity in modernity is thus strongly linked to individuality and the desire to develop a unique self. Identity in the traditional social order on the contrary functioned as an established system such as tribe, family, or group. In the social order of the period after World War 2, which can be identified as the consumer, information, or media / communication society(s), identity became an issue of how we constitute, perceive, and present ourselves (Kellner 2003: 232-233).

As the Anglosaxon and Anglo-American culture of Europe and US diffused to different parts of the world, the self concept of individuals in general, and of the middle and upper-middle socio-economic class in particular, started to become a reflexive concept. Rather than being fixed, the self became an experience, a reality, and a narrative created based on dichotomies, refusals, and acceptances in different spheres of life. Social scientists emphasize the fact that there is an important aspect of self which is intentionally or unintentionally presented by the individuals themselves. In addition, these researchers also highlight the finding that the self has become a concept that is being variously constructed, transformed, revised, and reconstructed in various aspects of life such as at work and in leisure time. Self identity has become a reflexive project. Erving Goffman, Anthony Giddens, and Zygmunt Bauman provide us with perspectives of modern self and identity which give better chances to conceptualize modern self among the practitioners of contemporary tango practice in urban Istanbul.

Self as Presented

Erving Goffman is one of the major sociologists who wrote about the self. He conceptualizes modern self as a performing self who enters the presence of the others in a social context. The self is being presented. Goffman defines “all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his / her continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers” (Goffman 1959: 22), in other words, other participants of the social context. For this performance, one part of the individual regularly functions in a fixed and general fashion to define the situation for the observers (the other participants). Goffman calls this part of the self “the front”. He defines “front” as “a standard expressive equipment, intentionally or unintentionally employed by the individual while s/he is performing (Goffman 1959: 22).

The individual performer cannot perform and present a front without a setting, which in many cases refers to a social context. Goffman defines social action and social actors with the elements of theater, so he carries on with another set of explanations to refer to the conception, expression and presentation of self in this setting. He writes “When an individual enters the presence of others, s/he commonly seeks to acquire information about him (/her)...” (Goffman 1959: 1). Similarly, the individual, who enters the presence of others, “will have to act so that he intentionally or unintentionally expresses himself...” (Iceheiser 1949: 6-7). This expression involves two activities as Goffman defines: the expression that /she gives and the expression that s/he gives off. The first one is communication in the traditional / narrow sense; the second one creates the expectation that the action was performed for reasons other than the information conveyed in this way (Goffman 1959: 2). The individual performer presents a self, verbal or based on action, with each performance of a particular setting. I believe that contemporary tango is one of these 21st century settings where the modern individuals present themselves with a front or with various messages which produce a self as a product. In Goffman’s own words, “A correctly staged and performed scene leads the audience impute a self to a performed character, but this imputation – this self – is a product of the scene – that comes off...” (1959: 252).

Contemporary Argentinean Tango in urban Istanbul presents one of the most contemporary and modern social spaces where individuals enter the presence of others, seek to acquire information about others, while expressing themselves. Tango is the physical and virtual social space where the individuals interact and present themselves.

Self as a modern project

In late-modern/post-modern times, the individual, especially an educated one, when experiencing an urban life, seeks to reach a coherent self and a self-growth / self-creativity as an important aspect of his / her self-identity. Anthony Giddens and Zygmunt Bauman provide us the analysis on this modern individual self, the modern way of being, modern self identity, identity and late-modernity / high modernity, and post-modernity.

Giddens' *Modernity and Self Identity* takes the modern self as related to the major transformations that occur in late-modernity. He presents the basic feelings that the individual, living in the modern social order, experiences when s/he seeks to develop an existence: the feeling of anxiety because of risk and the feeling of security. Modernity is the condition / circumstance of uncertainty and multiple choices (Giddens 1991: 3). The modern individual adapts himself / herself to this condition with the notions of anxiety, trust, risk, search for security because modernity "breaks down the protective framework of the small community and tradition and replaces it with larger organizations" (Giddens 1991: 33). This situation exacerbates more of the anxiety related to receiving approval and choosing the right way of being.

Giddens starts with the example of a divorce from the book *Second Chances* by Judith Wallerstein and Sandra Blakeslee, in which the authors discuss the incidence of divorce as a crisis in life, which presents dangers / risks to security / well being and offers new possibilities for self-development. From this point onwards, Giddens continues the analysis regarding high / late modernity as about risks and dangers, not only in terms of a crisis which interrupts life such as divorce, but as a continuous state of affairs (Giddens 1991: 10-12). The modern individual has to regularly experience social life facing the dichotomy of risk and security. With this

reality, s/he develops both an emancipatory politics and life politics with which s/he constructs a self-identity. S/he on the one hand tries to escape from the structure defined by domination and hierarchy while also desiring to integrate into (a) community(ies) that do/does produce systems of domination and hierarchy. Moreover, s/he also develops a life politics with which s/he narrates a self for herself / himself.

Theodore Rzosak argues that we live in a time when the very private experience of having a personal identity to discover, or a personal destiny to fulfil has become a subversive political force (Giddens 1991: 209). Giddens, agreeing with this idea, presents it from a different angle. He takes self-growth as related to major transformations in the late / high modernity. He relates this search for self growth with three major transformations in modernity: the bourgeoning of institutional reflexivity and separation of time and space; disembedding of social relations by abstract systems; and the interpenetration of the local and global. This condition occurs when the notions of time and space are disconnected from the situatedness of place. In the premodern social order, for most of the population, the daily activities of time and space were linked through place. The development of the dimension of time with a mechanical clock, universal dating systems, and globally standardized time zones are the very modern conceptions of time which empties time from lived time. Social activities are coordinated not necessarily with a reference to particularities of place but with the empty time, i.e. the mechanical clock. Modern social organizations are realized by presuming the coordination of actions of human beings physically absent from one another (Giddens 1990: 17-21). In the premodern order, such coordination was made via the mediation of the place. Human beings were in the place. In the modern order, humanbeings are not in the place; they are far and away from each other. Togetherness is presumed by universalized notions of time.

This change relates to the disembedding of social institutions. Disembedding is briefly related with the removal of social relations from local contexts, followed by the articulation of social relations in larger time and space. This act of lifting out of social relations is related with what Giddens calls abstract systems (Giddens 1991: 16-21). Abstract systems may include many examples and systems. One such major example is the expert system, which Lyotard also defines as the system of those who

have the license to be the authority figure and possess the power to do something (Lyotard 1990). The expert systems expand everywhere and to many areas of social life, including intimate areas of life, family, and self: Social as well as technological experts such as doctors, counsellors, therapists, coaches, those who sell possibilities of security¹ and personal development together with scientists, technicians, and engineers. This system disembods, therefore, separates the modern individual from the local ways of doing things.

In relation to the first two transformations, a third major aspect of modernity is the context of reflexivity. This reflexivity refers to “the susceptibility of most aspects of social activity to chronic revision in the light of new information” (Giddens 1991: 20). This situation occurs when social and material relations are constantly revised due to the rapid production of new information or knowledge. In relation to all three, the local and the global come to be interpenetrated in modern times, that is to say, social and economic activities are globalized. Those social and economic events and relations at distance are interlaced with local ones and within local contexts. The events and relations which are distant, so absent in the location of here, are interlaced with the ones present here.

Within the framework of the conditions / transformations of modernity identified by Giddens and presented above by myself, the human being, living in the Westernized cultures of 20th and 21st century, has to regularize and adapt his / her life and way of being to the rapid changes that associated with these conditions of modernity. Faced with these conditions, s/he develops both the emancipatory politics of life and the concept of life politics. I refer to the first one below with reference to Zygmunt Bauman, but I first clarify the concept of life politics with a reference to Giddens.

Life politics is the concept of modern times and post-traditional social order. According to Giddens, life politics is not only about what happens once individuals have achieved a certain level of autonomy of action but other factors as well. Life politics is partly about the right to make choices but actually more than that. Life

¹ Such as insurance companies

politics is a politics of life style (1991: 214). It is a politics of self-actualization in a reflexively ordered environment, where that reflexivity links self and body to systems of global scope. Life politics “is a politics of life decisions. These are those affecting self-identity itself. Giddens proposes that in the post-traditional order, identity is no longer about a set of observable characteristics of a moment but it is the account of a person’s life (1991: 54). Identity can be simply found neither in the behavior nor in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to maintain a particular narrative. More than ever before in the late 20th century, the contemporary individual has access to incredibly large amount of information that allows him / her to reflect himself / herself on the causes and consequences of his / her actions. S/he continually integrates the enormous amount of information, events and changes “which occur in the external world and sort them into an ongoing story about the self” (1991: 209-231). With this, s/he creates a self identity for herself / himself. Nevertheless, the individual also confronts dangers related to the unintended consequences of his / her actions and reliance on the expert knowledge. Therefore, s/he has to create, shape, alter, revise, and reflexively sustain this self identity, composed of narratives, social roles, and life style in relation to rapidly changing conditions of social life on a global and local scale”(1991: 215). The task of achieving these multiple responsibilities differs from the traditional order of life lived by human-beings.

Zygmunt Bauman discusses on issues that comes with modernity for the self, in *Intimations of Post-Modernity*. He brings many possible definitions to modernity for different spheres of life, work, and people. He also offers a flawless definition to “post-modernism” in his own terminology and to “high / late - modernity” from Giddens’ terminology. He defines late-modernity / postmodernity as a state of mind. This state of mind had the radical victory of modern culture over modern society in that this state of mind/philosophy aimed for improvement by throwing it/modern society wide open to its own potential. “One after the other hurdles have been taken apart, ramparts crushed and locks broken in the stubborn work of emancipation. At each moment a particular constraint, an especially painful prohibition was under attack” (Bauman 1992: VIII). In other words, the desire appeared to emancipate self from traditional constraints in modern settings, and, at the same time, the need to exist as a coherent self in a finite life span. Emancipation can be considered in state and institution related fashion, as producing different power discourses. Modern

capitalism produced the problematic of class division and the resultant inequality among different social classes. The working class demanded emancipation from the boundaries of capitalism. The women's movement had the particular emancipatory objectives that aimed to free women from traditional forms of constraint and allow an equal level participation with men in the areas of social activity. Afro-Americans wanted to emancipate from the constraints put forth by whites, particularly aristocratic whites in different parts of the world, starting with the abolishment of the institution of slavery. The system always worked in the same way, however. In modern times, the privileged group has more access to particular resources. The group that has less chances to have access to these particular resources desires freedom from their constraints so as to have equal access and life chances with the privileged group, a group whom they believe has limited their opportunities.

The modern state of mind is based on the dichotomy of the desire for emancipation / from the group restrictions, i.e., the group, and integration into the intimacy of community. This conflicting state is particularly salient when group members compete openly for the realization of their own potentials. Nevertheless, the concept of community gives security to its members. It has a good feeling. "It is warm and cosy" (Bauman 2001: 1-6). On the other hand, community means giving up from freedom, autonomy and self-assertion as well as the right to be yourself-- as Bauman defines or, as the right to happiness as Freud postulated decades earlier. "Civilized man has exchanged a portion of his possibilities of happiness for a portion of security" as Sigmund Freud noted in *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* (Bauman 2001: 41; Freud 1930). Missing community means missing security, gaining community means missing freedom and happiness. Still, human beings need both security / the feeling of belonging to a community and freedom / happiness / right and possibilities to self-assertion (Bauman 2001: 1-6). The modern self in various socio-cultural groups repeatedly experiences this dichotomy. Moreover, finding a balance between the two and being able to create oneself by reflecting a self onto the world is one of the biggest projects of self in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Contemporary Argentinean Tango in urban Istanbul provides an important space where the civilized human being can experience the struggle to balance his / her basic existential dichotomies that Zygmunt Bauman has identified. This form of tango is one of the most modern spaces of urban Istanbul where and when the contemporary secular individual can freely develop and reflect his / her life politics, by dealing with his / her self narrative and possibilities of self-reflection / self-actualization. Such a complex task is achieved by acting on one hand with calculation, so as to gracefully negotiate the hurdles to emancipation and thus achieve self expression; on the other hand, by striving for integration within that ‘cosy’ community of Istanbul tango, the individual seeks to fulfil the second part of the dichotomy.

2.2.2 Modern self and leisure-time

Leisure has become an important concept for many social groups and individuals in Western societies as well as in societies which have close socio-cultural, economic and political connections to the world’s Western hemisphere. As Roberts points out, leisure time and leisure activities are concepts that emerged with industrial society, in Western and Westernized countries, with the modern organization of work, market economy, civil liberties, and the weakening of family as well as community and religious controls. As leisure as concept matured, it obtained recognition by the end of the 19th century. The term gained currency in European life, starting particularly in England, the first industrialized country of Western societies (Roberts 1999: 1). The growth of leisure, however, has not lessened social class, gender, or age differences. On the contrary it transformed and particularized as a sphere where these differences are expressed, reproduced, challenged, and attempted to change (Roberts 1999: V).

With the development of modern industry, work was taken out of family and community contexts to be located in offices. ‘Business’ becomes organized by clocks with particular hours of work. This commodification meant that there would be, corresponding time and opportunities to play, to do things for fun (Roberts 1999: 2). The market economy started to offer a variety of goods, services and environment to persuade and manipulate people’s desires. Markets create leisure environments in which individuals decide how to use their money and time. Liberal democracy provided civil rights and liberties that allowed citizens to organize their leisure

activities. Lastly, the decline of community relations in terms of weakened extended families and neighbourhood communities all led to an emphasis on leisure and consumption (Roberts 1999: 1 - 5).

Leisure activities have economic, psychological, social and political dimensions and rationales. Leisure is economic because it is a business and has now industries within it. Leisure can provide professional career opportunities as well as possibilities of employment. The experience of leisure is psychologically significant because it is important for the well-being of individuals as they relax/refresh but also express desires and drives. It can also be educative where people develop skills and discover abilities that would otherwise come to the fore. Leisure, thus, possesses a social dimension because it creates solidarity. It is political because governments are interested in it for its economic, psychological, and social dimensions. Governments develop policies and programs to promote and control leisure activities and the corresponding spheres for their citizens' involvement (Roberts 1999: 7-15). Therefore, leisure time activities provide many possibilities of reflecting the self for those involved in it.

Roberts proposes that Non-Western and pre-modern societies had practices equivalent to modern kind of leisure, but they did not define and understand their lives with such a strong reference to it (Roberts 1999). Leisure time can be defined in various ways, such as time that is removed from work and familial affairs. Nevertheless, the term leisure in contemporary Westernized societies appears to be related more to than free time given to an activity that entails relaxation. Robert Stebbins introduces the concept of serious leisure which is very helpful for understanding of the notion of leisure and the modern individual in the contemporary Western / Westernized societies. He defines serious leisure as follows: "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition of its special skills and knowledge" (Stebbins 1992: 3).

Stebbins underlines the fact that some people become so involved in their leisure time activities that they may become as skilled as the professionals of the activity. Therefore serious leisure can provide a long-term sense of accomplishment and an

alternative to work (Stebbins 1998, Roberts 1999). From this point onward, leisure can and should be understood more than “simply as time that is otherwise uncommitted and free for individuals to use in anyway...” as John Kelly points out (Kelly 1983, 1987, 1994). Rather, leisure in contemporary Western societies and cultures is a particular way in which this time can be spent. Kelly argues that modern societies create a leisure space in which people can not only express themselves but also create roles, and identities for themselves (Kelly 1983, 1987, 1994). This creation relates to the ability of individuals to be reflexive, the fact that they can stand back, take an outside view of themselves, develop ideas about how and who to be. Kelly posits that these actions are more possible in contemporary leisure than in any other sphere of life because leisure provides ontological, existential freedom (Roberts 1999: 150).

With all its cultural variations, urban Istanbul is part of the westernized world. Within this framework, tango in Istanbul comprises a modern space to experience leisure-time for middle and upper-middle class individuals. To some, it is the serious leisure that Stebbins proposes. Some of its actors become professionals of this leisure activity together with their own professions or when they do not practice their profession for certain periods of time.

Contemporary Western / Westernized societies differ from pre-modern societies not only because its members and culture recognize leisure for the individual life but also motivate people to spend money for their leisure purposes. Such societies have goods and services provided for the consumption of the individuals. The next section concentrates on this topic.

2.2.3 Leisure, Consumption, Class and Self

Western and Westernized societies are experiencing a visible shift in the emphasis from a focus on hard work in the sphere of production to a tendency to consume and perform self starting from the late 20th century. A tendency for the production, oriented towards leisure, encourages the modern individual to consume and perform self (Schilling 2005: 31-32). George Ritzer in his thesis on McDonaldization [sic] talks about a general shift from production to consumption in

everyday life (Friedman 2001: 412). The shift to consumption from production not only refers to creation of and consumption in shopping malls, superstores or the innumerable number of McDonalds but also refers to more discretionary spending.

The shift to consumption in everyday life is strongly connected with class. In the 1980s in Britain, there was an interest in the emergence of a new working class, distinguished by its consumption of housing. In time, the formation of the nation's middle class became very recognizable by their inner-city dwellings, Range Rovers, and green wellies (Roberts 1999: 163). This formation, moreover, was not necessarily particular to Britain but to many Western or Westernized regions, particularly to mega, global, metropolitan cities which are the locations of multinational companies of electronics, retail, textile, fashion, telecommunication etc. The new middle class started to have particular patterns of consumption clearly distinguishable from the consumption patterns of lower socio-economic classes. This new middle class worked to produce and then use their earnings to claim the products that others produced. In this way, production and consumption are fully separate; consumption came to be a contemporary space to create social identities and self-concepts. In other words, as the new middle classes started to have sufficient power to spend, they created a consumer culture. This consumer culture became a space to partly define social identity for self. In Roberts' words, "who people feel they are, their social identities and self-concepts depend in part on what they choose to consume" (1999: 166).

The globalization of economic relationships and cultural flows, the spread of information technology are important factors that weakened the former structures of industrial society (Featherstone 1988, 1991, Hughes 1993). The basis of contemporary economic life started to operate in terms of flows of goods and services whose value in many cases may be primarily symbolic (Lash and Urry 1994). Under these conditions, companies, occupations, careers, age, and/or sex no longer necessarily give individuals clear positions, interests, and identities (Roberts 1999: 198). Right at this moment, consumer industries provide possibilities for people to create identities according to what, where, when, and how they consume (Featherstone 1991). They are the new options to create identities.

I agree with Roberts and Featherstone about the fact that patterns of consumption became an important sphere to provide the possibilities of identity definition for the modern individual. It is true that particular activities are chosen, realized, and consumed by particular segments of society which provide them a way of being. Still, the perspective that Roberts' and Featherstone present on consumption may not be fully explanatory for contemporary tango community in Istanbul. Yes, Argentinean Tango is a commodity; it is being consumed by particular social segments of urban Istanbul. Still, I believe the consumption of tango is unlike shopping and consuming a particular brand. Tango is different than consuming and driving a Range Rover car. First of all, the dance is a practice in itself, while driving a Range Rover or wearing Tommy Hillfiger are ends in themselves. Consuming Range Rover or choosing to wear Tommy in Istanbul has symbolic values that provide social prestige to its consumer. Only the moment of consuming these two brands expresses symbolic value. However, I doubt that consuming tango provides any social prestige to its consumer and practitioner. Tango provides the sphere of consumption and leisure time for the modern middle and upper-middle class man and woman. Nevertheless, I cannot consider tango as a sphere that provides a sense of belonging only because the practitioners choose to consume tango. In my opinion, tango is a sphere which provides possibilities of creating a coherent self-identity and belonging both in global and local scales, with the relations its consumers / practitioners established among themselves and the roles they play in the community during the process of consuming /practicing the activity.

2.2.4 Class and habitus

This study emphasizes that the main social actors of tango in Istanbul are of middle and upper-middle class who reflect themselves as modern individuals. Class as a concept is not only a social scientific tool that identifies the practitioners but also the one with which that these practitioners reproduce themselves. Class and habitus are the two social scientific concepts that both identify and provide dispositions as well as schemes for the tango social actors / practitioners to reproduce themselves. First, I would like to clarify the concept of class, then I will deal with the concept of habitus.

Class

My study defines the tango consumers / practitioners of urban Istanbul as upper-middle and middle class. With this concept of class, I refer to a particular group of people with a certain profile, which is perhaps combined with some other elements of social stratification or differentiation. Although class in Turkey is a concept open to discussion, I still believe that it is possible to talk about the existence of middle and upper-middle class. Şerif Mardin has demonstrated that the concept of middle class and ruling class became visible starting from the later periods of the Ottoman Empire. This delineation is today partly transformed by globalization, the existence of mega cities, professionals, and multinational companies.

The belief that no middle class existed in Turkey and Ottoman Empire which corresponded to the middle class of Europe is a belief inherited from the Ottoman Empire (Mardin 1991: 335). The Muslim Turks of the Ottoman Empire were actively involved in the military and state – ruling affairs, with therefore the commercial and industrial spheres occupied by the Christians and Muslims of the Empire. Nevertheless, the concept of middle class appeared in the Tanzimat period (Mardin 1991: 337). The members of this class became the state’s trustworthy officers, post Tanzimat. Particularly after the World War 1, some of the older civil-public servants / officers of the pre-World War period were transformed as state officers of the new Turkish Republic. This middle class, including provincial district officers, engineers, teachers, and adjudicators all contributed to realize the Turkish Revolution (Mardin 1991: 339). Until the 1990s, the middle class in Turkey had been defined as a group who tried to survive facing high inflation rates.

It is true that the contemporary concept of class is a Western concept, analyzed in different periods through Western / Westernizing / Western hemisphere related cultures. The major social scientists who wrote about the concept of class usually referred to modern / modernizing societies of different periods. I believe that it is possible to talk about the concept of class in Istanbul, particularly middle and upper-middle socio-economic class in the 21st century, because urban Istanbul is one of the Westernized, ‘mega’ cities of the world discussed above. As an integrated part of the late-industrial and global economic developments, Istanbul produced and still

produces particular socio-economic class definitions and inhabitants with particular life-styles and tastes.

How do I understand the notion of class in urban Istanbul? I am definitely referring to a particular kind of social stratification where people are grouped in large societies. Here, major theoreticians provide different definitions of class. The basic and the most familiar one is that of Karl Marx. Marx defines class as “a group of people who stand in a common relationship to the means of production (Giddens 1993: 216) which refers to the means by which this group of people earn their lives. Marx defines two classes for the industrial period and societies: those who own these means of production and those who do not but instead earn their living by selling labor. The first one (capitalists / industrialists) exploits the second (laborers). The Marxist kind of class means to be based on “the objective conditions which allow some to have greater access to material rewards than others” (Giddens 1993: 216 - 217). In other words, Karl Marx understands class with a “narrow definition of property” in Dahrendorf’s words (Giddens 1978: 54). The formulation of class as those who own a means of production versus those who do not is not, however, sufficiently explanatory for the 21st century economic life in urban areas, including that of urban Istanbul.

An addition of Weberian concept of social stratification is necessary for a more complete and more explanatory definition, but still may be insufficient. A Weberian kind of understanding of social stratification takes into consideration not only control and access to means of production and ownership of property but also skills, credentials, and qualifications unrelated with property. For instance, white-collar professionals earn more, are more marketable and have more favorable work conditions, although both white and blue collar managers sell their labor and do not own means of production (Giddens 1993: 218).

Eric Olin Wright adds a new dimension to the class theory of Marx and Weber, which seems to be more explanatory of the social stratification of the 21st century urban areas. He identifies three dimensions of control over economic resources in modern capitalist societies which means that it is possible to talk about three major classes. He defines these dimensions as control over investment / money capital; control over physical means of production; control over labor power. He

agrees that the capitalist class controls three of the dimensions; the working class, none. He says that there are groups whose position is ambiguous. He calls them contradictory class locations. Those who belong to contradictory class locations can influence some aspects of production but not control other aspects. White-collar/professional employees sell their labor as do blue collar/ manual laborers. Nevertheless, white collars have a far greater degree of control over work settings than do the blue-collars (Wright 1985, Giddens 1993: 220).

Still, Ralf Dahrendorf has a more contemporary understanding of the social stratifications that the 21st century urban Istanbul dwellers experience, as part of the late-industrialized and post-capitalist part of the city, which probably differs from the experiences of the 19th and the early 20th century that Marx and Weber describe. Dahrendorf introduces the conception of 'industrial society' to the picture. He explains that capitalism is the form of industrial society which experienced the coincidence of the legal ownership of private property in the hands of the entrepreneur and actual control of the means of production. In short, these two senses of property overlap in the industrial society (Giddens 1978: 55). Dahrendorf talks about post-capitalist societies or places which experience post-capitalism as well. He claims that the transformation of capitalism brought with it certain changes compared to the period when Marx was writing. One of the major changes is the decomposition of capital when the two categories of shareholder and manager are separate. The authority of the managerial executives is separate from legal property rights. Giddens' *Modernity and Self Identity* takes the modern self as related to the major transformations that occur in late-modernity. He presents the basic feelings that the individual, living in the modern social order, experiences when s/he seeks to develop an existence: the feeling of anxiety because of risk and the feeling of security. Modernity is the condition / circumstance of uncertainty and multiple choices (Giddens 1991: 3). The modern individual adapts himself / herself to this condition with the notions of anxiety, trust, risk, search for security because modernity "breaks down the protective framework of the small community and tradition and replaces it with larger organizations" (Giddens 1991: 33). This brings more of the anxiety of receiving approval and choosing the right way of being.

He then more broadly appropriates Marx's concept of private property as a "specific instance of authoritative rights of control (Giddens 1978: 57). Then Dahrendorf conceptualizes class as including authority relationships. His notion of class refers to possession of or exclusion from authority, and private property is one instance of the authoritative right to control (Giddens 1978: 57-58).

Together with Dahrendorf, William Lloyd Warner provides us a contemporary understanding of class. Both Dahrendorf and Warner's definition of class appears with variation in today's concept of class for Western / West-oriented urban cities. Both Dahrendorf and Warner do provide, to a certain extent, an understanding of class which is explanatory of social stratification in urban Istanbul. Although both as an anthropologist and sociologist William Lloyd Warner makes exceedingly broad generalizations in his works, his class definitions are somewhat helpful for this research. He defines upper-middle class while depicting social stratification within modern American society and divides social classes in American society into three groups, upper, middle, and lower classes. In addition he divides each class into upper and lower except for the smallest class at the topmost (Warner 1960: 70). He defines an upper-middle class in which he includes professionals with a college education some of whom have postgraduate degrees, MA – Msc - PHD such as doctors, bankers, lawyers, corporate executives, head teachers, university professors, architects, artists, musicians, pharmacists, captains, high level civil servants, military officers. To Warner, the members of this class are those who are highly respectable; they are as well the ones to get things done for the upper class. They occupy professional levels (Warner 1960: 13).

Although this kind of categorization derives from characterization of American society, it is explanatory to a certain extent for global cities / metropolitan urban city residents such as Istanbul for one important reason which is relevant here. Despite the fact that Istanbul provides us a picture of shanty towns, different religious and cultural groups, *aşirets* [trans], lower-class immigrants who may not be integrated into professional networks, urban Istanbul is a part of the global development of professionals where the multinational companies / multinational - related companies are at work in the production and consumption such as Coca-Cola, Glaxo Smith Kline, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Zara, Marks and Spencer, L'Oreal, Starbucks,

Adidas, PriceWaterHouseCoopers, Accenture, American Tobacco. These kinds of retail and consulting companies produce their own professionals in different parts of the world such as France, India, Poland, Brasil, Germany, England, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey. These professionals make up a social class together with university professors and head teachers, coaches, psychologists--not only in terms of the relative income in their own countries but also in terms of their authority, social status, and life-style / consumption patterns.

I observe such a profile among the first generation tango practitioners that I studied in the urban Istanbul. This group speaks at least one foreign language, some had one part of their university education abroad, or have sent their children to do so. They do not define themselves primarily with their religious beliefs. They do not use religious symbols as their main source of self-expression in the public of tango and workplace. In addition to these particularities of the participants, there is a mass of university students in Istanbul who are currently practicing tango. I consider them as the future adults of the middle and upper-middle class.

Lastly, I conceptualize and define the tango participants in urban Istanbul, particularly those who belong to or are close to the first generation as upper-middle and middle class.

Habitus

Those who belong to a particular class fraction have their own choices, tastes, and lifestyles produced by their habitus. The concept of habitus is introduced by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and has close connections with the concept of class and capital. Habitus is the system of durable and transposable dispositions through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world (Calhoun et al 2004: 276-277). It has to do with unconscious schemata. These dispositions are not only gained / formed in the family but are also gained / formed by the objective conditions and possibilities of class to which the individuals belong (Gorder 1980: 226, Hacker 1990: 10, King 2005: 22, Webb 2002: 37). Then both family and the position of the individual in the objective condition of class fraction create / shape habitus. The dispositions of people depend on the position they occupy in society, in other words,

on the particular capital(s) they have (Bourdieu 1986). In *The Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu defines capital as accumulated labor (1986: 46). It is any resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate specific profits out of participating in that particular social arena. He argues that economic theory reduces the universe of exchange to a mercantile one oriented toward maximization of profit. He identifies other forms of exchange which can be considered as capital (Bourdieu 1986: 46-47). These are immaterial forms of capital beside the economic one. To him, there are two important immaterial forms of capital--with an additional third: cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. I will mention the first two as they are critical components of my study.

Cultural capital refers to nonfinancial assets that an individual has, such as educational and intellectual qualifications, knowledge, and skills. This capital gives the individual a higher social status in society. Capital, moreover, not only provides this conference of position but also converts into economic capital under certain conditions (Bourdieu 1986: 46-47). Social capital comprises social connections and obligations which in certain conditions are convertible into economic capital and may be further institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu 1986: 46-47). "Social capital is the total actual and potential resources which are linked to a possession of a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual recognition to membership in a group which provides each member... a credential which entitles them to credit" (Bourdieu 1986: 51). Social capital is the resources based on group membership, and relationships with which members can find influence and support by group membership.

Social and cultural capital, beside the economic capital that the individuals possess in a society, shape their dispositions and habitus. These capitals provide the schematas that individuals employ when they perceive, judge, and act in contemporary life. Bourdieu proposes that these provide class distinctions and particular preferences which are marked in the ordinary choices of everyday life and existence. Judgements of taste, aesthetics, cultural practices, life-styles, leisure activities, choices of persons, goods and practices are all about these dispositions, habitus which is shaped by various forms of capital such as choosing to wear jeans, playing golf, going to museum, listening to jazz or popular music... (Bourdieu 1998:

1-7). Practicing a dance form, choosing to listen to particular music, choice of leisure-time activities are all part and parcel of the taste and dispositions that individuals of particular class fractions 'own'. The tango practitioners of urban Istanbul who are part of particular class fractions, namely middle and upper-middle class, have particular social and cultural capitals that provide them particular dispositions which make them judge, choose, and develop particular tastes and understanding of their leisure-time activities. My study intends to demonstrate that upper-middle and middle class practitioners of tango in Istanbul have particular tastes, perceptions of leisure-time and ways of shaping/using body when compared to those who do not occupy of their class fraction.

2.2.5 Globalization

Six hundred years ago, the world was divided, as John Law defines, into a series of different regions (Law, 2003). Europe, The Arab, China, Japan, Hindu civilizations, the Mayas, Incas, Sub-Saharan Civilizations and many other regions were separated from each other in general, except in some religious contacts and contacts based on trade in luxuries. Still, it was not possible to speak about a world-system (Law, 2003: 1). From 1400 to 1900, a world system started to appear as Western Europe colonised (Law, 2003: 2) or, at least, proposed and imposed its culture visibly and considerably to many other parts of the world, particularly with a capitalist order. The twentieth century comprises a period which is both super mobile and global in terms of the flow of goods, people, and, most important, information. In other words, globalization explains the key word not only for the world's current economic, political, cultural, and social order for the last few decades but also for the "consciousness of the world as a whole" in Robertson's terms (Robertson 1992).

Globalization is one dimension of modernity or, as Giddens proposes, modernity itself is inherently globalizing (1996: 63). The relations between local and distant social forms and events are stretched. It is the mode of connection between different social contexts, once distant from each other, which became networked across the earth's surface as a whole. Thus globalization is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local events

/ social relations are now shaped by those occurring miles away and vice versa (Giddens 1996: 64).

Globalization creates a situation where we increasingly live in a world where individuals, groups, and nations become more interdependent. Not only that, but globalization is also the condition that the speed and scope of interaction has intensified between people all over the world (Giddens et al 2003:650). Marshall McLuhan's idea of the global village illustrates this picture differently (McLuhan 1960). He presents the notion of compression / shrinking in relation to media experience (Robertson 1992, 8-9). In other words, the current world order has the condition when and where the "social relations are disembedded from local context and stretched across time and space" (Law 2003: 2).

Contemporary tango practice in urban Istanbul is thus one of the spaces that functions on a global scale, provides experiences of globalization and possibilities of a global self-narrative. It is the space that its modern social actors experience and shape themselves under the condition of the 'stretching' of the local and distant events while simultaneously experiencing the 'compression' of the world.

3. FIELD OF THE RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

Any form, experience, or thing has no meaning apart from those endowed by human transactions, attributions and motivations (Appadurai 1986: 5). Tango is a form and an experience which involves human transactions and social actors who realize those transactions. Therefore, in terms of my methodology, I am studying a group of contemporary active tango producers and consumers who define themselves to be tango practitioners. They are the tango participants of Istanbul who either take/give classes, and/or gather to dance and discuss tango and/or organize / participate to *milongas* / festivals in Istanbul.

The American cultural anthropologist A.L. Kroeber equates tradition with diffusion. He considers the geographic spread of an innovation from the place of its invention to individuals to be “diffusion”; the temporal spread of innovations, their “internal handing on through time” (Kroeber 1963: 219) to be tradition (Larkey: 1993: 13). Rogers brings a different but somewhat similar, added definition to diffusion: “the process by which an innovation is communicated through channels over time among the members of a social system” (Rogers 1983: 5). I borrow both of their definitions for tango since the practice works and disseminates precisely in this sense. Tango is both tradition and innovation. It is diffused in particular spaces and places. The primary sites of diffusion of tango are international festivals, *milongas*, local classes, and discussion groups. Therefore I made my participant observations in three *milongas*, in the classes of three different tango schools, and two international tango dance festivals in Istanbul because these are the physical spaces where the practice is experienced and reproduced. In addition I collected emails of one big tango e-group, a tangolist, which is called tangoturk (<http://www.yahogroups.com>). I combined these different methods not only because each has its own strength and limitation but also because it became possible to collect different kinds of information that are nonetheless complementary.

The contemporary tango participants consist of the producers of tango, who instruct tango dance classes and workshops as well as organize *milongas* and festivals in Istanbul, and the consumers of tango who take classes of tango, participate in some of the workshops and festivals organized in Istanbul and elsewhere, and dance in the *milongas*. The contemporary tango practitioners occupy various social positions in the Istanbul tango community. They are the social actors who give meaning to and recreate / reproduce a practice in Istanbul which was produced two centuries ago in Buenos Aires.

My study is mainly based on in-depth interviews with a particular group of tango social actors who reproduce the tango practice; participant observation in the physical spaces where tango is practiced as well as the content analysis of the communication taking place in virtual spaces. The social actors who gave meaning and reproduced the tango practice are the instructors and the organizers of tango dance and events as well as the experienced tango dancers and *milonga* participants. For this study I had in-depth interviews with 23 of these reproducers: two global masters, eight instructors local instructors and organizers, one organizer and practitioner, one *milonga* organizer and practitioner, six experienced dancers and consumers and five experienced woman practitioners. I chose to study with a particular fragment of these reproducers: first generation producers² and experienced practitioners. Although there are non-experienced practitioners / beginners of tango, I limited my study with the first generation producers (instructors and organizers) and a group of experienced tango practitioners. Their inclusion stems from their identity as one of the important ones who shaped and gave meaning to the contemporary tango practice until the period of my study. My rationale does not imply that the beginners of tango and the new / young generation practitioners and producers are invisible but were just starting to shape the community when I began my study and will certainly shape the near future of the practice.

Nevertheless, such a fieldwork accomplished only in Istanbul, I believed, would not sufficiently provide the appropriate insight to understand the social meaning and symbolism of tango in Istanbul since the city is very much integrated

² First generation producers refer to those practitioners who started to practice the tango in 1997, 1998, and 1999. These practitioners are among the first instructors and organizers of the practice in Istanbul.

into the global scenery of tango, led by Europe. Therefore in addition to my fieldwork in Istanbul, I observed the global tango scene in two respects: how it is led by Europe; how this landscape is shaped by the Argentinean *Maestros del Tango*. I listened to the opinions of some of these new generation *maestros del baile*; I took part in the discussions taking place among the global masters and local organizers of tango activities. I observed how they reshaped and reproduced the practice and the rational information produced in different festival and workshops in Europe such as Torino and Milan - Italy, Paris – France, Berlin - Germany, Amsterdam and Nijmegen - Netherlands, Madrid – Spain, Halkidiki - Greece, Tylösand – Sweeden, and Istanbul - Turkey.

3.1 Fieldwork in Istanbul

3.1.1 Participant observation

I started my fieldwork with participant observation, as one of my main methods of collecting information about the field, because the cultural context is very significant in my study. Since I am concerned with how the urban Istanbul tango practitioners give meaning to the tango practice in Istanbul, participant observation was the right method of choice for my study. It helped me to grasp the subjective experiences of my ethnographic group in the immediate setting in a relatively less controlling fashion rather than creating a pure, uncontaminated, fully controlled, and isolated environment.

Therefore I became a participant observer among the participants of tango classes, workshops, and *milongas* between February 2007 and May 2007, four months in total. I observed the tango dance classes of:

- TangoIst in Taksim on Tuesday evenings,
- Tangoturk in Levent on Wednesday evenings, and
- Etnik34 (Melin y Selim) in Beyoğlu on Sunday afternoons.

I have been observing the two group classes of Etnik34 where I have been teaching tango for the last three years every Sunday. I continued with my observation until the beginning of May 2007. Similarly, I observed the classes of TangoIst for the same period. However, I could not manage to observe Tangoturk's classes during the same time span because the instructing couple was reluctant to accept me to their classes. The female instructor claimed that she would become stressed when addressing /teaching a crowd of students especially if I, as one of her competitors, would be there. She claimed that she was teaching to achieve a self-improvement in her life and her personality. Right in the beginning of May 2007, another male instructor of the same school, who is teaching alone, invited me to observe his classes. Therefore I participated three of his classes on Tuesday nights in May.

After I started to write my thesis, I kept on visiting the field since I was a social participant of the field as well. During my visits, I had new questions that I needed to ask in the period when I assumed I was finished with my fieldwork. These questions were related with the use of language among Argentinean and Turkish instructors. Therefore, I had a last visit to the tango classes of TangoIst and TangoTurk on the remaining evenings of December 2009. These two classes ran at 19.30 on the European side of Istanbul.

I chose to observe these three schools because first of all they are the first generation schools in Istanbul. In addition, Tangoturk has the largest number of participants in Istanbul with its branches in Ankara and Eskişehir. TangoIst also appears to have a large number of participants with the largest number of tango dance classes among the instructors of Istanbul (14 classes a week). MelinySelim are the first tango instructors in Istanbul who obtained their education in Europe and Argentina and are the first tango dancers and instructors living in Turkey who performed and instructed classes in Europe representing Turkey in the global scenery. Today they are followed by two other young couples performing and teaching in the international tango scene, Özhan Araz and Serkan Gökçesu as well as Utku Küley and Setenay Ersoy.

I made participant observation in the ongoing *milongas* of Istanbul from February 2007 to May 2007. I observed the Monday *milongas* of Armada Hotel, a *milonga* organized by Tangoturk for the last decade. I observed the Wednesday night *milongas* of Hyatt Regency Hotel, organized by TangoIst and Thursday night *milongas* of Point Hotel, organized by an independent entrepreneur / organizer who calls himself the ‘milongateur’. Generally the *milongas* are organized by the schools and the instructors of tango; however, the Point Hotel *milonga* is organized by a non-professional tango practitioner, who does not teach at all. Nevertheless his *milonga* is said to be one of the most visited *milongas* by local practitioners of Istanbul in general until the summer 2008.

Following my initial proposal, I participated in the Armada *milonga* on Monday nights, which is located in the European side, very close to the old city, because it is one of the most frequently visited *milonga* of Istanbul by the experienced practitioners. Nevertheless, I also decided to visit another *milonga* that used to be organized the same night in the Asian side, CKM (Caddebostan Kültür Merkezi). I participated them alternatively once every two weeks. The reason for my decision is the difference I observed between the two organizers and the two *milongas*. The Armada *milonga* appeared to be more competitive, Professional, and hold a claim to global connectedness than did the CKM *milonga* which appeared to be more of an easygoing social club where friends could go, socialize, chat, and dance with each other. CKM provided a less competitive and more relaxing environment. Observing this difference has been critical for the meaning reproduced on tango.

In addition to my observation on Monday nights, I observed Point *milonga* on Thursday nights in the Taksim Point Hotel. Although not proposed in the beginning, I also visited Maçkolik *milonga* in Fenerbahçe on Saturday nights in the Asian side once every two weeks for one and a half month. The reasons of my visit are twofold. The first one is that although I proposed that I would observe the Wednesday night *milonga* of TangoIst in Hyatt Regency, the *milonga* was cancelled right after I started my fieldwork. Therefore, I wanted to visit one more *milonga* which is participated both by experienced and nonexperienced practitioners. Second one is that the Maçkolik *milonga* is also organized by a first generation tango school / instructor.

I participated in two, four day tango festivals, the first one taking place between the 8th and 12th of November 2006 and the second one, the 5th and 9th of November 2008. Each included a series of international workshops that took place in the Armada Hotel. Although the festival of 2006 occurred before I handed in my initial proposal, the event was very crucial for my research since I had already decided on my topic. The festival had a series of workshops instructed by five Global Masters of tango and five night *milongas* where the masters performed. I observed two *milongas* in the Armada Hotel and two *milongas* in Darphane-i Amire during the festival 2006. Similarly I observed two classes that took place in Armada Hotel and three *milongas* that took place in Su Ada on the Bosphorus during the 2008 festival. Participating in these festivals was important for my study because they not only provided a good opportunity to listen to the discussions of global masters as well as the terminology used but also enabled my interview with Esteban Moreno, one of the leading global masters of tango and my main informant from this group. As I kept on writing my dissertation, I decided to go back to the field and therefore participated in the Istanbul Tango Ritual 2009, which was recently organized after my fieldwork. I wanted to go back to the field for more and recent details about my informants and social actors for my study.

The time schedule that I initially proposed to follow in my fieldwork changed in certain respects. I proposed to make participant observation from February 2007 to May 2007 and I planned to begin my in-depth interviews in September 2007. However, I needed to change the schedule when I started to work in the field. During my visits to the *milongas*, I experienced role clashes in the field, especially in the Armada and the Point *milongas*. My role as a researcher/anthropologist started to clash with my role as dancer / instructor. New dance organization projects required cooperation among instructors in February and March 2007 when I was participating in Armada and Point *milongas* for my research. During my visits, one organizer and one instructor came up to talk to me and asked for cooperation in these projects; therefore, some of my participant observations turned into professional talks. I was not able to socialize with non-professional practitioners as much as I needed. I decided to start my in-depth interviews earlier than my schedule indicated after experiencing similar incidences.

3.1.2 Interviews

a. In-depth interviews with practitioners

I started my first interview in February 2007: 16 tango practitioners whom I observed to be important and experienced social actors of Istanbul tango although they are not the only such ones. I interviewed both producers of tango - the instructors and organizers of tango events – and regular consumers of tango, some of them holding both roles. Then I interviewed eight local instructors and/or *milonga* organizers, seven nonprofessional advanced tango dancers, and one tango cafe owner-both males and females. I stopped with the in-depth interviews with local participants and instructors in the beginning of May to reorganize the information I have collected until May.

Beside the local producers and consumers, the global Argentinean Maestros, who regularly travel and teach around the world from Portugal to Japan, occupy a very significant group since they are the ones who shape, produce, and reproduce the human body, the ingredients, and the vocabulary of tango dance all over the world. I interviewed two of these *maestros* four times in total. I interviewed Esteban Moreno three times, once in Ankara on the 19th of May 2007; on the 10th of June 2007 in Bodrum; and lastly, the 6th of November 2008 in Istanbul. Similarly, I interviewed Sebastian Arce on the 17th of February 2007 in Italy. The interviews were based on questions regarding the tradition and the changes in the tango dance as well as in the instructors, the education of the instructors of both the previous generation and the younger generation, as well as the actors and the motivations behind it.

b. Interviews with experienced women

I had a short close ended interview with five experienced woman practitioners. Three of these women are instructors, and two of them are experienced tango practitioners. Both questionnaire and participant responses were electronic. I emailed the questionnaire on the 8th of April 2009 and received the responses on the 10th of April. I needed these interviews because I am concerned with writing a section on the modern woman and man and the dynamics of the leading and following

role as practiced in contemporary Istanbul in relation to the contemporary modern gender roles.

Although I interviewed some women for those questions I asked in addition to the contemporary role of women in the tango practice, I decided on separate interviews with experienced women regarding the roles in tango and what they do with the male-constructed leading role.

3.1.3. Qualitative content (textual) analysis: The Tango list

I also collected the emails of one big tango e-group which is called the Tangoturk list. This list was founded in 2001 and had more or less 1676 members. The list presents us e-mails sent daily by different practitioners of tango. Collecting examples of these emails not only provided me with an understanding of the discussions among the members of the community but also a symbolic, communal text of self – presentation of the social actors, producing meanings regarding contemporary tango and the contemporary self.

I analyzed e-mails sent to this list in June, July, and August of 2007. I looked at each message to determine the major discussions and themes produced on tango by its practitioners in the tango public sphere. These messages included narratives and point of views in their texts. I used a qualitative textual analysis to investigate the practitioners' communication in the list. This method of analysis is a variation of content analysis, which investigates written communication. Content / textual analysis can produce both quantitative and qualitative data. "The quantitative content analysis involves establishing categories and then counting the number of instances that these categories are used in a particular text" (Silverman 1993: 59). With the qualitative textual analysis I examined the major themes and meanings produced in the community by particular position holders. Then, I looked at the discussions, the authors of the emails and their roles/positions, to whom their messages addressed, the messages and the themes that the authors presented. I could at this point combine these factors with the information I had collected in participant observation and in-depth interviews.

3.2 Ethical considerations

Social researches include close personal relations with people and situations that the researcher studies. This professional situation is uniquely varied and complex. The researcher is involved in responsibilities to a wide range of people, groups, and institutions such as the subjects, sponsors (if any), public, government, interest groups and so on. The Codes of Ethics and other researchers provide guidance in relation to these responsibilities, but the ethical conduct actually and ultimately depends on the researcher. He/she has a moral and professional obligation to be ethical, even if research subjects are unaware of the ethics of the research.

Among all these different groups, I feel the greatest responsibility and obligation to the public with which I observe. I understand this responsibility in many different ways. One is that since my area of study is anthropology, my anthropological study is required to take informed consent from those with whom I worked. The Ethical Guidelines of the American and UK Anthropological Association emphasizes the importance of negotiating informed consent (<http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm>; <http://les1.man.ac.uk//asa/Ethics/ethics.htm>). Anthropological Ethics proposes, furthermore, the following: “Following the precedent set by the Nuremberg Trials and the constitutional laws of many countries, inquiries involving human subjects should be based on the freely given informed consent of subjects. The principle of informed consent expresses the belief in the need for truthful and respectful exchanges between social researchers and the people whom they study” (<http://les1.man.ac.uk//asa/Ethics/ethics.htm>).

Following these ethical guidelines, I took the informed consent of the informants and participants of my study. In this sense, secondly I communicated the aim of my investigation as much as possible to my informants and participants of my research so that they knew the nature of the place they occupied and in what kind of research. I paid attention to negotiate my research from the first day I started my participant observation. This negotiation gave some older males the opportunity to teach me how I should make a research and what kind of questions I should be directing.

The American and UK Anthropological Ethical Guideline takes our attention to another important responsibility and obligation of the researcher, that is the rights of the participants to confidentiality and anonymity. Informants and other research participants not only have the right to remain anonymous but also they have the right to privacy and confidentiality respected. They have the right to request the researcher to not write about certain personal experiences that they share and certain conversations that are involved in although what they explain during the interview may be critical for the study. This constraint may put the researcher in a conflictual position because on the one hand the information received from the participant may be very useful and critical for the research itself and not presenting the information may effect some results of the study. On the other hand, the participant may ask the researcher to keep the piece of information and his / her name confidential. In these cases, the researcher must be careful to anticipate potential threats and unpleasant situations that the participant may have to face for giving information to the researcher. Therefore the researcher must not directly present this particular piece of information s/he received in the research.

There were a few incidences when some of my informants told me about some of their experiences that they would not like them to be presented. They were intimate because they perceived me as an insiders, since we belonged to the same hobby group and community. Nevertheless, some requested I not to write particular parts of the conversations because they either did not feel comfortable or they felt embarrassed about what they had shared. I kept my promise to them. My responsibility was either to keep the source of the information anonymous or not to publish it at all because some events are widely known among the community and publishing them even anonymously would take direct attention to the names of a particular people. I followed my responsibility since the protection of the rights, interests, and sensitivities of the people I studied with had been one of my primary concerns.

In relation to this sensitive situation, I distinguished the parts of my study, where I use the exact name of my informants, from the parts where I only use their initials rather than their full names. For instance, when I refer to the names, the founders and the instructors of tango schools and associations in Istanbul, I use full names. Similarly I use full names when I refer to exchange of resources and access to

professional resources. Nevertheless, I use only initials when I refer to the more personal issues relating to self, self-realization, and competition.

3.3 Qualifications – Many roles?

The debate on the anthropologist as an outsider or insider has always been a critical issue in fieldwork. As a tango dancer with twelve years of experience in tango practice and the tango scene, particularly in Istanbul as well as Ankara, Izmir, and some parts of Europe, I am considered an insider. Still, I have the role of the anthropologist in this social situation when engaging in fieldwork and research.

Being an insider in the field is never a neutral, uninvolved position as Nakhleh accurately claims (Nakhleh 1979: 344). It is not possible to be a totally detached observer since I occupy many different roles and relations in relation to my field. Many tango practitioners in Istanbul know me personally as a friend, as an authoritarian instructor, a rival, the wife of the young tango couple, a role model for the recent female beginners of tango, and, overall, as a young woman of this community. To a few older women, I occupy the position of daughter. They were very welcoming when I wanted to make participant observation and interviews with them. To some younger women, I am, instead, a person that they can share their problems with in different points of their lives. To some others, I am a rival, especially for female instructors around my age. I am a partner in particular projects when I interview the other partners of dance and music projects. My fieldwork experience is thus not detached from these roles when I am observing or interviewing the practitioners.

Nevertheless, many non-native anthropologists argue that native anthropologists with all these different social roles are so deeply involved in the social situation under study that they lose the capacity for objective evaluation of the situation. I do not agree with this argument because both the perspective of the insider and the perspective of the outsider are subject to ‘misconceptions’ based on different a priori assumptions in relation to a researcher’s backgrounds, class, education, familial backgrounds, and emotional involvement in the community. As Clifford

Geertz puts it, anthropological writings are themselves interpretations, fictions of the researcher about what their informants are up to (Geertz 1973: 15).

Still, my recognition of my social roles and the emotional baggages that come with these different roles helped me to locate myself and my informants. Although my study did not necessarily oblige me to totally disregard my emotions unlike the way a psychiatrist works with his/her patient, this recognition encouraged me to take enough distance to the field to be able to observe and identify social dynamics within it.

Being a native anthropologist, rather than a non-native one, furthermore, had its own set of advantages and disadvantages in my field. I am constructing an understanding of contemporary Argentinean Tango practitioners as modern social actors in Istanbul. When I studied with the practitioners, my status as an insider gave me a great deal of mobility and diversity regarding the sources and the credibility of the information that I collected. My insider identity also gave me more opportunities to receive a quicker acceptance and adaptation to the field as well as earn insider information since I was already considered one of them. My insider experience within the community of practitioners gave me the possibility to grasp and identify the jargon of the community much quicker than a non-native anthropologist would have. It was also much easier to communicate within the field with the opinion-leaders of the community, compared to a non-native anthropologist's field experience. For instance, when I needed to observe the organization of a festival or a milonga in Istanbul, I already knew whom to contact; merely paying the entrance fee enabled me to begin to generate observations.

In contrast, a sociologist from Ankara, who planned to work with a fraction of tango dancers, traveled to Istanbul. She discovered that there was a tango festival between the 5th and 9th of November. First she spent a good deal of time to determine the organizer and then suffered when she was not allowed to observe classes because the organizer expected her to obtain participant permission beforehand for her observation. Trying to manage these gate keeping boundaries incurred at least half day loss of attendance at the festival for her.

However, I also had my disadvantages as insider. Some of my informants sometimes expected me to understand certain attitudes and feelings without explanation. I sometimes received the ambiguous reply, “you understand that, don’t you?” Another disadvantageous experience related to the reactions and self-positioning of the older men, who were approximately in their fifties. Immediately upon the onset of my negotiations of my study, a male practitioner around 50 attempted to teach me how and which kinds of questions I should direct to my informants and participants in the tango community during my observations. He said, “Well, Melin, I should not be interfering with your work but you are directing him with your last question, your question is not neutral. You should be asking neutral questions”. In his view, my role as a young woman experiencing and learning about life within the community interfered with my role as an anthropologist.

My role as a female instructor created a further disadvantage when I wanted to observe Tangotürk’s dance classes. I wanted to observe some of the classes taught by a couple who were instructors at the school. The female partner was a year older than I am and had been teaching tango classes almost as long as I did. She considered me as a rival because she was reluctant to accept me as an observer. She openly told me that she would not like me to see her teaching because of the stress of my presence. Nevertheless, my disadvantage as the female instructor turned into an advantage within a short time because another instructor of the same school, who was teaching alone accepted me as an observer after a few months. The instructor was a male, ten years older than I am.

3.4. The time schedule

The updated time schedule for the rest of my fieldwork is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

	June 2007	July 2007	August 2007	September 2007 – September 2008	October 2008	November 2008	December 2008	January 2009
Literature Review	X	X		INTERRUPTION OF THE FIELD AND THE THESIS DUE TO MY PREGNANCY AND THE DELIVERY OF MY DAUGHTER				
Last In-depth Interviews		X						
Analysis of the Tangolist					X			
Analysis of the Interviews						X	X	
Overall Evaluation of the Field								X

4. A REINTRODUCTION

4.1 A Micro Introduction

I am sitting in front of my computer, asking what I am doing with tango? Why do I have such strong relations with this practice born in social conditions totally different than my social, educational and familial background. What do “I, myself”, the daughter of an upper-middle class family, a woman with an academic background and the mother of a two year old daughter have to do with this once very local and lower-middle class product and the symbol of a lonely life? How can I understand myself, my curiosity, and my passion? I needed to explain to myself that the reason why I travelled to Argentina, but not to Japan, three times in five years, constitutes more than a simple pleasure to travel. I needed to explain to myself why I worked for days, nights, and months in 2006 to prepare for one of Turkey’s biggest international tango dance and music festival, the Istanbul Tango Ritual, and then surprisingly handed it over to my partner who is also my main rival in the Istanbul tango scene? Why did I reject the honor of an offer to stay in Buenos Aires to become a professional tango dancer in this competitive and productive city of the tango art and practice? I had the passion to dance and had been accepted by the authentic and contemporary scene of tango; still, why was I the one to reject all of these offers and run away? Why am I here, writing a Phd on tango, sitting on my chair, struggling with my ideas wandering on my mind? One would assume as an insider to my fieldwork that these questions would usher in simple answers. However, one possible drawback to intimacy with the research question is that while entry to a society is easier than perhaps it is for outsiders, the very intimacy that opens the door shields the researcher from staring directly and simply at the subject. Looking in the mirror/inward is never as easy as a glance outward. The rest of my thesis, though, attempts to find possible solutions to the questions posed above.

4.2 A Macro Introduction: Short Story of Tango from Buenos Aires to Turkey

Tango symbolized different socio-cultural particularities over time. Tango before the information society had totally different meanings than the practice does today; additionally the practice served, and still does, very different needs of its social actors when compared to the republican period of Turkey or 21st century urban Istanbul. Thus, answering my research questions not only requires good fieldwork but also a short presentation of the story of tango from the 19th century until today, adding the contemporary city of Istanbul into this mix, the invisible city of the academic studies of tango and dance.

4.2.1 Tango before info-consumption society or tango before late-modernity

The Birth of the Argentinean Tango and Its Historical Characters

The word *tango* is possibly wholly African in origin. The literature of tango, however, clearly points that the etymology of tango cannot be traced in detail. Still it is very highly probable that the word's origin is African. The Argentine historian Ricardo Rodriguez Molas notes that in certain African tongues, this word means "closed place" or "reserved ground". Another possibility is that the term derives from Portuguese from the Latin word *tangere*, meaning to touch, a connotation which was incorporated with slave-trading. Then, if this possibility is correct, the word was picked up by African slaves from their captors. In this sense, the word definitely reached the western hemisphere with slave-ships and the slaves. A third theory, a weak possibility, claims that the word simply represents the sound of a drum beat (Collier 1995: 41).

In the Spanish-American Empire of which Argentina belonged, the word tango acquired a meaning of the place where African slaves danced. The word became applied to Afro-American dances in general, within Argentina as in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world. The word thus reached Spain as a name for Africa-American-influenced dances of the Transatlantic provenance. The *habanera* was sometimes called *tango americano*. In any case, the word had been in use for a long time and was familiar to the inhabitants of the late nineteenth century Buenos Aires.

Besides these historical origins, the contribution of the Afro-American community of Buenos Aires to the invention of tango was indirect but very fundamental and critical since there would not have been any tango without input of the black community (Collier 1995: 41-42).

Thus, claimed to be born in the city of Buenos Aires, Rio de La Plata³, Argentinean Tango had not only been a spectacle of class, race, and sex, as Savigliano puts, but also a symbol of a production society which had strong contrasts with the contemporary information consumption society. Tango was born as a local lower-middle class product, the product of an oppressed group just as was jazz music⁴. Tango was unsystematized, yet not analyzed, and as yet not capitalized in Argentina, the culture hearth⁵ of tango, a nation which was based on agricultural production rather than industrial or information production. Tango had been the symbol of an earlier period of urbanization where the survival strategy was not yet based on efficiency and mechanization.

Tango had strong historical racial connotations that reflected the conflict between the Afroamericanos and the European immigrants of Argentinean society. Although their relations started as a dance, the cultural tensions between the European immigrants and the Afroamericanos were reproduced by early tango. Afroamericano men and women were the ones to initiate the first steps in Rio de la Plata, in a dance which displayed a scandalous eroticism. Those whites who had been dancing polka and mazurka had a shock when viewing this structure, and rejected this new product, and its black producers. This rejection deepened the conflict and widened the distance between themselves and the other (Savigliano 1995).

Tango reflected the demographic conditions of the late 19th and early 20th century city of Buenos Aires as well. During its attempts to build a nation-state and process of urbanization in the second half of the 19th century, the city has received mass immigration. It grew rapidly from 187.000 inhabitants to 1.576.000 in 1914

³ Argentinean Tango was born in Rio de La Plata located between Argentina and Uruguay. Today, although Uruguayens claim that Tango was born in their territories, Buenos Aires is accepted to be the birthplace of Tango.

⁴ Jazz music evolved among black people as a part of the culture of an oppressed group (Adair, 1992: 8)

⁵ The culture hearth refers to the place where a distinctive culture originated (Bergman 1995: 82).

(Ferrer 1972: 146). Nevertheless, because this immigration was predominantly male, the city started to experience a considerable demographic imbalance which turned women into a scarce resource⁶. Tango had become a symbolic social space where men had to compete for women by displaying their talents to improvise and to lead in their patterns of movement. In this sense, tango also symbolized the attempts to have relationships with women and the ensuring competition with Argentinean *compadritos*, efforts based on pleasure rather than the more noble intention to build a familial institution.

Late 19th century tango presents us a story and construction of particular gender roles that symbolized particular historical characters of Argentinean society, especially of the city of Buenos Aires. *Compadres/guapos*, *compadritos* and *milonguitas* – *las mujeres jóvenes* had been important historical social actors of Argentinean society in the late 19th century and early 20th century, that were symbolized in the dance roles. The leader role in the tango dance symbolically represented the *compadre/guapo* and *compadrito*. The follower role symbolically represented the *milonguita* though it is possible to discuss contemporary changes in them.

Compadre/guapo was the main male historical character of Argentina, Buenos Aires. He was a semi-urban well-respected man type, who had migrated to Buenos Aires, engaged in herding cattle from the Pamba region. He was accustomed to struggle as part of his maleness. He cultivated courage as his main skill and value. He also had fierce-independence, masculine pride with a tendency to deal with affairs of honor with his knife. As presented in Jorge Luis Borges' short stories, he showed his courage and maleness by involvement in knife-fights and killing other men for disloyalty and rivalry. Borges' Rosendo Juarez and Garmendia, both born in poor barrios, were involved in a knife-fight. Garmendia was killed by Rosendo who was later on sent to jail. Still he was appreciated by the police for bringing an end to Garmendia's life (Borges 1990: 27-33). A *compadre* was always appreciated for being so courageous as to kill and go to jail.

⁶ Horacio Salas explains that there were almost less than 60.000 women in contrast to 100.000 men in Buenos Aires in the years 1860-1890. This demographic imbalance turned women into a valuable resource (Salas 1986)

Compadrito was a young man, of the next generation of *compadre*. He was native-born and poor. He imitated the manners and bad attitudes of the *compadres*. One could recognize him from the hat he wore and the loosely tied handkerchief he carried together with his high-hill boots and the knife on his belt. *La milonguita – la mujer joven y divina*, was the female character of Argentinean society. She was young, unmarried, from a lower-middle class family, born in a *barrio*. She escaped from the *barrio*, from poverty and from a future as a housewife to the city of Buenos Aires to find excitement, luxury, and a rich man—in that order (Archetti 1995). She was the main character to reproduce the display of class conflict between the lower class *compadre*, *compadrito*, and wealthy man of the recently urbanizing Buenos Aires. This rich man, however, who had no intentions to marry the poor and young milonguita still “disdained the scarce resource woman defensively against the wealthy man who paid to embrace them as he was unable to touch the women of their own class without a serious commitment” (Savigliano 1995: 31).

The earlier periods of tango in Argentina were strongly associated with machismo, alcohol, prostitution, anarchism, and rebellion. Tango was a product that had been created in the story that took place between Ivonne in cabaret Royale Pigalle, Juan Molina in La Boca, and the drunk father in Frederico Andahazi’s *Errante en la Sombra*. Nevertheless, this local cultural product of the city of Buenos Aires started to change meaning with its diffusion to Europe and the U.S.A after the First World War, particularly by 1913, and finally to Turkey during the process of building the nation-state and foundation of the Turkish Republic. In other words, the culture realm⁷ of tango expanded from Europe to Japan; each realm and period gave its own meaning to the practice.

⁷ Culture realm refers to the regions though which a culture prevails (Bergman 1995: 82)

4.2.2 In Eurasia

Tango had become an intellectual and artistic product as well as an enjoyable entertainment with its diffusion to Europe in the early 1910s. It was a foreign but exoticized product which started to carry artistic and intellectual meanings beside its male-centered, sensual, and erotic connotations. The artistic meaning had been motivated for the first time in Paris with stage performances and painting exhibitions for the consumption of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie. The first stage demonstration was performed by a cabaret star and Professor Bottalo in the honor of the Spanish Princess Isabel de Borbon in 1913. Paris had been very influential for the spread of tango to the world. The practice started to change its social meaning into a middle and upper-middle class product consumed in Europe and thus lost its lower-class connotations and primary associations with machismo and sexuality--though current practitioners never denied these baser origins. The conservative city of Prague, for example, with its newly opened restaurants, cafes and entertainment halls, hosted tango. It was taught in many dancing schools; the famous Vinohradske Theatre prepared an original operetta of R. Piskacek's "Madame Tango" (Collier et al 1995). Tango's upper-middle class meaning motivated the creation of tango tea parties, tango lectures, and tango painting exhibitions in Paris. Fabrice Hatem was one of the contemporary painters to open a tango painting exhibition in Paris. "These were/was or [sic]no doubt a way of making the dance respectable and acceptable to the middle classes" (Collier et al. 1995: 74).

"Dancing" wrote the Duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre, "spread from the ground floor to every floor". People who once hated dancing now gave dance parties. Mme Boas de Jouvenel replaced her politician guests with tangoing couples. Comte Etienne de Beaumont, Paris's most famous host for the first half of the century, gave tango dances in the white gilt salons of his family's eighteenth century palace" (Collier et al. 1995: 79).

Tango started to be commercialized after 1913. It lent its name to many numbers of commercial products, from perfume to corsets, but it became most closely associated with a color, known as "*couleur tango*". The story was that a certain silk manufacturer found himself left with a large stock of satin, dyed such a garish orange-

yellow that it proved unsellable. Since the fabric as now badly shop-soiled, it was put on sale at a bargain price and given the name 'Satin-Tango'. The stock sold out within days, and people clamoured for more, but the manufacturer had lost the formula for that particular shade. This oversight gave his competitors the chance to leap into the market and sell every variation of color as '*la veritable couleur tango*'. The next craze was for the 'blouse-tango', a light, full-sleeved blouse of tango-colored silk or satin trimmed with black fur. Fashionable men began to have their dinner jackets cut in the long Argentinean style known as 'fumadero tango'. Cooks and patissiers also jumped on the tango bandwagon. The banana was transformed into *La Banane Tango* and took its place on smart menus beside *La Peche Melba* (Collier et al. 1995: 78-79). Overall, Tango dance has become a compelling metaphor of the modern West with its admiration and desire for the exotic.

Similar developments took place in Russia although tango was not as fashionable as it was in Europe, particularly in Paris. The Russian Tsar Nicholas II was perhaps the first monarch to see the tango danced. In 1911, he was informed by his Minister of the Interior that two young grand-dukes, nephews of the Tsar, had been involved in an incident in a fashionable nightclub in St. Petersburg 'where a new perturbing dance was revealed' – not a can-can but a South–American dance called Tango Argentino. The Tsar ordered his two young nephews to give him a demonstration, and perhaps–surprisingly–he liked it. One of the newphews in question was the Grand Duke Dimitri who was at the time serving as an escort to his fifty-six-year-old aunt, the Grand Duchess Anastasia, who also had an overwhelming desire to dance. The Grand Duke passed her over to Vernon Castle, the half of the most famous dancing duo of the time, who had taught the Grand Duchess to tango. In her autobiography, *Castle in the Air*, Irene Castle, Vernon's wife and the dancing partner, relates how she always longed to see the grand Duchess do the tango (Collier et al 1993: 86)

4.2.3 Turkey, republican period and modernization

Tango has gained a cultural significance in Turkey within the framework of modernization and building of nation-state during the earlier times of the republican period. Anthony Smith defines two kinds of nationalism: “Western and non-Western”. Similarly John Plamenatz talks about how “nationalism emerged primarily in Western Europe”, “nationalism emerged in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America”. Both types depend upon the acceptance of common standards by which the state of development of a particular national culture is measured. The first type has been built under the leadership of France and England and constructed around a new global standard of progress. Germany and Italy already had the necessary linguistic, educational, and professional skills deemed necessary for a “consciously progressive civilization” (Chatterjee 1986: 1-2). Therefore, this standard was not seen as alien to those of the national culture (Chatterjee 1986: 1-2). In this sense, it has become possible to speak about an understanding of nationalism that had been developed by Western Europe. “Eastern nationalism” appeared in the contexts that have different values than those of Western Europe. “Eastern nationalism” appeared among societies where success and excellence were not the dominant cultural values. Realizing their underdevelopment, they had to adapt the Western idea of progress to their own social contexts (Chatterjee 1986). However, this non-Western nationalism is based on the basic dichotomy of “adaptation and imitation of the value of standards set by the alien culture -- modernization and development of Western Europe and the search of the *new* and to maintain cultural particularity”. Similarly, Turkish nationalism experienced this dichotomy around the concepts of westernization and differentiation.

Tango dance thus became the symbol of the attempts of Westernization in Turkey. The upper-middle class bureaucrats and their acquaintances had been the leaders and models of this process (Yılmaz 1994: 63-67). Tango in Turkey symbolized the educated, westernized, ‘secular’ life-style’. The transformation into nation-state in the earlier periods of the republic brought with it a differentiation from the Ottoman period with respect to life-style and leisure-time activities. Tango in the 1920s and 1930s had become the symbol of the educated modern life in two respects: the physical existence of the male and the female side by side in the public sphere and a Westernized use of leisure time (Yuna 2006: 30).

Gender roles and relations have been problematized in many societies in different periods of time, particularly in the non-Western modernization processes. In this sense, women had been one of the symbols of modernity in the process of building of the Turkish nation-state. Organizing and participating in dance parties and music days had been one of the avenues to modernity; many young educated well-respected Turkish ladies were expected to participate in these dance parties. Dance had become the symbol of modernity for leisure time consumption as well (Cantek 2003). The organization of dance balls in the capital city had been the shortcut to Westernization. Experiencing and consuming these Western forms not only meant to know and follow what is newly produced in Europe but also to reject the Ottoman idea of *haremlik ve selamlık* and thus legitimize the physical co-existence of male and female in the public sphere.

4.3 Contemporary Tango

Today I read tango dance and practice as a text which symbolizes multiple local meanings given by contemporary late-modern educated individuals. The practice provides social possibilities for its modern practitioners / consumers in relation to the global scene. In the Westernized part of the contemporary Istanbul, Tango offers social possibilities and meets many needs of the modern, educated upper- and middle class practitioners. The dance also enables a space so the late modern individual can present and construct a self. The dance is thus the perfect symbol of information and consumption, based upon a late-modern urban culture and a professional way of life that goes hand in hand with the needs for a cathartic leisure time and socialization. These multiple meanings and possibilities/functions are the reasons why tango can circulate and is still vigorously doing so in 21st century urban Istanbul. This narrative can be observed in many arenas: the social interactions and modes of communication, both face to face and virtual; the organization of tango and its events, including the formation of tango schools and dance federation as well as workshops and festivals; the restructuring and the presentation of the tango dance itself by the contemporary social actors.

This contemporary tango, however, lost its meaning as the national symbol promoted by the secular bureaucracy of modern Turkey. Rather, the dance evolved

into a primarily scarce and exotic cultural product practiced and consumed by both a well-educated, almost elitist group of urban Istanbulites in their leisure-time from 1997 to 2002 / 3. Starting around 2003, tango mushroomed into a culture industry and commercial product practiced by the middle and upper-middle class masses of Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Eskisehir, and then travelled to Bursa, Bodrum, Antalya, and Marmaris in later years. In 2009 and 2010, Diyarbakir, Mardin and some other SouthEastern cities have been added to this picture, albeit in marginal numbers.

THE CONTEMPORARY STORY BEGINS: THE STORY OF LATE-MODERNITY

Eduardo Archetti claimed that Argentinean Tango, especially its poetics written before 21st century, presents us models of masculinities and male discussions of gender issues (Archetti, 1997). Savigliano, on the other hand, claimed that tango from Argentina to Europe is a colonized and capitalized product (Savigliano 1995). From my point of view, the contemporary story of Argentinean Tango in 21st century urban Istanbul presents us different stories of tango and multiple meanings in late-modernity vis-a-vis the contemporary educated self and its social needs. Tango in Istanbul shifted from the republican search to enable man and woman to co-exist in the public sphere to a meta that entered into a process of late-capitalist information-production and leisure time consumption by the middle and upper-middle class as well as evolving into a social space of interaction/conflict of power relations on the local and global scale. Tango has become the complex symbol of the modern individual and his / her search for the satisfaction of basic needs and conflict resolution: the drive to create balance between expression of individual uniqueness/self-realization and the desire for integration as well as access to social resources.

5. THE SOCIAL ACTORS AND POSITIONS IN CONTEMPORARY TANGO

The social context and the production of tango consist of various social actors and their positions in the contemporary local and global network of tango. These actors are not only a part of the process of informatization, commercialization, and industrialization of contemporary tango but also create a network of belonging and space of socialization that modern individuals need. These social actors create and reproduce a particular culture industry, one with a very strong socialization mechanism and rich in new information that are attractively packaged for its practitioners/consumers. These social actors have a hierarchy among themselves regarding their prestige, which is reflected in the cast playbills of festivals and workshops. Therefore their prices in the global tango culture industry and network are accordingly arranged.

Tango is a tradition and a local innovation which geographically spread or “diffused”, in Kroeber’s term, from place of invention to the rest of the world. The practice was passed onto individuals from different parts of the world. The contemporary tango of Buenos Aires became a global, emotional, social, industrial, and commercial product while simultaneously the very symbol and reproducer of the network and information society in Istanbul--as the practice still operates in many parts of Europe and many West-related parts of the world. The tango actors, namely the producers and the consumers, produce and consume information around the world, thus presenting us a global social network, a global village. The global Argentinean Maestros, the entrepreneurs including European and Turkish instructors and organizers are the producers of contemporary tango. They make tango an accumulated, productive item that can be rationally reproduced, sold, discussed, and consumed. They make it into a modern space and product of individual self-realization and socialization. The non-professional tango dance practitioners not only constitute the main consumers of tango practice but also make up the taste community who *reterritorialize* and *reauthenticate* (Larkey 1993: 17 sic) the tango dance in new places beside Argentina. They appropriate the practice into the lifestyles of their socio-economic class. They are the ones who consume the dance and its referents, as a sphere of socialization and catharsis.

5.1 The Producers: The Hierarchical Tango Elite

5.1.1 The Contemporary *Maestros del Tango De Argentina*: The Argentinean global dance masters – The modern experts

Zygmunt Bauman defines this century in terms of “producing know-how”. The contemporary life is no longer shaped/ruled by fixed aristocratic strings and their right to rule by the power they get from their nobility, country estate, or villas. The contemporary world is ruled by an elite who has the capacity to know how to do something, or as Lyotard puts it, “to know how to do, to know how to live, to have the license on a topic” (Lyotard 1990). It is the experts who run contemporary daily life. Edward Larkey in his analysis of popular music in Austria borrows Bourdieu’s concept of “symbolic value” to explain the role of popular music in Austria. He claims that innovations which accumulated a high level of symbolic value are passed to the commercial industry (Larkey 1993: 14). After this process develops, another one concerned with the exclusive control over production. In this sense, a competing elite emerges. They are the cultural mediators who control and dominate what is to be produced.

Many practices that give shape to human body and soul in relation to practices of merely the physical body follow the same rule such as Yoga and Argentinean Tango. In this case, there is a group of young Argentinean tango couples/instructors/performers, consisting of 13 to 15 couples, aging between 20-45. They are the elite, the experts, who have the capacity to know the tango. They are *Los Maestros del Tango* in the world. They are born in Argentina, mainly in Buenos Aires, St. Martin, Uruguay; they can be French but are often the partner of a native-born Argentinean instructor. They are the contemporary global elite--producers and reproducers of the tango dance. They control and shape the quality, quantity, and direction of the information to be produced about the practice. They are the ones to know how to produce and reproduce the contemporary information on “how to tango”. They have the know-how and license to produce, reshape, and teach the practice and dance. They systematize, rationalize, and therefore codify the tacit knowledge from the elder *compadres / milongueros / milongueras* into information on

the tango dance and male and female bodies, which were once defined to reflect the ‘primitive sentiments’ of the *compadritos* and the *milonguitas*. They reproduce and reorganize the current dance vocabulary and creative sequences of tango; they teach it to the global practitioners by travelling to different parts of the world. They have a hierarchical order of presenting themselves in the casts of the festivals and workshops that the European and Turkish entrepreneurs organize for them. They are the most expensive and prestigious group of tango reproducers. In other words, they are the global tango elite. They always appear first in the lists of the announcements of tango festivals and workshops.

5.1.2. The Entrepreneurs – The Entertainment and Information Manufacturers

1. The instructors and the organizers in Europe

The European instructors and organizers of tango dance workshops, concerts, and festivals provide work for and reproduce the expert position of *Los Maestros del Tango* as well as their own. Some perform on the same stage with the Argentinean Maestros; their names appear on the same festival playbills/casts with the Argentineans in the announcements on internet, leaflets, and so on. Nevertheless, their names are written under those of the Argentinean instructors. Italian reproducers appear to have the highest social prestige and highest demand in the European scene not only on account of the superior quality of their practice but also the belief that half of the Argentinean nation (the talented half to be sure) is originally of Italian ancestry. Still, the European instructors have less social prestige and are less expensive on the market as instructors when compared to Argentinean ones. Both global Argentinean instructors and European instructors and organizers, however, run the global market and network of tango festivals and workshops in connection with each other. For instance, the International TangoCamp in Sweden and Greece cooperate. Similarly, the organizer of the International Torino Tango festival in Torino also performs in the cast of the International Firenze Festival in Florence. They earn their lives by teaching dance classes in their own cities and as well as in other nearby European cities. In addition, by organizing workshops and festivals, they create world-wide networks. These instructors find connections in different parts of the world whom they think will bring certain number of participants to their organization. For instance, Pino and

Natalie D'Angiola are the organizers of Tangocamp which is organized in Italy, Greece, Sweden, and Germany every summer. They have created a network of group organizers from different parts of the world so that they could increase the number of participants. With their attempts, they turn tango festivals into a reflection of a global village.

2. The local instructors and organizers in Istanbul

These individuals instruct and make local organizations in Istanbul. They generally do not appear on the cast playbills of international tango festivals except for a very few who recently started to appear in the announcements. Still, they are accepted in the guest category rather than that of main instructor. Local instructors concern themselves with mostly inviting Argentinean and sometimes European instructors to teach in Istanbul. Some of these local instructors earn their lives out of tango while others do so to reproduce their social power and realize themselves through the relations they have established with the elite *maestros* and practitioners. In this sense, the local instructors earn a side income. They legitimize and reproduce the expert position of both the Argentinean and the European instructors as well as presenting their power through the network they claim to have in the world.

The Turkish entrepreneurs appeared from a core group who were practicing couple dancing with Ümit İris, the eldest dance instructor in Istanbul who had worked with TRT (Turkish Radio & Television) for a very long time. There were many hobby dancers studying couple dancing with Ümit İris who had started dancing Argentinean Tango later on. Nevertheless, there was one core group who eventually became the pioneers of the evolution of Argentinean tango. This group consisted of individually originally from Istanbul and Ankara. Ayşegül Betil, a jazz dancer and the ex - wife of a famous musician Timur Selçuk, living in Istanbul; Serdar Sungar, the partner of a PR company who closed his company two years ago and currently earns his life from instructing tango, migrated to Istanbul from Ankara; Sara Navaro, an architect and the daughter of a half - Turkish half - Italian family, living in Istanbul; and Çetin Cengiz – a nonacademic dance instructor born in Izmir and living in Istanbul. They started practicing with an Argentinean dance couple, Alicia Orlando and Claudio Barneix, who were invited to dance in an evening of Argentinean food organized by the Hyatt

Regency Hotel in June 1997. These four Argentinean Tango fans, who were taking European Tango dance classes from Ümit İris, decided to practice with Claudio and Alicia. They considered this couple as the original Argentinean Tango instructors; therefore they practiced with them for the next 10 days, encouraging them to postpone their return flights to BuenosAires.

In August 1997, the first Argentinean Tango Orchestra, called Argentinean Tango Trio, was invited to Istanbul from Germany with two dancing couples performing in front of the orchestra. One of the male dancers was Metin Yazır, a Turk living and teaching in Munich. Later on, he founded his tango school, BailaTango, in Istanbul with active branches in Munich, Ankara, Eskişehir, New York, and Vancouver. Tanju Yıldırım, a graduate of the Department of Opera of the State Conservatory and a nonprofessional ballet practitioner, went backstage to meet this unexpectedly fabulous Turkish dancer. He, Serdar, Sara, Ayşegül invited him to Istanbul to instruct a workshop on tango dance. He was once again invited to Istanbul in 1997 winter to instruct his first open workshop of tango dance. Tanju, Attila, and Sema were added to the group of fans at the end of 1997. A year later, there were more additions to this group, including the couples Nazan and Mustafa Aktar, Ayça and Sami Çiprut, Melin and Selim Yuna, Neylan Günay and Bilge Keresteci.

Today, most have their own tango schools except Nazan and Mustafa, Ayça and Sami, Sara, Neylan and Bilge. Metin Yazır created his school, Baila Tango, December 1997 with Serdar Sungar, Sema Sungar, Attila Arsan, Tanju Yıldırım and Ayşegül Betil. Çetin Cengiz had already established his own school, Tangoneon, during the same period. In a very short time, Ayşegül and Tanju left the group and founded their own schools in 1999, Ayşegül Betil and Tanguisimo, respectively. In the beginning of 1998, only BailaTango and Tangoneon existed beside that of Ümit İris who had totally followed a different tradition of dance, mainly couple dancing, in addition to Argentinean Tango. In November 1997, my partner and I started to study with Çetin, the founder of Tangoneon and then participated in the workshop of Metin Yazır, which was organized in the summer of 1998. We, MelinySelim, became the tango department of Etnik34, which was originally found as a flamenco dance and music school in addition to the independent dance classes we instruct. Aydoğan Arkış and Şule Arkış, the founders of El Encuentro Tango School, started to participate in

1998 in Çetin Cengiz's classes and then the workshops of Metin Yazır in 1999. The Arkışes joined BailaTango dance school in 1999 and then Tangotürk until they founded their own school El Encuentro in 2002. BailaTango was divided in 2001. The Turkish group of BailaTango separated themselves from Metin Yazır and found their own school Tangotürk in 2001 because they did not agree on Metin Yazır's contractual conditions.

Ahmet Dünder, the founder of TangoTurkey dance school in Istanbul, came from Ankara. He had already practiced in the tradition of METU (ODTÜ) Couple Dancing Group, run by Didem Dinçerden, who had founded Tangokyanus in Ankara in 1997. Ahmet studied with Çetin Cengiz and Melin and Selim in Istanbul and established his own school in 1999. Aydın Kocamusaoğlu and Pelin Koyun, the founder of TangoIst Tango School started to study with Ahmet Dünder in 1999 and found their own school in 2001. SiStudio is the name of another tango school established in Istanbul, its founders, Sedef and Izzet, started learning the dance in 1998 by participating to the classes of Ayşegül Betil and Çetin Cengiz and established their own school in 2001.

İlker Kerem Öksüz started teaching tango in 1998 in different institutions and later found his own school TangoPera in 2003. He was the student of Istanbul University's Industrial Electronics Department. He started practicing tango and couple dancing in the university dance club. He studied with Aysegül Betil, Suer Ünal, Ahmet Dünder, and Metin Yazır while instructing his own classes.

The last, first-generation tango school, Tango Suerte, was created in relation to a Turk living in Kassel Germany. The school is established by Suer Ünal who lived in Kassel for more than 20 years. He is an engineer who left his profession to found the school. Fevzi Yağcı and Ayşe Tünsoy, two architects and tango practitioners, opened the Istanbul branch of Tango Suerte. They represent the elder generation of tango practitioners in Istanbul. The Istanbul branch of Tango Suerte created its first branch in 2001 in Bodrum but continues its existence in Istanbul.

5.2 The Consumers

The term consumer in this study does not necessarily only refer to those individuals solely involved in the economic act of paying for access to a particular product, or service in relation to tango. The consumer in the literature of consumption and consumer culture is defined as actors made to want to consume a product. On the other hand, a consumer can also be taken as a less subordinate actor aware of his/her needs and thus exploit means for ends (Daniels et al 2005: 362-363). Whether assumed to be passive actors who must be convinced to buy or active actors who know their needs, the term refers to those involved in the economic act of paying money to access any product. The concepts of consumer and consumption defined here relate more to a general act of involvement and appreciation of tango. The concepts refer to the actions of those social actors who practice tango dance, who dance in a milonga, who listen to tango music, who watch a tango performance for pleasure as an audience, or who take tango dance classes. These acts may or may not involve the exchange of money. I identify them as the practitioners / the audience / the consumer of tango.

5.2.1 The practitioners of tango dance in Istanbul

They consume tango for many different reasons and attach various meanings to their practice. I identify various subgroups among the consumers of tango in Istanbul apart from the instructors and organizers, who are consumers of the practice as well. I interviewed the experienced practitioners from each group whom I observed have a story to tell. They are as follows:

1. Well-educated single/divorced women in their 50s. They have one or at most two children educated in 'good universities in Istanbul' or some other universities in the U.S.
2. Well-educated single/divorced men older than 40 and younger than 50,
3. Single/divorced working women between 30 and 40,
4. Single working young men in their 30s,
5. Couples, with or without children, who participate in tango activities on a regular basis.

6. Young university graduates who recently started to work or do not yet do so.

There is a hierarchy among the practitioners of tango. The global practitioners/consumers are in the upper levels of this consumer hierarchy. They are those who travel the world, participate in European tango festivals and workshops to practice and learn tango supposedly better than do local practitioners. They have access to new globally produced information because of their status as frequent travellers for tango.

The local practitioners / consumers are below the global practitioners / consumers in the hierarchy of tango consumers. They do not travel frequently, therefore they have a limited access to tango information produced / taught both in different parts of the world and in Istanbul.

All of these social actors interact and communicate with each other both physically and virtually on global and local spaces in different parts of the world, including Istanbul. They physically interact with each other in workshops, festivals, milongas, regular classes. They virtually communicate with each other on the internet with tango e-groups/discussion lists and facebook. The next chapter focuses on these virtual and physical spaces of interaction.

6. A MODERN SETTING: COMMUNICATIONS, INTERACTIONS AND SELF-PRESENTATIONS IN ISTANBUL

Erving Goffman, in his text, *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, describes settings where individual social actors interact in the presence of others in a social setting. These actors intentionally or unintentionally express themselves so that others obtain impressions of them in these settings (Goffman 1959: 1-3). Thus, the communication begins. Modern tango social actors in Istanbul have their own social setting where in interaction; they present themselves, a process by which they create an identity for themselves. These social settings mainly consist of virtual and physical spaces of interaction. These virtual and physical spaces provide the practitioners possibilities of socialization, discussion, and self-presentation, thereby becoming spaces for a self-identity for them. If the social actors do not bring themselves to these settings, they can neither communicate nor present themselves. There are many virtual spaces, namely tango e-groups / discussion lists that the tango practitioners manipulate for this communication. One major virtual space established by Istanbul practitioners is the TangoTürk tango list. Similarly, there are many physical spaces in Istanbul that tango practitioners interact, communicate with each other, thereby presenting themselves. These are the regular tango classes, workshops, *milongas*, international tango dance and music festivals and, of late, tango marathons (organizing tango marathons in Istanbul is an idea appeared in 2010, which is after I finished my fieldwork).

I chose to observe particular spaces, namely the Armada Hotel *milonga*, Point Hotel *milonga*, Istanbul Tango Ritual Tango Festival, Istanbul Tango Festival. In this chapter, I first focus on the virtual space of communication and then on the physical spaces that provide face to face interaction.

6.1 The Virtual Social Setting/Space: The TangoTürk List

The Tangotürk list is the first main and systematic virtual social setting of tango actors in Istanbul. It is the first e-group / discussion list for tango in Turkey and as well in Istanbul, which serves as the major virtual space of interaction. Founded in 2001, it has grown to 1676 participants by 2009. It is the first tango e-group founded

in Turkey, by the first generation of Turkish tango dancers. It started as a discussion list of practitioners living in Istanbul but currently receives members from Ankara, Izmir, Eskisehir, Bursa, Bodrum, Antalya, and some other parts of Turkey. Still, most are Istanbul residents. The members are tango practitioners / dancers including tango instructors and organizers (<http://www.yahogroups.com>).

I made a qualitative textual analysis of the emails sent to the list in June, July, and August of 2007 without totally disregarding the emails sent in other periods of 2007. First, I wanted to understand the main discussions in the public sphere of the community. I observed that particular authors wanted to express themselves, in one dimension or another, as visible social actors of tango, which actually presented a role and conception of self in the community. Therefore, I selected some examples of the emails to delineate the positions the authors presented / played, to whom they enacted this role, and the theme / the message each author presented.

The emails sent to the list can be grouped around 12 major themes:

1. Commercial advertisements and announcements
2. Search for possibilities of socialization and reproduction of the feeling of community
3. Self-realization / Self-actualization, the act of informing to reproduce one's own power
4. Production and sharing of popular information
5. National praise
6. Attempts to centralize tango by the establishment of the Dance Federation
7. Claims of formalizing tango practice in schools
8. Messages of entertainment
9. Commercials/advertisements for other dance activities or organizations to intervene /encourage competition in the tango community
10. Messages regarding personal fights and arguments
11. Themes about the essence of tango
12. Advertisements unrelated to tango and dance but indicative of the actors' status

A large group of emails consist of commercial advertisements and announcements of various tango activities and their organizers. These are tango classes of particular instructors, *milongas* of particular organizers, workshops of particular instructors and organizers, announcements of shows and DJs, updates regarding the establishment of new tango dance schools and/or club and announcements of a local festival and of festivals from abroad. These commercial advertisements are written to the practitioners / audience of tango either by the organizers and instructors themselves or by their assistants or close supporters. The emails' expressions of achievement reproduce the pioneering positions of the organizers and instructors. Each announcement affirms the existence of the organizer and instructor, an action which in turn reproduces their existence and identities as the economic and opinion-leaders of the community. For instance Mr. İKÖ, the founder of TangoPera Tango School, regularly announces his *milonga* night on the list. One of his announcements discusses the CKM *milonga* with two guest DJs who themselves are instructors of tango.

Mr. İKÖ thus provides the subtext that his organization promotes his rivals as well. Another announcement by TangoTürk relates to its organization of the Armada *milonga*. The organizers of the TangoTürk School, particularly Mr. SS, advertise themselves as the oldest, the most experienced and classic tango classes and *milonga* organizations in Istanbul. He emphasizes the fact that they are the first generation, therefore, the most experienced school and presenters of tango. He thus indicates his motivations to be the leader of the community. Another group of announcements entails a tango dance festival organized in Istanbul, Istanbul Tango Festival. The emails sent by the organizer of the festival, Mr. AA, the main founder of *El Encuentro*, announce the artists / instructors / performers of the festival, the places of the *milongas*, the quality of the organization, and the participation fee. His message is one of reassurance, that his tango product is a complete, professional, and very reliable product, which follows the world format of organizing tango. The organizers of the festival intend not only to attract as many participants as possible so as to make a name as one of the most crowded organizations of tango in Istanbul, but also to earn income. The authors of these emails are the organizers themselves addressing not only the practitioners but also their competitors to consume and attend their organizations.

They reproduce their identity as the active professional leader(s), and the competitive social actors of the community.

Another group of emails are messages of those practitioners, particularly relative beginners, who seek socialization, friendship, recognition, and thus visibility in the Istanbul tango community. One series of emails in the summer of 2007 regards the self-expression of a 45 year-old man, called Mr. SG, who has been dancing tango for one and a half years. He states that he neither has the intention to compete with any instructor or organizer in the community nor the desire to become a tango professional. Therefore, he desires recognition as a positive person and the friend of many tango practitioners and instructors. He offers the message, "I am not going to claim the powerful position of the organizers nor will I compete with any of you". He tells stories about himself and his personal values which are honesty, openness, and friendliness. He plays the role of a peacemaker and reminder of human bonds in the community. Another one of his emails, in a similar tone yet with emphasis on familial bonds, regards his daughter and smoking. He wrote that he would not like his daughter to smoke but accepts how she spends all the money she gets from her father. In another email he showed his appreciation to one tango organization. One participant in the list expressed his dislike of him, defining him as an unpleasant person. Immediately after this email came other emails defending Mr. SG. These authors expressed their positive feelings towards him. This phenomenon exhibits a chain of claims of friendship within the tango community which becomes visible in cases of personal discussions. Another email with a similar theme was sent by a practitioner from Izmir. He was interested in socializing into the Istanbul tango community. He offered a similar self-presentation: while displaying his appreciation to an organization in Istanbul, he also presented himself not as a competitor of any practitioner or instructor but a supporter and friend of the organizers and practitioners.

In addition to the messages described above, there are certain emails that strongly produce / reproduce the feeling of community. Victor Turner in his book "The Ritual Process" talks about a modality of social interrelatedness. He calls it "communitas" with which he opposes the concept of "social structure". These two concepts constitute a paradox present in any society where social inequalities, rivalries, and interests divide individuals according to some prevailing structural

premise, yet there is at the same time a generic human bond, a “*communitas*” that unites them, regardless of differences in status. These bonds reflect the essence of human existence in their articulation of the themes of life, death, fertility, and uncertain bounties of nature (Spencer 1985: 27-28). Turner further suggests two complementary modes of social interaction. He notes that it is the structured aspect that dominates day-to-day existence, but when there is some interruption in the normal routine, during periods of anxiety or at ceremonies marking changes of status, boundaries shift and the underlying forces of *communitas* rises (Spencer 1985: 28).

The emails sent to the list about the death of a tango participant or his/her relatives, the invitation to a marriage ceremony--all reproduce the feeling of community and union with a human bond. During June-August 2007, the list received emails about the death of the mother of one practitioner, Emel, and a memorial of another, Nuray. She used to practice tango with her husband until she had a sudden brain hemorrhage which ended with her death. In these cases, all participants shared the pain of those who had directly experienced the loss, regardless of the nature of their relationship to these two people, whether or not they liked them or held a competitive relationship with them. The authors of these emails offer a broad identity, independent of any identity or mundane claims to success they would claim to have otherwise.

The third group of emails includes themes of self-realization and search for the reproduction / recognition of one’s own power. Here, the modern powerful one who wants to self-realize is at work. These kinds of messages were sent either by the organizers of tango activities, *milongas*, classes, or by the experienced and travelling practitioners or by talented beginners who would like to achieve upward social mobility by becoming an instructor and organizer. This email group consists of four sub-themes. The first one claims a global-connection, a theme which will also be discussed in the next sections. The second one requests networking or maintenance of relations with “important / expert / socially respected” people. The third asserts the claim for power by presenting information and experiences about events occurring out of the territories of Turkey; the fourth sub-theme, the desire for improvement.

Global-connection; claims to belonging to a global network; display of owning strong contacts abroad, attempts to maintain a large network of relations in the world, desire to hold a global identity manifest very strong themes for the presentation of a modern competitive self and the reproduction of power in the presence of others. For instance, Mr. AA, the founder of El Encuentro School, offered the sub-text, “I am an opinion-leader and I am informed about the tango events taking place around the world, particularly in Europe”. Although he was not a tango traveler / nomad in the tango world, he claimed to be such. He presented himself as a competitive organizer whose knowledge is current with strong connections and network in tango; therefore, he depicted himself as one recognized in the world as are the frequent tango travelers / nomads. One email discussed, for example, the Biennial of Salonica where there would be tango for the first time in 2007. Although the Biennial did not address the tango practitioners of Istanbul (because it was neither a dance nor a tango biennial), Mr. AA sent the message to the Tango Turk list. He presented himself as an expert on the topic by demonstration the degree of knowledge he possessed regarding any event in Europe which offers tango.

He emailed another message to the list informing the list members about the death of an old legend tango instructor from Buenos Aires without giving a clear reference of the source of the information. The more details he presented, the more his actual motivation in proving himself became clear rather than offering information. He wrote: “As far as I learned from other lists, the famous dancer Ernesto Norberto Castello died yesterday morning at 8.30 in Buenos Aires.” Then he kept on giving details about Ernesto. “The tango lovers know him as Pupi Castello. He was the partner of Graciela Gonzales, who was invited to Istanbul by F.T...” (07/22/2007). These kinds of emails, informing the practitioners without clear references but with details, present, and reproduce Mr. AA’s desire to display the extent of his control in the tango community, the extent of his power in the community as well as his desire to make claims for global-connectivity and competitiveness.

Another practitioner, Mr. DA, neither an organizer nor an instructor, often wrote about his tango experiences in Europe. His message: “I am a global person. I am well-informed and I am fully capable of informing you about many of the tango events in the world, listen to me”. He depicted himself as an opinion-leader by

expressing in detail his ideas and comments about all the tango events he participated in Turkey and in the world, thus addressing both regular tango practitioners and non-travelling organizers and instructors.

The claim to belong to a network of relations in Istanbul and other cities in Turkey, especially to actors holding important and respectable social positions” is another theme that enables the self to reproduce power and competition. Fehmi Akgün is an elder generation, experienced authority of tango music who prepares radio programs for TRT Istanbul. Mr. SS, the founder of the Tango Turk School, emails the list regarding the details of his radio programs. He, however, was not the individual who had prepared the program. Still, with this act of informing, he claimed a close friendship with “important / socially respected” people such as Fehmi Akgün. In this way, he presented himself as an important and competitive tango actor not only as an organizer and instructor but also as an individual with a network of a very high social scale. He claimed to belong to the network of “important people of tango” reproducing his power and credibility in the community.

Emails with a claim for improvement usually originate from ‘peripheral’ cities of tango practice such as Eskişehir, Gaziantep, and Bodrum. Istanbul is the center of the tango practice in Turkey. Practitioners from other Turkish cities ask for visibility by claiming that they would like to improve themselves. Mr. CK, a practitioner from Gaziantep, currently living in Istanbul, emailed the list, ostensibly to explain that they are establishing a dance school / club in Gaziantep under the guidance of a dance federation, which would make the school / club formal and legitimate. He said that Gaziantep will exist in the Turkish tango scene and the practitioners of the city would improve themselves by taking classes, organizing *milongas*, and participating in festivals. He thus provided the message that he wanted to develop himself in the community not only as a regular but also as a visible social actor. Soon after this email, I observed that this message was realized in that he attained the tango classes and dance competition organized by the Dance Federation and expressed the desire to obtain a tango instructor license.

Another group of emails are concerned with sharing non-competitive popular information on topics beside tango. These topics are usually about efficient Internet use, warnings about viruses, sharing mp3s of various styles of music in the internet such as tango, salsa, samba as well as some informative emails about interviews with tango legends. These authors are usually neither tango instructors nor organizers, but tango practitioners who reject making claims to be the leaders of the community in organizing and instructing the practice. Mr. EÇ and Mr. ŞG are two of such authors. Maybe they will be / are instructing but did not claim in those emails to be “the one”. In one text, they provide the youtube web address as the easiest way to reach videos and files. This information also referred to various websites and explained how to download the videos. With another email, they offered a large mp3 list of samba, salsa, rhumba, and jive music for those who might be interested. These authors gave the message that they did not intend to compete regarding tango knowledge and tango networking. They did not claim to be a source of power regarding tango but instead the role of information sharers from another area in which they might claim to be competitive. This activity introduces a new space of authority where the tango competitors would not need to compete.

There is one group of emails which focused on the Turkish tango. With these emails, the author, Mr. A, not only praised the Turkish nation but also proffered the same consistent message about himself as in other emails: that he is very well-informed about tango; therefore he is a competitive social actor and opinion-leader of the community. His emails, in the factual sense, claimed to inform list members about tango in Turkey, particularly the tango music and the tango orchestras in Turkish history. One email discussed the first female tango singer, Seyyan Hanım. Another was concerned with the contemporary Turkish tango orchestras which he and his tango school supported. He emphasized the successes of these orchestras. These emails had the theme to make visible the Turkish nation in the practice of tango where Europe had been, and still is, the center of tango production. In the narrow sense, Mr. AA aimed to increase the visibility of Turkey in this regard by providing information on Turkish tango singers and orchestras. Still the message he emitted was his desire to reproduce his own powerful status in the community as ‘the one who knows, competes and is capable of doing’

One important group of emails is concerned with the announcement of the establishment of a dance federation. These announcements were made by a representative of the federation under the name TDSF (Türkiye Dans Sporları Federasyonu) and the head of the Argentinean Tango of the period, Mr. MY. The announcements and the establishment of the federation contained two major themes. The first one is the centralization and control of the tango dance and practice, the right to teach, produce, and consume it. This is, however, controlled by one source of power with a claim to the Turkish government, TDSF. The second is the popularization of dance education, and again, the right to teach and consume it. In one of the emails, Mr. MY, the head of the Argentinean Tango Branch of the Federation announced the start of a course for those who would aimed to become licensed instructors and / or juries of / in tango dance and its competitions regardless of the time s/he spent in the practice, whether s/he had a minimum experience in the dance or not. The same announcement also emphasized that the course was open to the all, including primary school graduates. The Federation meant to popularize the tango practice with this email because of the general knowledge that tango in Istanbul started as an art of dance 12 years ago by a group of educated middle and upper-middle class practitioners. The right to instruct tango dance classes was received by a person either for talent, experience, knowledge of dance, or connections to foreign instructors of tango in Europe, USA, or Argentina. These qualifications placed applicants/instructors in the position of leader. With the establishment of Dance Federation, this tradition changed. The right to instruct required neither a long period of dance education, experience, nor talent. Attending a four day course, festival, and a competition or a weekend course, organized by dance federation, became the main prerequisite for becoming an instructor and jury member in a dance competition. This change meant that the tango practice and the right to instruct it became accessible to everyone, regardless of educational background, socioeconomic status, talent and dance experience. One such individual, Mr. MY, presented himself as the leader of this system for contemporary tango.

Another group of emails criticized not only the establishment of Dance Federation but also the aim, functioning, and activities of the federation that meant to control and regulate tango practice. The authors of these emails are either well-educated tango practitioners such as Mr. CB, Mr. MY, or instructors who do not earn

their livelihood only from tango such as Mr. AA, Ms. NH, or Mrs. MY. They clearly presented themselves in an opposing role to the control of tango by the dance federation. They questioned the immediate appearance and possible functions of the federation. Even an experienced instructor with a French origin, Mrs. VA, living and teaching in Istanbul, announced the aim to create a new tango list, only for the instructors and organizers of the period prior to the establishment of the federation. One tango practitioners, Dr. CB, an academician teaching in Istanbul Technical University, questioned the acceptability of a primary school graduate as a tango dance instructor:

If there can be a secondary school graduate prime-minister in a city built 9000 years ago, then there certainly can be a primary school graduate jury member, instructor, head of a department or head of a federation, why not? Please just try to consume alcohol as much as your body can tolerate, please carry your official identity card properly and carefully, try not to make love near the dance floor, and please do not embarrass us when you go abroad to represent Turkey for whatever reason. (Mr. CB, July, 16, 2007)

Another group of messages are mainly written by one particular author, Mr. İY, who actually represents one tango school called Tangojean. He presented tango and his interest in it as a leisure time entertainment. His school represents the younger generation of tango practitioners. Tangojean and Mr.İY's emails depict a common thread of fun, energy, and catharsis in his emails, in contrast to the emails sent by TangoTürk and El Encuentro which offer messages of professionalism, self-realization, and claims to power and competitiveness. The emails sent by Mr. İY, on behalf of Tangojean School, provide the image of tango as for fun, socialization, and catharsis. The dance, in this type of message, is construed as not necessarily not very serious or highly competitive. Instead, it should give the feeling of meeting with friends, spending energy. One Tangojean's announcement, for example: "We are here once again with our *milonga*. "Thank God it is Friday." We will dance and relax in our club with the cool climate, controlled by air conditioning. We will start our meeting at 21.30" (07/27/2007).

Tango started to be formalized around schools more quickly than ever in the year 2007. The emails sent by particular authors aim to present the feeling of formality and professionalism in their attempts to teach. Although the Dance Federation wanted to officialize these attempts by the courses it offered to the instructors; most tango instructors have already put names to their own attempts of teaching. Many, for example, had emailed the list with the name of their school. By putting school names to their activities, they proffer the message that they are serious with in the inclusion of professional schools that offer formalized classes and workshops, and thus legitimize the fee requested from practitioners. For instance, one branch of BailaTango school in Ankara announced the workshop of its main instructor Mr. MYwith class location, fee, and the time schedule: “Dear tango lovers, there will be the workshop of our dear teacher Metin Yazır in July 21-22. The participants of the workshops are obliged to preregister. The program is as follows: July 21, 15.00 – 16.15: Woman technique; 16.30 – 17.45 Giros; 18.00 – 19.15: Question and Answer...” The precise fee and school address are presented at the end of the mail. These kinds of messages are reiterated by other tango schools such as El Encuentro, Tangoturk, Tangojean, and other schools during different periods of time. Another email announces that the classes will end and the school will close for summertime. The authors of these messages, such as those presented above, indicate the professionalization and monetary aspect of the practice.

Another group of emails are commercials of other dance events and organizations unrelated to tango related emails. The authors of these emails intervene in tango community competitions. They present themselves on a topic that they introduce and which may be new for the tango community. Two of these emails are about Ege Dansları (07/18/2007) and a Dia show on The Last Tango in Crimea. This escape from competition introduces, reminds, and emphasizes activities other than tango, *milongas* and festivals. The same attitude is present in one organization from Ankara, which emails the Istanbul origin tango list. This presentation of modesty also avoids the issues of heavy competition in Istanbul. Mr. SK, for instance, regularly announces his so-called, minimilonga. A painter living in Ankara, he depicts himself as a kind, modest character in the community. His email had the theme of modesty starting with the name of his *milonga* – the mini *milonga*. He offers himself as one organizing a tango activity but this activity is meant to be small and modest, just for

socialization among friends. He clearly points out that he does not mean to compete with other organizers who make big events, *milongas*, and/or classes (07/16-23-30/2007).

The list has one particular group of emails concerning quarrels and personal competition among the tango practitioners. These are attempts to search for self-approvals and justifications as well as claims to self-morality. These emails are written by very particular members of the community, who intend to receive self-approval in the presence of others in the tango community. They mean to prove the immorality of “some others” to be able to prove their own “morality”. Some such emails are composed by Mr. BE. He blames and threatens the “other” in order to justify himself and reproduce his own power and legitimacy in the eyes of the community. He affects this process by sharing details of a conflict. The author had quarreled with his instructor, who was also his friend. Right after the quarrel, his instructor stopped all social interaction with him. Nevertheless, Mr. BE wanted to maintain the relation. In his email, he threatened his instructor to announce the names of the people to whom his instructor had been “immoral” to in the past. Proving the immorality of “the other”, he meant to regain a social approval in the presence of others. The ending of his email contains the following words: Even if you do not like me and you want me to be unsuccessful, there are people who appreciate me and the things I do.”

In the June – July - August of 2007, the issue of emailing under a false name was widely discussed in the TangoTürk list. There was a small group of people in the community who wrote their emails under a pen name. Under the guise of a pen name, users personally addressed and accused particular tango practitioners as immoral and evil. Another tango practitioner, specialized on internet technology, determined the original authors. He announced them on the list. Mr. BE was one of these authors. He wrote a long email to justify his action. As a response, some other list members wrote a group of emails to criticize his action and the others who had written with pseudonyms. Mr. BE, self-described as a “talented” but a relative “beginner” dancer of the period, desired and attempted to be an instructor and organizer in the early years of his practice. He had experienced personal problems with his instructors in the past. In his justification email, he first appeared to address to all list members; nevertheless he actually addressed a very particular person – his instructor. He

claimed that he wanted to help the unhappy people he had known for a long time. He wrote about the existence of murderers in Turkey, beside dancers. He accused his instructor of lacking love in his/her life without directly naming him / her. He claimed that he first apologized in the presence of others for writing with a fake name. Then he added that this apology was just a strategy in order not to attract people's unpleasant feelings and still be socially desirable by others. He accused his instructor for being happy with his fall from the community's social graces. He added that s/he took the assistance of one of his students who was specialized on computers to prepare his fall. He ordered his instructor to apologize him for various reasons in the front of the list. Otherwise, he threatened him / her to announce his / her name(s) and every evil action he thinks s/he had committed to the list members in order to punish him / her. He claimed that he will save other people from this evil by punishing him / her publically. He added that he would forgive him / her if s/he apologized to him in the tango list in the presence of all the practitioners. He proposed that he wrote some of his emails with a fake name because he was sickened from/ "diseased by" his friendship with his instructor (07 / 30 / 2007).

Yet another group of emails criticized users who assumed names and their emails which attempted to justify their action. These list members expressed that they found Mr. BE very unpleasant and accused him of weakness because he needed to threaten other people to satisfy his ego and achieve his goals. One member, Mr. CB, asked if the pseudonym writer himself does not have any guilt in all this. The members who criticized the users of fake names were not emotionally involved in the experience; nevertheless they presented themselves as intellectual and pragmatic seekers of true morality. They depicted themselves as judges and reminders of what constitutes socially proper behavior.

The last two groups of emails, though not many in number, are about the essence of tango and advertisements for jobs/positions. After the debate and the discussion on the use of fake names in the community, some list members emailed the list, intending to remind readers why they practice tango. One list member, Mr. HA, an intellectual working in the university, emailed the list with the subject of "there are so many things to talk about". He questioned the need for gossip, pen names, and the people associated with the practice. He suggested, instead, discussion about the dance

itself rather than personal problems and self-justifications. He claimed to want to know more about international organizations, past experiences, links about tango dance and music (07 / 20 / 2007). He presented himself as the objective and moral intellectual of tango interested in experiencing and learning more about the topic, rather than self-justifications.

Though very few in number, there are emails concerning ads about those looking for position holders, totally unrelated to tango, music or dance. One email announced that their company was looking for Sales and Marketing Manager (06 / 15 / 2007). These kinds of emails are sent by practitioner who themselves looking for workers for their own companies or they send it on behalf of their friends who are not related to tango practice. They send emails to announce the search for professionals or who knows of employers looking for professionals. They announce particular positions in particular companies. The authors of these emails use the tango virtual space as a possibility to access professional resources since there are many members who work as professionals in the tango community in Istanbul.

As a summary, TangoTürk tango list is a significant virtual space for the interaction of tango social actors. It provides an online setting for their self presentations. Some present themselves as first generation competitive and powerful pioneers of tango, as organizers of tango. Others depict themselves as actors who provide space for socialization and catharsis with a claim to visibility. Some other actors search for self-approval / justification. The virtual space also serves as a posting site for professionals in the private sector. In addition, the list provides a space for self-presentation of those who solely desire to socialize or intervene in a competitive picture with alternative events. All these different ways enable the modern individual to self-present and actually define a social self identity.

6.2 The Physical Social Setting: Tango Classes, *Milongas*, *Practicas*, and Festivals: Physical Context of Tango and Self-Presentations in Istanbul

Tango in urban Istanbul provides a physical-social interaction for modern individuals. Its practitioners have their own ways to depict themselves in these social settings. These social settings and possible spaces of interaction require self-

presentation and the conveyance of participant messages. There are particular physical spaces that the tango organizers and instructors choose and prepare as spaces of face - to - face socialization: tango classes, *milongas*, *practicass*, and festivals.

Choice of dress, locations to organize the tango event, practice times, and preparation of self for a *milonga* are ways to present the self in the presence of others in the tango community. There is a particular but not a very strict dress code that the participants employ, and certain periods of the day they practice the tango. Additionally, a particular premilonga preparation involves the practitioners before they participate in this social setting.

The Physical Spaces / Places of Tango Practice:

Tango is practiced in dance studios, hotels, cafes, restaurants, houses as well as various historical buildings in particular occasions. The *milongas* usually take place in hotels, cafe restaurants, and tennis clubs. These clean, large, and elegant places for tango manifest the late-capitalist idea of good service for consumers and guests. As such, these spaces offer a formal tone. The Armada Hotel, Point Hotel, Ortaköy Princess Hotel, Taksim Sanat Evi, Ponte Restaurant, Litera, Otantik Cafe and Restaurant, Levent Tennis Club, Mühendishane, Moda Deniz Club, and the Dalyan Club are some of the most used spaces to host *milongas* in Istanbul. Pera Palace Hotel also hosted *milongas* until closed for restoration at the end of 2007. These places provide the space of self-presentation and possibilities to build a social identity for its practitioners.

The *milonga* in the Armada Hotel is organized in the main dining salon of the hotel but not at the roof restaurant. The hotel has a tradition of hosting tango almost for the last 15 years. The tango salon presents a calm but formal atmosphere. It does not have a very modern interior design. It has relatively high ceilings and mosaics on the floor. The walls are a combination of green and cream in addition to brown. There are photos of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk while dancing in a tuxedo accompanied by a lady in a white dress and Parisian style white hat. There is a separate space for the DJ in the saloon. The music system is located just in front of the dance floor on the left side. Starting from the entrance of the salon, there is an open passage with tables and chairs on both sides. The passage makes the way to the dance floor with chairs and

tables around the dance floor. With a definite presentation of secularism in its ordered, clearly defined social spaces, this dining salon gives the practitioners the message of the association of tango dance with the modern republican period of Istanbul.

Point Hotel hosts tango in its roof bar - restaurant which also presents a formal but contemporary night life feeling as well with a dance floor in the middle and chairs and tables around the floor. The bar - restaurant is located on the left side of the entrance of the roof bar. On the right hand side there is a passage to the toilets. On the left side of the passage, the tables and chairs are designed so guests can comfortably eat dinner. The salon has dark colors with tables and chairs of modern materials and interior design.

In summer, organizers rent hotels and clubs with pools. They organize their milongas at the poolside. The Hilton Hotel on the European side and Dalyan Club on the Asian side host these kinds of *milongas* at poolside in summertime. The Dalyan Club has a mid-sized pool. Two sides of the pool have chairs and tables where guests can eat and drink. One side is used as a dance floor and the least spacious fourth side is used as a passage for the participants of milonga. The poolside combines the feeling of freedom, lightness, and holiday yet with formality.

The group tango classes and public *practicass*⁸ are organized in less elegant but still spacious places. These places motivate practitioners to be creative without feeling the constraints of formality. The classes take place in non-luxurious but clean dance studios, coliseums, graduate clubs, yoga centers, and small tennis clubs which do not necessarily intend to present elegance as their basic theme. Etnik 34, Fuaye Sanat Atelyesi, Sıcak Cafe, YogaSala, Dalyan Club, Studio 333, Beyoglu Mis Han, DepoDans Cihangir, Tangojean Istiklal, Erenköy Danset Studio and some other dance studios and clubs in Istiklal Caddesi are some of the major places which organize regular tango group classes. I particularly observed the classes of Tangotürk in Sıcak Cafe in Levent, the classes of MelinySelim (myself) in Etnik34, the classes of TangoIst in Mis Sokak Beyoğlu. These places are either square or rectangular in shape. They are large enough to take 10 – 15 couples to the class. There are no

⁸ A practica is a practice session of tango dance

columns that divide the unity of the rooms. In each salon there is the music system at one of the corners. The floor is wooden. Etnik 34 has a full mirror on one of the walls. Mis Sokak studio and Sıcak Cafe do not have mirrors.

Private classes are organized not only in dance and art studios but also in some homes. Practitioners with very little leisure time request private classes in their own houses either because they cannot fit their own schedules to the group class ones or they would like to progress quicker than a group class participant. They either reserve one room for tango practice or empty one side of the living room, salon.

Practice sessions have similar characteristics. Tango is practiced, in the meaning of studying, by the practitioner himself / herself at home, either alone or with one or two more couples who are his / her friends from the community. They move out all major furniture from their largest rooms. These rooms are usually either the living rooms or the salons. The practitioners move away the couches and the coffee tables to create spaces in their saloons. They do not mind whether they damage the parquets of their living rooms and saloons. Nevertheless, group practice sessions are organized in the studios and clubs like those of group classes, inviting people to be creative and active. These sessions are relatively informal.

In addition to all these, there are two major international tango festivals, followed by a few small-scale ones in Istanbul. The organizers of the international tango dance festivals use historical and modern public buildings that combine large spaces, elegance, technology, and use of light. The organizers of International Istanbul Tango Festival 2009 rented Adile Sultan Sarayı, Mimar Sinan University, and Binbir Direk Sarmıcı for the *milongas* that are in the package of the festival. Similarly, the organizers of Istanbul Tango Ritual rented Darphane-i Amire in 2006, Tophane-i Amire in 2007, Su Ada in 2008 and Yapı Endüstri Merkezi in 2009 to host their *milongas*. These historical and modern buildings and the tango organizations in these buildings present utmost formality and space for the participants. Both Su Ada and Yapı Endüstri Merkezi have almost more than 800 m² each. The largest salon rented in Darphane-i Amire for the Istanbul Tango Ritual has a similar size. The round salon in Adile Sultan Sarayı is a generous 556 m².

Whether the practitioners go to a *milonga*, a festival, a *practica*, or a regular group class, they dress in particular ways. With the choices of dress, the practitioners communicate and present themselves to the tango public as well as to the particular social actors that they emerge in front of.

The Dress Code:

In the *Milongas*: Although there is no one strict dress code, it is still possible to observe particular preferences among male and female participants depending on their roles, experiences, and the messages they would like to offer of themselves in the community. Those female instructors and organizers in the community occupy an active opinion-leading role, dress to reflect femininity and athletic appearance. This style of dressing is not always necessarily a formal one. Many experienced female tango actors choose to dress in such a way that the upper part of the body is uncovered, particularly arms, shoulders and back. This kind of dress code not only gives frees the upper body but simultaneously reinforces the image of a thin, athletic, and cultured female. They tend to wear shalvars, skirts that end right at the knees, shorter skirts with tights, loose capris, regular skirts, and low waist trousers with that evidence a flat stomach, i.e., dresses that are not full and thus evoke images of a stereotypical femininity associated with conventionality of the '50's. The tango dress code combines the idea of a thin body with dynamism and elegance. Overall, their dress code gives the message that tango is part of their daily lives so they do not need to dress very formally; they dress up to look both attractive and comfortable. They communicate the message to the others that they are flexible, aware of their body, and able to move in any direction.

In contrast to experienced women, relative beginner female participants of the community tend to dress more formally, such as the full dress described. They try to fit into the formal code of tango which they believe to exist. They choose to dress in very traditionally feminine black or red dresses and skirts that leave the upper part of the body free. Some of them get their hair done; others wear mini-skirts with stockings. They come to the *milongas* with their full dresses regardless of season. Their dress code neither gives the message that tango is an informal but pervasive part of their lives nor does it proffer the message of being naturally athletic, thin, bodily aware, and elastic. Their dress code conveys that the long time they have spent to

prepare themselves and their clothes for tango with the intention to comply with what they perceive are tango's rules for appropriate dress. This attitude contrasts with the message that the dress code of the experienced women offers, although both parties might or might not spend the same amount of time to prepare themselves for tango.

In the Festivals: I observed that practitioners, particularly women, choose more formal dresses in the festivals compared to their outfits in the *milongas*. In the opening night of Istanbul Tango Ritual 2009, female practitioners / participants presented themselves with a more formal outfit overall compared to when they appeared in a regular *milonga* or a *practica*. This change in dress is visible for both experienced and less experienced practitioners / participants. Burçin is one of the female participants of the Istanbul tango community and the festival. She is a Bogazici University instructor in her early 30s and an experienced practitioner of tango who has visited Buenos Aires to experience tango. She chose to wear a parliament blue, almost mini dress, uncovering her shoulders and arms. She had a black shawl over her shoulders. She came to the *milonga* with sport shoes which would normally not match the dress style of a fashion designer. Nevertheless, this style message had a totally different meaning and acceptability in the tango practice and community. She did not wear her high heeled, chic tango shoes until she entered the *milonga* saloon. Diyez, one of the regular participants of the festival who works in an organization company in Istanbul, had a similar dress code: a black mini dress with short sleeves and net stockings. Another young lady in the finance sector is also in her early 30s. Her very feminine dress combines the strong colors of green, black, and white. Her low-cut décolletée dress joined only with strings emphasized her femininity. Her message is one of strong femininity, of a young lady socializing in tango. Funda, another female participant of the festival milonga, is a psychologist in her late 30s. She wore, unlike the above women, a casual yet still feminine grey jean, which attracted audience attention to her ankles and footwork during the dance. Her greenish grey shirt, particularly its collar, set off her wide shoulders. Her dress style conveyed the message of adaptability to every kind of movement and activity; by wearing street clothes, she illustrates her ability to be able to dance immediately; she does not need to 'waste time' by going back home to change her clothing. Many women wore make up and reapplied throughout the night. The emphasis upon

femininity rather than an utilitarian style again manifested itself in the visible accessories such as earrings and rings.

Men in the tango practice exhibit particular but not strict tendencies in the way they dress as well. Depending on the event in which they participate, they choose to wear a tuxedo, informal trousers and shirts, or loose jeans and t-shirts. An experienced male practitioner would wear anything except sporting clothes when participating in a festival *milonga*. If a participant is also a performer, he chooses formal or loose trousers which do not display the details of his body and legs. The dance steps of the leader appear more elegant with these kinds of trousers when compared to any other style of trousers. Some other performers wear tuxedos, still not displaying the details of the body. If the participant is not a performer, he chooses to dress so as to present a youthful, dynamic identity such as casual Dockers pants and a long-sleeve shirt.

Some experienced males and females carry their tango clothes with them either because the weather is cold or hot, and so therefore have fresh attire for the dance.

The shoes chosen by the participants are much more significant for female and male practitioners than is their choice of dress. Tango shoes are very special for the tango practitioners because they contribute to the balance of the practitioner as well as highlighting their footwork, so as to depict them as desirable dancers. Sometimes the right shoe may turn a regular practitioner into a very good, and therefore, desirable and cultured dancer; or, the more unfortunate situation: a poorly crafted or inappropriate shoe for tango may cause a good dancer to decline in status as an ordinary practitioner by obscuring her footwork. Thus, if a woman is not a beginner, she tends to choose thin and high-heeled shoes produced by Comme Il Faut, Neo-Tango, and Susana Artesanal in Buenos Aires or Necmi Usta, Buen Estilo in Istanbul. These shoes have very high-heels with a feminine look. They usually have three models. The first two are most often the choice of experienced tango practitioners as the shoe construction easily displays footwork. These models have either an open toe with the back heel covered or an open toe and open back, like sandals. The third model covers both the toes and heels. It is not very much preferred by experienced practitioners since it cannot show off good footwork.

Men have particular choices as well. Some wear men's shoes produced by Capezio, sold both in Europe and the USA, because not only are they safe and durable but also provide balance and foot flexibility. Some choose to wear thin Puma sport shoes, called Ferrari Puma. They are also designed to provide comfort and balance for the men of tango. Some others wear DNI shoes produced in Buenos Aires and sold in the studio of Pablo and Dana as well as Fabio Shoes sold in Riobamba. These shoes are smart, neat, and provide balance and flexibility for the men of tango. Still, many practitioners and instructors choose to wear the male shoes produced by Hasan Usta in Tarlabası, Istanbul. These shoes are fashionable, elegant and smart. Nevertheless, they are not especially constructed to provide a good balance. With all their choices, men like to give the message in the dance that they have a good balance, are a good leader and capable of creativity.

In *Practica*, the Practice Sessions:

The female practitioners choose any kind of informal clothing when participating in a *practica*. These can be short sleeve t-shirts, any kind of sports clothes, jeans, tights, shalvars, skirts, feminine looking but informal female blouses with and without sleeves. Whatever they chose to wear, they mean to be sportive, athletic and displaying the sense of readiness to move.

The male practitioners use casual clothing as well, such as sportive trousers, jeans, short or long-sleeve t-shirts, and blouses. Nevertheless, the shoes are the same. They wear the same kinds of shoes they wear for *milongas* and festivals because the shoes mean everything for a practitioner. Shoes are thought to change the quality of the dance as well as the style of the dance. A Ferrari Puma, for example, gives a different feeling in the dance compared to a shoe bought from Hasan Usta. Those leaders who wear Ferrari Puma claim that they feel more secure in dancing and in the way they lead. Nevertheless, they cannot work with their footwork, they cannot be as elegant as they would be with a shoe brought from Hasan Usta.

Time to Practice the Tango:

Practitioners tango primarily in their leisure times if they are not professionals. Nevertheless, this is a huge category to comprehend. Tango organizers organize *practicass* and the practitioners prefer to go to *practicass* either on Saturday afternoons or Sunday afternoons. Nonetheless, there are tango schools which organize one to two hours *practicass* on Friday evenings. This time is when tango dancers repeatedly practice their dance technique and sequences learned. Istanbul Tango School organizes its *practicass* on Sunday afternoons at 17.00 and on Friday evenings at 19.30. MelinySelim organizes *practicass* on Saturday afternoons at 16.00. Tanguisimo organizes a *practica* on Friday evenings between 21.00 – 22.00, and then switches to a *milonga*. The practitioners / participants either work with their partners or with the practitioners they have socialized with in those *practicass*.

Some married practitioners practice / study their tangos at home very early in the morning on the days they can go to work a bit later than usual. Other times, they practice it when returning from work after dinner. Some non-professional practitioners invite their instructors and friends to their houses to speak about tango or to take a private tango class in the evenings after dinner, particularly Friday, Saturday, or Sunday evenings.

“I Prepare Myself for a *Milonga*”: A Ritual for the Practitioner / Consumer

Participating to a *milonga* not only means to experience and socialize into the social setting of tango but also to prepare oneself for the scene where one presents / communicates herself / himself in face to face interaction and gives many messages in the presence of the other practitioners. Therefore, a premilonga preparation is necessary. A practitioner may go to a *milonga* on a weekday right after work. Or s/he may go to her/his house first. S/he has a premilonga preparation in both cases. If a practitioner has no choice but to go to a *milonga* right after work, s/he takes a bath in the morning, prepares the clothes to be worn in the *milonga*. S/he makes a big bag which consists of tango shoes, clothes, extra clothes, and perfume to create a desirable image at the *milonga*. Nevertheless, many practitioners prefer to go home after work before they arrive at a *milonga*. Hygiene is one of the elements about which many

practitioners care greatly, believing such attention to cleanliness improves the quality of their dance and thus the image they present. Many experienced practitioners would like to go to a *milonga* fresh and clean, so they take a shower, eat dinner, dress up, check the traffic, and leave the house. Like the concern for cleanliness, many female practitioners worry about feminine appearance, as one aspect of their desirable front, and thus allocate a good deal of time in dressing for a *milonga*. Many women plan the clothes and shoes they will wear sometimes as early as a day before. Those who have free time go and shop for themselves if the *milonga* they plan to participate within has a special meaning for them compared to other ones. Those women who do not have time to go back home from work prepare their 'tango bags' early in the morning. Some women who have cars regularly keep a bag of tango shoes and clothes in their cars just in case they plan to participate to a *milonga* or *practica* with their friends. The premilonga preparation continues until the participant enters into the *milonga* room.

On the fourth of November 2009, I participated to the opening night and gala milonga of Istanbul Tango Ritual, an international tango festival taking place in Armada Hotel, Istanbul. I was observing some of the female participants of the *milonga* before they entered to the *milonga* room. The restrooms were located just before the entrance on the right side. A considerable number of female participants continued to experience their premilonga preparation ritual in the ladies restroom. They entered the restroom, and some changed their clothes, two sewed their dresses, and some wore their tango shoes. Many made a last touch to their make up. They were ready to enter the salon to present themselves and their possibly best fronts to the friends and other participants. In 2009, there was an addition to the ritual, one related to public health policy. The year 2009 was defined by the epidemic disease of various types of flu, particularly swine flu. The mass media announced possible ways to protect oneself from the epidemic, one which included frequent hand washing after touching anything outside home. With awareness of this news, many women frequently left the *milonga* room and went to the restroom to wash their hands with soap after they danced with people they did not know very well. This practice was repeated by many women because it was an international festival and there were many foreigners who travelled by plane.

Not only the period before going to a tango event has its ritual but also the period after a tango festival or a big *milonga* may have rituals afterwards. One of these rituals is an informal and spontaneous late dinner, a midnight dinner, with a more intimate level of socialization with limited number of participants. Three to 10 people gather after a festival night or a big *milonga* and go to eat a midnight dinner until around two or three AM. This is a tradition in different places of Europe, Buenos Aires, Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Eskisehir and other urbanized parts of the world. These limited number of practitioners gather either because they are good friends or would like to have a more intimate friendship. In these social settings, there is less of a worry to present a good front and to give off particular messages. Another reason can be to talk about a possible cooperation on a tango project. Whatever the reason and the occasion, people are less worried about presenting a desirable front in these late-dinners. A second ritual usually occurs in the big international tango festivals, which is called aftermilonga or afterparty. International tango festivals usually present an opportunity for for a few days of a ‘time out’ of the normal routine. Participants in these festivals from countries other than those of their host country, thus take a break from their work and family lives. For instance, one Israeli couple participated in the Istanbul Tango Ritual 2009 for three days. Both worked and they had three children, that is to say, a full life outside of the festival. They stopped their work and left their children to grandparents. The couple stayed in Armada Hotel where the festival classes were organized and participated in the classes and the *milongas* of the festival around the same neighborhood. Some of these “time out of time” practitioners participate in these aftermilongas / afterparties. Aftermilongas / after parties are organized right after the *milonga* is finished. If a *milonga* lasts until 3:00am, the afterparty starts an hour later. Some people do not sleep and attend these afterparties; while others change their sleep routines and sleep in the early hours of the regular *milonga*. Then they first participate to the routine *milonga* when it is about to end and keep on dancing in the aftermilonga.

Overall, Argentinean Tango practice provides physical spaces and possibilities of face to face interactions and therefore socialization and social gathering for its modern practitioners. *Milongas, practicas*, regular classes, festivals are the physical spaces of this interaction where practitioners present themselves with various ways of being, dressing and convey messages such as bodily intelligence, athleticism, self-care and respect, and femininity with their best possible fronts.

As a summary, the TangoTürk list and the physical social settings of tango provide the two major spaces for socialization and self-presentation for the contemporary individual social actors, where they convey messages about themselves presenting a social identity for themselves beside their identities at work, family, or elsewhere. This fact is one reason why Argentinean tango of the 19th and early 20th century Buenos Aires circulates in the 21st century urban Istanbul.

7. TANGO AND ITS CONTEMPORARY MEANINGS I

7.1 Tango as the Symbol of Information Society: *Informatization of Tango*

The contemporary tango has become the symbol of the shift from production society to information and learning society (Yuna 2007: 28). Tango in Istanbul is able to transform by utilizing the tools of the information society in urban Istanbul. Tango serves as a tool to satisfy the educated individual's hunger for and the modern habit of adapting new information in contemporary Istanbul. This transformation results in the possibility of the circulation and expansion of the tango practice in 21st century Istanbul.

Frank Webster defines “information society” as the social condition when theoretical knowledge / information is at the core of how we conduct things and ourselves these days. He refers to theoretical knowledge as abstract, generalizable, and codified in mediums of one sort or another (Webster 2003: 9) While the development / improvement in industrial society was possible as the extension of muscular power of the human capacity, the development / improvement in information society became possible as the extension of the brain of the human capacity (Tekeli et al. 2002. 15) – the intellect. Then, information, as the intellectual capital, has become a very strong alternative to material/financial capital as the basic motivator / element of production and making money. Intellectual capital combines the idea of the intellect or brain-power with the economic concept of capital, the saving of entitled benefits so that they can be invested in producing more goods and services. Then information in contemporary society not only became the main source of production but production of new information on tango practice has never been so fast and in such a quantity. Tango has become the symbolic element of this rapid process in many aspects with the rationalization, systematization, and specialization of the dance itself as well as its education by its producers.

Starting from the nineteenth century, an enhanced concern with “technicality” pervaded the teaching of both social and theatrical dancing; greater bodily strength, balance, and complicated patterns were expected (Savigliano 1995: 99). Added on to these 19th century developments are the the critical developments in contemporary

tango dance and practice such as the production and more recent documentation of a huge amount of objective, descriptive, and specialized information on tango.

I observe that the previously unsystematized practice of tango has become a highly technical, quasi-scientific, specialized, and systematic geometrical application, a 'know-how', - as Lyotard defines (1990) -, and an expert system - as Giddens defines (1991) -, which is produced / practiced / consumed by middle and upper-middle class today.

Man is the subject of information, which is produced by his / her capacities. This enables him / her not only to interact with nature and other humanbeings but also to control his / her relations. Information accumulates and therefore can be transferred to the next generation. The information that guides the actions of the humanbeing is not only the codified and rational kind that can be separated from the one who knows it. In general, in terms of how humankind accumulates and shares information, it is possible to talk about tacit knowledge embedded within the person who knows it and thus information cannot be transferred easily, only by experience or intimacy. We can call it implicit or embodied knowledge and tends to be the local than global kind (Tekeli et al 2002: 17-19). Argentinean tango was once of this kind of information, tacit knowledge, in the early 20th century for the *milongueros* of 1940s. The old Jose El Turco and Carlos Peres, around their 70s, thus quite logically, expected their students to 'just do what they see'. A good tango could be learned only by being close to these people.

In contrast, contemporary tango has become an information-oriented product or one requiring know-how. It thus became a codified and objectively transferrable piece of information. The contemporary way to transfer it / to teach it has become much more analytical, structural, making use of geometry and mathematics, basing the dance on creating triangles on the floor and in the air. It has started to be transformed and transferred by its experts – *los maestros*. The young *Los Maestros* have now transformed tango dance into a brainwork and intelligence, partly changing and adding new dimensions to the original meaning of tango, which was mainly associated with emotions and sentiments, including one of pleasure between man and

woman, in particular, the “masculine self-control and gracefulness” (Savigliano 1995) and loneliness of late-modernity

A documentation center for tango dance?

The global *maestros* of tango recently have planned to establish a documentation center and develop a rational codification system which will have a global network and worldwide access just as is recently being planned for Yoga (Milliyet, February 24, 2009). The headquarters of the tango documentation center will be located in Buenos Aires and work in connection with Europe. Organizers plan to record the technique and structure of the dance, the systematic ‘know-how’ of how to produce/reproduce/create the dance, and the system of its education. Esteban Moreno and Sebastian Arce, two actors of the 13 couples, claim, for example, that how each dance master defines and realizes a tango *abrazo* and how s/he produces sequences out of it should be analyzed and documented because each has a system of its own beside shared commonalities. The old *milongueros*, the traditional creators of the tango dance, started to pass away; therefore, there is not much opportunity to analyze and record how they utilized their authentic *abrazo* and dance technique/system. Moreno and Arce plan to record and deconstruct the use of *el abrazo*, as a system/technique of a production of sequences and their instructional method.

This entire idea of systematic analysis and documentation of tango has come to the forefront after the *Guerra Sucia*, Dirty War⁹ in Argentina (1976 - 1983) with a transition period with Alberto Carlos Estevez – *El Petroleo*. Alberto Estevez was for the first time concerned with bettering the postures of the practitioners, streamlining

⁹ The Dirty War is the name given to the state-sponsored violence against citizens mostly carried out between 1976 and 1983 by Jorge Rafael Videla’s military government in Argentina, which has been termed genocide by an Argentinean court during the trial of Miguel Etchecolatz, former police officer of the Bonaerense, provincial police and condemned for crimes against humanity. In 1973, as former leader Juan Peron returned to Argentina from Exile in Spain, the Ezeiza massacre marked the end of the alliance between left-and-right-wing factions of Peronism. After Peron’s death in 1974, the government was left in the hands of his widow, Isabel Martinez de Peron, who signed a number of decrees empowering the military and the police to ‘annihilate’ left-wing subversion. Martinez de Peron was ousted in 1976. Starting that year, the juntas led by Videla until 1981, and then by Roberto Viola and Leopoldo Galtieri, were responsible for the illegal arrest, torture, killing or forced disappearance of thousands of people, mostly trade-unionists, students, and other activists. (La Nacion, 19 september 2006),(Lewis, 2001), (Gillespie, 1982)

figures and making the embrace more delicate. Gloria and Rodolfo Dinzel as well as Gustavo Naveira and Olga Beso revived Argentinean Tango more from within a rational framework rather than an emotional one after 1985, after *Guerra Sucia*. Rudolfo and Gustavo had been Argentinean folk dance instructors who applied the method of structural analysis to tango dance. They created a rational structural analytical approach to Argentinean Tango dance, which was later called Tango Nuevo. They have been accompanied and followed by Fabian Salas, Pablo Veron, and, later on, Mariano Chicho Frumboli and very recently the young *meastro* Sebastian Arce (29) and Esteban Moreno (41) as well as many other practitioners who are not yet known.

In addition, after 2000, a new perspective emerged that derived from Tango Nuevo, named Tango Discovery, established by Mauricio Castro. He transformed dance into a very rational, yet symbolic info-consumption product. He offered a new claim of understanding and explaining tango by the use of his music education in Berkeley College, his NLP (NeuroLinguistic Programming), and Design Human Engineering education in BuenosAires, which are the contemporary technologies that reshape the human mind and actions. As a result, the Argentinean tango dance that had been shaped and danced by the old *milongueros* in Villa Urquiza and other *barrios* of Buenos Aires has become a disciplined and sophisticated ‘know-how’ transferable by the rational mind-business and NLP (NeuroLinguistic Programming).

The contemporary classes themselves became so informative, descriptive, sophisticated, and specialized that the names of the classes changed dramatically. While a class used to be called Tango I, Tango II in 1998, the seminar titles became more open: ‘male talent to lead’. Below there is one example from the announcement of a workshop organized in Istanbul:

“the third part of our workshop with Graciela Gonzales is the encounter of the man and the woman. It is the theoretical and practical combination of the woman technique and embellishment with the improvement of man’s leading”
(Mr. F.T, Tangoturk mail listing, May 26, 2007)

Another example is presented below. It is an email sent in one of the international tango lists in July 24, 2007:

“International Master Seminar for Tango Argentino Teachers. Edition 2007 by Geraldine and Ezequiel Paludi, Gloria and Eduardo Arquimbau, Jose Colangelo, Norma Raimondi, Oscar del Priore. Last Vacancies, Closing of Inscription: 31st of August. 135 teaching hours of tango theory and practice with simultaneous translation – English/Spanish. Visits to see typical Tango shows and concerts, Gala closing performance: Awarding of Certificates.... The International Master Seminar for Tango Argentino Teachers will be held in Buenos Aires city and Mar del Plata city – Argentina – between 8th and 27th October 2007, under the auspices of Argentina Foreign Office (Cancilleria de la Republica Argentina) and Mar del Plata Culture Sub-secretary. It is organized by the Sociedad pro-Artes del Movimiento and consists of 135 working hours of theory and practice for tango teaching. It aims:

- to transmit tango teaching techniques and methodology
- to study tango-dance in its own historical and cultural context, from its origins up to the present
- to study musical aspect: music perception, relationship between the music and the movement and the different musical styles.

Classes will be bilingual: English and Spanish, Certificates will be awarded.”

While the dance was defined with *caminata* [walking], pivot and *giro* [turning], new vocabulary is added on the top of these concepts such as *volcada* [axis forward], *colgada* [hanging position], *sostenida* [upheld position], *creatividad* [creativity] y *imrovisacion* [improvisation], *tomadas y pasadas* [taking and passing], *pisadas* [footsteps]. The names of the workshops became more technical and sophisticated. For instance, some of the classes of *Congres de Tango* in Paris are titled as follows: “Ganchos with Different Energies”, “Boleos with Different Energies”, “Musicality in Today’s Figures”, “*Pisadas, Sostenidas, Soltadas*” (<http://www.tango-rennaissance.com>).

The Argentinean producers of tango developed a very systematic and sophisticated language for the last five to eight years just as had existed in ballet. The webpage and the name of the school of Sebastian Arce and Mariana Montes, one of the Grand Master couples of Tango, illustrates this formalization, systematization, and sophistication. Their school is called Tango Renaissance. It is possible to observe their self - presentations:

“From their gathered experiences, Sebastian and Mariana have developed their own teaching methodology based on the harmony between conscious and unconscious body control applied to movement/non movement. Their methodology also focuses on awakening senses before applying them to the dance (understanding of relationship stimuli – answer, physical and theoretical/ sensorial and auditive), and have as a final goal the self expression, the research of your own dance from the needs created by the student’s own tango path, paying much attention to the non-movement, the introspection of the dance, the contemplation.” (http://www.tango-rennaissance.com/ing/pedagogicas_es.htm).

The speed of producing new information on tango dance increased dramatically. The Argentinean global *maestros* of tango produced new combinations, new methods of transferring information and more technical ways of using the body in a much shorter period of time when compared to the instruction of the 1990’s and before.

This speed in the production of information and the development of the dance is connected with the producers and consumers of the contemporary tango. Its contemporary producers, especially the Argentinian *Maestros*, possess different educational backgrounds than those of the previous generation of instructors. The Argentinean instructors of previous generations mostly neither had a specialized education on a particular topic nor attended art and dance classes in general. As Esteban Moreno and Claudia Codega explained in their interviews in November 2008, El Turco Jose was a wall painter. Portalea used to work in the cemetery and Delfino was a repairman, repairing and selling cars. Any kind of art education was not thought to help to progress the talent needed to practice tango. Art education was crucial only to work in theater, *sainete*¹⁰ and circus before the 1980s. In contrast, the new contemporary Masters of Tango had specialized education either on particular areas beside / together with dance and tango or education in various art disciplines. For example, of the younger generation, Adrian is an architect, Fabian is a lawyer. Esteban had his education on electronics and graphics, then shifted to contemporary and classic dances, as well as music and singing. Damian had his education on Sciences of Computation, painting and free expression, electroacoustic and voice. Mariana is a licenced folk dance instructor, educated in classical ballet, contemporary

¹⁰Esteban Moreno explained that *sainete* is a comic one-act drama usually acted in Argentina. It includes music, played at the end of Spanish theaters. It comes from the mid – 18th century. These one-act comedies became popular on the BuenosAires stage in the late 1890s (Collier, 1995: 36).

dance, jazz dance, and more. Claudia studied classical and contemporary dancing; Alejandra, gymnastics and classical dance. Gustavo is a licenced instructor on dancing. Giselle Anne is trained as a dancer and had her own dance school in Sevilla before she started to teach tango as a global master. These qualities of highly Professional education and the information the global masters have on male and female bodies reflect in their instructional abilities in their current classes and the speed with which they produce new vocabulary and sequences on tango dance. They utilize, or cross-transfer, their knowledge from other areas of dance. In this way they not only produce more sophisticated, specialized combinations and vocabularies of tango dance but also more dance techniques in a much shorter period of time.

Tango is being consumed and practiced by the middle and upper-middle classes who are the owners and producers of information in the contemporary Europe, U.S.A, Japan and Istanbul. There are university professors and assistants, language educators, architects, computer engineers, PR managers, marketing managers, psychologists sociologists, young university students among the consumers and audience of tango in their daily lives in Istanbul. The consumers, especially those who have been practicing tango for a long time, request more sophisticated and detailed information than do the more simple and traditional ones. These newer consumers request ask for fuller explanations about how they should use different parts of their bodies to be able to analyze themselves and become better dancers. Therefore, their demands have motivated the development of an education of tango which is more abstract, systematic, but yet rigorously detailed. Tango started to be formally constructed around schools in corporation with companies and/or institutions. Today, tango as a dance form became a geometrically analyzed 'structure' that necessitates a systematic explanation, a systematic teaching as well as comprehension with its own *estructuras basicas, vocabulario, la tecnica, mecanica, and conceptos*.

In relation to the systematization and rationalization of the tango, the language of explaining dance modifies and evolves very quickly. In 2002, no one had heard of *tomadas y pasadas* in popular tango vocabulary or at least this terminology was not widespread in the tango scene. Nevertheless, in the beginning of 2003. Gustavo Naveira and Giselle Anne were defining a particular movement with this kind of terminology in Buenos Aires. In the beginning of 2007, the definition of *Zarazai*

figures / movements was not known, either, but in the second half of 2007 Julio Balmaceda and Corina de la Rosa were comfortably talking and teaching *Zarazai* figures in Europe and Turkey. All these meant that the producers had the possibility to present more information in a much shorter period of time.

Tango in Istanbul follows similar developments. Urban Istanbul has institutionalized tango around schools and company-like formations. There were almost 10 major tango schools in Istanbul before 2007; the number doubled after the establishment of the Dance Federation and the courses it offered. These tango schools instruct tango classes, organize workshops and performances, and some invite worldwide teachers and dancers. Some of the instructors and organizers in Istanbul started to move to a similar kind of sophistication in the dance language. Below is how the organizer Mr. AA announced the workshop of Sebastian Arce and Mariana Montes in Istanbul in January 2009. Here is the definition of one of their classes:

“Positions and Systems in Tango. The advantages and disadvantages of different positions and systems in relation to each other. Content: We are going to speak about open – cross positions, parallel and cross systems with Sebastian and Mariana for males and females. We will discover improvisation in the dance in relation to Cartesian applications for all levels. The participants are going to look for solutions to the problems they have when they use these systems and positions with Sebastian and Mariana. They are going to be able to work on particular” examples¹¹ (<http://www.tangoencuentro.com/SM/mainpages/program.htm>).

A greater number of tango instructors follow these new productions and use them in Istanbul in a much shorter period of time when compared to the use of five to eight years ago. Until the year 2002 - 2003, the tango vocabulary produced by Argentinean maestros and used in Europe was not very much known to most of the tango instructors in Istanbul. The *ocho cortado* was not pronounced in many of the tango dance classes, instead some of the instructors produced their local ways of defining it such as *çek çek* or one – two - three, Nevertheless, a considerable number of local instructors learned and started to use the terminology of tango created by the

¹¹ “Tangoda Pozisyonlar ve Sistemler. Farklı pozisyon ve sistemlerin birbirlerine göre avantaj ve dezavantajları. İçerik: Sebastian ve Mariana ile bay ve bayanlar için açık-çapraz pozisyonları, paralel ve çapraz sistemleri konuşacağız. Bunların kartezyen uygulamalarıyla tüm seviyelerde dansın doğaçlamasını keşfedeceğiz. Katılımcılar bu sistem ve pozisyonların kullanımı hakkında zorluklarını Sebastian ve Marianayla paylaşarak çözümlerini araştırabilecekler. Örnekler üzerinde çalışabilecekler...” (<http://www.tangoencuentro.com/SM/mainpages/program.htm>)

Argentinean *maestros*. Now a considerable number of the local instructors use the original terminology produced by the Argentinean global instructors. They pronounce and employ *ocho cortado*, *volcada*, *barrida* in their classrooms. For instance, Özhan and Serkan teach classes with particular topics such as *boleos in giros*, changing dynamics in the movement. MelinySelim teaches each particular concept as defined in the original terminology produced by Argentinean maestros, such as *paradas*, *Estilo Villa Urquiza*, *barridas*, *salida de los milongueros*, *boleos* to the lines, and circular *boleos*. The ability to use this language the possibility to produce and teach more sophisticated information on tango. Moreover, such instructors can transfer this information much more easily and quickly to the students. Aydin, one of the founders of TangoIst Tango Dance School, emphasized in his interview that they can now produce much quicker and in a much more systematic fashion; for this reason they can transfer the tango information to the students much more quickly when compared to the past.

Tango as a tool of contemporary education?

Another big change in Argentinean Tango dance in the information society is related with how it is used in other areas of life and how it works as a tool of self-improvement courses offered in the education sector. As Zygmunt Bauman puts in his book *Life in Fragments: Essays in Post-Modern Morality*, the contemporary life is concerned with the issue of quality of life that offers the ability to realize the possibilities of life for each individual one. A life with more quality, based on opportunities / possibilities, requires experts on different topics and learning with better communication and brainstorming. Right at this point, consulting and education companies play a crucial role to create a life with better quality. They provide life and career coaching services as well as different education programs to develop better personal relationships, qualifications, and communication skills in work and daily life relations in Westernized parts of the world, including Istanbul. The Management Store is one of the active Consulting and Education Companies working in Istanbul, Nişantaşı, which has started an education program, “Leadership and Corporate Tango”. This program intends to educate professionals and individuals occupying leading positions in different companies and in different areas of life. In this process, the program uses Argentinean Tango. Tango dance became a capitalized educational

tool organized around the dance information of tango. The education system draws similarity between the characteristics of the dance / the dance roles in tango with social and professional roles in life and at work. The program is constructed around the concepts of “Style, Balance, Obedience and Harmony with the rules, Team-work, Leading and Following, Conflict, Rhythm, Passion/Commitment”.

Information pollution in the urban world? The ‘marketization’ of tango information and more?

I ask this question: how much of this systematized information of tango is needed to progress (in) the practice and to satisfy our needs to socialize into and survive in the practice? With the production of unlimited amount of information in different spheres of life, many journals, articles, books and internet websites attract our attention to the possibilities of information pollution or the production of excessive information regarding the topics presented to audiences and consumers of various spheres of life and areas of professionalism. Edward Gbur and Bruce Trumbo takes our attention to information pollution in technical data in different areas of science in their article on scholarly visibility and efficiency in an information explosion (Gbur and Trumbo 1995: 1). Similarly Jacob Nielsen alerts us that too much information is making it harder for people to extract useful information. One such example of superfluous information is the practice of some cosmetic brands which aim to sell their products for middle and upper-middle class female adult consumers to put a warning “do not eat it” on the jar. The fact that a face-cream should not be eaten is very obvious for its consumers; this warning is surely a waste of time and space.

The dynamics between the demands of the consumers of tango and its instructors lately resulted in the marketization of the reformed local information, produced by the elder generation and mediated / presented by the younger generation of Argentinean *maestros*. The global *maestros* transform the local knowledge they have from Buenos Aires and present it as a new product to be marketized in Europe, Russia, Turkey, and the USA. New concepts are created and recreated. Gustavo Naveira started to lead this new creation in the tango market and the rest of the *maestros* continue in creating new ideas, concepts, thereby highly specific information. For instance, Sebastian Arce recently started to present “Arce methodology” in his classes in festivals and

workshops of various associations. He created his concepts regarding the tango practice. He presented and marketized them in El Tangon – Tangon Holidays in Antalya, in Rosso Art Festival in Sardinia, and in other art festivals in Europe and Russia. Celine and Damien are of the couples who lately created a high-tech tango with much sophistication in their teaching methodologies and presentations in combination with modern dance. Then the question is, is all the information they produce within the framework of the marketization of the contemporary high-tech tango functional and useful for the improvement and the expansion of the practice and its practitioners? Do we need all the information produced in tango to be able to dance and socialize in tango? Although this kind of education does motivate intermediate and advanced consumers to be more creative in their movements, the same education stresses many consumers, particularly relative beginners to the point of decision paralysis about how to move and who to be in the community. This stress and uncertainty is evidenced by the practitioners themselves not only in their conversations in the workshops and *milongas* but also in the questions they ask during the private classes they take with their local instructors. They attempt to apply all the info they possess, resulting in the mismanagement of their bodies and the concepts of movement they do have. Mr SY is one such example. He is one of the instructors in the Istanbul tango community, practicing and teaching tango for the last twelve years. He said that he was not sure anymore what kind of information to teach and with what methodology to teach in his classes. How much information to present, which style of movement to teach, which information to present and which information not to present are all matters of question for the last few years. “Tango has become a market product and we have access to different sources and kinds of information. I sometimes cannot decide which information is useful for my students”; he succinctly addresses the issue.

When the tango community was being established in Istanbul in 1997 to 2000, the most prevailing discussion was constructed around the issue of the lack of information on the practice as well as the limited access to the sources, mediators and instructors of tango information. The practitioners were highly motivated and interested in attending workshops that were, unfortunately, infrequently organized. Attempts to learn, aspects of socialization, and curiosity were the dominant values of the community members. Practitioners demanded more of the workshops that were led

by the instructors. For the last five years, as the number of classes, workshops, and festivals increased, one of the important issues to consider has become the possibly excessive amount of information being presented in the community. One of the organizers of Tangotürk said that there is information pollution in tango. Different organizers and instructors of tango in Istanbul started to frequently organize classes, workshops and festivals with local and Argentinean instructors beside their own regular classes. Only a few examples from all of the workshops and festivals tell us quite a lot about the frequency of the mediums of the information presented. *El Encuentro tango* school organized a workshop with Sebastian and Mariana in January 23 - 26 in 2009, Özhan and Serkan presented a workshop in Istanbul in February 7 - 8, 2009. Melin Yuna (myself) organized and instructed two workshops on the 28th of March and 18th of April 2009. Faysal organized a workshop with the Argentinean instructor El Chino in 1 - 2 - 3rd of May 2009. The Argentinean couple Los Ocampos gave a workshop on 20th and 21st of June 2009. A group of Argentinean couples taught in Istanbul between 2 - 5th of July 2009. As the number of the workshops and events increased, participants started to question the quality and presentation of excessive amount of information. Is it possible to speak about information pollution in tango?

7.2 Tango Information as the Symbol of Power and Source of Self Definition:

Production of this rationalized information on a traditionally emotional dance creates a claim for power for its practitioners in three respects: firstly, the competition over the new information produced by the global *Maestros*; secondly, the competition over the source of the information: those who produce the information / maestros / network; and thirdly, a self-definition derived from integration into the global process of producing information on tango or inviting the global Argentinean producers of tango particularly in an urban context located in the non-Western hemisphere of the world.

7.2.1 Competition over tango information

Who has how much of the new information of tango dance and practice which is produced by the *Argentinean Maestros*; how s/he uses this information to produce what are the main questions that require answers to understand the contemporary social meaning of the tango dance. There is a considerable competition among the local instructors, organizers and experienced practitioners, who have the potential to become an instructor, over the contemporary tango information being produced by Argentinean *maestros*. Some practitioners, instructors and organizers seek to have access to the recently produced information not only to be competitive, have social prestige and power in the ‘dance market’ but also realize self. Some of the elements of this competition based on acquiring information are as follows: to be the ‘best’ instructor, be one of the ‘best’ practitioners, know and be able to practice the sequence that is most recently produced by the *Argentinean Maestros*, be informed about the biggest or the most conserved and niche festival / workshop / seminar of tango in the world. Mr. AD who is the instructor of Tangoturkey dance school in Istanbul claimed himself to be a much better instructor than the instructors of Tangotürk because he said that he knew all the tango dance traditions developed in Netherlands, France, BuenosAires.

Mr. DA is a frequent tango traveller. He regularly presents himself as a practitioner who has information about the workshops and the festivals taking place in the world. I observe this by following the emails he sends to the tangolist and by listening to the conversations he gets into in the *milongas*. He not only comments on the workshops and festivals he participated in different parts of the world right after he comes back to Istanbul but also he makes comparisons between various organizations he participated to in Europe and in Istanbul. He states that all the local instructors should have participated to the festivals and workshops he had attended because these local instructors will not be able to teach their students the most recent tango information being produced by the Argentinean instructors. His festival-oriented emails illustrate his attitude. His January 28, 2008 email, for example, gives information about the Tangolaboratory that would take place in Moscow. The email he wrote on the 10th of November 2008 analyzes another international tango organization, Istanbul Tango Ritual 2008. In addition, he comments on the

International Tangocamp organized in Greece. In another email he described the TangoMagia Festival he participated in December 2007. He comments on this festival as the best festival of the world and adds that the Turkish organizers and instructors should learn how to make proper and qualified organizations. He proposes to be a credible, active, and competent tango actor with his claims to exist in the international festivals and organizations, as well as with his propositions to know what is happening in these festivals.

The most recent tango sequence that has been produced by the *Maestros del Tango* is an important piece of information that reproduces the power and competency of a tango actor. Although this is not expressed overtly, I observed its significance in some of the conversations among organizers and practitioners. In one of the Armada milongas one local instructor and one practitioner were speaking. Mr. SS, who is an instructor and the leader of Tangotürk tango school, was talking to an experienced tango practitioner, Mr. SÇ. He was exalting about another instructing couple, saying that this couple was dancing very well and had followed the recent information produced on tango practice. Mr. SS told Mr. SÇ that he should have realized the broad knowledge of the instructors of his school. In praising the instructors of his own school, Mr. AA and Miss NH, SS triumphantly noted that: “You should see the sequences that my instructors can practice, they know sequences that nobody knows in Istanbul”.

7.2.2 Competition over the ones who produce the information / network, a possibility of social climbing

The competition among the practitioners, organizers, and instructors are defined by the quality and the quantity of the possibilities of connectivity to the global tango network and the global Argentinean *maestros*. Competition increases by perpetuating and sometimes monopolizing their relations with the *maestros* as source of power. Becoming a node of many relations, especially with the *maestros*, makes the social actor more competitive and provides a kind of social climbing. The closer relations one has with the tango masters, the higher his / her social status is. Each local organizer of each city in Istanbul prefers to make an unwritten, exclusive agreement with some of these 13 couples regarding which organizer will have the first right to

invite and therefore develop an organization with each of these *Maestros*. Even if this unwritten agreement is not executed or fails, and even if one *maestro* prefers to come to teach with another organizer than the previous, the organizers who invited him / her / them to Istanbul for the first time expect the *maestro* to ask or inform him if s/he will be working with another organizer in the same city. Each successful organization an organizer makes, gives him/her the chance to monopolize his/her relation with each of these *maestros*, in a way prohibiting any other organizer to invite the same *maestro* to the same city. For instance, Julio Balmaceda and Corina de la Rosa could only be invited to Istanbul by Tangoturk school. Similarly Adrian and Alejandra could only be invited by *El Encuentro* school to teach in Istanbul.

7.3 Claim to Have a Global Identity through Access and Experience

In the contemporary world order which is compressed and where our links and relations are distanced but also linked more than ever, to belong to a global network; to have global connections; be connected to Europe and other parts of the world are not only the symbols of productivity and success but also another source of self definition in different spheres of life.

In the 21st century Istanbul, we may be talking about various global conditions, rather than one global condition. Each sphere and form of socio-cultural and economic life in Istanbul has its own global condition, own globality. Still, this does not mean that the global condition of each sphere does not necessarily intersect.

Social sciences such as psychology, sociology or anthropology each has its own global space. Each has its own way of being global with its own social networks, physical and virtual. Each has its own e-group to communicate, support and compete. Yoga is another sphere of life, a sphere of leisure time and sports. Practicing yoga has its own space and its practitioners have their own network spread in different parts of the world. As a yoga practitioner, one may go to US, different cities of Europe and India. They may meet other practitioners, professional and amateur. They have their own network that they communicate with each other physically and virtually.

Tango is one of these spheres of life. It is a sphere of both production and consumption where connectivity to the world, belonging to a global network is very frequently uttered and desired. The social relations of tango do not necessarily exist only with people who are here nearby, but with individuals far distant from here. In this kind of condition, Istanbul produces practitioners who seek to have a global identity in tango. A competitive practitioner seeks to define himself / herself as global. Having a global identity, a claim to globality among the advanced practitioners, means to have physical and virtual access to and to be a part of the network of practitioners who travel in Western and Eastern Europe, Russia, Israel, and the US. It means to have jointly participated or experienced the same workshops and festivals together; globality also entails knowing experienced practitioners from countries other than Turkey, to have the intimacy that enables invitations to each others' house for overnight stays or dinners. To have a global identity for a practitioner means to have access to or to have experienced the new information flowing from Argentina / Argentineans in different cities of the world.

Having a global identity among tango instructors in Istanbul means to have physical and virtual access to tango practitioner at least one or two of the European countries, Russia; to teach a class or a workshop out of Turkish territory; to perform or have performed in other cities of Turkey and territories other than Turkey. Having a global identity among organizers means to host an organization which has participants / practitioners from different parts of the world, such as Western Europe, Russia, Rumania, Israel, and Greece. Then overall practicing tango in tango events, organized in different parts of the world, teaching and performing in different parts of the world provides a global identity to its practitioners. Experienced tango practitioners, instructors, and organizers of tango in Istanbul seek to have this global identity beside any other identities they have in life. One of my interviewees, Ms P K presented articulated this idea. She said that she always wanted to perform in different parts of the world, particularly in Europe, so that she would both be able to evaluate herself in the global context and would have a global identity. Tango travellers of Istanbul are very positively evaluated when having connection in different parts of the world. An organizer feels proud of himself when a practitioner from abroad participates in his / her *milonga*. The organizer of Armada *milonga* emphasized that he distinguished his *milonga* from other *milongas* and organizers in Istanbul because

he succeeded in globalizing the popularity of his *milonga*. To him, this success made him a part of the global tango elite providing him a global identity. The organizer of a *milonga* is positively evaluated and positively evaluates himself when his *milonga* is visited by Europeans and visitors from other parts of the world in addition to the local residents.

Mr. CP and Mr AA emphasized in their interviews that being in tango and participating different organizations provide the possibilities of national and international connection, both for their private and professional lives. Mr DA and Mr. A conceptualize the social context of tango as a sphere that provides them with possibilities of a global identity.

Many active tango participants seek to build up national and international relations in the world. Those who have these connections are very willing to present these potentialities both in their conversations in the tango community and in the discussions of tango lists. During one of my interviews with Mr. DA, he repeatedly underlined the connections he had all over the world on tango. His travel was so frequent that he had been to tango places even local instructors and organizers had not. Similarly Mr. BE implied a global identity in tango with the help of his wife. He had been introduced to international tango scene by his wife. Mr. DKE and he had collected a good deal of tango experience by participating in TangoMagia in Amsterdam, TangoCamp in Greece, and El corte in Nijmegen.

Thus, the ability to build or belong to a network with members from different parts of the world in tango, both as a hobby practitioner and as a tango professional, travelling to cities and territories beside Istanbul and connecting to nonTurkish people is the key to have a global identity among Istanbul practitioners.

Overall, tango uses the tools of information society in many areas: with the speed in which it produces new information, as it systematizes the current knowledge produced on tango, how its instructors systematically transfer such information, and with the attempts to create a resource center of documents. Tango is even used in the private sectors as a tool of contemporary education by consultancy companies. Not only that narrow sense but also in a broader one in that tango information and its

producers can be a source of power, status and identity. Having primary access to tango producers / Argentinean and European tango elite as well as new tango information provide status and identity to its practitioners and local instructors.

This fact shows that tango acquired new meanings and has been evolved under the living conditions of the 21st century. This development explains why a 19th century product is still circulating albeit with modifications in the 21st century Istanbul.

8. TANGO AND ITS CONTEMPORARY MEANINGS II: THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL, (A) CONTEMPORARY STYLE(S) OF ORGANIZING TANGO

This chapter focuses on how global and local processes work in the organization of tango in Istanbul. This chapter has two main sections and many subtopics. The first section focuses on tango's organized in Istanbul with two major subtopics. Subtopic one discusses how tango is organized in Istanbul as an integrated part of the global system. This first subtopic delineates tango's evolution into a culture industry in Istanbul, an industry which has integrated in the global system that has become the arena for organizing tango in the late 20th and early 21st century world. The second subtopic focuses on how personal relations locally organize tango in Istanbul, relations which may or may not be connected to the global scene. Subtopic two examines how local professional and personal / nonprofessional aspects of life and relations work together to organize tango in Istanbul.

Section Two is shorter in its focus on the language of the organization, education, and existence of tango in Istanbul. The language again echoes the global aspect of the practice integrated into the local existences of the practice.

8.1 The Global and the Local, or from Global to Local

8.1.1 Tango, a new popular culture industry, commercial and network based

Tango has become a new organized popular culture industry in the last decade. It became a mass commercial product of the consumption culture of different parts of the world, a product which created its own objects of desire and methods of organizing itself. Tango in particular works with strong channels of advertisement and it functions with a network-based system. It has its own distribution channels and a contact – support system.

8.1.1.1 Popular culture industry

Adorno says “In economic terms, cultural entities are in search of new opportunities for the realization of capital in the most economically developed countries... Cultural entities typical of the culture industry are no longer also commodities; they are commodities through and through” (Adorno 1989: 129). This analysis is mostly relevant for contemporary tango. Although modern tango has many symbolic meanings, it nevertheless became a commodified, cultural entity. Tango flew to Europe and searched for opportunities in Europe, the US, and elsewhere in the Westernized parts of the world. Istanbul has become one of the places that provide opportunities for tango to realize capital and throughly become a commodity.

Tango in Istanbul first started to be practiced primarily by a limited number of upper-middle class practitioners of urban Istanbul in 1997. Then the practice evolved as a mass popular cultural product with its own industry in the last 12 years in Europe and in the last six to seven years in Istanbul. Tango is not only commercialized and commodified in an industry but also promoted and made visible new industries and commercial products. Tango in Istanbul like elsewhere in Argentina, Europe, the US, Japan, and China is becoming a professional market, a culture industry in itself with its products packaged, commercialized, distributed by / to and consumed by contemporary urban masses in the early years of the the twenty first century.

What makes our tango a culture industry? Adorno and Horkheimer offer us the concept of culture industry to explain the social condition that cultural production has moved from an artisanal to an industrial and commercial stage. For them, the modern culture industry produces safe, standardized products geared to larger demands of the capitalist economy (Adorno and Horkheimer 2001: 33). I use their understanding of industry to understand one dimension of the contemporary Argentinean Tango. Adorno’s definition of industry refers to the standardization of the thing itself and to the realization of distribution techniques, but not strictly to the production process (Adorno 1989: 130-131). In this sense, Argentinean Tango has become a culture industry with respect to what is produced and how it is transferred / distributed to and consumed by its practitioners in many parts of the world its own agents.

8.1.1.2 The Popular Culture Industry Distributed in Argentina and Europe

Argentinean Tango in the world is distributed in similar forms to its consumers. This culture industry started to produce and reproduce a standardized distribution of tango to its consumers / practitioners. It created commercial forms of making tango events including regular classes, *prácticas* (practice sessions), *milongas*, workshops and festivals, and looked for the support of sponsors and municipalities. Furthermore this commercialized tango format includes the promotion of various products. It produces tango instructors, organizers, shoes, clothes, magazines, images of men and women dancers as well as the attitude toward existence that comes with tango. The experience and distribution of tango culture industry occurs in the organizers' promotion of particular global and / or locally popular instructors. These organizers also invite particular orchestras which are globally and / or locally popular and create shows and *milongas* so large numbers of people assemble. Lately, the growth of the practice has led these tango organizers to seek the support of particular sponsors so as to shoulder the growing costs of their organizations.

Fabian Salas, the partner of one of those 13 couples, has run the world's biggest organization of tango, CITA (*Congreso Internacional de Tango Argentino*) for the last twelve years, with a huge cash flow and standardized styles of presenting tango in Buenos Aires. He graduated as a lawyer but quit his job in his late 20s and became one of the pioneers of TangoNuevo. He has taught world-wide until separating from his partner Carolina. After the split, he started his world tour with a new partner. He has been managing/organizing the world's biggest tango and art festival with which lately required sponsors. He thus manipulates tango and its side products as a sold-out, major artistic commodity. He presents more than 120 classes, six days of instruction, *milongas*, shows, and theater shows. He offers, for example, 'taxi' dance partners to be rented by participants without partners. 'Taxis' can be rented so single individuals have a partner to take classes in the festival, dance in the *milongas*, and watch night performances. He offers packages of classes, night *milongas*, and shows for a considerable sum (Package A is \$600; package B is \$525). In the words of Adorno and Horkheimer, Fabian became an entertainment manufacturer who knew that his "product would be consumed with alertness" (Adorno and Horkheimer 2001: 35). He makes agreements with different organizers and instructors all over Europe

and US; he takes their support to find sponsors for CITA. In return, these supporting parties are rewarded either by performing in the biggest tango stage of the world – CITA or by receiving a particular amount of payment. The whole organization does not only present the most famous Argentinean instructors but also provides a global network of tango elite (www.cosmotango.com) and tango products with a big budget and a large need of sponsorship.

The European tango scene has a similar format under the leadership of France (Paris, Marsillia and Lyon), Netherlands (Amsterdam, Utrecht and Nijmegen), Italy (Milan, Torino, Rome, Genova), Switzerland (Basel, Lausanne), England (London), Spain (Madrid). Many other cities can be added right afterwards. TangoMagia, the tango festival of Amsterdam, has been the most famous and regular tango organization in Europe, initiated in the same year as was CITA of Buenos Aires by a woman called Marijka de Vries. She invites primarily popular Argentinean global *maestros* well as European and / or American masters of tango to teach in the festival. She always chooses either from the most popular ones or soon to be rising stars. She offers separately priced packages of classes, milongas, and performances. De Vries prepares *milonga* nights with performances, orchestras, and DJs. Her organization takes the support of particular sponsors. Her website admits though to external support: “This year’s festival would not be possible without the support of our sponsors”. (<http://www.tangomagia.com/tm12/sponsors.php>)

Torino Tango Festival is regularly organized by Marcela Guevara and Stefano Guidice in Turin, Italy since 2000 with the support of particular sponsors, including the municipality. The festival also invites popular Argentinean global instructors with their orchestras for seven to eight days of tango practice. Similarly, TangoCamp in Sweeden and Greece has become one of the most popular and frequently participated festivals in Europe with methods similar to those of organizing a tango festival. Pino and Natalie first organized TangoCamp in Sweeden in 2000, were inspired to create TangoCamp in Greece, then expanded the Festival to Germany and Italy for the last three years. They employ the standard technique of inviting popular global Argentinean *maestros*, orchestras, a few local instructors to draw a crowd. Today many urban cities of the world with a secular daily life have their own tango community, with its manufacturers, classes, workshops and festivals, large or small.

These communities range from Jakarta to Paris, from Sardinia to Beijing, from Milan to Portland, from Amsterdam to Sweden, from Lebanon to Istanbul. These festivals and some others also promote different brands of tango shoes and clothes as well as recently some photographers and short cinema films. They present packages of accommodation in addition to classes, shows, and *milongas*.

Each festival's promotion and distribution is very standardized as well. The organizers of the festival promote their organizations systematically in different tango lists for Europe, Japan, Turkey and US. Many urban communities have their own tango lists where they advertise all kinds of tango events. A quick glimpse provides enough insight about the quality and ingredient of the emails sent to the tango lists. It is possible to observe that the mails sent to the lists do not only discuss a common interest/hobby but also advertise and market the tango organizations of different instructors and organizers all around the world. The most strikingly common topics of the emails from Europe, the US, Argentina, and Turkey are made up of advertisements of *practicass*, *milongas*, workshops, and festivals' conditions of promotion, participation fees in Euro, Dollars, or YTL, addresses of the bank accounts, and deadlines that the fees-are-to be- paid .

One of these announcements comes from Wuppertal Germany on the 14th of August 2009. It says:

“... dear Tango aficionados. XII. Ball Tango Argentino & Intern. Festival Wuppertal”

(Germany), 22-27 Sep'09 welcome, bienvenido, willkommen, bienvenu, dobro paschalowatch, ... 6 days Tango, 6 days Workshops - Theater - Concerts - shows - dance

Gran Orquesta Tipica CIUDAD BAIGON
Julian Bruno (canto)
Cuarteto Alfredo Marcucci (guest of honour)

Belen Giachello & Diego "El Pajaro" Riemer
Alejandra Heredia & Mariano Otero
Diana del Valle & Juan Camerlingo
Gaia Pisauro & Leandro Furlan
Anna Yarigo & Jose Vazquez (guests) Minsk/Buenos Aires
Setenay Ersoy & Utku Kuley (guests) Istanbul

Raquel Ziegler & Ricardo Lang (guests) Cologne
Ines Moussavi (women)
Esther Nur & Klaus Wendel (beginner)
Beate Brueck & Dirk Steinkamp (Feldenkrais)
Christine Traeger (Alexander-Technic)
Nicole Wilken (Pilates)
Nicole Drunday (Chacarera)

Hyon-Soek Lee (Bandoneon)
Don Carlos Goiach (Dj)
Volker "Tanguerilla" (Dj & Vj)
Cesar Spengler (Dj)
Luis Rodriguez (Dj)
Peter Semrau (Dj)

See videos and the complete programme, print the festival-flyer with the workshop-compass all under www.tango-tango.de

Looking forward to dance with you !

Carsten
Partner & Sponsors
Steigenberger Intercityhotel
AOK Rheinland / Hamburg
WSW Wuppertal
Stadtsparkasse Wuppertal
Tango Danza the magazine
Botschaft der Rep. Argentinien
Zentrum fuer Tanz Wuppertal

Sender:
TANGO TANGO W u p p e r t a l
Krautstr. 74
42289 Wuppertal
Tel 0049 (0) 202 305857
www.tango-tango.de
org@tango-tango.de
Finanzamt: Wuppertal-Barmen
USt-IdNr: DE 204031855"

The pricing and details are presented in their websites http://www.tango-tango.de/e_fr_kontakt.html"

Another announcement comes from Netherlands, from the tango school El Corte Nijmegen:

“Dear friends,

Feel welcome to join our workshops during the Summerdaze Tango in El Corte
from August 19th-23rd :)
Summer Workshops in El Corte
with Komala & Stefan

Friday, August 21th 19.00-20.30
"Spinning"

Saturday, August 22th 12.00-13.30
"Moving"

No reservations necessary. 15 € pp.
Info: tango@komalaystefan.com

See you there!
Komala & Stefan

Komala & Stefan _____ tango@komalaystefan.com
El Tango me ha tocado. _____ <http://www.komalays tefan.com/>”

8.1.1.3 New commercial areas connected to tango in Europe and Argentina

The tango dance itself not only created its own industry and entertainment manufacturers but also motivated and promoted new commercial areas and industries. Tango’s versatility led it to become an interchangeable, commercial and industrial area. In so doing, tango mirrored a world wide shift as well. Contemporary social sciences literature speaks of a shift from an understanding of modern life based on production and saving to one based on consumption and building a life style determined what a person consumes (Shilling 2004). With the development of such an understanding of life, a tendency towards production appeared, oriented towards leisure as well as production of goods and services to be consumed. Tango, as a product consumed in leisure time, recently opened avenues for the production of other goods and services oriented for the consumption of its practitioners. It became a sphere where products which have been produced in other commercial areas could be advertised, sold, directed and bought in the tango community. This has been the case in the global world of tango, including Buenos Aires, Europe, Japan, U.S and Turkey. Tango magazines published, tango films produced, tango photos taken, tango shoes

and clothes manufactured are all the new industries and commercial areas promoted in and out of major tango events.

Many tango magazines exist in different parts of the world. I present only a few of them here. *El Tanguata* and *Buenos Aires Tango* are the well-known ones printed in Buenos Aires. It is possible to find thousands of ads on tango classes, *practicas*, group and private classes, shows, tango shoes and clothes as well as articles on different tango figures in Buenos Aires. *El Tanguata* celebrates its 14th year in 2009. Similarly *La Cadena* is published in Netherlands since 1993 and read all over Europe. Other magazines: *Tango Danza*, in Germany; *El Farolito*, in Paris; *Tango Pocket*, in Turin, *El Once*, in London, and the *Tokyo Tango Journal*, in Tokyo; and *ReporTango*, in New York.

Many tango films are promoted both in the film industry and some European tango festivals such as Sally Potter's *the Tango Lesson*, Leonard Schrader's *Naked Tango*, Marcos Zurinaga's *Tango Bar*, Amon Santstefano's *Three to Tango*, Leonel Mitre's *Cinefilia Tanguera*. Garrit Fleischmann, German tango expert, discusses 68 tango films produced between the years 1912 and 1999 in his website (<http://www.cyber-tango.com/movies.html>).

Tango shoes are the mostly demanded product of the tango culture industry. Argentina, Netherlands, Germany, and France have been the leading figures of the tango shoe industry, lately spreading other parts of the world. Today, there are many tango shoe makers just in Buenos Aires not including Europe or US. A decade ago the most famous tango shoe-maker was Flabella in Buenos Aires. In a very short time many other shoe-makers created a big shoe industry in tango: *Comme Il Faut*, Neo Tango, Tango Brujo, Fabio Shoes, ArteSanal, Victorio, Delie, Paulo, Taconeando Shoes, Raquel Shoes are some well-known names. After a while, *Comme Il Faut* found distributors in Europe such as in Italy, Amsterdam and more, including Istanbul lately. *Rojo Negro* in London and Nico's in Amsterdam were two of the most famous tango shoe-makers in Europe before the shoes-makers of Buenos Aires started to distribute their shoes in Europe and the USA. There are many other brands not mentioned here.

The number of shops that sell contemporary dance and tango clothes increased both in Buenos Aires and in Europe. Limerame Tango Clothes and *Asignatura Pendiente* are the two well-known shops in Buenos Aires. Idilia presents very new, high quality and expensive tango dance and night clothes. One of the owners of Idilia, Claudia Codega, sells the products in different parts of the world. Some other examples in Europe are TanzTopShop in Vienna, Aida Dacewear in the US, and the Hong Kong, Ballet Center in Flensburg, Dance Dresser in USA, Fondaco del Tango in Hamburg and many more (http://www.cyber-tango.com/e/tango_e.html)

8.1.1.4 New commercial areas within tango in Istanbul

Tango in Istanbul, as integrated part of the contemporary world scenery, has become in all of its aspects an industry and a commercial product, including festivals and tango shoe shops.

Tango dance and the knowledge produced and transferred on the contemporary popular Argentinean tango was a scarce resource in 1997 Istanbul. Although there were some video cassettes with which people tried to train themselves, cassettes were insufficient for systematic and detailed information on the dance. People also did not know how to access those cassettes in Istanbul since many of them were brought from Europe or America. Therefore, tango was almost an aristocratic, cultural entity and a practice, an element of high culture which a relatively small group of well-educated upper-middle class desired to be informed. Ayşegül Betil, a graduate of American High School and the spouse of the well-respected musician Timur Selçuk, together with a small group of tango fans from the Middle Eastern Technical University living in Istanbul, started to learn about and practice the Argentinean Tango. They first started to train themselves with an Argentinean couple who was visiting Istanbul. From 1997 to 2009, tango started to lose its aristocratic definition inherited from the Republican period. Rather, it is packaged and commercialized for and by the secular masses of urban middle class residents of Istanbul.

Today, there are many tango schools and organizers in Istanbul. A considerable number are all part of the global tango industry and others are in the local tango market. Still, certain ones are the first generation to initiate, to create, or to borrow the concept of tango industry as occurred in Europe. Some organizers and instructors of the first generation such as *BailaTango*, *El Encuentro*, Tangoturk and MelinySelim have organized workshops and international tango festivals in Istanbul. They attempted to address local and global practitioners in Turkey by using a format similar to making tango events as in Europe and Buenos Aires: inviting Argentinean and well-known European instructors to teach local practitioners. They offered packages of classes, *milonga* nights with the presentation of a tango performance from the instructing couple. They organized tango dance and music festivals with five to eight Argentineans who instruct couples, each teaching four days and performing four nights. In addition, the schools invite one or two tango orchestras to play at least two nights. These groups invite tango shoe sellers and cloth producers to present and sell their products during the festival. Overall, this industry produces a considerable cash flow with very high costs for the organizers, sometimes ending with high losses. Therefore, the organizers look for sponsors and the support of municipality for the places that they realize the workshops, performances, and concerts. This format of making organization is a global one, borrowed and used in Istanbul.

These workshops, festivals, and other tango events are highly advertised to consumers. An industrialized, commercialized, and commodified tango is highly advertised in the tango discussion lists of Istanbul. Many of the mails sent to the lists not only discuss a common interest/hobby but also advertise and market the tango organizations of different instructors and organizers not only in Istanbul but also on the international tango scene. Istanbul currently has two international tango festivals, followed by a recent, smaller-scale third one. One is the Istanbul Tango Festival and the other one is the Istanbul Tango Ritual. The third is Tango to Istanbul, still named as a Tango Meeting rather than a large festival yet. These products of the recently developed entertainment industry of tango are highly advertised in tango discussion lists as well as in other social and commercial channels of advertisement.

The announcement of Istanbul Tango Ritual and Istanbul Tango festival are present in many tangolists not only in Turkey but also in Europe, Russia, and US such

as TangoTürk, Tangoİzmir, AnkaraTango, CyprusTango, Tango ITU, TangoSuerte, Tango UK, Ireland Tango, Russia, Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, Hungary, Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, NewYork, Canada, Japan, China and elsewhere in European Community, Middle East and US.

Events constructed around tango dance and music in Istanbul, such as the festivals, workshops, *practicass*, regular classes, promote other industries related to tango just as it is experienced in Europe, the US, and Buenos Aires. The production of tango shoes and clothes has become an important part of the tango industry in Istanbul. Necmi Usta, Buen Estilo, Tango Shoes by Sedef are the three well-known tango and dance shoe producers. They not only have their own stores and make mass production but also are invited to festivals to sell their shoes to local and international tango participants.

Nemci Usta in particular used to work for the famous shoe-brand Erol in Istanbul. He founded his own atelier and became an expert on creating tango and Latin dance shoes. Invited by various tango organizers to particular tango events to display his models, it is possible to still see him displaying his shoes in tango festivals such as Istanbul Tango Ritual and *milongas* of the city such as Maçkolik and Armada. Zeynep Çetinkaya, a textile engineer and a tango practitioner, quit her job and started her own shoe-shop, Buen Estilo, eight years after starting to practice tango. Now she is a shoemaker displaying her models in tango festivals and *milongas* in Istanbul such as Istanbul Tango Festival and La Ideal *milonga*. Sedef, an architect and a tango instructor, is also designing tango shoes for tango practitioners.

Tango clothing is another small commercial and industrial product integrated into the tango industry and entertainment production. Some are regular clothes that can be used in social and professional dancing; while others are more high-tech. Textile Innovation in textiles, such as “Antibacterial” and “breathable clothes” offer innovations for the dance industry. These clothes begin to take in air when the body heat of the wearer, becomes 37 degrees. If4tango Dans Boutique by Özgül Eftekin Sönmez sells these kinds of products. Julie Vural and Naz Hacıoğlu founded the OnlyTango dance clothes collection with additional accessories. Julie had her education on fashion and textile in England and Naz had been working in the textile

industry for a very long time. They produce tango clothes and accessories for the tango and entertainment industry. Another such female professional in the textile business who has gravitated to tango clothing is Zeynep Sevinç, a 42 year old designer, who had been working in textile since she was very young. She lately began to create her own collection for tango practitioners. All of these products are promoted in different *milongas*, workshops and festivals organized in Istanbul and elsewhere in urban Turkey.

Maybe the most interesting innovations promoted in the tango industry in Istanbul have nothing to do with tango but are still introduced in the tango community: a cleaning product. One tango practitioner, also a tango instructor, is an engineer in his professional life. He has recently developed an ultrasonic sink that is called EvyeSonik (Appendix D). He presented it in the Istanbul Tango Ritual 2008. EvyeSonik is a cleaning and disinfection system using ultrasonic cleaning technology. It cleans fruits, vegetables, baby feeding accessories from germs, pathological agents, removing the detergent leftovers from the dishes. This sink is promoted and theoretically presented in the two nights in Istanbul Tango Ritual 2008 (Appendix D). One tango practitioner who is a professional cook bought the sink after its promotion in the festival.

8.1.1.5 Modern tango: The development of a new network - based and advertised industry in Europe and Istanbul

Williams in his chapter on advertisement, defines it as a magic system, one that makes a product sellable. He defines advertisement as the institutionalized system of commercial information and persuasion of the last century's capitalism. He associates it with publicity to sell persons. He refers to an arranged incident, the mention, the advice, persuasion and good selling line (Williams 1999: 411-423).

The global tango industry is organized just the way Williams defines. It certainly uses advertisement as a magic system. Selling a tango festival, workshop, or instructors is not only based on the quality of the product such as the organization or the class but also on the advertisement, networks of connectivity, and distribution

channels in the industry, which produces objects of desire as the crucial element of the industry.

In the beginning of the process of commercialization and industrialization of contemporary tango in 1997 - 2000, tango events were organized in a small-scale with relatively few number participants. News of these events were announced with the help of private life relationships such as friend networks or small tangolists created by and for a limited number of people, mostly friends. Nevertheless, particularly the introduction of facebook.com and the use of internet increased connectivity and announcement of tango events. Technology thus helped motivate the global marketing of tango. Tango practitioners in the world started to connect with each other faster than any other previous era with the attempts of creating friends network in the personal profiles of each individual. Tango organizers in Buenos Aires, Berlin, Paris, Amsterdam, Utrecht, London, Dublin, Mantova, Milan, Genova, Madrid, Ankara, Istanbul, and many other cities in the world today use facebook to search for and join all internet tangolists so as to announce their events. Many participants of tango, such as myself, receive messages periodically from different parts of the world. Some of these messages are as follows:

Berlin Tango sent you a message: you are invited to participate to Berlin Tango Organization on the 26th of September, will you participate, yes, no, maybe.

Another message is from Jose Vazques. Jose invited you the Vilnius Tango Fiesta on September 20, will you participate? Yes, no, maybe.

Another message is from Le Cocq Thierry from Paris. He invites tango participants to Tango holidays Le Touquet Paris Plaque.

There are newsletters of particular tango organizations periodically sent to tango practitioners. AbanarezTango is one of these organizations in Paris. The owner of the organization Thierry Le Cocq sends emails of Newsletters from AbanerezTango from Paris. He gives information about the month's organizations and the upcoming events of the next month

Similarly Marisa and Oliver send newsletters of upcoming events from Brussels.

Another message is from London: El Once Club at the Crypt, Saturday 16th of January ... good music, free wine, large parquet dance floor, easy parking...

Tango in Istanbul is an industry that works with Williams' system of publicity as well. Tangoturk regularly announces / advertises its *milonga* organizations in the tangolist of Tangoturk. Hasan Gogani announces / advertises his once a month *milonga* in Istanbul, Kalamış Murphy's Bar. IstanbulTango Organization announces its Milonga 333 on Wednesdays and Saturdays on the Tangoturk list as well as other tangolists. Istanbul Tango Festival and Istanbul Tango Ritual are advertised both in the tangolists and facebook.

Since the tangolists are the main channels of publicity, the great number of such many emails sent to the TangoTurk list often appear as a row of advertisements. Some of them are below:

Table 2

<u>From</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Size</u>
Tango Bodrum	[tangoturk] Tango Bodrum olarak TEŞEKKÜR EDERİZ	7:00 AM	21 KB
Tugyan Aras	Re: [tangoturk] Buenos Aires bir-iki	5:37 AM	20 KB
İstanbul Tango	[tangoturk] "TanGO TO istanbul" 2nd Edition	4:19 AM	19 KB
Utku Kuley	[tangoturk] 6. Tango Semineri Ders Konuları – SUBJECT OF 6 th TANGO SEMINAR	Sun, 8/16/09	19 KB
Güralp Diner	[tangoturk] CUMARTESI VAKIFTEPE MILONGASI	Fri, 8/14/09	23 KB
İsmail Kırmızı	[tangoturk] 2-5 Eylül Murat 6 Michelle Workshop ** Special Hotel Flight Prices **	Thu, 8/13/09	21 KB
Eray Yüksek	[tangoturk] Bu cumartesi, ACIK HAVADA, MILONGA Xtra – X House café	Thu, 8/13/09	19 KB
İlker Kerem Öksüz	[tangoturk] Cuma, BUYUKADA'da Muhtesem Manzaraalı ACIKHAVA MILONGA GECESI..!	Wed, 8/12/09	22 KB
İsmail Kırmızı	[tangoturk] 2-3-4-5 Sept. MURAT MICHELLE Workshop in Cyprus	Wed, 8/12/09	21 KB

Istanbul Tango Festival is one of the major tango events that uses Williams' definition of advertisement and publicity. Its organizers run a near-perfect system of persuasion. They present 10 reasons to come to Istanbul Tango Festival but not to another tango festival in Europe and Turkey. After the 2009 festival is finished, the advertisement still runs. Next year's festival is promoted the year before. The theme of the advertisement is constructed around how amazing the festival has been and had the unique experiences of the festival participants. The organizers announce: 2009 was a unique experience with 45 countries, historical locations, great maestros, hundreds of dancers and lovely participants. Mark your calendars! Join us in the 7th International Istanbul Tango Festival in 1-4 July 2010 (www.istanbultangofestival.com).

Similarly, the organizers of Istanbul Tango Ritual start to advertise the event two months before the event. One of the advertisement emails is:

“Dear friends, we added two new classes to the Ritual class schedule ... G314 The Art and Technique of Embellishment for Women instructed by Ariadna Naveira and ... G314 The Technique and The Art of Lapice and Enrosque for Men instructed by Frederico Naveira... Do not miss these special topics...”¹²

Connected with the advertisements of any style and type, the tango events are constructed around particular objects of desire, which are many times not about reality but are related to practitioner fantasies. These objects of desire influence the sales power of tango.

8.1.1.6 Objects of desire in tango

The existence and creation of objects of desire is at the heart of the contemporary tango culture industry. It is one of the aspects of tango culture industry that makes this industry survive and grow. Jacques Lacan and Slavoj Zizek guide me to understand the concept of desire, how, and why contemporary objects of desire are created in the world of tango and its advertisement.

Desire in psychoanalysis is closely connected with fantasy. “A fantasy constitutes our desire, provides its coordinates, therefore it teaches us how to desire” (Zizek 1997: 7). In other words, we learn how to desire. Fantasy provides a schema according to which objects in reality can function as objects of desire (Zizek 1997: 7). Desire occurs due to an absence of the object in real life and does not deal with material sexuality. Desire exists thus in social structure. Then desires are not our own actually, but are other’s because they are created through fantasies shaped by cultural

¹² Sevgili arkadaşlar, Ritual ders programına iki yeni ders ekledik:

...G 313 kodu ile Ariadna Naveira’dan **Kadın Dansçılar için Süsleme Sanatı ve Tekniği** dersi ile yine 7 Kasım Cumartesi 18.00-19.30 arasında G 314 kodu ile Frederico Naveira’dan **Erkek Dansçılar için Lapice ve Enrosque Tekniği** dersi,... Özel başlıklar ile verilen bu teknik derslerini kaçırmayınız.

ideologies (Zizek 1997: 8-9). In addition, fantasies are construed as primordial forms of narratives which are in a way false because they exclude traumatic events. Therefore, they tell stories to resolve the fundamental antagonism by rearranging reality (Zizek 1997: 10-11). With this rearrangement exists the misrecognition of the fullness of the objects of desire in one's heart. Nevertheless, this fantasy is just a projection created by the narratives / the stories told. The ultimate point is a temporal succession with a feeling of fullness (Zizek 1997).

I observe that contemporary tango as a culture and entertainment industry has a process of producing and reproducing objects of desire through advertisement either on the internet under the condition of their visual absence or immediately prior to before these objects of desire start to perform / teach / visually exist in front of consumers / practitioners / audience. With these advertisements, the consumers / practitioners / audience of tango are made to desire these objects of tango in their visual absence. Tango industry thus creates new stars and revives old ones which provide models for many practitioners with whom they can identify themselves. The advertisements of the industry narrate a story regarding each of these stars / objects of desire which exclude unpleasant, traumatic events. In this way, the stories reach a positive temporal succession in the narratives of the objects of desire / stars so that the tango audience / practitioner / consumer continues desiring the tango stars / performers / instructors. This is the modern human feeling of enjoyment.

These stars practice and / or are advertised to practice the tango in such a way that they create a fantasy which the practitioners desire to see, enjoy, and attempt to copy. These objects of desire are the instructors and performers of tango. The organizers and their advertisements either revive an object of desire, or present a currently popular object of desire. Similarly, they run a process of creating totally new objects of desire. In all cases, the advertisements make a hero out of these objects of desire by presenting them in very particular ways with very particular stories. All these presentations and stories create a world of fantasy which is sometimes disconnected from the real experiences of these people and their social positions out of the fantasy world.

The organizers and their advertisements use a particular terminology to define these instructors. The terminology does not define a particular instructor as “Mr. and Mrs. X are experts on *giros* so they are going to teach us *giro*” or “Mr. A and Mr. B are specialized on *boleos* so they are going to teach us *boleo*”. The organizers dramatically identify them as grand masters, the teacher of all masters, or amazing / unique couple or the dream couple. For instance, Gustavo ve GiselleAnne instructed many practitioners all over the world and then they stopped touring around the world for a few years. New names became popular. Starting from the year 2008, they are revived by the organizers as stars. An email, sent from a tango organizer from Basel to Tangturk tangolist, advertises them on the 16th of August 2009 as follows:

“The masters of Argentine Tango are in Basel again!!! New Thematic Seminar: Tango Milonguero with Gustavo Naveira & GiselleAnne...Gustavo and Giselle Anne are among the most renowned tango teachers worldwide. They revolutionized tango with their teaching system and are considered as the great Tango innovators of today with their pioneering style. Their dance is characterized by unequalled creativeness and intensesness. The seminar covers 20 hours lesson.”

I observed a similar case in Ankara during the last weekend of November, 2009. One of the Argentinean master teachers of tango, Sebastian Arce, and Mariana Montes were invited to give a series of classes as workshops in Ankara. The organization was realized by a dance school in Ankara, Shine Dance School. The founders and main instructors of the school announced Sebastian and Mariana’s invitation to the stage on the 28th of November. One of the founders of the school, Murat Gürmen, announced their existence in Ankara. He emphasized that Sebastian and Mariana were the most amazing couple of the tango world. He presented them as the dream of everyone. They were his dream as well. Finally, he noted, he had made his dream come true. Sebastian and Mariana would perform on the stage of his organization.

The process of creating stars/objects of desire out of particular regular practitioners, who are believed to have the talent and the potential to become one, is another strategy of the contemporary tango culture industry. Utku and Setenay are young tango practitioners in their 20s. They live and teach in Istanbul. They had tango lessons with the founders of *El Encuentro* tango school and participated in workshops and visited BuenosAires to increase their chances of becoming tango

professionals and stars in the future. They started to teach in *El Encuentro*. The founder of *El Encuentro* started a process of turning them into an object of tango that has star potential. The process started: first they were announced in the Tangotürk tango list as visiting Buenos Aires to develop their tango skills and knowledge. The founder of *El Encuentro* made it known to everyone that they are going to perform as guests in Buenos Aires in April 2009. In July, the founder of *El Encuentro* gave them the possibility to perform in the International Istanbul Tango Festival. In August 2009, he announced that they would teach a series of workshops in Istanbul. They would teach the information they gathered in Buenos Aires in these workshops. In August 16, 2009, he announced that Utku and Setenay would perform in the Wuppertal Tango Festival. They were created as one of the new stars of Istanbul tango with the help of the magic world or system of advertisement as Raymond Williams defines (Williams 1999).

Murat and Michelle Erdemsel is a Turkish – American – Asian couple teaching Argentinean tango in the USA until 2008. Starting from 2008, they started to travel to different parts of USA and Europe, including Turkey, to teach all over the world. Travelling to and teaching in places beside the city they lived started to provide them better opportunities of earning money and a possibility of becoming a global elite of tango, a position close to the Argentinean *maestros*. They are becoming the new objects of desire with their global identity. They are presented to the tango community with a particular story and definition that partly disregards some of the reality of their lives. For the last two and a half years, the tango culture industry is making them into an object of desire especially through the magic system of advertisement. Murat Erdemsel migrated to USA in 1998 and later became a tango instructor. He became professional and life partners with Michelle, an American dancer of an Asian origin. They used to have a flat in New York. Murat's parents are living in Istanbul and Michelle's parents in Hawaii. Istanbul and Turkish Cyprus have been two of the places that they travelled to teach. The organizers of their workshops in Istanbul, Bora and Didem Erdem, surprisingly enough, announced the young couple as chosen as the best tango instructors of the world. In the announcement, the organizers referred to an evaluation survey distributed during the 12th Annual 2009 Portland ValenTango Festival as the means by which they were chosen. This particular festival consisted of nine tango instructors. Murat and Michelle were evaluated as the best instructing

couple of that group of nine, not of a festival 30 or 40 teaching couples. In other words, although they may be very good instructors, this small sampling may not be the best determinant of world class instructors. However, the organizers of Istanbul used the magic system of advertisement to turn them into tango heroes / the objects of desire of tango by announcing them as have been chosen to be the best tango instructors of the world with a story behind it, one which disconnected them from or changed the reality of their daily life.

Murat and Michelle sold their flat in New York because they observed that they could regularly teach tango classes in different parts of USA and Europe for the last two years. What perhaps the actual details of their story implied was that people liked how they taught; nevertheless it also meant that this couple needed to find places to teach so that they would also have a place to live. They thus sometimes needed to work in undesirable places and with undesirable people to find a home. They had to market themselves in this culture industry before the organizers of a particular city demanded their presence. This less glossy part of the story never exists in the advertisements, announcements, and strategies of creating objects of desire, however.

The role of object of desire / the tango hero has been accepted and performed by the Argentinean global dance masters as well as the international tango instructors themselves. In a short time, they have perfectly shaped and adapted themselves to the role of object of desire defined by the organizers, advertisements, and the tango practitioners. Sebastian Arce and Mariana Montes, one of the mostly demanded tango instructors / performers / Argentinean global elite of tango, flawlessly perform this role in different parts of the world, including Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. They have become the most contemporary objects of desire particularly in 2007 to 2009. What is very visible about them, especially about Sebastian Arce, is not only the quality of their on stage performance but also the way he and his partner Mariana consciously and clearly presented themselves as the objects of desire. They not only perform and teach but also they self – reflect themselves with the speeches they make before and during their performances. The couple is not only turned into objects of desire but also presents itself with the consciousness being heroes of different global tango communities. They realized one presentation in their recent performance and workshop in Ankara on the 28th of November, 2009. Before they started their third

dance performance Sebastian talked to the audience. He said that he was sure that the audience would enjoy his and Mariana's performance, but he was not sure whether he himself would enjoy his own improvised performance.⁶

8.1.1.7 Network – based distribution channels, contact – support system

Tango works as a global community, not only with a strong advertisement system but also with contact – support system based on reciprocity. This setting also provides possibilities of publicity and channels of distribution. I observed that the advertisement and contact – support system works in relation to each other in three ways:

I observed that if two or three instructing couples working in different countries / cities meet each other or watch each other in an event, they may start a network, a reciprocal relationship. They exchange classes and performances. In other words, they not only invite each other to their cities to teach each others' students but also tend to support each other in the events each of the couple organizes. Birkitt and Muzaffer work in Netherlands. They have a contact and close relationship with Marisa and Oliver from Brussels in Belgium. They not only go and teach each others' students but also they perform at each others' tango organizations. Marisa and Oliver got to know Melin and Selim (me and my partner) in Buenos Aires. They invited us to Brussels to teach and perform to their students. Patricia and Matteo teach in Florence and they know Marcela and Stefano from Turin. They perform in each others' festivals or some other tango events. Patricia and Matteo motivate their students to participate the organizations of Marcela and Stefano or vice versa. These kinds of small networks which work regularly promote a tango organization and support it to happen.

Organizing and participating to a tango festival is a very popular way of both consuming and producing for consumption. One and the most important ways to advertise a festival is emailing tango lists to different parts of the world. Nevertheless, a festival can be promoted more efficiently and directly with global contact persons. The organizers of some festivals use contact persons to advertise and promote their festivals. Contact persons are tango practitioners/instructors/organizers who have a

large local and / or global network of relations in tango scene. They are not only participants and the consumers of the festival but also provide the channel of publicizing and distributing the information and the possibility of selling the organization. In other words, they are expected to bring students and participants from their countries / cities.

TangoCamp is the most popular organization which works with contact persons from different cities of Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Iceland, Lebanon, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Rumania, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Sweeden, Switzerland, Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom, Ukraine, and the USA. They are are the direct channels to publicize and distribute information on the organization. They advertise it to provide the consumption of the festival.
www.tangocamp.com

El Tangon is a tango festival, organized in May in Antalya by the partnership of one Argentinean and one Turkish organizer. Although new in the industry, its organizers nevertheless are able to work with particular contact persons, the Tangon Group organizers (<http://www.eltangon.ru/eng>). Some of them are:

“FRANCE:

LaureThirion:laure.thirion@tango-rennaissance.com

ITALY:

Carlo&Giusy:carlo@tangoinprogress.it

IRELAND:

RebeccaO'Laoire:rebecca.olaoire@gmail.com

RUMANIA

Andrei&Andreea:ayatango@gmail.com

RUSSIA

Slava&Olga

tango@gotango.ru ...”

These contact persons / group organizers both in TangoCamp, El Tangon and some other festivals that work with contact persons are announced both on the festival website and at the end of the festival. For their advertising, they are rewarded

with free entrance to classes, shows and *milongas* or reductions or free accommodation in return.

I observed a third way of how the advertisement and contact-support system works. This system works by the understanding of support or leave alone system. The protagonists of this system of establishing relationships are an experienced organizer and a less experienced / new organizer.

I had the chance to listen to many different conversations in the Istanbul tango community. One of them took place in one Sunday afternoon in Kanyon. It was between one tango organizer and one tango instructor. An organizer from Izmir, Mr. MŞ was visiting his instructor from Istanbul, Mr. SY. The theme of their conversation was constructed around the fact that tango is a big commercial market with its own rules, strategies, and politics of organization. Mr. MŞ, speaking from the position of an experienced organizer, believed that to navigate in the industry and create balance in the community, a good analysis of this industrial and commercial sphere was requisite. He conceptualized different organizers as companies. He supported and wanted to work with particular ones and did not support some others. The relatively less experienced protagonist of this community is a recently established tango school named Istanbul Tango. Mr. MŞ, the experienced protagonist, supported this school and its younger generation founders. He had a supportive relationship with Istanbul Tango organizers. He presented his international contacts to Istanbul tango so that this new school would become competitive and gain visibility in this competitive industry of tango by organizing a series of international workshops. The international contact here refers to European instructing couples who have global visibility by performing and teaching in different parts of the world. The community and industry of tango function with a contact – support combination. An organizer / school who plans to organize a workshop can invite either an Argentinean couple/s or European couple/s. If s/he / they cannot manage to contact or find convenient dates with a particular instructing couple, they either search for an alternative one or a supporting organizer introduces him / her / them to another European instructing couple. In this way the supporting protagonist gives the message “you can use my contact which normally you could not be doing so if I had not been supporting you”. The commercialized tango in Istanbul works with unwritten rules. When one school / organizer invites one

European / Argentinean couple to instruct a series of workshop in Istanbul, s/he/they expect this couple to work only with the inviting school and have an exclusive agreement. In this sense these Argentinean / European instructors are expected not to work with other organizers and schools in Istanbul. An experienced organizer supports another organizer by introducing his international contact to him / her / them.

If the relation is not of a supportive nature, then the system works in reverse. It turns into a leave-alone kind of relationship. The experienced protagonist neither introduces his contact to the less experienced protagonist nor he / she tolerates it if the less experienced protagonist directly meets with his contact. If Sebastian and Mariana had been invited to Istanbul by *El Encuentro*, an experienced protagonist, then the unwritten rules suggest that no other school / organizer could neither directly contact them nor organize with them, since the first right to create an organization is believed to belong to the organizer who first contacted and invited them. The leave-alone relationship works for the disadvantage of the less experienced protagonist. The relation might sometimes turn into a very destructive one if the less experienced protagonist does not follow this unwritten rule. The experienced protagonist may attempt to convince his own students and friends not to participate to the organization of the less experienced protagonist.

In sum, tango in Istanbul, as in many big urban cities in Europe, has recently become a culture and entertainment industry, which is based on a global network; advertisement as well as creation and marketization of various objects of desires that the tango practitioner / consumer / audience can fantasize and model for himself / herself to create an identity for himself / herself.

Advertising and marketing, combined with the elements of fantasy, provide a climate hospitable to a 19th century product circulating in 21st century Istanbul

8.2 The Local

8.2.1 Between the professional and the personal

The way Argentinean Tango in Istanbul is organized locally presents a sphere where the personal meets the professional. The personal meets the professional and the emotional combines with the economic in this contemporary organization in Istanbul. The nonprofessional and the professional, the noncommercial and the commercial coexist in the form of intersecting, opposing, conflicting and going hand in hand with each other in the way the tango community exists in Istanbul. This coexistence results in the continuous shift in the meaning attached to tango for its practitioners, especially for those practitioners who practice it for professional ends as well. It sometimes increases conflicts between practitioners who have more than one dimension in their one-to-one relationships. In some other cases, it increases the chances of success of tango projects / organizations of the instructors and organizers in Istanbul.

The professional

Can we talk about the rise of professionalism in the Istanbul tango community? Tango community started to become a fertile ground for the development of a profession and a career. This shift has been motivated by the consumption culture of Europe, the USA and the urban parts of Turkey. It is possible to talk about the emergence of a new profession defined around tango, a profession constructed around the combination of the function of instructing with the function of organizing *milonga*, workshop, and festival. The profession, constructed around instructing and organizing tango, is a very modern profession and career opportunity not only in Europe, USA but also Turkey, particularly in Istanbul at its most developed form.

What is a profession? A profession is the specialization of function and the creation of the bodies of practical and theoretical knowledge, which is a matter of accumulation of resource (Larson 1977: 2-5). It is a modern concept in the sense that a professional bases identity on a liberal education, an education fit for a gentleman/woman, based more on classical culture than on practical skills. The

second notion of the term referred to the acquisition of skills through various forms of apprenticeship, viewed as an extension of the education within the family (Larson 1977: 4). The western concept of the professional, however, disregards the familial but is instead based on the creation of people with an objectively legitimized competence.

Tango is creating its professional elite in the world, including in Istanbul. The process of the professionalization of tango dates back to the 1970s before it gained its contemporary form. One of my Argentinean informants, Esteban Moreno, gives a very brief summary of this process of professionalization of tango and its social actors which started in Argentina. According to him, Tango dance and its professionalization can be considered in three different periods. The first period is when folk dancers travelled to present short performances in cabarets and hotels. Many folk dancers used to travel in theaters to perform mainly in cabarets, hotels, and cruises in late 1970s and early 1980s. In these performances they also presented a limited version of tango which was disconnected from the popular and systematized version of the contemporary tango. They presented some kind of tango combined with particular folk dances, *zamba*, *boleadoras*, *malambo*, and *bombos*. Some of these folk dancers taught this form of tango. One of the famous couple is Gloria and Eduardo Arquimbau. They presented *salidas* with eight steps in combination with a few *ganchos*. They added few jumps and tricky movement into this sequence.

The second period is the period of “Tango Argentino” experience. This is the period of the Paris tango adventure in the years 1983-1986 and in the world afterwards. Some of the local *milongueros* and dancers of Buenos Aires started to teach tango and prepared casts of instructors to teach in Paris. The third period is the period when the experience of the *milongueros* opened doors for all tango dancers in the world. This is the end of 1980. The first tango teacher who is accepted in the conception of the contemporary art of popular tango dancing is Antonio Todaro. He started to travel in Europe to teach the tango dance in a systematic and codified way. He had his first trip to Amsterdam and Germany, and then travelled to Amsterdam and Germany twice a year. Right after Todaro, Pepito Avellaneda visited Germany and Amsterdam to teach the tango dance in a similarly structured manner. Rudolfo and Maria Cieri followed the path of Todaro and Pepito, travelling this time to

Marseille to teach. After these three travelling instructors, the younger generation of tango instructors started to make global tours to instruct workshops, perform, and organize gatherings of tango. With this last development, tango has been fully professionalized in the contemporary understanding of the professional.

Internationally speaking, Tango has become a professional product and a professional career option in different parts of the world including Istanbul, Europe, the US, Japan and some parts of Middle East, such as Israel and Jordan. This process of professionalization takes place in two different ways in tango, each involving a transfer of money in it. Building a dance federation under state control, including Argentinean tango, is one, yet still a very recent, way. The second, dominant mode in Istanbul is the system of apprenticeship, the combination of the experience in the practice with the work experience outside the practice.

1. Building Of a Dance Federation: A Recent Way

Professionalism is closely associated with a training and exam system based on a certification system. The foundation of the idea of “professional” starts with the foundation of a wave of associations, not because the professional association is equivalent to the profession but it shows the maturity of the professional project (Larson 1977: 2-5). The recently built dance federation aims to create its own professionals who are expected will have an objectively legitimized competence. It, as an institution, proposes to create a training and exam system that filters out competent ones. In other words, the federation ideally plans to create its potential professionals based on this training and exam system. Those who would like to exercise the right to become professionals are expected to have their own associations or be a part of an association to prove the maturity of their experience. This also means to centralize and monopolize a liberal – market initiative.

In this training and exam system, one of the tango schools and its main instructor makes a deal with the federation, which is supported by the government. This instructor is nominated to train the current and the potential instructors, including a wide range, from experienced instructors to very beginners of tango who would like to become instructors later on. The tango school main instructor prepares a fixed

training program to be applied to all levels of the potential professionals as well as experienced ones. Those who attend and complete this program have the right to teach tango to practitioners. Those practitioners who would like to be a tango professional are obliged to have this basic level of training regardless of the fact whether they have been practicing tango for ten years or have been learning tango for five months. After the potential professionals complete the program, they are expected to take an exam and perform in front of a jury. If they succeed in all these stages, they get the license to become a basic level instructor. Those instructors who do not participate to the program and obtain licences would neither be able to teach tango nor able to organize a tango event regardless of their education and experience. This system has produced 170 basic level instructors by the end of 2009.

This system creates tango professionals in the long-run. Not only that, such a process systematizes instructor know-hows but also it gives equal opportunities to everyone who would like to become professional. Nevertheless, this certificate program also has a drawback. It is open to question because it attempts to train an instructor with eight years of teaching experience in the same training program, in the same manner as a practitioner is trained who only possesses eight months experience in the practice. There are professional instructors of tango in Istanbul, who have been trained in Europe and Argentina with Argentinean *maestros* for many years with the conception and tradition of apprenticeship. These instructors and the way they perform their professions are open to evaluation in the same level / way with practitioners of little experience. In addition, they are also nominated to have the same right, capacities and level of proficiency of instructing. It is thus problematic to nominate professionals since it attempts to make both experiences and proficiency in instructing invisible. It also make invisible and the problem in maintaining an instructional standard with subjects of diverse ranges of experience

The birth of such a centralizing system has become open to discussion since 2007. In 2007, the Dance Federation decided to include Argentinean Tango in its establishment, which used to work independent of the federation since the time it started to be practiced in Istanbul. TolgaHan Çinkitaş was the president of the Federation starting from the year 2007. He and his team decided to nominate Metin Yazır, the founder of *BailaTango* School as the head of the Argentinean tango branch.

The federation announced that the current and the potential instructors are obliged to attend to a two week training program which included theoretical and practical education of Argentinean Tango. At the end of the program, the candidates were obliged to take a theoretical exam in addition to perform in a dance competition. The whole program took place between the 25th of August and 5th of September 2007. The Federation added that the cooperation of the practitioners would also give them the opportunities to act and to be represented in the international scene of tango.

Some tango instructors of Istanbul, particularly those of the first generation, some of whom do and do not earn their living through instructing and organizing tango events, opposed the idea of centralization of the education system of tango disregarding apprenticeship. They were the ones to learn the dance from European and Argentinean *maestros*. They were the first ones to practice and to teach the dance. They practiced, learned, and decided to instruct tango within an apprenticeship system. They are the first local elite of the tango practice and the community. They perceived this kind of training – exam system irrelevant for themselves because they believed in experience as well as apprenticeship in the practice. They also opposed the idea of having similar treatments with a practitioner of one-year-experience who has no experience of instructing. They also claimed to believe that tango practice cannot be trained and evaluated with objective criteria like the Standard Latin and Ballroom Dances since it is a cultural tradition and practice as well as a dance. It has different styles that have roots in the older and younger generations of Buenos Aires. Finally they believed that they could represent themselves internationally and they did not need any external and central authority that would give them the opportunity to be in an international scene of tango because they have already realized this with personal as well as school-wide initiatives. These instructors who opposed the whole system actually neither participated to the program in Antalya nor accepted the licence that had been distributed after the Antalya programme.

Other practitioners who planned to become instructors and organizers in the near future believed this a useful system. This kind of training – exam system was found in the 19th century with the French Revolution. The French Revolution had sharply signified for France and the world that careers were to be open to talent. The constitution of modern professions and the emergence of a pattern of professional

careers represented for the middle classes a novel possibility of gaining status through work and exam system (Larson 1977: 4-5). This possibility worked several hundred years later, with another set of actors-- the relatively new practitioners of tango as well. They participated in the program and received their licences. They believed that this kind of system standardized all the rules and regulations and everyone would have the chance to instruct and organize tango. They would have the possibility to know what to do and how to behave locally and internationally.

One group of educated¹³ instructors and practitioners, however, was opposing the idea of having a representative with a lower level of education and socio-economic status. They were against the idea of the presidency of Metin Yazir not only because he was a primary school graduate but also they believed that he did not have the appropriate morality/culture in the tango community to represent practitioners in Istanbul. A small group of intellectuals in the community believed that he could not and should not represent the Turkish community on the international scale at all. They believed that he neither had the educational nor the moral qualifications and background to be the ruling elite of the community. Mr. CB, Mr. MY, and Mr. RA, who are all experienced practitioners, questioned the morality and qualifications of Metin Yazir to represent Turkey in Europe and elsewhere.

In 2007, an announcement appeared in the tangolist. It said that, only for once, primary school graduates could become president and jury in the tango branch of the dance federation. Mr. MY asked why this is possible and how relevant this kind of decision is. Mr. RA believed that they wanted to provide advantage. Mr. C. B said that dance federation juries, presidents and instructors with primary school diploma should use their formal identities in the right way, in the right place and with the right kind of morality / attitude. He as a practitioner will be represented by these people so he wants them not to embarrass the Istanbul practitioners like himself. These three experienced practitioners with their higher socio-economic status and education spoke from an elitist position, with their comments referring to the founder of Baila Tango dance school who had a primary school education. They did not support his

¹³ Educated refers to university graduates, some of whom have graduate degrees, and some of whom are instructing in different universities.

attitudes and behaviors particularly on when involved in relationships with the practitioners of tango in and (particularly) out of Istanbul.

2. A System of Apprenticeship: Experience and Education in Practice in Combination with Work Experience

First generation tango instructors and organizers in Istanbul came to be professional instructors and organizers by involvement in a system of apprenticeship and education in tango in and out of Istanbul. This system started to function before tango came to be regularized and controlled by the Dance Federation of the state. The first generation instructors and organizers combined their talents, the know-how they acquired from their Argentinean and European instructors on how to transfer the tango information and on how to organize. Not only that but also they utilized their educational backgrounds and personal relations previously built in and outside of Istanbul, connected or disconnected to tango. They acquired their tango know-how from apprenticeship. They became professional instructors either because they were one of the pioneers of the tango community or they imported the format of instructing tango classes and making tango organizations from European and Argentinean instructors. Some became instructors, because they were talented, were expected to instruct the less talented and less experienced ones.

Beside all these qualifications, some were the first to be trained by the Argentinean or European tango experts in and out of Istanbul with a direct access to resources that produced first-hand information on tango practice. In a way, they were of the first generation to be the products of a system of apprenticeship that had its basic links to Argentinean tango instructors. The fact of having the first access to information, the relations established over the years in the global community; the experience and the knowledge to have the productive and the right kind of attitude and behaviour are all combined with each instructor's experiences in their relations with the Argentinean, American, and European instructors of tango who had been practicing and working in tango for similar or longer periods of time when compared to practice in the Turkish tango community. This kind of experience brought with it a system of apprenticeship. These instructors and organizers learned the tango know-how, regarding both the information and the format of organizing tango events, from

Gustavo Naveira, Esteban Moreno, Metin Yazır, and some other international and Argentinean tango elite. This act brought global connectivity, particularly to Europe, Russia, and Israel so the Turkish practitioners had primary access and recognition in the global network of tango. They started to become the urban elite of the Istanbul tango community. Some of them had face – to – face contact with the elder generation of tango information and tradition producers. They had close relations with the Argentinean *maestros* in their private lives and received their support to become tango instructors and organizers many years ago.

This part of the local tango elite opposed the idea of the distribution of licenses to everyone that participated in the Antalya training exam program. They proposed that instructing and organizing require know-how and experience in tango and its application of the traditional apprenticeship system.

Tangotürk proposes to receive that know-how from Metin Yazır who was previously teaching in Germany and USA. The school also invited various Argentinean couples to teach in Istanbul. They learned from them the general unwritten rules of making a tango event. MelinySelim visited Europe and Argentina many times, studied, worked and lived with European and Argentinean instructors. In addition, they received the support of their Argentinean and European *maestros* to teach and to organize tango events. They learned the practice from first-hand and had been invited by these maestros to live in Buenos Aires which meant that they received acceptance and the right to socialization by the global producers of tango. TangoIst and its founders received local recognition with their talents and good presentation of the dance.

With lengthy experience / education or by receiving license from the federation, tango community underwent and is continuing to undergo a process of professionalization. I observe that the community provides a significant sphere of socialization into possibilities of peer groups, couples, and therefore personal relationships. Nevertheless, I also observe that the professional and the nonprofessional conflict is intertwined and sometimes go hand in hand. I will present the nonprofessional dimension in the next section.

8.2.2 Between the professional and the nonprofessional

In the previous section I showed that tango became a profession which provides career opportunities. Nevertheless, the involvement in the practice has personal and nonprofessional dimensions such as the feeling of belonging to a group / community. Nonprofessional experiences occur in the practice. The coexistence of these two dimensions in some cases result in the conflict and destruction of one-to-one relationships based on friendship. In other cases, these personal relationships grow more motivating and they gain salience. Within this framework, in the Istanbul tango community, the professional and the personal, the commercial and the noncommercial go hand in hand or conflict.

My research participants narrated many personal experiences which referred to the relation between the professional and the personal, the commercial and the noncommercial. Mr. GD had been very good friends with his instructor Mr. AD. Mr. OK is another practitioner who shared all of his problems with his instructor and friend, Mr. AK. Both of these actors stopped their personal relationship with their instructors because of personal conflict. Similarly, Mr. BE had a close personal relationship with his instructor Mr. SY. They do not see each other after their quarrel. All these three relations consisted of two dimensions: the first is of a hierarchical kind that exists between a student and a teacher; the second one is of a nonhierarchical one between friends. When these two aspects overlapped and conflicted, confusion resulted. Once, Mr. BE, the tango student of Mr. SY, decided to work together with his instructor in order to organize a workshop with one of the Argentinean *maestro* couples together in Istanbul. Mr. SY was in charge of finding sponsors for the organization and registering the participants of the workshop. MBE was responsible to organize the place of the classes and register the participants of the workshop. In the process of organizing the event, the two aspects of their relation overlapped and conflicted, resulting in intolerance and lack of communication in the relationship. They stopped seeing each other sometime after the event at the end of 2006.

In contrast, there are cases when the professional goes hand in hand with the personal in tango. Mr. MŞ is the student of Mr. SY, which meant that they had the hierarchical aspect of a relationship. Nevertheless, they have also been friends. They

supported each other as friends in different events since the day they built a professional relationship. Similarly Mr. MŞ interacted with his instructor in such a way that he slightly displayed an awareness of the invisible hierarchical aspect of the relationship between himself and his instructor. The two aspects of their relationship went side by side and did not conflict with each other. Mr. SS and Mr. AA had a professional relationship, running and working in the same school. They started to work together in 1997, constructing a particular kind of division of labor in the school; they are still friends and professional partners in tango.

Istanbul Tango Ritual 2006 tango dance and music festival was the case that the professional and the personal went hand in hand. It was an informal organization which received a large number of participants both from Turkey, Europe, and the Middle East. It was not only professionally organized and had global Argentinean instructors to teach and perform, but also the organizers had had been friends with large number of people both in Turkey and in Europe. These personal / nonprofessional relationships resulted in the participation of large number of practitioners in the festival (around 800 participants). The organizers of Ritual 2006 had friends in Tel Aviv, London, Milan, Genova, Turin, Paris, Amsterdam, Nijmegen, Utrecht, Brussels, Madrid, Lisbon, Frankfurt, Colon, Moscow, and some other cities of Europe. The professional and the personal went hand in hand in the community. This relationship resulted in a successful organization in the community.

Full professionals and the leisure professionals

Tango is a space where professional meets leisure in Istanbul. Some tango schools / instructors / organizers of tango in Istanbul earn their lives totally with tango such as the founder of Baila Tango and TangoIst. Some other schools/instructors have their own professions and occupations such as TangoTürk, Tangog, and MelinySelim. They are occupied with tango professionally in their leisure-times. The combination of professionalism in tango with the fact of positioning it as a leisure-time job brings instability to some professional projects and sometimes limits the extent to which these projects can be realized. This decreases the competitiveness of the social actor who positions tango as a leisure-time job in the tango market.

If the second group of instructors is overloaded with their own work / professions, then they sometimes need to slow down with their involvement in tango. Then they go back to the same level of involvement when they find the time. Nevertheless, both of these types of schools work professionally and with Argentinean tango professionals. The global Argentinean professionals are full-time workers of tango who need and expect consistency when they work with these local schools / instructors / organizers. They expect to be invited by these local organizers on regular basis, so that they have regular and consistent works. For instance, Julio Balmaceda and Corina de la Rosa expect to be invited to instruct workshops or to teach in Istanbul Tango Ritual in Istanbul regularly every year. This Argentinean couple knows it will be invited by Tangotürk School every year. Similarly, if another Argentinean *maestro* couple wants to work with another local tango school / instructor / organizer in Istanbul, this couple also expects commitment from the local instructors / organizers to receive regular invitations to teach every year in Istanbul. Thus, dealing with the same local organizers is requisite. Melin and Selim, for example, wanted to invite Esteban Moreno and Claudia Codega to give a seminar in the year 2010. Esteban Moreno expected Melin and Selim to have a commitment of at least two or three years to consecutively organize this same seminar with them. It would be a question for Esteban if Melin and Selim did not show commitment for a few years consecutively. Therefore the project was cancelled for a while because Melin and Selim did not promise of five years work commitment.

If the local organizers / instructors have all of their earnings from tango, then both the local organizers and the Argentinean maestros are equally involved in the Argentinean tango market professionally and as a full-time job. When the local organizer's professional involvement with tango is not full-time, then the time that the organizers' main occupation take incur may sometimes demand the time that they could spare for tango. At this point, the professional and leisure-time meet and / or conflict. Istanbul Tango Festival is organized by *El Encuentro* Tango School. Its founders are a married couple, Mr and Mrs. A. She quit her job a long time ago and became a full-time tango professional. This couple brought up some young tango dancers, couples, some full-time tango professionals. They work in the professional team of the festival and the festival persists every year. This consistency became possible because part of the team is the full-time professional of the practice.

Overall, tango in Istanbul is organized in two different but still interrelated dimensions, both of them necessitating professionalization in the sphere. First one is that it is a local way of organizing tango in connection to the global tango scene: a new culture industry with its own channels of distribution, advertisement, network, and objects of desire in Istanbul integrated into the global scene. The second one is a local way of organizing tango within the city itself: the professionalization of Istanbul tango with apprenticeship and central federation. Within this local system, tango works as a space where professional coexists with nonprofessional. In particular cases, the coexistence results in the destruction of relationships; in others it results in the success of relationships and organizations.

The possibility of a modern full-time career organized by a central federation or a system of apprenticeship evolves the practice from its 19th century position; thereby bringing a new meaning to tango that makes it circulate among the 21st century modern individuals.

8.3 The Language in the Organization: The Global and the Locals in Power

The 21st century Argentinean tango is both a global and a local product. It is circulated by global forms which as locally reshaped and adapted to transfer the practice to the audience / practitioners in Istanbul. The contemporary language is one of the symbols of how global forms are locally adapted in Istanbul.

Coexistence of Two Symbolic Languages:

Tango in Istanbul is organized with particular language systems. This system combines a few languages in two levels which shows that tango is a global form used in local spaces. It also reveals in particular local and global identities as well as the diffusion and the global power relations in the world map of Argentinean Tango.

I participated in many tango classes instructed by various Argentinean instructors as well as Turkish instructors in different periods of my fieldwork. In these classes, I observed the coexistence of two levels of double languages in the way tango is instructed in Istanbul. Many forms have become global and these global forms are

used in local spaces. The language of tango has been produced locally by Argentines, reproduced globally and locally by Argentinean and European instructors. It is reglobalized by Argentinean instructors again. Then my question is to what extent and how do these two symbolic languages exist in the way Turkish local instructors teach tango in Istanbul? Are they localized, are they glocalized? If so, how?

To answer this question, I first observed how and what kind of language(s) the Argentinean maestros use, since the local instructors of Istanbul study with the Argentinean *maestros* and integrate in their own teaching system the elements they learn from these *maestros*. Therefore, first I would like to present my observations about these two symbolic languages that two couples of the global Argentinean *maestros* use.

Sebastian Arce and Mariana Montes is one couple of the global elite which travels to different cities in the world, including the NorthWest and SouthWest USA, Australia, and the Middle East, to instruct tango practitioners in the world. They use the two symbolic languages when they are instructing their classes. They taught in many different workshops in Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, which took place in different dates between 2006 and 2009. Some workshops were in Izmir on the 6-7-8th of April 2006; in Istanbul on the 26-27-28th of January 2009; as well as 2-3-4-5th July 2009 and in Ankara on 28th-29th of November 2009. I observed that they are speaking two different languages in two different levels. The first level consists of the languages that they speak during the class; the second, two symbolic languages that they use, which I term language culture.

I would like to note that with the term language, I am not only referring to a set of words, pronunciations, methods of combining the words which is understood within a group of people (Bergman 1995: 230). I am also referring to a style of speaking and communicating, developed by and in a particular social group / community / social class.

Then, at the first level, tango uses the *lingua franca* of the contemporary West and Western-oriented world, English, and its local language Spanish. English is the main language that the global Argentinean *maestros* speak to transfer the tango information to the practitioners. Their use of English symbolizes the diffusion of Argentinean Tango and the power relations within it. Sebastian and Mariana, as two Argentinean instructors whose mother tongue is Spanish, explain the movement of the body, combinations, and how they use the music in English unless the audience they are addressing does not only consist of locals. For instance, when they are teaching in France, they speak in French if the audience is not an international. If it is an international audience taking tango classes in France, then the instructors speak English and Spanish, and maybe French if they feel the need. This complexity symbolizes the map of power relations in Argentinean Tango. The language of Argentinean Tango is and its original producers speak Spanish or a dialect of Spanish (Castellano and lunfardo). Nevertheless the Argentinean instructors teach in European languages due to the dominant culture of Europe in different parts of the world or because the culture industry of Argentinean Tango is originated and dominated by European countries and US. Most of the practitioners speak in English and the Argentinean instructors, even those who do not have a proper English language education, accept this world map of power and learn the language informally, not that all practitioners learn Castellano (although there are those who learn the language). Still, this attempt is related with learning an exotic dance, language, and culture.

At the moments when the instructors are not addressing to the audience / participants of the workshop / classes, the teachers speak in Spanish amongst themselves, whether they are teaching in Turkey, France, England or Italy. In these moments, these instructors become the locals of Buenos Aires, beside their identities of global instructors.

Esteban and Claudia is another Argentinean couple instructing in different parts of the world. They use multiple languages. I was listening to them while they were teaching in Istanbul, the Armada Hotel in November 2009. They explained the class in English for the participants, an audience which consisted of Turkish, English, Russian, and Israeli participants. Nevertheless, the couple spoke Spanish among themselves. Then the moments they instruct classes in English are the symbolic

moments that show and reproduce the globality of tango through language. The moments when they talk among themselves in the class are the symbolic moments that show and reproduce the local identity of tango. The instructors become the locals of Buenos Aires.

At the second level, I observed that there are two language cultures among the considerable number of Argentinean maestros. The first language culture reflects the way the Argentinean instructors perceive the tango and transfer it to the audience. This language is the language of a social clique / professionals of tango and used to transfer the tango information in different parts of the world. It is possible to call this language formal language of the tango instructors. This professional language reflects the global dimension of the practice. The second language culture reflects the relationship between the man and the woman of the couple of a particular social class. It is possible to call this language the informal language of Argentinean professionals of tango. Then, at one level, they use a very scientific, non-genderbiased, systematic, descriptive language with which they explain causal relationships between the attitude and the use of the body and the connection of the leader and the follower when they are creating dance combinations. They find causal relationships and rationalize these relationships. Sebastian Arce, for example, explains the use of centrifugal force in the turning movements that a couple practices to practice a good *colgada* or a *giro*.

In contrast to such a professional language, there exists another language which is being spoken / used especially by male instructors, particularly Sebastian Arce, when they / he are / is speaking to their / his female dance partner(s), the female instructor(s), inbetween the explanations made for the students / participants of the class. This terminology of their daily life language mirrors an aspect of the local middle class culture of Buenos Aires. This language includes certain words such as *chica*¹⁴, *hombre*¹⁵; abbreviations of the first names of people such as Seb rather than Sebastian or Mari rather than Mariana with an impatient and quicker tone of speaking compared to the more moderate tone they use when teaching. The existence of such a secondary culture language may reflect not only possibly an impatient character but

¹⁴ A local way of saying beautiful girl, dame, doll

¹⁵ Guy, fellow

also the culture language of middle class people born in Buenos Aires and involved in the practice of Buenos Aires tango. This is a very local character of tango.

Then my question is, what kind of language(s) do the local instructors adapt / use when they are transferring tango information to their students / practitioners? How do they localize the locals and the globals of tango? To what extent and how do these two symbolic languages exist in the way Turkish local instructors teach tango in Istanbul? How do the universal and local Istanbul tango integrate with each other?

I became a participant observer in three local tango schools in Istanbul: Tangotürk, TangoIst and MelinySelim – my own classes. I observed how and what kind of languages they / we used to teach their / our students. I observed that they / we primarily speak Turkish to transfer the tango information; nevertheless they / we both borrow English and Spanish tango terminology to explain concepts to the whole class. Sema Sungar, an instructor of Tangotürk, explained that they want their students to know both the English and the Spanish terminology when they learn the tango because it is a part of a global context. Therefore, when they explain how to practice a sequence, they explain the vocabulary both in English and Spanish, but they instruct the class in Turkish in general. Similarly I observed that the main instructors of TangoIst use a combination of languages when they teach. They mainly speak in Turkish since it is their mother-tongue. Nevertheless, one long sentence may consist of English and Spanish words combined with major Turkish explanations. Aydin says: “*Sadece salida cruzada yapıyorsun. Alternative step çıkıyorsun ve kadın süslüyor*”. He continues: “*Bayanın soluna doğru forward’ına sacada atıyoruz*”. In a similar fashion, his partner Pelin says: “*Leader’in karşısında duruyorsun ve line boleo atıyorsun*”. At MelinySelim, we had a similar way of transmitting information. We explained the whole class in Turkish, using English and Spanish versions of the tango vocabulary and terminology. We explained *barridas* uttering the word *barrida*, but we teach the classes in Turkish as long as there are no foreign students in the class. Otherwise, the classes are in Turkish with English translation and with an additional Spanish terminology.

On a second level, there is a double culture language, a combination of formal and informal languages, among the local instructors of Istanbul; in my case, in the classes instructed by TangoTürk, TangoIst, and MelinySelim. We all use a more descriptive, systematic, scientific, non-genderbiased language, highlighting the causal relationships with justifications of these relationships, just like the way learned from Argentinean *maestros*. This is our formal language, or, to put it in a different way, this is one of the global aspects of the tango language introduced by the Argentinean global *maestros*. In addition, the local instructors also have an informal language that the instructing couple communicates among themselves just as Argentines do. They speak the language of middle and upper-middle class tone / style Turkish. If I take education and profession as the main signifiers of socio-economic class, then I understand the tone of the language accordingly. There are four main instructors in Tangotürk in Istanbul. Three have graduate degrees and one, an undergraduate degree. All of them occupied particular positions in professional life including marketing, advertisement, and general manager positions. Similarly, the instructors of MelinySelim have graduate and undergraduate degrees but still occupy director position and university professor positions in daily life. I conceptualize all of these instructors as upper-middle class residents of Istanbul. The informal language of TangoTürk and MelinySelim does not include particular style / tone of speaking such as “*hey oğlum, topaç gibi hareket etme, sen napyyorsun orada bakayım*” [“hey, do not move like a ball, what are you doing there ha?”]

In contrast, the main male instructor of TangoIst, Aydın, is a graduate of secondary school and the main female instructor of the same tango school, Pelin, has an undergraduate degree in journalism. In my last observation in their class, I realized that Aydın’s informal language differed than the rest of the instructors. His informal language consisted of particular wording such as “*Ya arkadaşım, başka bir şey gösterdim mi?*”, [“Hey, my friend, have I showed you anything else ha?”]; or [“*Daha süratli çek, çek*”]. “Quicker, pull it, pull it.” He shouted rather than taught with a loud voice. While he speaking with his partner Pelin, he said “*Ya şunlara line boleó ’yu anlat*”, [“Tell them about line boleó”] “rather than “*kızlara line boleó ’yu tekrar anlatır mısın?*” [“Can you explain the women about line boleó?”]

Then, I observed that the local instructors of Istanbul, in my case, Tangotürk, TangoIst and MelinySelim adapt the language culture of Argentinean *maestros* in their classes to a particular extent. On the one hand, they teach in their own language, but they also use the terminology produced globally: the tango terminology produced in English and Spanish. These instructors use formal and informal languages when they instruct and communicate in their classes, like the Argentinean *maestros* do. They have a more scientific and descriptive language, the formal language when they instruct in the class. Outside of class, they speak an informal language that reflects their socio-economic class, a variable strongly related with their educational background.

Overall, all these levels of languages symbolize how the global and the locals of Argentinean Tango combine in the way the practice is organized and transferred to its practitioners in Istanbul. These dynamics show that Argentinean tango practice of late 19th century acquired different social actors and meanings when compared to those of 19th century. It shows that the practice involves the dynamics of the global – local connections in Istanbul, whose social actors developed their ‘glocal’ ways of putting it into language and presenting it in general.

9. TANGO AND ITS CONTEMPORARY MEANINGS III: WHAT DOES TANGO DO FOR THE CONTEMPORARY INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL ACTOR

In this chapter, I focus on the role tango provides for educated individuals and social actors of contemporary urban Istanbul. This chapter includes two main topics and numerous subtopics. I first explain that tango is a resource provider for modern individuals, acting as a tool to satisfy their social and professional needs. Secondly, I explain that tango is a space for the self of the modern individual and his / her life politics, including self-reflection. It is the space where a modern individual reflects this dual self-understanding. It also offers modern individuals the possibilities of leisure time, catharsis, and the consumption of hybrid forms. One final benefit from tango is better communication skills—on and as well as off the dance floor. Existence in tango asks individuals to shift from using IQ to using EQ, and thus achieve more effective social interaction by acquiring better communication skills compared to past. With all these gifts, tango may thus enable a self-transformation / self-improvement in modern educated individuals in urban Istanbul.

9.1 Tango, a Resource Provider – Satisfaction of Social and Professional Needs

Tango provides satisfaction to its contemporary members, modern social actors, in terms of social and professional needs, possibilities of socialization and access to social and professional resources.

9.1.1 Satisfaction of the social needs and access to emotional resources

Apart from its broad capitalist and commercial meanings, tango practice in general and the dance in particular, provide a sphere of socialization in a leisure time that may exhibit weakened extended families and neighborhood communities as well as changes in belief movements such as growing or waning religious movements among educated modern individuals. Tango provides a space to search for potential mates/family/friends who struggle with modern individualism and its possible accompanying loneliness.

Late-modern Istanbul offers such a feeling of the fragmentation of human experience, due to the diversification of the physical and abstract contexts of interaction. Tango is one of such contexts of interaction. It is the symbol of modernity where its members define themselves by/in diversified/fragmented spheres of interaction beside familial integration and kinship interaction (Giddens 1991). Nevertheless, the practice of tango also provides a collective identity by creating a legitimate social space for socialization, possibilities of finding peer groups and friends as well as a mate for the sake of dealing with modern loneliness.

There is a considerable number of participants in the Istanbul tango community, who have loose ties to a nuclear family, who are divorced or never married, or married but do not have children yet. This description does not imply married couples with children do not practice tango. Tango and the tango community provide a medium of socialization, possibility of a peer group and a strategy of dealing with problems of private life for urban participants of tango.

One of my male informants, Mr. CB is 41 years old and working in a university. He has been experiencing financial problems for the last five years, since 2003. He was land rich but cash poor, a financial situation that affected his social life—he remained single with out a partner. His entire life apart from work has thus been constructed around tango; his main, nonprofessional socialization takes place in the tango community. He says, “Instead of going home all alone, I go to tango, chat with people, dance for a couple of hours. Then I can sleep. I forget about my financial problems. Should I consume alcohol instead?” (Mr. CB, 15.03.2007, Istanbul Technical University).

The contemporary practice of tango in Istanbul presents us a dilemma of unification and fragmentation of the self and context of interaction in Istanbul. Late-modern Istanbul presents us a feeling of the fragmentation of human experience due to the diversified contexts of interaction and long distance that one has to travel to physically socialize into a peer group. Tango is one of those contexts of interaction. It is the symbol of modernity where its members define themselves by/in diversified/fragmented spheres of interaction beside familial integration and kinship interaction (Giddens 1991). The practice of tango provides a legitimate social space

for socialization, a social context for finding a mate and/or creating a family, peer group and a symbolic family to alleviate modern loneliness both in private life and in work life.

It is possible to observe female and male participants of tango, meeting each other in the practice, marrying, and having children. Although such couples are few in number, they do exist and are known of in the community. Elhan and Pınar, Recep and Filiz, İlhan and Mine, Erhan and Pınar, Mehmet and Pelin, Yiğit and Diyez, Aydın and Pınar, Serhat and Vanessa are some of these couples. Many of them built their families after a short period following their marriages. In this sense, contemporary tango and its social environment, as well as its members differ in terms of the tradition, social context and possibilities from the practice's original social environment, the late 19th and early 20th century(s) of tango in Buenos Aires. The early tango of Buenos Aires symbolized a non-familial Argentinean society. Although the practice here would bring together male and female, it symbolically excluded the theme of building a family and having children. In contrast, the tango community in Istanbul does serve as a provider of emotional resources that may result with the establishment of families.

Living in an information society necessitates technology and a technical way of life and thus particular working conditions and life styles. There is an increased tendency for home offices in various professions such as lawyers, translators, academicians, and architects. The emails sent from the Yahoo service are one symbol of this tendency. Yahoo periodically sends emails that offer the possibilities of earning money by working at home¹⁶. Nevertheless, offices in the work environment not only provide a flow of information but also division of labor and social context for human interaction and social relations. Working in a home office brings with it lack of division of labor and human interaction; therefore, from the absence of face to face human interaction and the myriad relationships that naturally exist in an office environment. In this sense working in a home office does provide a highly accurate portrait of modern loneliness. Tango as practice is thus undertaken as a social space to deal with this high modern condition. Ms. A is a translator with a home-office. When

¹⁶ Work From Home Recruiter suggests that one can be hired and it is possible to make \$250 a day.

I asked her why she is into tango, she gave me many reasons. One dominant reason she presents is her problem of isolation. She indicates that she is working at home and alone, and therefore she feels herself very isolated. Tango gives her the possibility and space for social interaction. Mr. AA is another participant who also presents many reasons for his affiliation with tango, one of which is social interaction¹⁷. He defined tango community as a context where he can build and maintain social interaction. He said he preferred to continue to participate in tango rather than going to a coffee house for social interaction.

Moreover, the practice and community of Argentinean Tango in Istanbul provide a social space for possibilities of creating an extended family-like community, with which s/he can define a collective identity for the self. The self can thus to create an alternative to the identity that would have been provided by the predefined social roles, familial integration and kinship systems of the traditional order.

Mr. CB and Mr. AA are 40 to 45 and have been practicing tango for more than nine years. Neither is married nor has a girl friend; Mr. AA's parents live in Bodrum, a distance far from Istanbul, which means that he has no regular connection to a nuclear family or to a possibility of a nuclear family. They both choose to socialize in tango. Mr. AA, in his interview, claims that he looks for his soul - mate or future wife in the tango community and the tango context is a space for socialization with friends. If there were no tango in his life, then he would experience an emotional and social dissatisfaction in his life. He confessed that he would not only need to invent a new hobby to entertain himself but also need to find a new space for socialization. He adds that he tangoes not only to dance but also to meet new people. Mr. C B loves to have intellectual discussions in the tango community of Istanbul. He said, "instead of going home all alone and watch TV, I prefer to go to dance tango. I make friends and chat with them. I like to give advices to beginners and it satisfies me." Mr. GD, on the other hand, explains that he started to dance tango after he became divorced. He was invited by one of his friends whose wife had died two years prior to starting dancing. His friend was in depression with the death of his wife and Mr. GD was totally unhappy with his divorce. Both men started dancing. He defined tango as an anti-

¹⁷ In his own words: *Sosyal münasebet*

depressant. He thought of tango as a social context where people go who are severely hurt. He thought of tango as the business of filling in the empty sphere of one's life and as a way to cover the scars on one's soul.

Miss BÖ, a young woman of 34 at the time of this research lived alone and had no boy friend. Her family used to live in Ankara, which meant that she had no regular primary physical connection to nuclear family unless she traveled to the six or so hours to Ankara. She was working full-time in a heavy job; nevertheless she was happy that she could spare some time to her hobbies. She explained that she found some kind of tenderness in tango. She said that tango is an intimate practice where you interact with people. "You feel different things when you dance with different people. When I dance with Candan for instance, I feel like I embrace my brother. On the other hand with some partners such as Fevzi Bey I feel like I am dancing with my father. The dance and the tango environment give me tenderness, which I have been looking for."

The social environment of tango also presents a possibility of upward social mobility. 'Talented' practitioners have had the opportunity to become instructors, a benefit which enabled them to create their own community and possibility of emotional socialization beside the clear economic advantages. As s/he starts instructing tango dance classes, s/he becomes a leader, role model, and one of the centers of a network of relations. An instructor in the tango community is thought to bring security and peace to the community. S/he is not only accepted as an opinion-leader in relation to the practice but s/he is also consulted for the solutions of personal, familial, and other private life problems. In this sense, a sub-community and a large network of people grows around instructors. Mr. AK is the founder and the main instructor of the TangoIst tango school. He informs me that he got no sleep in listening listen to the Haluk's (a student) problems. Similarly, his previous student and recent assistant Onur shared his problems with him. Mr. AK was made to feel responsible to listen to and find solutions to the problems for many of his students.

With this possibility of upward social mobility and emotional socialization, talented practitioners look for their ways to become instructors or at least work as assistants of their instructors. Mr. BE is a talented practitioner who left his nuclear family in Adana at a young age. A further sign of his independence was his choice of marriage partner without the involvement of his parents. He liked to be visible and active in the community. He claims that he would correct the “immoral and unpleasant” attitudes and actions of the experienced organizers and elder generation instructors. Therefore, his attempts to negotiate among these organizers and instructors resulted in the shaping of his desire to make his own organizations and creating his own base of tango students to whom he would teach tango. Criticizing many instructors, he proposed to teach the tango in the best way possible with the lowest price that no one else could offer. He has now become an instructor and organizer. He claimed that his friends, his instructors, and his students are his family.

9.1.2 Satisfaction of the professional needs and access to professional resources

Anahi Viladrich, in her study on tango immigrants in New York City, directs our attention to the importance of the Manhattan tango world as a reservoir for social resources to satisfy their members’ social and health needs such as the provision of health information as well as contact for jobs and referrals. She claims that tango immigrants seek informal access to health care through the assistance of health practitioners belonging to their tango networks (tango brokers) (Viladrich 2005). Istanbul, as one of the big tango cities of the tango scene, has many tango practitioners. Although immigrants don’t comprise the base of Istanbul’s tango practitioners, tango is a space that provides satisfaction for professional needs, health care, and job contact. The members of the tango community consist of architects, doctors such as an audiologist, aesthetics and reconstructivist surgeon, dentist, PR manager, photographer, and carpet seller. Community members with different social and professional needs contact with other members, holding different positions of work for the satisfaction of their needs.

While I was interviewing Mr. AA, one of the instructors and consumers of tango, I asked him what kind of platform tango provided for him, what areas of his life tango completed. He told me about many of the functions of tango for his life that I had already heard of in other interviews until that point. Nevertheless, he added one simple dimension of tango, which I have heard of in daily talks but never realized its significance until I interviewed him. He said that tango provided him with opportunities for job contacts. He said that he could find the right employees and business contacts he had been looking for his work and different projects in his life. He hired Sami, one of the architects among the Istanbul tango practitioners because he needed reconstruction and insulation of his house in Tarabya; he had also hired one of his friends in tango, Mr. SÇ. I asked the reason why he had particularly hired Mr. SÇ because it is logical to work with an architect that known from tango rather than anyone else *outside*.

Mr. RA has been practicing tango for almost eight years. He is a dentist with his own office in Bağdat Street in Göztepe. At least one third of his patients are the tango practitioners. Some of the members of this community who were looking for a dentist turned to RA for their treatments. Mrs. AÇ, another experienced female tango practitioner, explains: “Why should I go to another dentist when I have a dentist friend belonging to the tango network? He is very good, why should I consult another dentist?”

Mr. SÇ had a deep cut in his hand a few years ago and needed hand surgery. He consulted a long term fellow tango practitioner Ms. SO, who was also a surgeon at Cerrahpaşa Hospital. Although she stopped practicing surgery three years ago, Mr. SÇ went to Cerrahpaşa and got his hand operated by SO. The owner of Aşşkafe in Kuruçeşme is a tango practitioner though not a frequent one. She was looking for an architect to renovate her cafe. She hired Mr. AD, another tango practitioner.

Mr. CT is a tango practitioner who lost his job sometime ago. Mr. AA is a general manager in a production company. He needed a market manager for his invention of a cleaning and disinfection system. Mr. CT's previous experience in marketing and need of a new job led him to work in Mr. AA's company. Mr. AA asks, "Why should I go and search for a marketing manager out of tango when there are people with the qualities I need among the tango practitioners?"

9.2 Tango, the Modern Self, a Symbol for Class Consumption

In this part I focus on how tango contributes to the self-understanding of the educated modern individual of tango in Istanbul. Although I define tango as a culture industry, it is also a leisure-time space. Tango is experienced and consumed by middle and upper-middle class urbanites in Istanbul. It not only provides a sphere for the self-reflection of the educated modern self but it also creates a taste community who may or may not use it as a tool for catharsis.

Globalization is the concept that defines the most contemporary form of world order since after the 1980s. It refers "both to compression of the world and to the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992: 8). The phenomenon has many social and cultural impacts on our lives. It brought with it more opportunities for the individuals to shape their own lives and desires to emancipate from social class, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliations as Giddens emphasizes (Giddens 2003: 658) as well as some other group and status related affiliations that could close off certain possibilities of self-realization. Within this framework, we move to a new form of individualism in which people actively construct their own identities, which used to be defined by familial affiliations (Giddens 2003). Even the small choices individuals make in their lives become sources of identity and self. This highly visible and socially constructed modern self in tango reflects the habits of middle and upper-middle socio-economic class. For such a modern self, leisure time and spaces of leisure activity provide the possibilities of self-expression and self-improvement.

9.2.1 The modern self and his / her life politics

9.2.1.1 Self-realization / Self-expression: A reflexive project

In the context of a post-traditional order, the “self-becomes a reflexive project” says Anthony Giddens (1991: 32). He underlines that transitions in individuals’ lives have always demanded psychic reorganization, something that was often ritualized in traditional cultures as rites of passage. In the settings of modernity, the altered self has to be explored and constructed as part of a reflexive process of connecting personal and social change (Giddens 1991: 33). This drive is closely related with the movements toward self-actualization/self-realization/self-expression and success, which are the main existential needs in a social environment. Leisure time spaces are the social environments of this self-expression.

Tango is a practice and a social space where the modern educated social actor produces social meanings for his / her identity through his / her body. Practicing tango and participation in the community involves different phases of a modern understanding of self among the middle and upper-middle class, a perception based on self-expression, a strong claim for eagerness, creativity, self-improvement, speed, obsession for productivity, search for success as well as the desire to distinguish the self. Kellner and Giddens indicate that modern parts of societies are more individualizing than are others (Giddens 1991; Kellner 2003). Harry C. Triandis claims that all societies and individuals construct themselves on a scale of individualism / self-creation and collectivism / integration. He adds that in all societies, the upper social classes are likely to be relatively more individualistic than are the lower classes. Marjoribank in 1991 found that upper social status parents pressed towards individualism more than did lower-social-status parents. A greater emphasis on obedience is found in the lower social classes in modern, complex societies whereas upper classes emphasize self-creativity and self-reliance (Triandis 1995: 62). The modern educated individual in urban Istanbul searches for the possibility of self-creation and distinction as well as a possibility of integration into a larger social group to which s/he feels the need to belong. Tango is the space of this conflicting experience. It is the arena for self-realization, the expression of creativity, capacities of production, and uniqueness within a group.

The community presents us with a scene, where a considerable number of first generation tango practitioners in Istanbul, have just started to dance tango for pleasure / leisure. For some, the practice became a serious leisure activity; for others, it a full-time job. Many, furthermore, attempted to create their own school or organization, with their own students and concept of dance, as well as teaching methods with the professional goal to develop an organization. Many first generation contemporary instructors / organizers did not merge ideas and if their cooperation on shared projects was very little, if at all. One such example would be the unnecessary added expenses involved when organizers invited an Argentinean *maestro* to teach in Istanbul so as to draw in more participants from the community.

The organizers and the instructors of the community search for possible ways to be creative and unique in their organizations whilst dealing with the anxiety of differentiating themselves from pre-existing groups. Ways in which this was achieved was inviting guitarists, conducting raffle drawings, organizing milongas in enthusiastic restaurants or hotels, and announcing the organizations in the international arena. The successes of these organizations can be stated as such: “Tonight there are 100 participants in my milonga. We have collected a much bigger crowd than X’s milonga” (Mr. S. S., May 7, 2007, Hotel Armada). This speaker does not intend to claim any sort of capitalistic success but instead it seeks to deflect the anxiety experienced throughout this process and the relief that follows when a venue is successful. The desires to self-create and form a distinct character against the ‘other’ are strong emotions, however, and can be displayed in acts of competitiveness, which are continuously felt by practitioners / organizers / instructors.

Organizers, instructors and advanced / experienced practitioners then search for different ways to distinguish themselves from the “others.” They construct specific “others” to whom they then refer when presenting themselves as recognized, competitive, unique, and self-creating social actors. The basic idea is formulated around being the best, better known as, “the one who cannot be left behind.”

Mr. SS, the founder of TangoTürk, constructs himself and his competitive uniqueness in tango in contrast to some “others” that he refers to and creates. He allocates this meaning to the organizer of the tango school *El Encuentro* as well as the

organizers and instructors who make small-scale and local organizations. He and the organizer of *El Encuentro*, Mr. AA as the “other”, used to belong to one tango school and organization. Mr. AA separated from the school and founded his own school with his wife and his partners. Mr. SS defines Mr. AA as someone who considers tango and related projects as retirement activities. However, Mr. SS claims that he himself does not take tango as such but works to create tango projects that have the upmost quality and international qualifications.

During my interview with Mr. SS, I inquired as to what tango meant to him. He said that for him, tango had lost its meaning of pleasure and leisure time activity a long time ago and turned into a sphere of professional responsibilities and torture. In response, I asked him why he did not quit dealing with tango if it is such a torture for him. He says that he wanted to have a hobby to share with his wife in the beginning, but now this hobby evolved into a sphere where productive people produce and compete for what they produce. “In this sense tango has become an area where I feel that I realize myself and my relations and feel satisfied with the results of the big organizations that I make. I feel great satisfaction when I am able to distinguish my organizations and my *milonga* from other organizers’ events”. He adds that tango is a platform for self-creativity and emancipation to him.

As the interview progressed, his presentation of himself as someone who does not want to be ordinary became even more accentuated. He claimed that he is organizing the most high-quality *milonga* of the city. Not only that, but he also asserted that it was he who had created the so called “the most widely-recognized Turkish *milonga*” in the international tango scene.

Mr. İKÖ is another character of the Istanbul tango community. He is a tango instructor and a practitioner. During my interviews with him, he defined his own “others.” He had his own way to distinguish himself from the “others.” He did so not only through the talent and capacities he can present while performing his practice, but also through his age—which was more youthful than those of his “other” practitioners and rivals. He defines elder tango performers, instructors and practitioners who started the practice the same time with him as the “other.”

He told his story of tango in relation to these “others” during the interviews. Mr. İKÖ’s birth date of 1978 makes him the youngest instructor of the first generation tango practitioners and instructors. Right at this point in the interview, he further distinguishes himself from the other first generation practitioners and instructors by giving the message that although he was the youngest practitioner and yet not an instructor, he was much more talented than were the instructors of the period. He said that he only participated in the classes of Mr. AD just to see what was being taught around. Mr. AD, though an instructor, had just begun to practice a *sacada* from both left and right sides. Mr. AK was only able to do it from one side, whereas Mr. KİÖ himself had managed to practice it from both sides a very long time ago, even much earlier than the attempts of these instructors and talented practitioners. Moreover, he continued, he could master it at once very quickly, without the need to re-try it.

Mr. İKÖ perceived his young age as another distinguishing property. He presented this belief through the words of his girlfriend at that time. He said “One day my girlfriend told me that I was the youngest tango instructor in Istanbul and when I became the age of the other instructors, I would have been practicing and instructing tango for 30 years.” He emphasized that although he was very young he could manage to practice and teach better than his elders and in a much earlier period of his life when compared to that of his rivals.

In one conversation with him I asked him if it is difficult to earn his life with tango since it is such a volatile market. He told me about his young age and talent, saying, “Thank God tango has never abandoned me in the middle of my way to earn money. I earn my life from tango and I earn very good.”

Mr. DA is one of the consumers / practitioners, who does not attempt to make regular organizations but generally plays the role of the experienced consumer in the community. He presents himself in contrast to particular “others” he constructs and refers to in the tango community:

those practitioners who are neither visible nor active; therefore they neither travel nor search to learn more;

the instructors and organizers whom he claims monopolize the information they have on tango and the relations with the Argentinean *maestros del tango*; those active tango travelers who do not share their international experiences with those who have less information on the topic.

Then he has his way of expressing / creating himself in contrast to these created "other's". He is anxious about having the correct expression of his identity. During the interview, he emphasized his desire to be a visible actor. He said, "I do not like to be a passive, ordinary and invisible personality in the contexts that I socialize. Therefore here I try to improve my dance, play the role of informing the Turkish tango community about the tango events in the world" (March, 20, 2007, Istanbul Psychodrama Institute). Then he presents a particular strategy of self-realization. He emails the Turkish tango lists, informing all the members of the lists about each international tango festival organized in the world with the dates, the city, and the website. He thus gives the message that of his active integration into the global scene and possession of all the information about the events, festivals, and workshops around the world. Once he explained me that he travels around the globe to know more about the dance and the global community. Therefore, he feels the responsibility to inform the non-travelling practitioners regardless of whether they need it or not.

Success is a very strong theme among the modern social actors. Overtly or covertly expressed, many social actors of tango seek success in the community. Mr. TY narrated a story of success about himself during my interviews with him. He was anxious to present the best of his identity: that of the successful and bright man. He said that his father died when he was very young; therefore he started his education in military school. However he was neither interested in being a part of the military school nor in the future it would bring. A musical became a turning point in his life in the military school. He said that he was so successful in the play that the American manager of the school was about to adopt him as his son.

He kept on explaining that he attended to the conservatory examination of the opera department and he was first in the exam. He said he knew that he would succeed because he was amazed by the opera. He was so successful in the conservatory that one of the most famous trainers in the area wanted to be his teacher. He kept on performing, receiving appreciation and applause of the audience. One day he became aware of the flexibility of his body; therefore, he decided to get involved in dancing. He committed to dance ballet at the age of 20. A Russian instructor accepted him to her class. The class was meant to be for 12 year old children; nevertheless, Mr. TY managed to study with these children and was as flexible as they were. He also described meeting a German instructor of singing as an art in a festival. He was so very appreciative of Mr. TY that he moved to Germany to study with him. After a year, he returned to Istanbul. As he continued with his education in the conservatory, he became a newscaster on Istanbul FM. Later on he moved to study of musicals and finished his masters in opera.

He continued on this theme of his life as a success story when talking about his experiences in tango. He said that he met Metin Yazir when he first came to Istanbul with the orchestra Bandoneon. Metin Yazir wanted to work with him. After a while, he started to teach in many schools, such as Istanbul Technical University, Mimar Sinan University, and Academy Istanbul. He visited Eskisehir to instruct workshops. Meanwhile he was working on the HBB TV channel. He kept on his story around the theme that he was a highly demanded character.

Claims of intellectualism and self-improvement for the sake of self-realization are another aspect of educated upper-middle class social actors in the Istanbul tango community. During my participant observations and interviews, I came across three social actors who have the strongest claims of intellectualism and self-improvement. One of them is Mr. AA, the male founder of a tango school. The other one is Ms. NH, a female instructor of another tango school and the last one is Mr. DA, a frequent traveler of the Istanbul tango community. Each had his or her own ways of making claims to intellectualism and self-improvement.

Mr. AA is specialized in information technologies. He prepared a non-academic study on the history of tango. He titled it an encyclopedia and for four weeks he claimed to publish one fascicle once a week. Each fascicle consisted of around 10 pages, making 40 pages overall with all the fascicles, printed on half of the A4 paper for each page. He announced each week's study as a fascicle which is a definition used for the collection of information on particular topic such as health, medicine, social sciences with around 400 – 1000 pages. His is a very serious claim to prove his intellectualism in tango. He used his capacities to gather information and present a product to realize himself as a distinct entity of the community.

The female claim for great self-improvement, Ms. NH, is specialized in business administration. She broke up with her boyfriend whom she wished to marry. Right after a short period of depression, she got interested in self-improvement, a response characteristic of the late 20th century and 21st century as a tendency among upper-middle class members of Western or Westernized urban contexts to concentrate on a quality of life, self and self-improvement. The individuals of these contexts, who have crises in their lives as an interruption of their lives (can be family and/or work life or in personal relations with peers and mate) tend to look inward and care for the self. With the introduction of coaching systems in life, career, and institutions, there has been a visible possibility to achieve improvement and higher levels of motivation in personal and work life¹⁸. Ms. NH is a representative of this trend. She participated in courses on self-improvement with which she aimed to improve her life and way of being. Within this framework, she wrote stanzas on tango and life between the years 2007 and 2008. At the end of June 2009 she announced in the tango lists that she collected these stanzas and made a book on tango and life, which is titled *Tango ve Hayat Üzerine Bilimum Zerzevat*.

The last individual, Mr. DA is a psychologist interested in dance and music. He regularly critiques Argentinean instructors and different tango festivals in Europe. With similar regularity, he presents his opinions, positive and negative critiques on the tango lists. Three emails he wrote, one after the other in May 2009 amongst many

¹⁸ Mare Fidelis is a coaching company established in Levent. It gives education on Personal Coaching, Career Coaching and Institutional Coaching. www.kendinigelistir.com is a frequently visited website on self-improvement and coaching.

others, summarize his claims to intellectualism in tango. He wrote about Sebastian Arce and how he presented the history of tango in relation to his experiences. First Mr. DA criticized the tango instructors of Istanbul for not participating in Arce's first workshop in Istanbul. Mr. DA said that since these instructors did not take Arce's classes, they would not be able to teach the information to their own tango students he had brought to Istanbul. Therefore, he said that the least he can do is write about the information that Sebastian Arce, one of the most famous Argentinean tango instructors, presented so that he as an experienced practitioner would give the information that the instructors presumably do not / would not give to their students. After this introduction he wrote about the anecdotes of Sebastian regarding three main points: traditional tango; the development of *Tango Nuevo* and his incorporation with this style, and lastly, the understanding of aesthetic beauty in tango and the role of the woman. Mr. DA's role as expert culminated in the end of his third mail about tango dance and self when he added his own perspective and recommendations, playing the role of the intellectual and the advisor of tango on this topic of tango and self.

9.2.1.2 The powerful self and the existential needs in the community: What do the modern individuals / social actors want?

Zygmunt Bauman defines late-modernity / post modernity as a state of mind which aims to wide open to its own potential (Bauman 1992: VIII). In other words, in modern settings, self – construction is realized on the basic dichotomy of the desire to emancipate a self from traditional constraints, and the need to exist as a coherent self in a finite life span.

The dichotomy of emancipation from the group's restrictions accompanied by the desire to have the cozy feeling of integrating into a social group is philosophically and actually experienced in people's communal relations constructed in the tango community in Istanbul. This duality is particularly salient when its members compete openly for the realization of their own potentials. Giving up community means missing out on security; gaining community means losing freedom and happiness. Still, human beings need both (Bauman 2001: 1-6).

Tango is a modern community that has the possibility to satisfy these existential needs of modern individuals. It is full of modern social actors who do seek emancipation and freedom to follow their own desires yet maintain an integrated role of the community. Tango is a space that shifts between competitive productivity/self-assertion/searchers of emancipation on the one hand an intimate, integrated community on the other. Although the members of the community search for integration into and the warm feeling of the community, they come up with self-assertions / desires for emancipation and creativity at the same time. They seek to actualize themselves with attempts to establish their own schools and classes, with the pressures they make to become partners to projects, with their attempts to organize their own *milongas* by disconnecting themselves from the instructors and schools that they used to attend.

What kind of emancipation and self-creation are we talking about in the Istanbul tango community? It consists of different groups. One way to classify these groups is to group them as “the more experienced” group versus “the less experienced” one and “the ones who had more number of relations / network” versus “the ones who had less number of relations / network”. Experience and existence in the community as well as the quality and the quantity of the relations established within the community are of the basic resources to access.

Depending on the quality of the access that individuals have, they have claims for emancipation. Mr. BE is a social actor who wanted to establish his own school in the community. He had two and a half years of experience when I was in the field. He is one of the social actors of the community to have claims for emancipation. He believes that his possibilities to progress and realize himself as well as his desires were limited by those with more years of experience since they did not give him the space for the satisfaction of his desires, possibility of self-actualization, and progress. In other words, he believes that the possibilities of happiness were restricted for him. He perceived that the more experienced ones’ participation in the community before his was just coincidence. He wanted to have access to the global network of relations between the global practitioners. He desired to be accepted as a significant social actor in the community as well as an instructor. He was concerned with competing with first generation social actors with more years of experience in the practice who

later on became instructors and organizers with an access to the global communities. He wanted to emancipate himself from the constraints of the limited experience he had in the community. He had conflicts with his own local instructors therefore he was not welcome to their classes after two years. Once, his instructors organized a workshop inviting a Dutch couple to teach their own students. They did not announce the workshop publicly in the tangolists, for example. Within this framework Mr. BE was allowed neither to have an access to the Dutch instructors as people nor to participate in their workshop classes as a student. In response, Mr. B. E announced in the community that inequality existed there. He claimed that he and some of the community members were limited to have an access to this source of information. He added that the information produced in the workshop was monopolized by his local instructors and their own students. In other words, the community members who were unable to participate to the workshop classes were limited for possibilities of information resources. Therefore they should be emancipated from their constraints to participate in the workshop and improve themselves.

In addition, he wanted to socialize and work as a partner in the projects and organizations established by first generation instructors and organizers. Nevertheless, he was not welcome. He wanted to be one of the partners of Istanbul Tango Ritual, organized by two tango schools of the first generation. Mr. BE was talented and in a continuous search for self-assertion. Nevertheless, he was not very welcome by the partners of the organization. As a response, he wrote a public email to TangoTürk list saying that he was neither welcome to realize himself nor to increase his status in the community. He wrote, “What do you want from me? Do you know that there are people who appreciate me as well? And you lose all your friends?”

Mr. GD is currently organizing a *milonga* on Thursday nights. He used to be a student of a tango school run by Mr. AD. He had been Mr. GD’s instructor. He stopped studying with this instructor and quit visiting his *milonga*. GD disconnected himself from his previous school. After a while, he started his own *milonga*. He said that he had better organizational ideas where he could put his belief, vision, and character in his own school.

Tangotürk used to be the part of *Baila* Tango School; a large number of people, however, separated from Baila Tango and created Tangotürk with their own classes and *milongas*. Similarly, the founders of *El Encuentro* were part of TangoTürk. They separated themselves from Tangotürk and created their own school, classes, *milongas* and practice sessions.

Each wanted to emancipate from particular boundaries or traditional methods of doing an activity within the community. The reasons were manifold but the results were the same. Each separated from the previous organization and created himself / herself / themselves as a distinct organism.

What are these social actors looking for? When I interviewed some of the first generation practitioners / instructors / organizers, they all talked about the recent situation of tango community. Although Mr. SS, Mr. AA., Mr. SY., Mr. AK, Mrs. AÇ all said that everyone wanted to be free to create their own small world, nevertheless the first generation practitioners / instructors / organizers are all fragmented. The modern desire for self-realization went hand in hand with the modern fact of fragmentation within the community. Mr. SS, Mr. AA and Mr. SY all spoke about a common dream with a reference to golden age. These individuals all had their own establishments and names / brands in tango but longed for a golden age, the period when everyone was physically and spiritually integrated, practicing and dancing together in the same physical places, classes, and *milongas*. Particularly the first generation members of the community emancipated and still emancipate themselves for self-creation and investments in the community, but many of them lost and continued to look for the feeling of the warm, close community.

Overall fragmentation became one of the main definitions of the nature of personal relation within the community in Istanbul for the last few years. The late modern state of mind seeking emancipation and creation has the result of fragmentation in the tango community. What does the modern social actor want? Similar to what Bauman observed, the modern human individual needs both, the integration and security of the community and the freedom of being himself / herself.

9.2.1.3 A modern shift towards the search and reflection of emotional intelligence, better communication skills and self-improvement

In 1990, John Mayer and Peter Salovey, two university professors of psychology, wrote about emotional intelligence for the first time (Goleman 2007: 7). While IQ used to be the standard of improvement and perfection until the 1990s, social scientists, academicians, educators, and programmed creators started to talk about a new understanding of intelligence, EQ. After a while, the concept and the term EQ started to appear in different spheres of life such as in cartoons of Dilbert and Pinhead Zippy, boxes of toys that claim to reinforce the EQ of children, in various education programs of children in the US and elsewhere. Many companies in the world such as Johnson & Johnson have even started to care about emotional intelligence in their employees, in the decisions they make about recruitment and promotion (Goleman 2007: 11). Emotional intelligence is one part and version of intelligence not necessarily related to IQ.

A considerable shift started to appear from the emphasis on IQ to EQ at the end of the 20th century and in the beginning of 21st century. This change is particularly visible among upper-middle class professionals of the urban cities of the world. Companies started to buy education programs from companies, which sell consultancy, and education programs including EQ. Those universities with centers for continuing education create packages of education programs including topics such as E.Q and Success at Work and Life (Boğaziçi University SEM, Yeditepe University SEM). Many employers, employees, and chasers of self-improvement who seek more success in their lives participate in education programs including teaching on how to use EQ. This trend / shift has reflected itself in the conception and the education of the middle and upper-middle class consumers / practitioners of Argentinean Tango in Istanbul.

Many of the tango practitioners in Istanbul, who would like to improve in tango, who seek self-improvement, social and professional success in the community, talk about one very particular topic: to understand the “other” and find the best possible way to communicate with him / her. Mr. DA emphasized his perspective many times in his interview. He defines tango as a tool for self-improvement and a space where

one attempts to understand the other. He describes that tango as a tool for him to improve his cognitive and kinesthetic intelligence. With the attempt to understand the other and to have the patience to understand the role of the other, he can lead and communicate better not only with the followers but also with everyone that he wants to keep a relationship.

Mr. AA is also aware of how emotional intelligence helps him develop his communication skills as well as leading skills. He claims that tango teaches the person to empathize and understand the other.

Mrs. BÖ adds that she always wanted to understand how a leader felt in the communication of the tango dance. She says that she tried to empathize in his position so that she herself can be both a better practitioner in tango and a better practitioner in life. Overall, Mr. DA, Mrs. BÖ, and Mr. AA all look for possibilities of self-improvement not only in the practice of dance but also in life; the tango practice serves as an instrument for them.

9.2.2 A Leisure time consumption, catharsis, habitus and taste

Tango provides the sphere of consumption and leisure time activity for the modern middle and upper-middle class man and woman. This practice is the choice and the taste of the modern upper-middle and middle class urban individuals who reproduce their class belongings and reflect their class distinction with their dispositions, habitus that shape their conceptions of good and bad, relevant and irrelevant as well as their choices of leisure activities, taste and judgments of aesthetics and understanding of use of body. These practitioners have their economic, cultural and social capitals of various but somewhat similar degrees which result in their choices of leisure activities, tastes and conception of the use of body as suitable for themselves when compared to those of other class fractions with other dispositions and capitals.

Mr. AA has been practicing tango since 1997. I posed the question what would happen if I removed tango out of his life. His answer was that he would not be able to satisfy his needs in leisure time and would have to look for another activity for a

replacement that he believed to be suitable for his taste and class to spend his leisure time. He would have to search for other possibilities of consumption and maybe still would not be satisfied. He adds that tango is a sphere of catharsis for him in his free time. He can be creative and relax simultaneously. He sometimes, for example, can find answers to the questions on his mind about his work. He confides that he sometimes goes to a *milonga* to find the right kind of person for his work. This action offers a solution in his business life and consequent relaxation for him.

Mr. SG is one of the participants of tango with whom I had the chance to talk when I had just started my participant observation. He was divorced with a daughter. He told me his story of tango and how he became a regular participant. He said he realized that he was spending his life commuting between his work and home. He decided that there had to be something in his life beside his work and home which would be suitable for his social status and class belonging. Therefore he began to practice tango. He said that every time he participated to a tango event he felt calmer. Right at the moment of his practice, he could forget all about his problems at work, in stock exchange, in the family, and other spheres of his life.

Mrs. FE is around fifty and divorced. She has a son. She had to quit her job because the company she was working for closed. When I asked her what attending tango meant for her, she explained that first of all she is a mother, but she needed to have a life beside her family one. After she quit her job, she started to have free time. She used to take ballet classes when she was young so she loved dancing. Now she was dancing tango because she loved it and it was very suitable for her social status and age. She said that she forgot about everything when she was dancing unless there were unpleasant incidences in her relationship with her instructors and friends.

Mrs. IE is around her fifty, an architect. She is divorced and she has three daughters. She had her education at Yale University and her daughters are students of American secondary schools and universities in the US. She is an upper-middle class lady, both financially and in terms of educational status. She liked to be physically active in her leisure time. She was sporty and so learning to practice the tango provided her the possibility of using her leisure time by being physically active in a

structured but elegant way. Tango provided this possibility for her to also her intelligence and memory while being physically active.

Mr. CB is working as an associate professor in Istanbul Technical University. He has been dancing tango for the last 10 years. Tango has taken up all of his leisure-time in times of happiness, celebration, depression, and economic crisis. He said that he'd better go and dance tango rather than consume alcohol or go to a coffee house¹⁹.

All of these practitioners, like other urban tango practitioners, have particular dispositions, which come from and reproduce their habitus and modern class distinction. They choose to spend their leisure times by disciplining their bodies. Göle, in her text *Modern Mahrem*, writes about how the understanding of aesthetics and body changed with modernization process in Istanbul. A western and modern kind of understanding of body and aesthetics appeared in contrast to an eastern kind of conception (Göle 2008: 93). The eastern perspective of beautiful body and aesthetics was associated with a round shape, slow movements and long hair. Eastern conception of round body in a lazy sitting position was replaced by thin and energetic body with a corset. The modern body is associated with a straight posture with a thin waist (Göle 2008: 93; Şeni 1990: 48, 57).

Going to a coffee house or getting drunk is associated with this nonmodern eastern conception of being and shaping of body which is now being associated with orient and lower classes. This attitude degrades the body and therefore is rejected as a choice of entertaining and relaxing. These modern practitioners choose to use and discipline their bodies in the strong upright positions that tango, an educated, western use of body requires, compared to those who have the disposition to conceptualize their bodies horizontally and lazily. Spending leisure-time in a coffeehouse sitting, letting the body become low and spreading, wide and shallow rather than disciplining it in upright positions comes from and reproduces a different kind of habitus and class belonging than those of urban middle and upper-middle class actors. I observed that a considerable number of the social actors that I interviewed practice either yoga or skiing, or both together, with tango. This tendency reproduces the class distinction of

¹⁹ *Kahvehane*

the modern middle and upper-middle class regarding the way in which they conceptualize and choose to use their bodies in leisure-time. They distinguish themselves by their taste and choice of practice regarding their bodies and leisure-time. They have the conception and desire to be thin, fit, energetic and physically active by using their intelligence and creativity, combined with discipline. This conception is the choice and taste of urban middle and upper-middle class individuals yet one of distaste of other social classes possessing other social, cultural and economic capitals.

In short, tango provides a possibility of catharsis, physical activity with which they can have self-satisfaction in their leisure times. Their choices of and taste on this cultural practice, the way they use and shape their bodies is a way to reproduce their modern class distinction.

Presentation and consumption of a hybrid form: taste of middle and upper-middle class

Walker Art Center in Minneapolis defines a hybrid as something of mixed origin or composition that adds variety or complexity in a system. A hybrid can exist in different spheres of life and in different forms such as in science, in language, art and in various areas for consumption. A hybrid in language is a word that derives from different languages. In art forms, hybrid could mean the blurring of traditionally distinct boundaries between artistic media such as painting, sculpture, film, performance, architecture and dance (<http://schools.walkerart.org>). There can be crossbreeding, art made with other disciplines. David Graver, writing on dramatic realism, writes about the hybrid forms that dramatic realism takes on the stage. Rather than exercising a monolithic form of the American theater, dramatic realism mixes with other ideological and performative interests (Graver 1999: 714). Similarly Ursula Frohne in her article about contemporary museums explains that the contemporary museum has changed its function from domain of artwork to a complex organism where art and everyday collide and conflate into new hybrid forms of art practice (Frohne 1999).

Products that consist of monolithic forms had their hybrid versions next to them. Many hybrid products are produced for those who choose to consume it. An air-freshener with a security system presents two combined functions in one product. Similarly, a new hybrid product combines the functions of washing machine with toilet. A mirror with a radio facility is another hybrid product presented by the Interaction Design in <http://www.interactiondesignblog.com>. Pump'n jump is a new fitness product, which presents a combination of a mini-trampoline with poles attached to the front so that users can exercise (www.faqs.org).

Tango presents a hybrid product for the taste of its consumers next to its monolithic forms, just as experienced in other areas of art and production. As a historically alienated product of lower-class Argentines, tango gained a dimension of stage performance by its export to Europe. The earlier forms of Argentinean tango, a period of late 19th and the first decades of 20th century, was created by the elder generation of Rio de la Plata who taught the tango to the younger generation. This period is the period of a monolithic form of tango when the information of tango was neither systematized nor combined with any information in other areas of art and dance. Nevertheless, the late 20th century and early 21st century present a different situation for its taste community. Contemporary tango practice has become a hybrid form with its additional dimensions from other art forms and daily life. Tango organizers and instructors prepare and present hybrid forms of practice and consumption possibilities for the taste / pleasure of upper-middle and middle-class consumers and fans of the practice in two senses.

First, tango started to be presented for the pleasure and the gaze of the audience ever since it was exported to Paris. This meant that tango became a stage dance. The staging of tango meant to bring some information on presentation of an act on the stage to the gaze of a taste community, which required more elements than did the social dancing of a couple. Starting from this time, tango dance and practice started to become a hybrid product. It imported knowledge from acting and theater as well as other dance forms. The last decade of 20th century, but particularly the early years of 21st century, presented a very particular contemporary form of presenting tango, and therefore, the possibilities of consumption of tango by its taste community. Contemporary way of staging tango consists of many different elements from distinct

artistic media such as ballet, modern dance, contact improvisation dance, contemporary dance, theater and acting in addition to the traditional tango dance elements that come from the elder generation of practitioners and instructors. Damien Rosenthal and Celine Ruiz are one of the leading social actors, instructors and performers of tango. They present on their stage a hybrid product in which the boundaries of tango, modern dance, and acting blur. Pablo Inza and Eugenia Parilla is another couple teaching and performing in different parts of the world. Eugenia combines ballet, contemporary dancing, and tango in her presentations on the stage. Sebastian Arce and Mariana Montes combined the understanding of contact improvisation with tango in their performances until the year 2009. Esteban and Claudia are among the couples that present tango in its contemporary hybrid forms.

Second, tango is a hybrid form to experience for its consumers in the sense that it combines the teaching, learning, and practicing of the dance with other aspects of daily life. It combines different types of vacationing with the practice: skiing and tangoing is a good combination in winter while summer holidays on the beach combined with tango workshops is another possibility for consumers of tango. Skiing and tango practice is combined in wintertime in Switzerland and Turkey. Cruises, tango beach holidays in Greece by TangoCamp, in Sardinia, Sitges (Barcelona), Çeşme and Antalya present a hybrid form of consuming tango. TangoCamp in Greece presents a combination of beach and sea with tango workshops and performances. Rosso Tango Art Festival in Sardinia presents a combination of tango dance, music, and cinema. Similarly *El Tangon* in Antalya presents a combination of beach relaxation with tango practice.

Istanbul is the city where tango is presented to and experienced by its taste community in this hybrid form. Gustavo Naveira and Giselle Anne was one of the first Argentinean maestros who presented this form in winter 2001. Mauricio Castro and Carla Marano presented the tango combined with information from other art and dance forms the 2003 summer. Celine and Damian presented this kind of tango in Istanbul Tango Festival particularly in the years 2007, 2008, and 2009. Sebastian and Mariana taught and performed in Istanbul in different periods of 2007, 2008, and 2009. The latest events took place in January 2009 and in July 2009. Esteban and

Claudia performed this contemporary form in November 2009 in Istanbul Tango Ritual.

In short, tango became a hybrid product for its taste community consisting of the middle and upper-middle class of urban Istanbul as an integrated part of the global development of tango.

Overall, tango is a practice that serves to satisfy and reflect particular needs and conflicts of the educated modern individuals of Istanbul. This capacity of the practice enables it to exist, circulate, transform and be practiced by the 21st century individual. Contemporary tango is not only a source provider that creates a social space for the modern individual to satisfy his / her needs of access to professional and socio-emotional sources but the practice also provides a social space for the self-understanding of the modern educated individual. Tango is the space for self-reflection of the contemporary middle and upper-middle class individual. It provides a space for the modern individual to realize his / her projects of self and life politics. Modern individuals experience existential needs and determine their basic dichotomies constructed around belonging / integrating into a community versus realizing their uniqueness / creativity with attempts to differentiate and emancipate themselves from the existence of others. The desire for success and search for self-creation / self-growth is thereby realized. Tango provides the educated modern individual the possibility / space to satisfy claims to intellectualism.

In addition to all these, the practice reflects the individual's need to search for self-improvement, development in EQ, as well as offering a space that facilitates improved communication skills, without which the modern individual would experience less success in his / her personal relationships at work, in family and in leisure-time.

The tango practice and belonging to such kind of community is one of the most contemporary spaces for leisure time consumption in Istanbul where business is more or less organized by clocks; in tango, there is a shift from a focus on only hard work to a tendency to consume and perform self in the free time. It is one of the most contemporary symbols of modern self and way of being.

In its broadest sense, contemporary tango also presents a hybrid form for the taste of middle and upper-middle class consumption where modern art lovers may search for combined ways of making art rather than producing monolithic forms.

10. THE MODERN TRANSFORMED INTO THE GLOBAL IN ISTANBUL

10.1 Tango, a Tool for Contemporary Modernization

Contemporary understanding of modernity in the urban Istanbul tango community appears to be connected with two main issues: following the new and the global as well as reproducing secularism of selves. Argentinean Tango is an instrument to be modern in 21st century by following the new and by being global. Moreover, tango is also a space where modern selves reproduce their understanding and experiences of secularism in Istanbul.

10.1.1 Follow the new and be global

As a result of Western cultural diffusion and Western imperialism, Western / modern ways of forming organizations and experiencing daily life became a global fact. A considerable part of the world, particularly urban areas, accepted to live with these forms. Organizing life, work, as well as experiencing and consuming daily life with these forms meant to belong to or to attempt to belong to the global elite of a particular form.

Then, the desire for Westernization / modernization which formally started before the establishment of the foundation of Turkish republic entails not only following and catching up with what is newly produced and adapted in the Westernized global world but also it is about ‘being connected’ to the world, possibly becoming a part of the circle of the global elite of a particular topic / form. The basic idea started in the modern Turkish nationalist search for progress and reaches the “high civilization level” presented by Europe and USA. Nevertheless, the desire to ‘catch up’ came to be directly related with being global in the late 20th and 21st century.

Bringing tango into a form of instructive classes, workshops, organizing international festivals, and creating discussion lists on the internet had been first introduced in Europe to the global world, especially for those countries which had access to the Western hemisphere of the world. The first contemporary tango classes with Argentinean instructors were organized in Netherlands, Germany, France, and

USA in the last decades of 20th century. The first tango discussion lists, Tango-L, which focused on the contemporary tango dance and music was established in the USA by Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Tango-L and Tango-A were the longest running mail lists discussing Argentinean Tango. Tango – L was established in 1995 and Tango-A was established in 1999 to separate commercial and noncommercial mails. Netherlands established its tango mailing list in 1998.

Istanbul followed and adapted these forms from USA and Europe. Organizing international tango dance and music festivals such as the Istanbul Tango Ritual and Istanbul Tango Festival; both invited Argentinean *maestros* to teach in Istanbul, creating tango mailing lists to discuss / promote Argentinean Tango, such as the TangoTürk list, TangoITU and tangopoint. These steps comprise the ways to catch up with and adapt to what is newly produced in different parts of Europe and the USA.

The ‘new’ today is perfectly connected with the concept of global. The new is very quickly communicated in different parts of the world with high technological communication systems and high incidence of traveling. It becomes possible in the form of being global – following and experiencing the idea of connectedness to the world, which is defined by USA and Europe. Istanbul claims to be the part of this contemporary global world. Tango organizers, instructors and experienced practitioners in Istanbul give the message “we are global too”. The tango practice that they utilize are global forms of experiencing tango utilized for the last 15 years, particularly starting in Italy, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and England. These organizational forms combine a series of workshops with the night performances of one or two orchestras and Argentinean *Maestros*. These forms of gatherings are being adapted to Istanbul. Tango organizers and instructors in Istanbul started to invite Argentinean, European, and American instructors to instruct workshops starting from 1998 and 1999. The first tango festival, Istanbul Tango Festival, was organized in 2003 in Istanbul with particular Argentinean tango instructors / global *maestros* together with four milonga nights. Istanbul Tango Ritual partly got its inspiration from TangoMagia Tango Festival, organized in Amsterdam since 1997. The organizers of Istanbul Tango Ritual prepared envelopes for each participant of the festival which included a welcome letter, the festival class schedule, description of the *milongas* and night performances, possibilities of accommodation,

map of the public places used for the classes and *milongas*. The process of assembling the welcome materials in a big envelope was first introduced by TangoMagia Festival in Amsterdam.

Istanbul is part of the global map and has claims to global connectedness not only because it utilizes the same forms that Europe and USA invented and promoted but because Istanbul also inspired other cities in Turkey, Cyprus, and Israel although Israel itself had its own connections to Europe. Izmir started to regularly learn and experience tango, first with two instructors from Istanbul, Metin Yazır and Melin and Selim. It had a few local instructors who frequently traveled to Istanbul to take classes. Later on they established its own community with large numbers of local instructors.

Ankara first started to learn and experience tango with local instructors who were actually part of a tango school established in Istanbul, TangoTürk. Then many other local instructors came forth and established their own schools. Eskisehir had a similar experience with Ankara. The most widely known instructors of Eskişehir are part of Tangotürk established in Istanbul. Antalya has two main tango schools whose instructors go and take classes in Istanbul as well as in Izmir. Bursa has new tango instructors who travel to Istanbul to take classes. Istanbul plays the role of a core in the world system of tango in Turkey and Cyprus. The city inspires these places for new tango classes, organizations, and festivals. AkademiTango, a tango school in Ankara, is organizing its second international tango festival in Ankara for which the organizers were inspired by the Istanbul Tango Ritual which is going to be organized for the fifth time in Istanbul in November 2010.

The claims of producing tango instructors of Istanbul who have the proficiency to teach in regions and cities out of Turkey, sometimes in Europe, which makes Istanbul a part of the global market is another important development that reflected the ideology of seeking a modern global identity. MelinySelim, Serkan and Özhan were the first local instructors of urban Istanbul who were invited to teach and perform in different parts of Europe, and recently followed by a younger generation instructors such as Utku Küley and Setenay Ersoy. MelinySelim taught and / or performed in Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Italy between the years 2001 and 2007.

Similarly, Serkan and Özhan taught and performed in TangoCamp, one of the biggest tango festivals of Europe organized in Italy, Greece, Sweden, and Germany. Utku and Setenay lately performed in Amsterdam and Wuppertal.

My interviews with Pelin and Aydın, the founders of TangoIst School, and my observations of the founders of *El Encuentro* helped me to understand the ultimate purpose of the first generation local tango instructors / organizers to become a part of the circle of the global tango elite. During my interviews with Pelin and Aydın, each individually explained that she always wanted to teach and perform in cities beside Turkey. Teaching and performing apart from the city that one resides or organizing a festival / gathering / event that attracts practitioners and instructors from Europe, US and Russia / the Western hemisphere of the world is the first and the most important step to become part of a global tango elite, therefore to have a global identity as tango instructors.

The founders of *El Encuentro* had the same desire and made the same attempts in the global tango context / market. The first, basic rule to realize the possibility of becoming a tango elite is to travel and participate in different international tango events in the Western hemisphere of the world. Mr. AA and his wife Mrs. ŞA, the founders of *El Encuentro* are concentrated on forming organizations of workshops and festivals more than performing and instructing. They neither traveled nor participated in tango events in different parts of the world. Nevertheless, they attempted and succeeded in an international network in the global tango scene and to become a part of global organizers. With the help of communication technology and friends who have been traveling frequently, they established an international network. They became the organizer of an international tango festival and put the name of their school and festival on the international lists of tango.

Overall, urban Istanbul and its organizers and instructors claimed to be a part of the global movement by saying to Europe and USA: I am as global as you are.

10.1.2 A tool for the reproduction of secularism of self in Istanbul

The practice of tango in urban Istanbul is an act of reproducing and experiencing secularism of modern selves. Tango has become a tool that educated secular middle and upper-middle class urban dwellers in Istanbul used to reproduce their secularism and western-oriented position on national and international contexts, faced with the conflict of fundamentalism and secularism which started to gain acceleration after building the Turkish Republic. The practice of Argentinean tango in Istanbul constructs and reflects the identity of the urban educated secular Turks of Istanbul since the tango practice itself is the choice of the secular urban Turks, for their leisure time consumption as well as their professional lives and definitely not that of the conservative, fundamentalist Turk.

Each tango event that takes place in Istanbul or elsewhere is a claim for secularism by definition, which has its historical connections in Ankara and Istanbul, dating back to the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Tango in urban Ankara and urban Istanbul thus has grown to symbolize the educated, westernized, secular life-style. The transformation to nation-state in the earlier periods of the republic in the 1920s and its aftermath brought with it a differentiation from the Ottoman period with respect to life-style and leisure-time activities. Tango in the 1920's and 1930's has become the symbol of the educated, secular life both in terms of the side by side physical existence of the male and the female in the public sphere and a Western style use of leisure time (Yuna 2006: 30).

The practice of tango is one of the contemporary symbols of secularism because of its search for rationalism and obsession for rational information in combination with emotions in the 20th and 21st century. The dualism and split between reason and emotion is one of the major dualisms in religion and philosophy. David Hume takes our attention to the duality of passion and reason or emotion and reason in the book Ethics: The Big Questions. The basic idea of this philosophy is based on the expectation of the control of emotions and passions to be able to regulate actions with reason. Not only that but also true information comes from a rational mind (Hume 1998: 65 – 68). The concept of body is always associated with irrationality and emotions in the Jewish-Christian philosophy as well as in Islam. Contemporary life

philosophy started to be constructed around the act of production of rational, nonreligious information on emotions and body. Tango is such kind of sphere where rational and nonreligious information is produced on the expression of emotions and use of body. Here rationalism dominates the expression with and of the body. The practitioners who want to learn the details of the tango dance and practice take information as their main criteria for their emotional and bodily practices. This kind of existence is contradictory to Islamic fundamentalism. Rational information produced on how to conduct one's body to express his / her feelings, existence and ideas aims to make body and emotions functional, productive, and communicative. Sebastian Arce and Mariana Montez, Esteban Moreno, and Claudia Codega, Julio Balmaceda, and Corina de la Rosa and many other maestros explain in their classes the functional and reflexive methods of leading, controlling one's own body movements and different attitudes of expressing emotions produced in the dance. Sebastian explains the efficient yet soft way of conducting body. He summarizes that when a man wants to express his emotions that are produced with a particular music he has to indicate these not with sudden and harsh leading and movement but with soft, calm, and indicative movements. This is the best method to communicate with the woman he is dancing with in public. He and many other *maestros* teach to control anger or sudden feelings and transform them into subtle movements. They tell leaders to get to know themselves and their bodies to become better practitioners / dancers.

Mr. DA expresses the belief that tango has been a way to know himself and learn to communicate in the best way to same - sex and opposite – sex individuals in the community. He claims that in tango he realized not only that he wants to stay young forever but also searched for ways to communicate his emotions in a controlled fashion. When practitioners thus educate themselves, they also educate their emotions and capacities to communicate with the opposite sex.

Mr. SY has been practicing tango for 11 years. He reports that he began to practice it when he had a very nervous personality. For many years his movements and expressions were very sudden and harsh. In time he got to know himself and his emotions. He figured out the ways to control and shape them in his movements. Such kind of understanding, education and socialization no longer makes body and emotions a threat to rationality and the mind but aligns them with the intellect as

controllable elements of human beings. This kind of education and socialization is a very secular one, as it reinforces the physical and emotional relations and possibilities of negotiation of men and women. In this sense, it does reproduce and reinforce secularism of self in contrast to the fundamentalism of self. Every act of involvement in the practice of tango means to accept and reproduce a secular self.

The roof bar of Point Hotel, The Dining Room of Armada Hotel, Levent Tennis Club, Dalyan Club, Taksim Sanat Evi, Ponte Restaurant on Istiklal Caddesi are some of the city's locations which host *milongas*, tango events and provide arenas for tango practitioners to experience growth. The owner of Armada Hotel, Kasım Zoto, has been renting his hotel to tango organizers for the last 15 years. In addition, he has been the sponsor for the Istanbul Tango Ritual, by hosting Argentinean *maestros* at the hotel free of charge. Point Hotel has been hosting tango events for the last five years, and enjoys hosting these social gatherings which symbolize secularism, contemporary art, and modernism.

One way in which practitioners express their preference for a secular way of life and the development of the secular self is expressed via e-mail amongst the tango e-groups. One of the practitioners sent an email to the TangoTürk list (as well as other tango e-groups) on the 29th of May 2010. This email and the responses regarding the topic explain / symbolize the community's overall outlook on self-definition by excluding religious elements. The community had a distance to religious definitions. The email informed the practitioners about an article issued in HÜR-DER in Southeastern Anatolia. The article's topic was TANGO HARAMDIR²⁰. It expressed

²⁰ HÜR-DER: "Tango haramdır"

HÜR-DER'den 'Arjantin Tangosu Festivali'ne tepki, 13:07, 28 Nisan 2010
Mehmet TÜRK/DIYARBAKIR, (DHA)

İNSANİ Hak ve Hürriyetler Derneği (HÜR-DER) Diyarbakır Şubesi, kentte düzenlenecek 1'inci Arjantin Tangosu Festivali'ne tepki gösterdi. Dernek tarafından yapılan açıklamada, tango dansının İslam inancına göre haram olduğu savunulurken, "Tango, İslam dışı toplumların eğlence kültürüdür. Yabancı bir kadınla bir erkeğin göz- göze ve burun- buruna birbirleri ile sarmaş- dolaş halde oynamaları İslam inancına göre haramdır. Müslüman Kürt halkının namus düşkünü olması hasebiyle böylesi rezaletlere tahammülü yoktur" denildi.

Arjantin tangosunu Türkiye'ye getiren isim olarak bilinen Metin Yazar, 2 yıldan bu yana Batman, Erzurum, Malatya ve Mardin'de düzenlediği etkinliklerin ardından 30 Nisan-2 Mayıs tarihleri arasında Diyarbakır'da '1'inci Güneydoğu Anadolu Arjantin Tango Festivali' düzenlemeye karar verdi. Yazar'ın, Arjantin'den 5 kişilik bir ekibi ile 1-2 Mayıs tarihlerinde halka açık ücretsiz temel tango eğitimi ile festival yapacaklarını duyurmasına HÜR-DER tepki gösterdi. Dernek tarafından

the negative reaction of the İNSAN HAK VE HÜRRİYETLER DERNEĞİ Diyarbakır Branch towards the organization of tango dance and art classes, festivals, and any related organizations in Southeastern Anatolia. This association defined tango dance as unethical and against Islamic tradition. It also defined tango as the entertainment of non-Islamic societies. The extreme physical closeness of a man and woman not knowing each other is found to be unacceptable in Southeastern Anatolia and Islamic societies.

The author of the email, Ms. E S, disagreed with HÜR-DER's conception and presentation of tango in this way. Ms. ES's email was followed by other practitioners' emails also objecting to the article. Mr. DA takes this as a sign of empowerment from fundamentalists in Turkey, which is in his opinion definitely undesirable. Mr. IT sent an email on the same subject on the same date defining the article as backward, primitive, inhumane, and fundamentalist (in a negative sense of the word). He also wrote that there were many opposing E-mails sent from various tango e-groups. Nevertheless, he believed that all these objections were made based on an individual basis. He invited all the tango instructors and organizers to join together and make a formal announcement regarding this article. The TangoTürk list e-group, TangoItu e-

yapılan açıklamada, tango dansının İslam dışı toplumların eğlence kültürü olduğu belirtilerek, bu dansın batılılaşmanın etkisi altında kalıp da kendilerini Müslüman kabul eden çevrelerde de yaygınlaştırılmak istendiğini savundu. Açıklamada, şöyle denildi:
"Dinini bütün olarak yaşamaya çalışan. Hz. Peygamberi kendisi için örnek kabul eden ve İslam'daki helal ve haram inancını kabul eden kimseler böyle bir dansı yapamaz ve böyle bir kursu açamazlar. Çünkü yabancı bir kadınla bir erkeğin göz-göze ve burun-buruna birbirleri ile sarmaş-dolaş bir halde oynamaları İslam inancına göre haramdır. Diyarbakır halkının, inancında örfünde ve namus anlayışında kız ve kadınlarının erkeklerle sarmaş dolaş olması gibi bir haysiyetsizlik ve gayretsizlik yoktur. Müslüman Kürt halkının namus düşkünü olması hasebiyle böylesi rezaletlere tahammülü yoktur. Müslüman halkımız bunun iffet ve namus anlayışına saldırı olduğunu çok iyi bilmektedir. Bölgemizde, iffete, aile yapısını ayakta tutan değerlere ve namusa karşı bu kadar tahripkar saldırılar yapılmasının altında derin ve karanlık yapıların çalışmalarının olduğu aşikardır." Yüzyıllardan bu yana Müslümanlar'ın namus anlayışına yönelik benzer senaryo ve ahlaksızlıkların yaygınlaştırılmaya çalışıldığını iddia edilen açıklamalarda, tahribat ve saldırılara karşı, Müslüman halkın inanç ve İslam ile örtüşen örfünden vazgeçmediği belirtildi. Açıklamanın devamında "Diyarbakır gibi 27'si şehit olmak üzere 541 sahabe ve 7 peygamberin metfun bulunduğu bu kutsal beldede Arjantin Tango dansı gibi melanet ve rezaletlerin yaygınlaştırılmaya çalışılması, peygamber ve Sahabe ruhlarına saygısızlık ve Müslüman halkımıza karşı bir ihanettir."
"HAYASIZ ORGANİZASYONLAR"

Tango festivali ve benzer gösterilerin düzenlenmesinin Müslüman Kürt halkını üzeceği belirtilen dernek açıklamasında "Din ve dünyamız için faydası olmayan ve neslimizin ahlaki değerlerini alt- üst eden her hareket ve uygulamayı kınıyor ve lanetliyoruz. Haya ve iffet değerlerine saldırı niteliğinde olan bu tür organizasyonlara ön ayak olan, tertipleyen ve destekleyenleri halkımızın nezdinde namus ve iffet düşmanı olarak nitelendiriyor, Yetkili birimleri acilen Bölgemizde periyodik olarak düzenlenen hayasız organizasyonlara karşı tedbir almaya davet ediyoruz. Diyarbakır'ın duyarlı tüm sivil toplum kuruluşları ve halkımızı sivil tepkilerini ortaya koyarak bu rezalete 'dur' demelerini bekliyoruz."

group and some other tango e-groups received similar objection emails on the same topic between the 29th of April 2010 and the first week of May 2010. All these emails served as symbols of the tango practitioners' desire to reproduce their self-conception of secular individuals.

Soon thereafter tango in Istanbul began to provide an important sphere for the reproduction of secularism. Tango not only produced rational information about the human body, which was interpreted to be an instrument of sin and sinful attraction, but the practice also served as a sphere that worked with non-religious elements and discourse, which were not supported by religious groups, associations, and institutions.

Overall, tango works as a tool in making Istanbul more of a global city. By integrating itself as part of the global tango scene, tango in Istanbul borrows US and European concepts of practicing tango in order to provide social actors with more opportunity on a global scale, while simultaneously contributing to the self-identification of practitioners.

11. THE LATE MODERN TANGO IN ISTANBUL AS OF LATE: WOMAN AND MAN; THE FOLLOWER AND THE LEADER OF THE GLOBAL WORLD

The 21st century globalized Argentinean tango dance has a technique and a rational system that shapes and disciplines the contemporary body, as well as a method of expressing emotions. How are these techniques experienced on the 21st century dance floor in urban Istanbul? What are they transformed into on the 21st century dance floor? They are transformed into a symbolic relationship between man and woman, a space of self-presentation, which is reflected in the contemporary global world. Although this transformation involves both the man and the woman and although both man and woman present themselves with the tango practice, I limit my answers with woman's perspective for this study. This is because first of all there are many tango studies that focus on man's perspective. Nevertheless more important than this, it is because the woman and her physical existence have always been the primary symbol of social change in the history of Turkey. The modernization process has always been one of the major concerns of Turkish social, cultural and economic life. Woman has become the main site and the main symbol where this modernization process has been reflected on. Göle, in her text *Modern Mahrem*, shows that woman and the way she exists in different spheres of life had been very critical in this process (2008: 49). For the reformists, woman's education, emancipation and her existence in the public sphere was the prerequisite for modernization. For the traditionalists, woman and his relation to man should be in accordance with the rules of Sheria in order to have a moral society (Göle 2008: 51). In all cases, the female figure has become the main symbol and instrument that the social life / social order is established in the history of Turkey. Therefore, I limited this chapter with woman's perspective although it is clear that the tango involves both man and woman equally.

Tango is a culture, consisting of a dance form and a musical style with particular lyrics, as well as a ritual in a *milonga*. These are said to be male discourses reflecting aspects of gender roles of the period and social context that it had been produced. It can be considered as a reenactment of gender roles of late 19th and early 20th century Buenos Aires, adopted by the modern man and woman, today.

Tango provides us with models of masculinity, which present the perception, definition, imagination, and conceptualization of femininity by men and their exoticization of the women. (Archetti 1997, Savigliano 1995). This is particularly visible in the lyrics of tango, in the way the dance is constructed and in the way the unique ritual of tango is practiced in a *milonga*.

With regards the dance, “man is the creator of the tango dance because he conceives it on the woman’s body” as Waldo Frank explains (Frank 1931: 359). There are two roles: leading which constructs the dance and indicates direction; and following which feeds back the leading movements. Leading is traditionally occupied by men; following, by women. Ideally, there has to be a proper leading for a ‘proper’ following. There is a male construction of the tango sequences and the direction to move. The quality and structure of movement to the music is decided / defined by the leader. Similarly, lyrics provide us with models of masculinity, which present a defined conception of femininity. They are confessions of men, and their relations with women in the given time period. Therefore, the entire culture of tango can be seen as a male discourse on women. What then is happening to the contemporary woman via her role in the tango dance? Are we referring to a suppressed and a silent woman in tango culture on the 21st century? Or are women in search for self-expression with intent to subvert the male-structure or just demand possibilities of self expression? Or, perhaps, have women taken on totally different roles over time?

The literature of tango, in regards to music, lyrics, and dance emphasizes that the construction belongs to man, and woman takes on the role of a silent and passive dancer. Many factors prove the opposite, however. A woman’s role in tango is active, and she has a subversive power. For instance, she has the right to accept, reject or change, both in the dance and in the *milonga*. Although the lyrics do present a male story and although leaders are men, women have never just been ‘docile bodies’ as Savigliano emphasized (Savigliano 1995: 69). The female story has moreover moved from passive to active in the 21st century.

As Susan Gal proposes, silence is generally taken as a symbol of passivity and powerlessness. Still some other scholars think differently. In religious confessions, modern psychotherapy, bureaucratic interviews, it is the silent one who

judges and exerts power over the one who speaks (Foucault 1978: 61-2). In this sense, woman is not necessarily a passive follower of man's construction but an active decision-maker and judge of what is being produced, especially when she is an experienced member of tango dance and culture. As Gustavo Naveira points out "woman feels right away if something is not presented well and clearly. She absolutely understands when you are not leading properly or if your mind is wandering somewhere else beside the practice. She knows what is wrong and she knows how to do it right" (Based on my interview in Buenos Aires in January 2006).

In Istanbul, the role of the contemporary woman in tango is active and un-suppressed. The main discourse for the female role in tango, particularly in Istanbul, is "the woman of tango first accepts what is presented by the man, the leader of tango." Although this seems to be a very passivist and suppressive discourse, it is not. It gives women the chance to enter into the system, and possibly adapt, reshape, or change it from within. I observed that women dealt with and managed this system in two main respects. One, is that they have their own bodily expressions in the dance and in *la ronda*; two, that they have a female discourse in *la milonga*, which I call "woman-talk", where "the leader" is defined. In addition, the change in contemporary tango also symbolizes the particularities and the demands of the contemporary woman's role.

Given my observations, interviews, and personal experiences with women in the tango practice, I found that most were educated, well-travelled and experienced. Their educational backgrounds and global experiences make their conception of their role in tango more enriched than ever before giving them particular conceptions of tango and their roles in this construction.

11.1 Bodily Expressions

Erving Goffman defines "performance" as such so as to refer to our existence and identity in everyday life; it is all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his / her continuous presence before a particular set of observers (Goffman 1959: 22). This is called the 'front' part of the individual's performance. It is the standard equipment of expression, employed by the individual during his

performance. It is an intermediary between the I, myself, and the social identity. Goffman's concept of performance helps me to understand the female role in contemporary tango practitioners and self-presentation. What each practitioner experiences within his/her practice of tango, in the tango community in Istanbul and elsewhere in Turkey, is a matter of performance. This experience not only encompasses to the physical act of performing but also the broader perspective of self-definition, and social roles that practitioners experience in modern-day Istanbul.

As Herbert Spencer claims, there are two ways of communication and self-expression: one, verbal; the other, non-verbal. The body is a non-verbal medium of communication and self-expression. It is the medium through which we directly perform and project ourselves in social life. Our use and presentation of it say precise things about the society in which we live, the degree of our integration with that society (Ebin 1979) and how we live through it. Our body is a way to define a separate identity. It can be how we decorate, move, and act with it. The body in tango is the means of the struggle to create a balance between conformity and differentiation, integration and isolation, unity and uniqueness, harmony and creativity, in both a couple relationship and community relationships.

Contemporary women of tango perform, create, and present themselves in the Istanbul tango community by the way they use their bodies. They attempt to create a balance between the male-dominant rules/structure of the dance, and their own individual creativity both during the dance and in *la ronda*.

In *La Ronda*

La ronda is one of the main spheres where one expresses and creates himself/herself with his/her body almost in total verbal silence. Though tango as a couple dance is claimed to have a male-dominated structure in literature, women, create a sub-culture and perform subjectivities of their own by creating a space for themselves. This creation of space is closely related to the question of how women create a balance between 'individual creativity/reflection of uniqueness' and 'compliance with the social tradition of the following role' in tango. This creation

starts with the act of meeting on the dance floor and continues until the dancers return to their original positions at the end of the dance.

When a woman is invited to the dance floor, she goes and waits for the initiation of the dance. There are free moments when she stands on the dance floor with her partner and other couples occupying a place on the dance floor when she is dancing. In all these moments her attitudes are very critical of how she defines and abstracts space and existence for herself. Whether she creates an opportunity to speak with the leader or not; how she reacts when she is severely injured by the kick of another couple on the dance floor; whether she watches the dance floor and people's movements to help his leader to navigate when the floor is overcrowded or not -- all are indicatives of what kind of space she wants to create for herself in the tango culture. For instance, does she initiate a chat with her leader in the pauses between two dances, does she ask for a stop and openly express pain when kicked by another couple, or does she find a way to indicate to her leader that there is no place in the direction to which he is moving when his leader cannot see that there is another couple coming towards that direction. A woman can be feeding her leader's capacities to lead and navigate on the dance floor and communicate the entire ritual of tango by actively participating in the whole process or she can be passive and totally expect to be cared for, respected, and led according to the codes of tango. For instance, although it is traditionally the leader's responsibility to watch over and navigate on the dance floor, some women actively direct their leader to another direction or really stop him, without using force, in order to avoid a crash with another couple. Some other female partners just close their eyes as to what is happening on the dance floor. Depending on her choice of action, she creates her own space and self-definition of who to be on the dance floor.

In the Dance

Those women that I interviewed with and observed present a self based on a dichotomy of self-reflection versus harmony and individual creativity versus compliance to the tradition, in terms of their existence and role as follower during the dance. On the one hand, women express their desire to integrate and contribute to the harmony of the dance, constructed by their leaders. On the other hand, women express

their desires to exist in the dance by adding something more than what the leader indicates. They believe that their contribution makes them expressive, unique, and different than any other follower. On the one hand, they claim their wish to integrate into a harmonious dance by fully following their leaders' construction; on the other hand, they want to reflect their uniqueness by expressing their creativity. Many of them describe this process as to the desire to be 'herself' in the dance. They define being 'herself' in reference to a few elements of tango. One woman defines it with the way she uses the music, some others define it with their choices of technique, and the way they end certain movements. Some other women define it by the adornments / embellishments they make with their feet.

The dance on the floor does not begin with the act of starting to move with the music. It starts with the act of putting on the *abrazo*, whatever the style is. Therefore, the dichotomy of 'harmony / compliance' and 'being herself/unique' starts right at this point. A woman may follow the style of *abrazo* offered by the leader or she may propose her own style of *abrazo*, creating herself a space and a "say" in the dance out of the framework of control-obey kind of relation.

"How are we going to embrace the leader when we first start to dance? I can decide which style of embrace I would use. If he embraces too tight/close, I can push him and embrace with more distance but he is the one to decide for with which step the dance is going to begin. You can change the embrace if you do not like the person you dance with. You can open the embrace if you do not want to use a close embrace or if you are not very much fond of the man you are practicing with.²¹"

In relation to the desire to express self in the dance or to be 'herself', the idea of simple leading and a simple passive following of man's indications, is rejected by some of the experienced women

"...When I first started to practice tango, I was very annoyed by this thing, the fact of being in the position of following all the time. The first period when I started to practice tango, I was really annoyed by being in the position of taking an indication and simply following that indication, but as you progress you see that that is not the way it is, there are many things that you can

²¹ "İlk dansa başlarken nasıl sarılıcaz? Nasıl sarılacağımıza karar verebiliyorum. Sıkı sarılınca ittirip geriden sarılabiliyorum da ama hangi adımla başlanacak ona o karar veriyor. Embrace i değiştirebiliyorsun. Hic hazzetmiyorsan o adamdan veya kapalı dansetmek istemiyorsan onu açabiliyorsun"

contribute... what I am trying to say is it is not very attractive to be a passive follower.²²”

Although for many experienced women, the idea of self-reflection or being “herself” is a very common issue, it was not very easy to explain for most of them. Still, they gave personal accounts of how they created their uniqueness. Many of these accounts reflected two forms of expressing uniqueness: *non-manipulative* and *manipulative forms*.

In non-manipulative way of expressing uniqueness, women define it as having one’s own style. A woman has time to express herself in tango when the man / leader stops and allows her opportunities to express herself. The opportunities can be as to create time and space for woman’s embellishments before leader again assumes control of the flow of dance. This free time created for the woman by the man gives her the opportunity to present her own style and artistically creative talent. The woman presents her own style in the way she ends a movement and uses the music. She has the opportunity for emotional expression in the tempo, speed, and the density of the dance. This expression can be in terms of the execution of a step, acceleration or deceleration of a movement such as *giro* and in terms of the density put to a *gancho*, *boleo*, or a step. For instance she can develop her own style by initiating her steps from her leg, from the center or from the upper part of her body. Similarly, she can have her own style in the way she closes her forward *ocho* or *giro*. She can use the music flowing or slightly interrupted, on time, or syncopated.

In a manipulative way of expressing uniqueness, women claim to play with the acceleration of the music intervening with the leader’s indication. They accelerate or move more gravitationally to slow down the leader’s indication. This moment is when they want to express their own ways of “doing”. They claim to impose more pauses, even if it may sometimes be contrary to what the leader indicates. As one of woman

²² “...İlk başladığım zaman da beni şey çok rahatsız etmişti, sürekli takipediyor durumunda olmak. O da var. İlk başladığım zaman dansa, sürekli herhangi bir yönelgeyi alıp onu yapıyor olmak beni son derece rahatsızetmişti ama ilerledikçe sadece öyle olmadığını görüyorsun, senin de katabileceğin birsürü birşeyler olduğunu görüyorsun. ...yani çok pasif bir follower olmak çok cazip gelmiyor bana.”

expresses, “If the leader runs around the dance floor too quickly, such as in three beats, then I get heavier.”²³

Moreover, women point out that they accentuate certain steps and/or play with the steps, making them softer or sharper, indicating the leader about their own tastes of stepping. Nevertheless, the overall structure in general is still constructed by the leader. Ayça, one of the experienced women, defines her position in tango with a nice metaphor: “opening little windows for herself and for her freedom of self-expression in the dance”.

She defines tango dance as a system with doors. The doors belong to men; the right to open the doors also belongs to men. They are the indicators with regard to where to go, when to go, from which way to go, or whether to go at all. They decide and control how the system functions. Women create their own ways of being in this system. They create alternatives of how to be in this system, but they do not decide how the system functions. Man, with his control and his right to construction of movement patterns, opens the way and direction for the movement. Woman creates a space for herself by making particular decisions on the condition that she does not bother / intervene with the general construction and functioning of the system. She, thus, to borrow Ayca’s analogy, opens her windows about how to go outside when she is allowed to go outside.

Women also open their own windows by manipulating the leading either by slowing down and/or accelerating the movements with their bodies. This is to give a tone and density to the dance in general.

Using *adornos* [embellishment] is an important element of tango which ‘opens windows for women’. A follower can use an *adorno* with the particular indication of the leader, requiring a total acceptance of the indication. She can practice within the leading in the general structure of the dance, independent of the leader’s indications, without intervening with his construction. She can also practice it by intervening with the leader’s construction, indicating to him by a pause to practice her

²³ “Adam koca pisti, 3 vuruşta koşuyorsa, o zaman dansı yavaşlatıyorum, daha ağırlaştırıyorum”

adorno. Those women who know how to practice these movements, have put their options to use. However, those women I have interviewed and observed create a space of their own in the dance either by integrating the *adorno* into man's construction or they interrupt the dance, indicating to the leader that they desire to do something that he does not indicate. They practice the *adorno* in the times and places that they wish to practice.

As Ayça defines:

“Embellishment [*adorno*] helps this thing. You can open small windows to emancipate yourself, sometimes the leader's leading helps you to do that. He opens a window for you so that you can do whatever you want to do. Sometimes you can intervene to add something. I like that, I like to change the dance sometimes.”²⁴

Women claim to intervene with the leader's construction with their *adornos*, sometimes indicating a pause to have their own spaces. They create their own spaces by converting the dance and subverting the leader.

Although leading belongs to man, there can be an interchange of roles in the dance. Man leads the overall dance, and woman is the follower in the tango embrace. Nevertheless, depending on the quality of the communication between leader and follower, a woman can take over leading from the man for a short period of time. In other words, she can steal the role of leader from a man. In this period, she can change the direction and speed of the dance and even construct a short sequence within the dance. She may begin walking forward while leader indicates backward walking. She can initiate a left side *giro* while the leader is indicating a right side *giro*. She can accelerate or decelerate the flow of the *giro*. She can stop her leader to make an embellishment. Overall, Ayça clearly expresses that she rejects conceptualizing tango as man indicates and leads while woman simply obeys and follows:

²⁴“Süsleme (*adorno*) şeye yardımcı oluyor. Küçük pencereler açabiliyorsun ya kendin özgür kalabilmek için filan, bazen erkeğin leading i yardımcı olabiliyor. O sana pencere açıyor da sen orada istediğini yapabiliyorsun. Bazen de kendin araya girip birşeyler yapabiliyorsun. O hoşuma gidiyor benim, değiştirmek dansı belli zamanlarda hoşuma gidiyor.”

“I do not want to think about this thing. I do not want to conceptualize dance as the man is leading and you are following. It is just that there is a rule in this dance, it could have been vice a versa. Men could have been in the opposite role.²⁵”

Therefore, though still staying in the follower position, woman starts to lead, deciding the direction to go by changing the direction of the leading for that moment. She decides about the speed of the movement by indicating a particular speed of movement, she decides and indicates particular steps to move and how to harmonize them with music. In a way, the *abrazo* remains the same: the man maintains the tango embrace of the leader and woman maintains the tango embrace of the follower; however, the roles are exchanged within the dance.

“I can be active and try new things with the people that I regularly dance. I mean I can not do that with the people I do not know. Sometimes we exchange roles with Sami. This exchange that we practiced with Biki and Muzo, I lead from the following role, I like that. We exchange roles with Sami when we remember to do it.²⁶”

Independent of non-manipulative and manipulative forms of reflecting uniqueness, I listened to many followers about how they deal with leaders who do not express that they are moving as two people rather than one. They begin moving alone, without a clear indication for the follower. In these cases, women develop their own strategies of reminding their physical existence. They reject to move, in a way giving the message of “move with me,” “take me with you”. Similarly, various experienced women, make their bodies heavier when pushed and pulled instead of indicated and invited. They either do not allow the leader to pull her or they indicate a pause to the leader for her own preparation to move.

In sum, women develop their own strategies of existence in the dance and in *la ronda* in a *milonga* ritual by their own capacities, experiences, and knowledge in occupying a particular gender role in a mainly male-dominated dance and space by

²⁵“Şey düşünmek istemiyorum. Erkek dansı yönetiyor sen de followediyorsun u düşünmek istemiyorum. Sadece bu dansın bir kuralı var, tam tersi de olabilirdi. Erkekler de tam tersi rolde olabilirdi.”

²⁶“Sürekli dansettiğim insanlarla aktif olabiliyorum birşeyler deneyebiliyorum, yani yabancılarla onu yapmaya cesaret edemiyorum. Bazen Sami'yle değiş tokuş yapabiliyorum. Hani Biki ve Muzoyla yapıyorduk çaktırmadan following pozisyonunda lead ediyorum, o keyifli geliyor. Yani, onla bazen değiştiriyoruz aklımıza estiği zaman”.

creating a balance between individual creativity and compliance to traditional following rules. They create alternative strategies of existence with regard to how they exist on the dance floor within the framework of leading and following rules. They develop manipulative and non-manipulative strategies to create a space of their own, trying to find a balance between ‘being in harmony with the leader’s indications and expressing their uniqueness and creativity.

From traditional tango to tango nuevo

The invention of *tango nuevo* next to traditional tango symbolize modern woman’s general demand for more space and possibilities of self-expression and therefore the time and space provided for woman. Not all modern women practitioners ask for more space and opportunities of self-expression in the tango practice, and some of them experience this practice for different reasons. Still, a visible group of experienced women request this space in tango practice and particularly within the dance. In this sense, I believe that *tango nuevo* is slightly more open to this demand than is traditional tango.

The leader of traditional tango physically puts his follower to the place where he would like her to be in every movement and in every sequence. Sometimes even the embellishments are led by leader. In contrast, *tango nuevo* has a slightly different understanding of leading. The leader of *tango nuevo* invites woman to the direction where he wants his follower to go. He creates an empty space for her and he invites her with his upper body and arms to that empty space in a way creating various opportunities for the follower to express her own style of steps. In other words, it is woman’s responsibility to create her own way of stepping, in practicing *boleos*.

Tango nuevo occupies larger places and creates more space for woman in its structure. It is more open for the interpretation of woman. In this kind of tango, woman gives shape to her movements in *boleos*, *sacadas*, and other vocabularies of tango movement in contrast to the male-determined structure of traditional tango. For instance the indication and the energy of boleo is transferred to woman by man. After that, the woman has the space to shape her leg and foot to express her interpretation.

Woman-to-woman dance

With this overall structure and demands for opportunities of self expression, is there any place for woman-to-woman dance? Does a woman leader somehow indicate homosexuality? Is female-female partnering a rebellion to any kind of male-construction? Why do the women of Istanbul choose to lead and dance with other women?

Woman to woman dance in Istanbul presents a different story than rebellion to a heterosexual system. Woman to woman dance is not very common in Istanbul although there are certain woman leaders in the community. Many experienced women know how to lead and sometimes do so. Nevertheless, they are neither rebelling against a heterosexual system nor do they reject dancing with men. A leading woman presents the story of modern educated eagerness and curiosity, modern loneliness and the subsequent need to socialize into a community as well as the contemporary understanding of professionalism. All these drives emerge from the search for self-realization and fun, changing meaning in time.

Some of the leading women are instructors, with and without a male partner. Some others are experienced followers who do not have male partners. Still others are women with a fair experience of dance but not very experienced yet who want to socialize into the tango community. Each, though, has common and differing reasons to learn and practice leading.

Woman instructors learn and practice leading primarily for professional reasons. They learn to lead in order to help to teach as an assistant, to teach alone and to create tango dance choreographies. Vanessa is a tango instructor. She is originally from Bourdeaux but migrated to Istanbul many years ago. She is married a Turkish man who is himself a tango practitioner but not an instructor. She emphasized that she does not like leading but she learned to lead first to help her father-in-law to learn tango, then to be able to teach in tango classes. The only aspect that she liked in leading is its rationalism. It has an objective system with which she likes to figure out and create self-expression. Aysegul started to practice leading nine years ago. She used to be a jazz – dance instructor and later on became a tango dance instructor. She

said that one of her jazz-dance students was interested in tango and Aysegul started to learn leading to be able to teach her so that she could dance in a *milonga*. She said she liked to lead because she has the opportunity to construct the dance, to combine music and body in the way she visualized it should be. Leading not only helped her to use her memory, but also to concentrate on and keep herself focused on a particular task. She emphasized that it is fun to see the reflections of her own constructions on somebody else's body.

Woman practitioners, who do not teach, deal with leading not only because they want to improve themselves to gain acceptance and appreciation in the community and in a *milonga* but also because they do not have a consistent partner. Learning to lead gives them an opportunity to dance more often than the times when a leading man asked them. They can also dance in times when they are not asked by a leading man. Nevertheless non-professional woman leaders also desire to learn about how an experienced and well-known follower dances. Leading her and feeling her attitude in the dance embrace is one of the best ways to learn about it. Irem is an experienced but nonprofessional practitioner. She has been dancing for nine years. She started to learn to lead three years ago. She said she decided to learn leading in case she is not invited by men to the floor. In these cases, she would have the opportunity to dance by asking herself. She said "In time, I realized that I have to listen to the music in detail and concentrate more than ever. This was a challenge and I liked it".

In conclusion, my interviews and conversations with the leading women in first generation Istanbul community showed that women-to-women dance or leading women do not necessarily indicate a desire to rebel against a heterosexual system or a complete rebellion of a male-constructed system of tango. Rather, such alternative actions symbolize modern social order, where women seek to deal not only with loneliness but also possibilities of becoming a professional in the practice. This practice is the space of the educated global women of 21st century for self-growth and self-expression without destroying the male construction but sometimes intervening in it.

11.2. Woman-Talk and the Definition of the Leader

Woman-talk is the second major strategy of women's self-expression in the male-constructed tango culture beside the bodily expressions. They create a female discourse which I call "woman-talk," in which they define a model of the leader – the man of tango within a certain range. They create a space of existence for themselves and a possibility of subverting the leader and man of tango, by defining an 'ideal tango leading man, the ideal leader'. For this definition they discuss what a leader should and should not do and how a leader should and should not be. These beliefs are shaped and reproduced in every *milonga* ritual, depending on each dance experience women have with men.

La milonga is a ritual with its legendary reference to Argentina's historical male and female figures that created the tango culture and *la milonga*. The ritual of *la milonga* and the identity of its participants are created by these mythological and historical male and female figures of Buenos Aires, which I have presented in the section that tells about the historical characters of Buenos Aires before info-consumption society: the *compadres*, *compadritos* and the *milongueras*.

Although the participants of the contemporary *milongas* are not necessarily replicating the roles that *compadritos* and *milonguitas* used to play historically and although *las milongas* are not necessarily organized to create an atmosphere for men to find women for their desires, still this ritual leaves its participants basically with their gender roles and identities, reproducing and redefining the power relations between the historical Argentinean man and the woman in 21st century urban Istanbul.

Most popular sources and studies on tango are generally narrate the history of tango in relation to the history of Argentina; how males in tango lyrics tell their stories through speaking about women and their codes of honor and/or how tango is a symbol of colonization, and of national identity as well as a patriarchal and hegemonic representative of Argentina (Archetti 1997; Carretero 1999; Collier-Cooper-Azzi-Martin 1995; Savigliano 1995). Woman's perspective is barely presented in this popular literature. Julie Taylor is one of the trained dancers and

anthropologists who had written about tango from her own perspective *Paper Tangos* (Taylor 1998). She is one of the rare ones who expressed her experiences in tango publicly, but her book draws parallels among the violences of Argentine Junta, the play with power in tango dancing, and her own experiences with violence inside and outside the tango culture in Argentina. Still her accounts are not of 21st century Istanbul. Nilüfer Narlı's *Milonga Kadınları* written in Istanbul tells about women, women in tango, but her book also presents the story of women who had been tortured and then developed possibilities to resist and survive. This does not necessarily represent the story of the modern middle and upper-middle class woman in the urban Istanbul. Additionally, the book presents women from a male perspective of rather than the women's subjectivities.

Thus, in this section on woman-talk, I try to tell about how the seeming silence of modern woman of tango is actually transformed into 'woman - talk', which is either not uttered among men or uttered in cases when they believe that the man is excessively dominating (in the sense of not respecting to and not creating time and space for a woman). 'Woman-talk' is the discourse of woman in tango constructed about a man. It gives a possibility for a woman's role that sometimes subverts leader / man and his construction of dance. This discourse includes not a very strict but a definition of 'the leader', which is constructed around the judgement of women about men regarding how they behave from the moment they propose a dance to a woman until he leaves her back to her place.

This definition of 'the leader in tango' actually has the power to partly control, and actually transform the leader. The seemingly silent, passive and subordinate position of the woman shifts to an understanding of active and powerful "woman - talk" which is realized in small closed groups, where women evaluate and exchange knowledge about the attitudes, the sentiments and the capacity of the leader to lead and behave, as a means of social control.

Woman - talk is constructed around very particular concepts, ideas, and judgements, starting from the act of proposing to the act of going back to one's own place on the floor. This talk results in the redefinition of 'the leader' everytime tango is practiced: The dance proposal itself is a ritual within the tango culture. The way

man / leader invites a woman / follower to dance and returns her to her place after the dance, is itself a ritual, which has its own traditional rules and regulations which dates back to the tradition called *el cabeceo* in Argentina. *El Cabeceo* is a ritual of an eye-game. It is not clearly known when it had begun. A man in the *milonga* who desires to dance with a particular woman tries to catch her eye to invite her to dance with his eyes, instead of standing up from his place and going next to her and asking verbally. If woman is interested in dancing with him, she does not move her eyes away but continues to look into his eyes and nods her head positively to display that she accepts his proposal. Both of them stand up from their places and meet in *la ronda*. If woman is not interested, she just pretends she did not notice and moves her glance elsewhere. The whole idea is to avoid demoralization and embarrassment. It saves embarrassment for a man who would have to walk over to a woman and directly ask her to dance to her face and get turned down in front of the entire *milonga*. The *cabeceo* ritual also saves embarrassment for woman who might feel pressure to accept a dance she might not want. In addition, if the woman refuses the dance proposal of the man who comes to her table and stands in front of her, there might be some undesirable consequences. The man may have to leave the *milonga* and the woman may have to sit till the end of the *tanda*²⁷. If the woman accepts to dance in the *tanda*, that she has refused to dance, with another man, it would be an inappropriate behavior and will be punished by the friends of the rejected man by not inviting her to dance anymore. *El Cabeceo* has the function of realizing the mutual wish to dance without displaying the moment of contract or refusal.

This ritual is not necessarily very commonly applied in Europe and Istanbul, though there are some specific cases, such as if the woman that the man would like to propose to dance is sitting far from him and she is not easily reachable, if the man and the woman are friends, or if one of the parties is Argentinean who is right at that moment in Europe or Turkey. In cases when the ritual is not applied, the attitude of man gains authority since he is not practicing the tradition according to pre-given regulations but has improved his own way of proposing and inviting. This attitude is a critical matter of “woman – talk.” This ‘talk’ may sometimes result in the subversion

²⁷ It is a block of music, generally made up of four pieces of tango, tango-waltz, milonga etc. Which has been interpreted and played by a particular orchestra. For instance, in a *tanda* all the four pieces need to be/is of the same orchestra, such as of Juan D’Arienzo or Osvaldo Pugliese or Carlos Di Sarli.

of the man's existence and acceptability in *la ronda* and in the *milonga*. Whether he is intimate or distant, arrogant or modest, shy or extraverted, with or without self-confidence--these are the attitudes that are spoken of in woman - talk. Whether he proposes the dance by waving his hand or only by facial expressions, whether he comes next to woman in a polite way or has an extraordinarily informal attitude, are important in the decision that woman takes concerning to accept or refuse the invitation / proposal. When an experienced woman faces arrogance, she may have the tendency to refuse the dance proposal. In an Armada *milonga*, one woman was invited by a man whom she had known for years. Both of them had been very fine dancers of similar levels of experience, but she refused his proposal because of his arrogant and careless attitude during his proposal. This refusal was legitimized and spoken later on, in the woman - talk.

Even though a leader does not have self-confidence and even if he is shy with little tango experience, many experienced women tend to accept his proposal only because of his respectful attitudes. I observed various occasions when a woman with six years of experience was invited by a man with eight months experience. She accepted his invitation most of the times not because it was pleasurable to dance with him but because he was very respectful and needed motivation.

Within this ritual of proposing and responding, if the woman dares to say no to the proposal, the man will be known for being refused and this will be spoken about in the aftermath of the refusal. In some cases, this case results in the self-questioning of the man with regard to how qualified is his leading, how proper, polite, and ethical are his attitudes for the social context of the *milonga*. This questioning, gained from the feedback of the woman, in some cases results in the subversion of the man in his attitudes since woman – talk may result in the diminishing possibility of the ‘leader’ to exist in the milonga and to dance in *la ronda*.

Then what is in the definition of ‘the leader’ in the ‘woman-talk’ that has the subversive capacity in the existence, socialization, and acceptability of the man in the *milonga* and in *la ronda*?

The attitude of his leading is one of the topics that women produce ideas in ‘woman talk’, especially if the man is an experienced one in tango dance. Whether he is caring enough on the dance floor to protect the woman from being accidentally kicked and/or hit by another leader or couple, whether he follows *la ronda* or not, whether he steps the undesirable backstep in the opposite direction of the dance-line (which may result in a clash with another couple or not), whether he listens to the music or not, whether he is musical or not (flowing and melodic or fragmented and too much interrupted in his movements), and whether he is grounded in his movements or not—all these choices to act or not are the important concepts upon which a man is judged.

As the constructor of the dance is a leader, the tango code says that he is responsible to pay attention to what is happening in *la ronda*. Therefore, he has the responsibility to take care of the woman since she cannot take the decision alone about which direction to move to in general. If he does not pay attention to other couples in *la ronda*, and his follower will be kicked by another couple, this deficiency is judged negatively. It becomes an issue in ‘woman - talk’. This may result in some undesirable consequences for this leader such as the suggestion of the woman to end the dance session after one dance or refusal of his proposal by other women to him the next time. Then the leader is defined as be the one who cares and has to care for the existence of the woman in *la ronda*; he is the one who does not step back unless he is sure that there is no one behind to crash into. He is the one who is musical and grounded in his movements.

The attitude of the *abrazo* of leader is another topic that women present ideas in woman-talk. This may result in the transformation of man in tango. Tango is said to be a dance which involves the idea of making woman feel good for three minutes. Then, how a leader makes his follower feel is one of the mostly discussed topics of tango *abrazo*. Whether he embraces the woman, keeping her at his right side or parallel to his *torso*; whether he positions himself right in front of her with a good connection or not; whether his *abrazo* is intimate or with emotional distance; whether it is too soft or too strong, safe or insecure, are the concepts that a leader is judged with, in a ‘woman -talk.’ These judgements may result in a woman’s approval or refusal, or at least showing attitudes of dislike. In an Istanbul *milonga* to which I have

been attending regularly, there are two leaders practicing tango in Armada *milonga*, who have enough experience to maintain a reasonable and respectful *abrazo* for their dance. They have been, however, seriously rejected by most of the experienced women, subverting all their capacities and male-construction in the dance. These men are indirectly forced to change their *abrazo* and wait for their followers to make their movements rather, than their egotistic and hard attitudes, in movement. A leader is defined with an *abrazo* which has a good and respectable connection with woman, with an intimate and secure feeling. It can be loose or strong, but the feeling of security and respect need to persist.

Whether the woman feels comfortable, when following her leader or not, is another theme discussed in woman-talk. 'The leader' is defined to necessarily be soft and clear and in a manner of inviting the woman to any direction and movement rather than forcing her. Some people define 'the leader' to be the one who gives freedom to the woman within the dance by creating space with his *torso* without very much of intervention whereas some others define 'him' to be the one who really takes the woman with his *torso* to the direction of the movement. In any case they emphasize a full preference of invitation by kindness and respect rather than by imposition with physical force. Women claim to feel uncomfortable and are reluctant to accept proposals when they are forced, pushed or pulled to a movement rather than gently led to and invited to each step. The use of physical force on the follower is a matter of conflict and a reason for the communication breakdown between the two parties, which may result in a major refusal of leader in the dance and in *la ronda*.

The ease at which one follows the leader is another point of discussion in woman - talk. Whether it is easy or not to follow the leader in the dance is another conceptual framework for woman in tango. A leader is defined to be the one to whom it is easy to follow with clear indications. In other words, 'the leader' is the one who has to lead and indicate movement patterns for woman. Every step and movement of the dance should be indicated clearly by leader; if not, the woman is supposed to do nothing but to stop on one foot. With this logic, the main discussion is formed around 'leading is not comprehensible because the leader does not give clear indications' versus 'the follower is not attentive enough to understand the indication and she moves alone'. There are cases in which, woman clearly expresses what is not

comprehensible in the leading and she refuses to dance to avoid having a hard time with leader, especially when leader becomes notorious for his unattentive and nonindicative attitudes in leading.

Whether “the leader” leaves space and time for the follower is another issue in woman - talk. The discussion is constructed around the question whether the leader leaves a space on the dance floor and waits for his follower so that she can add some creative elements into the dance independent of leading. This opportunity is to be realized when the leader waits for woman, gives her time and possibility to make *adornos*. If the leader does not leave this time and space, he is defined to be imposing and insensitive. If he does give time and space, then he is considered to be a sensitive, communicative, and respectful leader, having a desirable place in the ‘woman -talk’, resulting in the welcoming attitudes and positive feeding of the women to his constructions. In the *milongas* that I participated, there are some leaders who are spoken of as known to give this time and space and are defined to be desirable dancers whereas there are others who lack this kind of leading prowess. This distinction is openly uttered in woman - talk. The attitude of giving the time and the space in a communicative manner rather than an imposing one is part of the definition of “the leader” in woman-talk, which results in more possibilities and peaceful existence for him in *la ronda*. Those who do not match up with this definition end with less possibilities and more conflicting way of existence in *la ronda*.

The attitude of leader in his construction of his dance in *la ronda* is another element in the female definition of ‘the leader’ in woman - talk. Does he dance only to make and display the sequences he knows? Does he present his talent independent of what is going on around him in *la ronda*? Or does he pay attention to reproduce the harmony and the organic connection of *la ronda*.

La ronda, is the tango dance circle, accepted like a living organism among tango practitioners, which moves in a counter clockwise direction. A tango couple needs to integrate into the general movement pattern of *la ronda*, if they wish to dance in peace and harmony. Often times, a leader needs to sacrifice the big combinations he would like to improvise, for the sake of reproducing harmony and flow of *la ronda*. If the construction of the dance is a self-actualizer leader, then he is

conceptualized as destroying the harmony of *la ronda*. One of the elements of ‘woman -talk’ is whether the leader can manage to create a balance between self-actualization and maintaining the harmony of *la ronda* by integrating into it. If the leader insists on self-actualizing with large sequences of bumping his follower into other couples, he is not “the leader” of woman-talk. If he constructs his movement around simple steps and walking, creating space for the woman, he is “the leader” in the woman-talk.

Overall, it is not possible to talk about a very strict definition of “the leader” in tango. Nevertheless, there is a tendency to define “the leader” as the man who is not arrogant, caring for the space and time of the woman, acting in harmony with *la ronda*, as well as one who has a sincere *abrazo* of any style regardless of its strength. “The leader” is the one who has a good contact with a very clear and gentle leading, waiting for the woman and giving her time and space. This definition of “the leader” which reflects the expectations of modern global tango women has a subversive power for creating a space and attitude that women desire to have in the culture.

At the service of the ‘woman - talk,’ exists a change in the codes of proposal which also creates a space for women in tango culture. The proposal of the dance by man as leader is the tradition of Argentinean tango. This means that it is man who picks up his follower, not follower – woman who picks up her leader. However, the recent idea of the proposal of woman to man is introduced and used in Istanbul as it is used in Europe, particularly in the Netherlands, Germany and France. This reversal is sometimes experienced in Armada Hotel and Levent *milongas* in Istanbul. The reversal of the proposal codes in which a woman proposes the dance is an active strategy to create space for a woman to develop her own socially significant discourse and possibilities of active expression.

In sum, the ‘woman - talk’ around particular concepts, ideas, and judgements as mentioned above, and the reversal of the proposal codes for dancing actually consist of a way to create a female identity and opportunities of self-expression for a woman. It shows that the contemporary woman’s role in tango cannot be defined with the silence and passivity of the modern tango woman. Similarly, the bodily expressions of contemporary woman do not radically intend to change the male-constructed structure

and culture of tango. Nevertheless, both woman-talk and bodily expressions as well as the reversal of proposal codes do create a space for the educated and global women to self-express and make decisions regarding the practice. Still these modifications do not intend to completely rebel and change the system as a whole.

As a result of the expansion of individualism and rationalism, which is promoted by Western culture, and the modernization process in Turkey in addition to higher levels of education, the late-modern educated woman present and construct a self with and within the tango practice. She wants to express herself in this practice in a way that is distinct than the way man does. Nevertheless, apart from and right under that rational self-realizer lies the woman who likes to be led and experience the pleasure of dancing in harmony, as an integrated part of the couple and the *milonga*.

12. PRODUCTS AND THEIR READINGS: TWO FESTIVALS AND A MARATHON AS THE ULTIMATE PRODUCTS OF GLOBAL MEN AND WOMEN IN ISTANBUL

12.1 Two Symbols: Istanbul Tango Festival and Istanbul Tango Ritual as Contemporary Modes of Modernity and Self

Tango dance and music festivals are one of the most common forms of organizing big tango events in Istanbul as well as in other cities of the world. These forms are the most common methods of attracting large numbers of practitioners from different parts of the world, from other cities of Turkey as well as from Istanbul. Organizing a tango festival entails presenting one's own perceptions and experiences of creating a network in the tango scene as well as experiences in the tango dance itself. The process also represents the desire to socialize in large numbers of peer groups by being in a big crowd of friends and the friends of the friends, a phenomenon which recently turned into a culture industry and professional organizations. Istanbul Tango Festival and Istanbul Tango Ritual are two of these such festivals in Istanbul.

Istanbul Tango Festival, Istanbul Tango Ritual, and the relation between the two present us a story of modern projects of self, experiences of fragmentation, a modern understanding of professionalism and professionalization, a search for an identity to be established and articulated across a wide span of time and space which includes global as well as local scales in 21st century urban Istanbul. This story is at first written by three characters of Istanbul tango community: *El Encuentro* School, Tangotürk and MelinySelim. Nevertheless, the story persists between *El Encuentro* and Tangotürk since MelinySelim delivered Istanbul Tango Ritual to TangoTürk.

Istanbul Tango Festival started as a small tango dance festival in July 2004, organized by the founders of *El Encuentro*, Mr. AA and Mrs. ŞA. Istanbul Tango Ritual started as an international tango dance festival in November 2006, organized under the cooperation of Tangotürk Istanbul and MelinySelim. The organizers of both of the festivals invited some of the global Argentinean *maestros* of tango dance and

information producers.²⁸ Both organizations are regularly repeated every year in the form of four days of workshop and four to five nights of *milongas* and performances. Istanbul Tango Festival became a summer tango festival and Istanbul Tango Ritual became a winter one; each is also repeated regularly every year. The seventh edition of Istanbul Tango Festival and the fifth edition of Istanbul Tango Ritual are to be realized in 2010.

These two festivals are two important symbols of the modern modes of being, living, and self – definition in the urban Istanbul. Contemporary urban Istanbul has become the space of fragmentation not only in terms of the great distances that exist between the places that its dwellers have to travel but also in terms of the relations that they experience. The founders of *El Encuentro*, Tangotürk Istanbul, and MelinySelim symbolize the experiences of fragmented relations in Istanbul. These three characters were an informal and unofficial part of one formation or at least they established relations with each other by taking part in the same organizations and events in 1998. The founder of *BailaTango* school, Metin Yazır, was instructing in Germany and started to teach in Istanbul in 1998. All these tango characters participated in some of his workshops and some of the first *milongas* of Istanbul. The founders of *El Encuentro* were part of the Tangotürk School, who were all previous members of the *BailaTango* School. Tangotürk and the founders of *El Encuentro* first split as one body from *BailaTango*. Working and practicing all together for two years, the founders of *El Encuentro* separated from Tangotürk and established their own formation. Nevertheless these separations also symbolized a rupture in the social and personal relations of the members of these schools. They no longer meet in their private lives and are reluctant to take part in each others' organizations. Istanbul Tango Festival and Istanbul Tango Ritual are invented from this fragmentation.

²⁸ Istanbul Tango Festival invited Ezequiel Paludi and Sabrina Masso, Adrian Veredice and Alejandra Hobert, Los Hermanas Macana, Mauricia Castro and Carla Marano in the first edition. Istanbul Tango ritual invited Fabian Salas and Carolina del Rivero, Esteban Moreno and Claudia Codega, Geraldin and Ezequiel Paludi, Pablo Tegli and Victoria Vieyra

These two tango festivals are also very symbols of some of the aspects of life projects of modern self, based on self-realization, eagerness, and competition. More precisely, the act of organizing and participating in these festivals are part of the projects of self. The organizers organize these two festivals to realize and recreate themselves with their own visions of life, tango, and understanding of how to develop an organization. Each of the organizations started with the idea of creating his / her understanding that would reflect an individual sense of leisure time in relation to the feelings of separation from the people / friends with whom they had started to practice tango. Moreover, the process of organizing a festival is also the act of realizing and increasing the possibilities of network of relations on global and local scales. The fact that they keep on organizing the same events regularly every year changes the meaning of these organizations from nonprofessional ends to more professional and industrial ones: competing professionally in a local and global tango market as well as recreating a self. One of the organizers of Istanbul Tango Ritual, Mr. SS, says that tango, particularly the festival has turned out to be a professional responsibility with an awareness of how others organize other festivals.

The participants of these festivals satisfy their socialization and leisure – time consumption needs by taking part in the festival. They thus fulfil their aims to take part and present themselves in a global system. Single participants satisfy their socialization needs through meeting their current friends and making new ones by dancing with new people. This context also provides an opportunity to meet a possible mate. In one of my interviews with Mr. AA, he told me that these tango contexts may provide him a possibility of meeting the woman of his life, the woman that he might want to marry. Couple participants socialize with other couples and single friends, thus reproducing an existence as a couple in this social environment. Mrs. BÜ and her husband Mr. TÜ participate in these festivals primarily to dance tango and to listen to tango; nevertheless they go to these festivals with their friends Mrs. IT and her husband Mr. BT as well as their other couple friend, Mr. AS and Mrs. MS. The couples phone each other and decide jointly which nights they are going to participate in festival *milongas*.

Some tango professionals join these festivals not only to socialize and dance with their friends but also to gain visibility in the global tango industry / market. They remind and reproduce their existence in the tango community in these festivals. These festivals provide them the space to present and to recreate themselves in the global and local network of relations of tango and the tango market. These festivals give them the possibility of finding new professional markets to teach and perform. Mr. ME, Mr. E, Ms. ZÇ, and Ms. ÖK participate in these festivals not only because they love dancing but also they want to reproduce their existence. They want to remind and present themselves to other practitioners, organizers with a front that they have created. This front attempts to offer the message that that they are good / talented dancers, performers, and instructors. These festivals provide the opportunity for young instructors to make themselves known to more people because these festivals provide possibilities for them to execute tango dance demonstrations before the Argentinean global *maestros* go on stage and perform.

These festivals also provide a global network because although they are local products they have global participation. Globalized relations are being reflected in the nationalities represented in these festivals. Many tango practitioners participate in these two festivals from Russia, Litvania, Estonia, Bosnia, Romania, Israel, Bulgaria, Lubliana, Greece, Canada, Netherlands, Germany, Lebanon, Jordan, Cyprus, some from Italy, China, Thailand, North Korea, England, Izmir, Ankara, Bursa, Antalya, and Bodrum. This desirable social and professional context offers a tango dancer with the multiple identity of practitioner, instructor, and performer the desirable opportunity to present and thus make himself / herself visible. S/he not only recreates herself/himself by participating in these festivals but also may also receive an invitation to teach and perform out of Istanbul. Therefore, these festivals provide possibilities for a global network of relations that can be used not only for social but also professional ends.

Overall, Istanbul Tango Festival and Istanbul Tango Ritual are two important products that provide me a contemporary text with which I can read the story of modern educated individuals, the fragmented life-style of Istanbul, a strong tendency for professionalization of the social, and a search for a global identity in the Turkish (Istanbul) inhabitants.

12.2 From Nijmegen to Istanbul: Tango Marathon, Introduction of a New Form in Istanbul, Claims to Globality and Modernity – Follow the New and be Global

The Tango Marathon is very contemporary, one of the most recent concepts and forms of organizing / consuming tango practice in the 21st century. The basic idea has been introduced in Europe and has just recently been borrowed by Istanbul. This concept is the symbol of the modern social actors of Istanbul, making claims to modernity by following a new and global tradition, the marathon.

Tango Marathon is a concept that offers to tango practitioners a time-out from real time where there is an almost non-stop 30 hour tango dance. The organizer of the marathon divides it into particular time spans and invites a tango DJ to play in each period, around four hours. There is a pause of three hours during the entire marathon. Fast food and drink is served throughout the whole organization and there is the possibility of resting nearby. People can take shower, change clothes, lie down, and nap. These concepts provide its participants the possibility of socializing and integrating into an international social environment since practitioners from different parts of the world have access to this kind of organization.

The concept of Tango Marathon has been first introduced in Nijmegen, Netherlands in the year 1993 by Netherland's major tango education center, *El Corte* and its founder Eric Jeurisson. *El Corte* is a tango practice dance and music center first founded in the year 1988, primarily by Jeurissen and his supporting team. He is a graduate of Rotterdam University Tango Department. He has been one of the first European Tango practitioners to teach and invite Argentinean tango instructors to the Netherlands, particularly to the small city of Nijmegen. He turned Nijmegen, however, into one of the biggest tango dance and music education/ practice centers of a very big Europe. He inspired many of European participants of his center/school with the concepts he had created. He created a huge network of tango practitioners in the world among whom there are many considerable instructors, organizers, and producers of tango in different parts of Europe including Istanbul.

Eric introduced the concept of Tango Marathon in Netherlands and in other parts of Europe. The concept has been extended in different cities of Europe in the proceeding years such as Colon, Berlin, Hambug and some other cities of NorthWest Europe including Italy. In this sense, the Marathon concept has become a European concept initiated in the Netherlands.

Istanbul chose to integrate into concepts and forms created by Europe in tango practice. These forms and concepts have also been diffused to the other parts of the world, which had strong connections / relations to Europe. Istanbul recently started to borrow the Marathon as a new form of organizing tango in Istanbul for the last three years. Mr. BE and his wife Mrs DKE imported this concept from the Netherlands and organized a Tango Marathon in 2005 - 2006 from their visit to the Netherlands and experience of the Marathon in Nijmegen. *El Encuentro* School organized a Marathon in March 19-20-21, 2010. There is a plan for a new marathon for February 25-26-27, 2011.

Integrating these new concepts into the urban Istanbul leisure scene – timed activities with a claim of having international participants from different parts of the world, just the way it is done in Europe, symbolized *El Encuentro's* attempts to follow the new and aims to be global. Following the new, that which is introduced in Europe, is a desire that dates back to the Republican period. This desire is combined with the aim to belong to a global network in contemporary urban Istanbul. Tango participants of urban Istanbul positively evaluate the import and adaption of new concepts introduced in Europe which will integrate them into an international network of tango as one global form. There has been positive acclaim for the Istanbul Tango Marathon organized in March 2010. Mr. DA, Mr. BE, Mr. ŞK, and some other members of the Istanbul community emailed the TangoTürk list in appreciation of this kind of organization. This kind of organization implies participation in the global tango scene, the global network of tango organizations in Netherlands, England, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Sweeden, Greece, Russia, Poland, Romania, and other parts the tango network in the world, including Israel, Beirut, and Jordan.

As a summary, the tango marathon in Istanbul is the symbol of the desire of its contemporary social actors to maintain the tradition of following the new, which dates back to the modernization process of the republican period. The marathon is not only a reenactment of Turkish historical/cultural patterns but also the symbolic text reflecting a very modern desire for global connectivity or, in other words, the transformation / definition of the modern into and by the global.

CONCLUSION

My study asked, how did it become possible that a late 19th and early 20th century local and lower-class product of Argentina, the Argentinean Tango, come to be transformed, circulated, and practiced by the contemporary upper and upper-middle class social actors of urban Istanbul in the late 20th and early 21st century? I found that this dance is a product of Argentina which had meanings very particular to Argentina and Uruguay, or more precisely in Rio de la Plata. Nevertheless, tango received (and still does) very different socio-cultural meanings and satisfied (and still does) different needs of the late 20th and 21st century urban places and contemporary modern urban individuals. Overall, this practice came to be the symbol of the late-modern conditions of urban Istanbul. All of these factors enabled Argentinean Tango dance and practice possible to circulate and still be practiced in the global world.

As I was trying to understand what kind of meanings tango acquired in the urban world of Istanbul, I made use of the concepts of late-modern / modern / high-modern condition from Anthony Giddens, Zygmunt Bauman, and Erving Goffman. Most of the concepts that they introduce and use are explanatory for Western, Westernized / Westernizing cultures, societies, social groups, individuals who are integrated into the global system, who are not marginalized in the process of globalization. Istanbul and the upper-middle and middle class practitioners are definitely a part of this system and can be clearly defined as Westernized social group and individuals.

I built up a particular vision based on my fieldwork, which consisted of participant observation and various in-depth interviews. I first identified the major social actors / roles / positions in the global and local tango scene who produce and consume the practice since the contemporary local is an integrated part of contemporary global. Then, I observed and analyzed the virtual and physical social spaces that these social actors / positions interacted and communicated. These social spaces provided me the first attempts to understand the self-presentations of contemporary urban individuals in the moments of interaction in Istanbul. This step was an introduction to answer the question of what Argentinean tango provided for modern individuals of urban Istanbul so as to continue to exist in the 21st century.

I found that Argentinean Tango, especially the tango dance, is able to circulate in the contemporary West / Westernized / Westernizing societies because the practice symbolized the late-modern way of living and individuals of Istanbul. Tango's longevity is due to many reasons. First of all, the practice meshes with the elements of an information society. It became a symbol of an information society that the educated middle and upper-middle class individuals of urban Istanbul experience in their daily lives. Argentinean Tango produces, commercializes, and sells new kinds and sources of information about dance so as to satisfy the curiosity / obsession / hunger for new / interesting information of the educated modern individuals of urban Istanbul to be consumed in their leisure and professional times. This fact adds a contemporary alternative perception of tango to the one that defines the dance as "the passionate, the primitive and the exotic". I observed that this new information and the possibilities of having an easy and fast access to information and sources of information provide opportunities / sources of social power, and therefore identity for the competing social actors in the community.

In this research, I observed, experienced, and found that tango is a tool used in order to construct one aspect of self: the global man / woman. The practice is used to create a global network of social and economic relations. It is organized by its social actors, including organizers and instructors, as a global and local culture industry. This industry exists / can exist globally, and Istanbul thus functions within this process as a local place integrated in a global system. This global and local system is further organized with particular networks in the world and in Istanbul. It is the experience that interlaces the global and the local, the absent and the present, at the same time. It is communicated with particular distribution channels, its events are advertised through communication technology and with one-to-one relations. It works with a contact-support system and contact persons. Finally, this culture industry creates objects of desire to persist and reproduce itself through time in Istanbul as well as in different parts of the world.

Beside this globally integrated style of organizing tango, this practice in Istanbul is organized with local tools as well. My research shows that tango in Istanbul is locally organized and reproduced in two main ways. On the one hand, tango in Istanbul started as a system based on apprenticeship. On the other hand, there

had been attempts to centralize its activities by a federation under state control that decided to have the right to propose who can teach and organize tango classes / events in Istanbul and other cities of Turkey.

Tango's many contemporary meanings satisfy the particular existential needs of the modern educated individuals, the practitioners, living in contemporary urban Istanbul. I observed that Argentinean Tango in Istanbul is a resource provider in two respects. It is a resource that satisfies the social and professional needs of modern individuals, its practitioners. It is a social space that provides modern individuals not only possibilities of friendship, peer groups, and mates but also the possibilities of dealing with modern loneliness that may or may not arise as familial institutions weaken. At the same time, tango is social space that offers the possibility of fulfilling the professional needs of its modern practitioners who hold various occupations in Istanbul.

In addition to all these factors, tango is a very critical and symbolic space where the modern individuals experience and present their anxiety on who to be and how to be. They present themselves and realize the reflexive project of their lives. Tango is a symbolic space where the modern educated individuals of urban Istanbul come to find the opportunity to realize their life-projects about themselves and prove their existence as individuals. By being part of the practice, they claim to occupy particular roles which give them the opportunities to define a self for themselves. They search and find ways for self-improvement, progress in life as well as chances for self-expression in tango dance and in the tango community. They struggle to solve and find a balance in their basic existential dichotomies experienced around the conflicting needs for communal integration versus separation, to compete with others, realize themselves, and display their uniqueness. Overall, the modern individuals of Istanbul use tango dance and community as a project of self-realization, as a tool to improve their capacities of using EQ and thus achieve better communication skills, and as a tool to spend leisure time, not just to reach a feeling of catharsis and pleasure.

Tango practice is also a leisure time activity, to which individuals dedicate their free times to relax. Nevertheless, it is experienced more than free time dedicated to an activity. Many tango participants make the practice into a serious leisure activity for

which they spend large amounts of money and travel to learn more about it; some of them even manage to find a career in it by acquiring its special skills and knowledge.

Contemporary tango is a space where the middle and upper-middle class individual practitioners distinguish and reproduce their class dispositions by choosing to discipline their bodies in the Western style upright positions the dance demands as part of their leisure activity. Tango practitioners thus conceptually and realistically delineate themselves from those individuals of particular other class fractions who choose to spend their leisure-times by positioning their bodies in lower, wide, shallow and horizontal positions.

Tango provides a self to its contemporary practitioners in which the modern is being defined with the global. The contemporary individual creates a self for himself / herself by combining the new with the global in the sphere. In relation to this kind of self formation, the modern individual of tango finds one great opportunity to reproduce and experience his / her secularism in the practice.

In my research, I wanted to answer the question of changes of the follower role / woman's role in tango as an integrated part of the question what makes tango circulate in the 21st century Istanbul: how a technique and a rational discipline / system of shaping the body has been transferred to the 21st century dance floor. The traditional follower role of tango is strongly related with the gender role of tango originated in the Argentinean society in the late 19th and early 20th century. This period and this culture provided models for the gender roles of tango with historical figures such as *milonguera* and *milonguita*. Nevertheless, I believe that the contemporary female role of tango has characteristics particular to and shaped by the contemporary women of urban Istanbul. In this sense, I found that the contemporary female practitioners of tango evolve the follower role of tango based upon their education, work life, rapid technological and global connections, increased opportunities and experiences of travelling to and connecting to different parts of the world. The fact that they are gaining more of a global identity, a Westernized culture, a rational way of life and increased individualism, combined with all other aspects that I have presented results in their integration of their life perception with this traditional role. They do this with particular strategies: by their presence in *la ronda*

and by producing a woman-talk, a discourse among women themselves. However, none of these strategies are utilized to overtake the role of constructing the tango dance from the leader / the man, that is to say, overthrow the established system. With these two main strategies, they still accept to be led by the man in the dance with the pleasure of dancing and integrating into a couple; nevertheless they attempt to modify the leader's role according to their understanding of self, dance and life.

The last part of my study discussed how contemporary educated individuals / social actors of tango reach the ultimate own festivals and marathons.

One important point that is worth thinking about is if the contemporary tango provides any possibilities of social mobility and if it is possible to talk about social climbing in this experience. Does practicing tango provide a social mobility? Does it reproduce a belonging to upper-middle class? Travelling to Europe and shopping from England used to be one of the acts and symbols of upper-middle and upper class identity in 1970s and 1980s in Istanbul. Talking about the experiences in Europe was a discourse that reproduced an upper class belonging. Similarly, driving a Range Rover and talking about the experience of driving it reproduces an upper-class identity in the 21st century Istanbul. Driving it becomes a status symbol for an individual who would like to make an upward social mobility. Is practicing tango a similar experience? Both yes and no. It is yes because those who have leisure time and the concept of leisure time can have the luxury to practice it. Sparing leisure time for oneself is not a concept that is experienced by lower class individuals. The claim to have the time to tango is a claim that produces an upper-middle and middle class way of being - habitus. Still, practicing tango is not an experience similar to driving Range Rover because tango is more than a consumption symbol. Both middle and upper-middle class individuals practice it and the claim to practice tango itself does not necessarily bring an upward social mobility neither economically nor in terms of social status.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to talk about social climbing in relation to tango. This is possible within tango through global and local networkings. Who you know in the global tango scene; which countries you have travelled / are travelling; which festivals you have participated in different parts of the world; whether you have

taught out of Istanbul, particularly in Europe; how many different countries you have travelled to perform; whether you are the person who is most frequently contacted by tango travelers abroad all are the criteria that tell about one's social status in the community. The ones who have more number of social relationships in the local and global tango scene experience more of social climbing within the Istanbul tango community. Those who manage to become a local and global node within the Istanbul community and possibly in other cities from within Istanbul, by collecting more number of relationships, achieve higher social status within the tango practice and community. They experience more of social climbing compared to those who do not become a node.

In this study, I intended to present the self expression of the modern urban individuals and their experiences of living a late-modern life by organizing their contemporary story of tango in Istanbul. It is the story of tango as the symbol of the contemporary modern educated individual practitioners who claim to take part and play roles in the community. They appear to unify three protagonists within themselves to different extents and in different equilibriums: rational system of capitalism; the emotional social dimension; and the modern act of powerful progress seeking(s).

The contemporary story of tango thus presents the story of educated individuals and their attempts to construct a self under the conditions of what Giddens defined late – modernity.

After making all of these propositions about the rational, intelligent modern men and women, I feel the need to ask the question where is sexuality in all this? Tango is said to be the sexual and passionate dance of men and women, and the late-modern version of it shows that it transformed into many other things than the expression of sexual desires. It became a performance, an experience, a form to deal with the process of building up a self, a search for socialization and a medium for many other things that the contemporary men / women need and experience in late-modern daily life. Can we say that sexuality disappeared in all this? Or is it integrated into these late-modern selves? Some of the practitioners told that they got mad when people defined this practice with being very sexual. Some of the female practitioners said

“Sexuality? It is one of the last thing that I think of when I am dancing tango. I really concentrate on the quality of my movement as well as the leading of the man. I need to focus to be able to have a good balance in the dance. I have to keep my axis in the best way so that I do not get heavy for the leader. I am way too far from thinking about sexuality”. These women are between the ages 30-50, married, with or without children. One of the male practitioner said that he has to deal with the woman’s body as an entity that he is dancing with. That is not an easy task. He also has to navigate in *la ronda* where different leaders try to navigate, hit each other, step back and occupy spaces. It makes things even more difficult. Sexuality is not one of the elements that he primarily mentions in all this. This person is in his late 30. He is married and has a daughter. One another male practitioner openly expressed that tango meant many things to him apart from sexuality. Nevertheless, if he is dancing with a woman that he was about to fall in love or was very fond of, perfection and performance in the dance form was definitely the last thing that he is looked for. The moment of the dance was one of the unique moments that he shared with her, that he maybe would not be able to share in any other way. This practitioner is in his late 40, single, without a permanent girlfriend. So where is sexuality for all of these practitioners? Is it hidden somewhere in each one’s path and process of building and rebuilding a self? Is it hidden somewhere in their life-cycles and what part of their life-cycles they are located? I believe that where each practitioner puts sexuality in his / her tango experience is closely related with their own process of constructing and experiencing self as well as at which point of their life-cycles they are located in.

This story also tenders my story of tango in a much disguised way. In my story of tango, I asked if I ‘own’ my tango or am I one of the products of tango industry / market. Yes, I have my tango, and yet I am a product of it. My practice of tango symbolizes my class and educational identity, my rationality and my emotionality, my passion for movement and my obsession for disciplining and producing with my body and search for new information on it. It symbolizes my fears, anxieties, and my desires. It is the reflection of me, the modern me. Still I am a product of tango and its masters with the *giros* I make, with each tango walk I take. I have become one of the objects of desire of the industry and I have admired other objects of desire in the same industry. I am also the product of myself and my educational curiosity: my desire and pleasure to accept the label of having a global identity and my own understanding

of self-realization / self – creation to reach ‘the perfect,’ ‘the best,’ and ‘the good’ on my mind. I am this contemporary rational educated woman who thought that the most ‘ideal’ and the utopian ‘perfect’ is possible in daily life.

My tango thus presents a story of change, a change from searching for my own understanding of ‘the educated perfect’ and ‘the educated ideal’ in tango and in life, to searching for my own understanding of ‘the pleasurable good’ or ‘one of the best’ in different aspects of my life. My tango presents my attempt to divide my search for ‘the educated perfect’ in the way I believed to exist, into different aspects of my life so that I will find my own ‘good’s’ in various aspects of my life: my work, my daughter, my dance, and my family. Tango is the story of my acceptance of choosing to climb to and trying to reach to the tower of the “good in different aspects of my life rather than getting anxious about climbing to the tower of the “educated ideal perfect” in one particular aspect of my life.

Beside this rational search, tango presents me the opportunity of Victor Turner’s “time out of time” (Falassi, 1987: 7). The practice also still reflects the socio-cultural experiences of its actors in “the time”. With each tango I make, I go in and out of a very particular time, the time of tango. Tango practice presents me a time, a liminal position which takes me out of my regular roles of my daily life. I experience a “time out of time” when I practice my tango, when I participate in a *milonga*, when I teach a tango class, or perform onstage. Tango practice presents a time, a new reality which is experienced over and over again out of the time of the social roles of daily life, out of the time when day and night is determined by nature. It is experienced in contrast to the stratified rational world of days and nights, hierarchies at work, and social roles in any sphere of life. Still it requires a balance to be able to survive it. I may want to stay in the “out of time” for longer and longer periods of time. The longer and more frequently I stay “in,” the higher the probability of alienating myself in the time of day, in the time of social roles and in the time of hierarchies of daily life. The “out of time” develops new social and contextual hierarchies, and daily life social roles do not work until I am fully socialized.

In the “out of time” I am a female; in the “out of time” I am a dancer who respectfully communicates nonverbally with others. In the “out of time” I am a

practitioner, feeling a silent subordination and respect to the experienced ones and carrying a strong desire to improve self and receive a silent appreciation and respectability in the presence of the experienced others. In the “out of time,” I am an instructor, an experienced dancer who is modeled, and respected by the less experienced ones.

Until I reach a level of deep socialization, I am no longer a sociologist, an engineer, an architect, a manager, or a mother. When I am deeply socialized, my hierarchical positions and social roles in “the time” may intervene in my hierarchical positions and social roles in the “out of time.” I become a dancer and a sociologist and anthropologist that people may consult and hire to satisfy their professional needs. The negotiations work not only through my qualifications as a practitioner or as an instructor but also through my qualifications in relation to my profession. Tango presents me an “out of time” in which I can go in and out with my roles and positions, feelings and desires.

There comes a time when I never want to go to the “out of time.” This is when the “out of time” presents me the capitalist face of tango, the culture industry where the self-realizers struggle to realize themselves, to have power on the tower of the tango industry. Tango presents me the intelligent and calculating rational self-realizer. I do not want to be there; I need to experience the balance between intelligence and the emotional social of the community without rational calculations, sometimes the charitable and irresponsible me who can just go and relax in leisure time. In the “out of time”, I am tired, tired of witnessing and being a part of this “out of time”, which sometimes makes its social actors lose the balance between the need to be intelligent and rational, emotional, socially integrating, as irresponsibly cathartic and relaxed as modern individuals of 21st century can be. No, I do not want to be in “the out of time” when it is actually in time, in the time of the super intelligent and informative capitalism, all kinds of rational competitions, all kinds of nonfamilial interventions. I do not want to be in time when these aspects are salient.

Suddenly, Lorca's *duende* calls back. Garcia Lorca in his famous piece *Teoria y Juego del Duende*²⁹ [Theory of Duende and Play] writes about how Goethe defines Paganini. Goethe defines him with his extraordinary *duende* "the mystical power that everyone can feel but the philosophers cannot explain". It is neither a talent, nor a muse. The muse dictates and awakens intelligence, therefore it also limits. It is a resource which is outside of the person / the producer / the practitioner / the artist. In contrast, the *duende* is always deep inside. One has to wake her up to struggle and survive. This is the *duende* that calls me back to the tango practice, to the tango that I run away from; to the tango that capitalism and culture industry turned us into a commercial and political object. I run away from the tango that turned us and our choices into socio-political objects. I am back to my tango which is pure and in balance in my own perception, not allowing any capitalistic and industrialist interventions which seek possible ways to climb to the tower of power by presenting the magic of advertisement.

My story of tango is the story of the intelligent, rational and commercial capitalism that attempted to kill my *duende*, which attempted to alienate me from myself, to my emotions and to my pleasures. I could never be a Paganini but I had a *duende*, like many movement and art lovers. I became an "instructor", a "performer", an item of the educated, intelligent market of tango industry. The rest was extinct. Every choice I made has been politicized, judged, advertised, and modeled. I wanted to be the invisible and the irresponsible object of the tango market. I did not want to be in the "out of time". *Duende* called me back when I decided that it is meaningless, useless, and too capitalist to be a practitioner, to be an instructor, to be performer and even to be a writer of tango and its contemporary implications. *Duende* reminded me that tango is a pleasurable light in contrast to ordinary rationalism and capitalist intelligence, not only its consequence. It reminded me why I danced the tango full of frustrations. I dance it because I am an upper-middle class woman who has the taste to to discipline and use her body in upright positions.

²⁹ *Duende Kuramı ve Oyun*

Last Word

I believe that my research motivates new researches on contemporary tango in two different aspects. First one is that my research focuses on some of the first generation schools and social actors of tango in urban Istanbul and a new research can be conducted on the second generation practitioners / schools / instructors / organizers that are established after the year 2004. They have their own initiatives which are worth considering. One school of the second generation even established its own international tango festival. Within this framework, this study can be extended with a focus on the second generation and their initiatives. Studying with the second generation tango school, I would still expect that tango provides the space of physical and virtual socialization and information production. I observe that their tango events and organizations are a culture industry working in local and global forms which are also reflected in the language. Nevertheless, I expect the extent and range of the current values and existential dichotomies that I found in my study may show variation in the second generation formations.

First generation instructors and organizations have been the pioneers who tried to find a way to create and establish a tango community that either did not exist or did so, but with a few practitioners. They are the first ones to turn this practice of urban Istanbul into a culture industry and professional work. They are also the first ones to search for the possible ways to integrate Istanbul tango practice into the global network of practitioners and Argentinean instructors, which is pioneered by Western Europe in relation to Buenos Aires. They are the first ones to try to search for the possible ways to understand the coexistence of the professional and the emotional, the professional and the communal. They are the first ones to face the existential dichotomies created by integrating the emotional and the professional. They are lastly the first ones to figure out that tango is a social and an economic sphere of the modern life of urban Istanbul which created existential dichotomies for its practitioners and organizers. While teaching and performing in Europe was a very rare privilege while the first generation instructors were establishing themselves, that privilege became much more possible in the period when the second generation instructors started to establish their own schools and networks. Similarly, while having information about the tango events in Europe was a privilege for the first generation instructors /

organizers / practitioners when they were trying to establish themselves, this kind of information became very easily accessible for the second generation practitioners / instructors / organizers when they started to establish themselves, especially with the introduction / creation of many tango e-groups and the facebook phenomenon. A considerable number of the first generation tango instructors and organizers fully professionalize in tango while they keep on working in their professional works. A considerable number of second generation tango instructors and organizers started to choose tango as their professional works / careers. These kinds of developments might bring a variation in the range of values, dichotomies, and experiences of the tango of the second generation. Nevertheless, I expect that the late-modern conditions of globality, the abstract way of life more and more based on expert systems and individualism would still, and more often, produce individual social actors who experience emancipation of groupal boundaries and possibilities of self-creation and integration into communal relations.

The second is that a new study can be conducted which presents the male perspective in the 21st century. This study can present the perspective and self-presentation of the 21st century upper-middle and middle class men of the practice in Istanbul. With this second study, it is possible to give a more detailed answer to the question of into what does the dance technique and rational system of tango transform on the 21st century dance floor.

SPANISH – ENGLISH GLOSSARY

Abrazo: Embrace

Barrio: District, neighborhood, generally referring to relatively poor neighborhoods

Boleadora: A boleadora is a primitive hunting tool. It was originally used by Eskimos, South American Indians and Chinese. Afterwards boleadoras are used by the gauchos of South American to run cattle. A bola is usually used to entangle the animal's legs, but if thrown with enough force, they break bones. Most bolas have two or three balls, but there are versions of up to 8 balls. Gauchos use bolas made of braided leather cords with wooden balls or small leather sacks filled with stones in the ends of the cords.

Bombo: Bombo is an Argentinean drum, which derives from the old European military drums. It is made of a tree trunk.

Caminata: Walking

Colgada: Hanging position

Compadre: An Argentinean lower class gentleman

Compadrito: The younger generation of the gentleman

Concepto: Concept

Creatividad: Creativity

Estructura basica: Basic structure

Giro: Turn

Improvisacion: Improvisation

La Tecnica: The technique

Maestros: Masters

Malambo: It is an Argentinean native music. It has no lyrics and it is based on rhythm. A malambo dancer makes his dance with gaucho boots on his feet. The dance and the movements are complex and energetic.

Maestros del Baile: Masters of Dance

Mechanica: Mechanics of the dance

Milonga: A time and a place when and where tango practitioners gather, dance and socialize.

La Milonguita: The young and divine woman from countryside or poor neighbourhood

Pisadas: Footsteps

Pivot: Turn in one foot from one direction to another direction

Practica: A public / group practice session of tango

La ronda: It is the dance circle, which turns counter-clockwise. *La ronda* is like a living organism, a totality, made up of couples of leaders and followers. Entering in *la ronda* requires a minimum tango knowledge to be able to move in it without hitting other couples. One of its purposes is to contribute to the flow of the *la ronda* without interrupting the dance circle. One inconvenient movement of the leader in the circle interrupts and disturbs the peaceful existence of *la ronda*.

Salida: Exist to dance. It is a commercial eight step sequence of tango dance.

Sostenida: Uphold position

Tanda: It is a block of music, generally made up of four pieces of tango, tango-waltz, milonga etc. which has been interpreted and played by a particular orchestra. For instance, in a tanda all the four pieces need to be/is of the same orchestra, such as of Juan D'Arienzo or Osvaldo Pugliese or Carlos Di Sarli.

Tomadas y Pasadas: Taking and Passing

Vocabulario: Vocabulary

Volcada: Axis forward

Zamba: It is a version of Argentinean folkloric music and dance. It has six beats to the bar and it is performed by couples. The couples circle each other. Each couple has handkerchiefs in their hands. It is like a game played by a man and a woman with elegant body movements and waving of handkerchiefs

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questionnaires 1 and 2:
Turkish and English versions

SORU FORMU 1 – TÜRKÇE

1. Bana kendinden bahseder misin?
 2. Tangoya ne zaman başladın?
 3. Tangoya ne sebeple başladın?
 4. Tangoya başlarken hayatında herhangi bir değişiklik oluyor muydu /olmasını istiyor muydun?
 5. Şimdi ne yapıyorsun?
 6. Tangonun senin için nasıl bir anlamı var?
 7. Tangoda ne tarz faaliyetler yapıyorsun? / ne tarz faaliyetlere katılıyorsun?
 8. Niye bu faaliyetler de baskaları değil?
 9. Tango hayatında nereye oturuyor?
 10. Tangoyu hayatından çıkardım, hayatında neler/hangi alanlar boşalırdı?
 11. Tangoya gitmek ne demek senin için?
 12. Tango senin için ne platformu?
 13. Armada'ya (veya hangi milongaya gidiyorsa) gitmek ne demek senin için?
 14. Niye tangonun içinde kalıyorsun?
 15. Niye workshop lara katılıyorsun? Niye derslere katılıyorsun?
- Eğer birkaç yıldan uzun süredir tango yapıyorsa:
16. Niye halen workshop a katılıyor/ders alıyorsun?
 17. Tango'daki KATILIMCININ İSMİ yi tanımlar mısın?
 18. Leading ve following rolleriyle ilgili yaşadığın deneyimlerini anlatır mısın?
 19. Bana tango cemaatiyle ilgili gözlemlerini aktarabilir misin?

QUESTIONNAIRE 1 – ENGLISH VERSION

1. Can you please tell me about yourself?
2. When did you start practicing tango?
3. Why did you start practicing tango?
4. Was there any sudden changes taking place in your life when you started practicing tango or did you want to have changes in at the period when you started to practice tango?
5. What are you doing now regarding the practice?
6. What does it mean for you to practice tango?
7. What kind of activities are you engaged in / participating regarding the tango practice?
8. Why do you choose to engage in these kinds of activities but not others?
9. In what part of your life do you locate tango practice?
10. If I take tango out of your life, which spheres of your life would you feel empty/dislocated?
11. What does it mean for you to participate to the tango practice?
12. What kind of platform does tango occupy for you?
13. What does it mean to go to Armada hotel or any milonga place for you?
14. Why are you still into tango practice?
15. Why do you participate to workshops and classes of the practice?
If she/he has been practicing for more than a few years:
16. Why do you still participate to workshops / classes after so many years?
17. Can you define me the PARTICIPANT'S NAME in the tango community as he / she is in this community?
18. Can you tell me about your experiences regarding the leading and following roles in the practice?
19. Can you tell me about your observations regarding the tango community?

SORU FORMU 2 – TRKE

1. Lead etmeye ne zaman bařladın?
2. Hangi sebeple bařladın?
3. Hangi olayla bařladın?
4. Lead etmeyi seviyor musun?
5. Hangi ynn seviyorsun?

QUESTIONNAIRE 2 – ENGLISH VERSION

1. When did you start to lead?
2. Why did you start to lead?
3. With what occasion did you start to lead?
4. Do you like to lead?
5. For what reason do you like to read?

APPENDIX B

Two Examples of the Interviews

INTERVIEW I

20.03.2007

Görüşme için 45 dakikamız var.

Bay. D. A

Bana kendinden bahseder misin?

Ben Deniz, 1960 Ankara doğumluyum. Uzman Psikolog danışmanım. İstanbul Psikodrama Enstitüsünün yöneticisiyim. 20 yıldır Psikodrama ile ilgileniyorum. Bekarım. Tangoyla ilgili uluslararası bir forum'a katıldım. Bekarım. Müzik ve tiyatroyla çok yoğun ilgileniyorum. Son beş yıldır dans var hayatımda, Tango. Ailem Ankara'da yaşıyor. Psikodrama ve tiyatro üzerine dört kitabım var ve yenisini yazıyorum. Kayak ve yüzmeye ilgileniyorum. Keman çalıyorum. 12 yaşından beri 30 yaşına kadar aktif olarak sürdürdüm. Filarmoni Orkestrasıyla çaldım iki yıl. İki solo resitalim var. Ömrümün büyük bölümünü Ankara'da geçirdim. 35-45 yaş arası İstanbul'da yaşıyorum. Farklı kültürleri tanımaktan hoşlanıyorum o yüzden bol bol geziyorum. Lisanslı dalgıcım, tek yıldız. Bir haftalık eğitim aldım bu konuda, 1. aşama. Ankara Devlet Tiyatrosu ve İstanbul Tiyatrosuyla oyunlar koydum sahneye. Türkiye'de Spontanite/Playback Tiyatrosunun kurucusuyum. Çocuk psikodramasını ilk ben başlattım. Kitabımı yazdım, hazır, şu anda yayınevinde.

Kimlere çalışıyorsun?

Psikodrama sadece psikoterapi olmadığı için özellikle şirketlerle ve okullarla çalışıyorum. İşimin en güç parçası terapist yetiştirmek.

Ailen?

Bir kız kardeşim, annem ve babam hepsi Ankara'da yaşıyorlar.

Tangoya ne zaman başladın?

2000 – 2001 arasında başladım.

Hangi sebeple?

Bir öğrencim partneri olmamı istedi. Bir yıldır zaten düşünüyordum. Bir arkadaşım dansı hayatıma sokarak müziğin bıraktığı yeri doldurdu. Geçmişte bale v.b de vardı. Onların yerini doldurdu. Böyle bir şeyler istiyordum. Öğrencim çağırınca da gittim.

Tangoya başlarken hayatında herhangi bir değişiklik var mıydı veya olmasını istiyor muydun?

Vardı. Biraz iş alanımın dışında birşey olmasını istiyordum. Alan değiştirmek istiyordum. Farklı bir uğraşla zenginleşmek ve kendi alanımın dışına çıkmaktı amacım. Meslekten uzaklaştıran bir şey olsun istiyordum çünkü tiyatroyu işim yapmıştım. Hobilerimi hep işimle birleştirdim, tango yeni bir şeydi ama onu da becerdik – şimdi tangodrama oldu.

Tangonun nasıl bir anlamı var senin için?

Öncelikle bir dans. Estetik ve bedenimle ilgili bir tatmin yaşıyorum. Hem ulusal hem de uluslar arası bir çevre demek. Kişisel gelişimime katkıda bulunuyor. Farklı bir alanda kendini farketmek ve başkalarını anlamak. Tangonun satranç gibi bir anlamı var. Keşfedip kendine dönmek.

Hem cognitive hem de bedensel zekayı geliştiriyor. Kadın – erkek ilişkilerindeki dengeleri açısından da çok öğretici benim için. Bir deşarj aracı ayrıca. Belki genç kalma isteği de yatabilir altında. BURADA BENİM EĞİTMEN ROLÜME KONUŞMAYA BAŞLIYOR. Bu konuda eğitmen olmak istemem, yeterince eğitmen var, zaten aralarında sürekli tartışma var. Festivaller var, büyük kalabalıklarla beraber olabilmek için. İnsanların gelişimi için tangoyu psikodramada kullanmak mümkün.

Tangonun anlaşılması için benim de etkim olsun istiyorum. Mesela haberdar etme faaliyetim var benim. Birileri benden festivalleri Türkiye listelerinde duyurmamı istedi. Tüm festival mesajlarını listelere göndermek için görevlendirildim.

Tango hayatında nereye oturuyor?

Tango olmazsa sosyal hayatımla ilgili bir boşluk olur. Bedensel faaliyetimle ilgili bir boşluk olur. Yeni insanlarla tanışmayla ilgili alanım boşalır. Sanatsal faaliyetlerimle ilgili boşluk olur. Yeni bir hobi icat etmek gerekebilir.

Tangoya gitmek ne demektir?

Hoş bir heyecan duyuyorum gitmeden önce. Dans etmeyi düşündüğüm insanları düşünüyorum. Bakalım sürpriz birşey olacak mı gibi bir duygu oluyor, doğumgünü, duyuru, yeni bir dansçı. Dansla dolu bir gece geçirme ihtimali beni etkiliyor. Tangodan birçok kız arkadaşım oldu, ama ilişkilerin biraz zorlaştırdığımı düşünüyorum, çok yakınlaştığımda. Kadına güvenme sorunu yaşıyorum. Hem olsa iyi olur ama zorlar gibi de geliyor.

Tango senin için ne platformu?

Tango benim için ilişkilerin dansı tabi karşı cinsle.

Niye o kadar workshop'a katılıyorsun?

- 1 – Ne kadar ilerleyebilirim meselesi.
- 2 - Pratik yapma anlamı var. Partnerim var, param pulum var.
- 3 - Benim yaptığım şeyi iyi yapabilmeye ilgili bir motivasyonum var. İlerlesin, iyi gözüksün, öyle narsist bir tarafım var. Gelişeceğim diye kafayı takarım. Katılma sebebim bu. Profesyonel olmamak için çok direndim.

Bana tangodaki Deniz'i tanımlar mısın?

Başlangıcından bu yana değişiklik gösterdi. Geldiği nokta, %70 dansla ilgilenen , %30 insanlarla ilgilenen bir Deniz var. Kim kiminle ne karıştırıyor. Oldukça güleç cici bir çocuk. Biraz da ortamda var olduğunu hissedilsin isteyen, kenarda köşede kalmak istemeyen bir Deniz. Az buçuk yaratıcı buluyorum. Yavaş yavaş stilimin olduğunu düşünüyorum. O beni hem kısıtlıyor hem de kişilik katıyor tangoda.

Follower rolüyle ilgili olan deneyimini nasıl tanımlarsın?

Rol değişimi çok önemli. Öğrenirken ve o öğrenirken o öğrendiğim unit in kadın bölümünü de yapabiliyorum ama işin duygu kısmıyla ilgili bir deneyimim yok. Ama follower a nasıl kendini iyi hissetirebileceğimi biliyorum, her zaman yapabiliyor muyum? Hayır.

Lider rolüyle işleyici rolü arasındaki ilişkide ne elementler var?

Anlamak, empati, hissetmek, kavga (çatışma), güç mücadelesi, rol paylaşım. (ben lead edersem kadının da lead etmesine izin vermek, birlikte hissetmek, birlikte birşey üretmek, fırsat yaratması, vermesi, iki taraflı katkı, birlikte haz almak, sözsüz iletişim, dokunmak.

Deniz sürekli olarak dünyadaki festival haberlerini iletiyor. Ancak hali hazırda bu festivaller biliniyor çünkü birçoğunun organizatörünün kendi festivalini Türk listelerinde anons ettiğini gözlemladim. Ancak Deniz kendini uluslararası bir kişilik ve tango bilgisini Türkiye'ye ileten, bilgi getiren kişi olarak yani bir tango aydını olarak tanımlıyor kendini. Bunu da yaptığı yorumlar ve festival anonsları ile gerçekleştiriyor. "Bakın, ben herşeyden haberdarım, buralara gidiyorum sizi de eğiteyim" mesajını iletiyor verdiği bilgilerle.

INTERVIEW 2

15.03.2007

Bay. C. B

İTÜ Taşkışla – Mimarlık Fakültesi

Bana kendinden bahseder misin?

En çok övündüğüm şey İstanbullu olmak. Tarihi yarımada'da doğdum, büyüdüm, çocukluğumun yılları orada geçti, Fatih'te, oldukça konservatif bir yerde radikal islamcıların kalelerinden birinde. 1974 bir kırılma noktası Fatih için, tüm İstanbul için kırılma noktası aslında, en son Rum nüfusun kaçıışı, bir de Fatih'in bazı bölgelerinin çöküntü haline dönüştüğü zaman. İmalat, depolama, ticaret faaliyetleri çoğalıyor, Rumlar kaçıyor ve onların kaçıışıyla beraber sahihsiz kalan sokaklar, mahallelere en fakir işçiler yerleşiyor. Çok girift bir yapı olduğu için yoğun olarak uyuşturucu normal olarak hayatın bir parçası oldu.

İkinci kırılma noktası :

1972 Boğaz köprüsünün yapılması. Sur içinin yerli nüfusu köşklere Kadıköy'e, adalara taşınıyor. Kendimi özdeşleştirdiğim şey eski İstanbullu olmam. Özelliklerim hafif külhanbeyi olmam, bazen efendi olabilirim. Bu bir paradoks tabii.

İngiliz Erkek Lisesi'nde okurken Fatih'ten çıkıyorsun ve sonra tekrar Fatih'e dönüyorsun. Babam ben yedi yaşımdayken öldüğü için kıravat bağlamasını bana bir İskoç öğretti. Yaşadığım mahallenin bir ucunda bir Bizans Sarnıcı, bir Cami ve mahallenin diğer ucunda bir Ortodoks Patrikanesi var. Daha ziyade Arnavutlar ve Lazlardan oluşan bir mahalle dokusu vardı.

(Cem'in ben yönlendirmeksizin verdiği kurgu bu. Kendini İstanbulluluk üzerinden tanımlıyor)

Ne zaman doğdun?

1966, Fatih'te doğdum. Fatih ilkokulunda okudum. İstanbul İngiliz Erkek Lisesini bitirdim. Sonra İTÜ Mimarlık Lisans ve Yüksek Lisans. Doktora, Şehir Ekonomisi, İTÜ'de. Arada İşletme İktisadına gittim, proje yönetmek üzere, İstanbul Üniversitesi.

Senin Hollanda'da bir çalışmaların olmuştu?

Evet, postdoktora çalışması Hollanda'da, Rotterdam'da. Şehirlerin köhneleşmiş merkezlerinin canlandırılması, hem sosyal hem iktisadi açıdan çalışılması.

Ben bazen kendimi İstanbul'un bekçisi gibi görüyorum. Milongadan dönerken genelde anneme giderim Fatih'e. O zaman Eminönü boşalmış olur, işte o an oranın en güzel halidir. Bütün şehir bir dekor halini alır. İşte o zaman sanki ben şehirle konuşuyormuşum gibi hissederim.

Başka ne işler yapıyorsun?

İTÜ ve dışarıda işler (kaçak işler), Dikilitaş'ta. O çok büyük bir keyif. Oradan geçerken o bana verdiği keyif bir başkadır. Biraz uzaydan gelmiş gibi görünüyor çünkü oranın şehir kalitesi arazi ve bina kalitesinin çok aşağısında. (Kaykıldı oturuyor, bacaklar açık, bilen kişi pozisyonunda). (Kendisinden bahsederken tamamen İstanbulluluk ve işi bağlamında konuşuyor).

Özel hayatın?

Evli değilim. Olmadı. İki ciddi ilişkim oldu ama yürümedi. İki kadın da standart üstüydü. Ama galiba asıl mesele tüm değer yargıları örtüşmedi.

Tango'ya ne zaman başladın?

9-10 sene olmuştur. 95 yılı. Ahmet Dünder'in Lena'yla tanışma zamanlarıdır. Ahmet o zaman tango bilmiyormuş demek ki. Eski kız arkadaşım ile başladım.

Birisiyle başlayınca, hep hocasının en iyi olduğuna inanır insan. Kızdan ayrılınca sadece bayandan ders almalıyım diye düşündüm. Sabit bir partnerim olmamalı diye düşündüm. Sonra Ayşegül'le başladım. Kız arkadaşımız oldu tango yapalım dedim. Şimdi o Latin yapıyor. Çok sıkı Latinci o.

Hangi sebeple başladın Tangoya?

Arjantin Tango müziğini çok seviyordum, Türkçe tangolar da güzel ama. Tek tek yarışmalar olurdu tv'de. Kulağım arkasında Arjantin Tangosu müziğine karşı hep farklı hissedirdi. Sonra Tango Passion'u gördüm. Sonra Al Pacino'nun sahnesini seyrettim. Arada da duyuyorum ki Armada'da tango yapıyor olmuş falan.

Tango'nun nasıl bir anlamı var senin için?

Daha önceden gelen birşeyin tetikleme. Kız arkadaşlarımdan ayrıldım. Ama ben dedim ki tango hayatımda olmalı, ve bu bir kadına bağlı olmamalı. Benim hayatım boyunca yanımda olacak olan bir şey bu.

Şimdi Tango'yla ilgili ne yapıyorsun?

Dansediyorum. Yeni başlayanlara akıl vermeyi çok seviyorum. Bakıyorum kız yetenekliyse ya Ayşegül'e ya Vanessa'ya ya da Melin'e git diyorum. Erkeğe kimseyi önermiyorum, bir tek senin kocanı öneriyorum. Çünkü senin kocandan başka hiç kimsenin Milonguero öğretebileceğini düşünmüyorum. Tango'yu kullanıyorum, ben tango için birşey yapmıyorum. Şimdi zor bir dönem geçiriyorum. Param gayrimenkula bağlı, ben de sıkışmış durumdayım. Esrar / alkol yerine tango yapıyorum. Tango benim için bir kaçış noktası. Herkesin kendi evine geldiği saatte, bir takım insanlar kentin çeşitli yerlerinden çıkıyorlar, tangocular çıkıyor ve buluşuyorlar. Kendi halinde bir alemdeler. Sonra, haftanın üç günü ikiye kadar alem yapacaksın deselerdi, git işine derdim. Ama şey var, biraz işlerim düzelsin Türkiye'deki tangonun kalitesinin yükselmesi için birşey yapmak isterim. Derslerde bir hand-out olabilir örneğin.

Burada Fehmi Akgün var. Böyle bir adam her yerde bulunmuyor. Dün Tangojean'e gittim. İçeride 30-40 tane üniversite öğrencisi. İçim coşkuyla doldu. Ama İrfan çocukların derslerinde zor olan tarafı irdelenmemiş tangonun. Kızlar cin gibi. Hemen alıyorlar leading'i. Nasıl olması gerektiği konusunda onlara akıl veriyorum. Partnerin çok aceleciyse sen kendi dansını yap, o sana uysun diyorum. Mesela Aydın'ın öğrencilerinden kızlar çok iyi- Pelin'in elinden geçmişler, ama erkekler tam haydut, ne iş!

Tangonun ruhumda uzaklarda bir yerlerde entellektüel bir yoğunluğu var. Aydın çocuklara ne aktarabilir ki entellektüel bir birikim olarak. İrfan iyi ama ticari kuruluşun başında olması dolayısıyla dansından çok fedakarlılık ediyor.

Tango hayatında nereye oturuyor?

Çok önemli bir yere oturuyor. İşim dışındaki herşeyim, özel hayatım. Ben bekarım ve saat 6'dan sonra kendimle başbaşayım. Tüm özel hayatım bu.

Tango olmazsa hayatının neresi boşalırdı?

Özel hayatım, ama bu travmatik bir olay. Tangosuz olamam.

Tangoya gitmek ne demek senin için?

Orada bir sürü arkadaşım var. Genel olarak kadınlar, erkeklerden daha az. Dostluk sınırında olan arkadaşları kastediyorum. Gidip onlarla sohbet ediyorum.

Tango senin için ne platformu?

Birkaç şey. Tüm sosyalitem orada, onun dışındaki herşeyden son beş sene kopmuş durumdayım.

Niye son beş sene?

İktisadi kriz yaşamam, minimumlar içinde yaşamamdan dolayı. Gece tangoya gidiyorum. Kaç para harcayacağım belli. Yedi Lira Taksim'den anneme. Başka bir yerde otopark parası.

Tango'daki Cem'i tanımlar mısın?

Şey var, seninle paylaşmak istediğim şeylerden biri bu. Gizli vahşi bir yüzü var. İyi dansetmek şart değil ama bir fiziksellik boyutu var. Kısa olanlar fazla barınamıyor. İnce olman lazım, sadece güzel kadınlarla dansetmek şeyi var, ben de diğerleriyle dansetmek zorunda kalıyorum o da bir yorgunluk oluyor. Bir adamın çok çapkın olması gerekli değil.

Basketbol benim için bir tutkuydu. Jak'a topumu verirdim Nişantaşı'nda. Sonra sakatlandım. bir sene spor yasak. Oynamamam lazım ama arkadaşım onu oynuyor. Çok fena hissediyorum. Bazı parçalar var, sen otursan da ruhun dansetmeye devam ediyor. O zaman iyi bir kadınla dansetmek istiyorsun.

Peki başka paylaşmak istediğin birşey var mı?

Belki şey olabilir. Burası İstanbul, bir sürü müzisyen var, belki daha iyi ve daha fazla tango orkestrası olabilir. Tangonun bir orkestrasına rastladım. Onlar ne yapıyor, muazzam bir orkestra ya! Eski Türk tangolarından yeni temalar yapılabilir. Buenos Aires'le İstanbul benziyor, çok güzel ve daha fazla sayıda orkestra çıkabilir.

Tango'daki Cem bir dans manyağı, bazı şeyleri, bazı parçaları duyunca mutlaka belli kalitenin üzerinde kadınlarla dansetmek ister. Oturmak???:) sadece nefeslenmek, su içmek, tuvalete gitmek için otururum, onun dışında dansederim. Çok enteresan. Sanki bir spor salonuna gidip aktivitelerde bulunuyorsun ama eşli. Beş yıldır hiç görüşmediğin bir kadınla orada tek beyin oluyorsun.

Listelerdeki mesajlar hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?

İki büyük liste var. 1500'er kişi var, ama aynı 25 kişinin mesajı, kişisel çatışmalar var, abstract kadar uzun yazanlar var. Tangotürk duyuru listesi oldu, tartışma listesi değil. Okumuyorum. İnsanlar birşeyler yakalıyorlar aslında. Milongalarla ilgili bir şey söyleyeceğim. Bazı milongalar ayda bir, 15 günde bir yapılsa, insanlar oraya gitmek için heyecan duysunlar.

Alttan insan yetişmesi önemli bunun devamdebilmesi için. Üniversiteliler bedava olur. Üniversiteli öğrenciler oturmayı, kalkmayı, kadın tutmayı öğreniler. Bir staj gibi olur onlara.

Benliğinle tango arasındaki bağlantıyı nasıl kuruyorsun?

İnşaatçılıkta çıkmayan duygusal yanımı ortaya çıkarıyor. Kadın fenomeniyle olan ilişkiyi deşifre ediyorum. İnsanı bir taraf bu, cinsel bir taraf değil.

Tango'daki varoluşu hırsla bağlayabilir misin?

Bazen gözünü kapıyorsun, kıza güveniyorsam dansın içine konsantre olabiliyorum o zaman. Daha iyi oluyor. Başta hırs yaptım, ama kız arkadaşlarımla yaptım. O benden hızlı ilerliyordu, ben bunu yapacağım ve bunu kendim için yapacağım. Ayşegül'e iki buçuk yıl gidersen, o zaman hırslı olması lazım insanın, sadece yürüyorsun düşünsene! Şu anda da başka yol yok! İnsan tangoyu hayatında bir nimet gibi görüyor. İstanbul'da yaşıyorsun.

Bodrum'da yaşasan uçağa atlayıp gidecek misin?

Bu şehirde akıllı, kaliteli ve üst düzey kadın var. Kendi hayatımda belli bir rutin yakaladıktan sonra tangoyla ilgili başka şeyler yapmak istiyorum. Üç sene sonra parke olmayan hiçbir salon kalmasın veya şehirdeki bazı mimarı mekanları tangoya kazandıralım istiyorum.

Sahildeki dolgu alanlarda nikah dairelerinde evleniyorlar. Şık bir yerde evlenseler, adamlar hayatlarında bir kere şık birşey yaşasınlar. Manzarayla bütünleşen bir bina olsun örneğin. Oralarda düğünler, milongalar yapılsın.

(Hep İstanbul üzerinden kuruyor)

İstanbul'da Haliç gibi bir liman varken orada para da olur. Tanrı buyurmuş gibi. Rotterdam öyle bir yer ki saat 17:30'da abajurlarını yakan bir semt. İstanbul ise hep ayakta, ışıl ışıl, çok güzel şeyler yapılabilir.

(Konuşma Hollanda toplumuna dönüşüyor. Sosyolojik, entellektüel bir tartışma ortamı oluyor.)

APPENDIX C

Tango Festival Class Schedules and Descriptions

ISTANBUL TANGO RITUAL CLASS PROGRAM

Thursday 9th November, 2006

TS: TANGO DE SALON, TN: TANGO NUEVO, GI: GENERAL INTEREST (All levels)

SAAT	SALON 1	SALON 2	SALON 3	SALON 4
12.00-13.30	<u>A 111</u> Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.A: Tango 1	<u>B 121</u> Esteban & Claudia Ts.B: Invasiones	<u>C 131</u> Pablo & Victoria Tn.C: Secuencias avanzadas	
14.00-15.30	<u>B 112</u> Esteban & Claudia Ts.B: Milonga 2	<u>C 122</u> Pablo & Victoria Tn.C: Vals advances	<u>D 132</u> Fabian & Carolina Tn.D: Pasadas, Tomadas, Soltadas	
16.00-17.30	<u>C 113</u> Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.C: Caminatas con sacadas	<u>D 123</u> Christian & Virginia Ts.D: Rebotes	<u>A 133</u> Fabian & Carolina Tn.A: Boleos technique	
18.00-19.30	<u>D 114</u> Esteban & Claudia Ts.D: Cambio de direccion con sacadas	<u>A 124</u> Christian & Virginia Ts.A: Caminar la pista	<u>B 134</u> Fabian & Carolina Tn.A: Ganchos & boleos	

TS: TANGO DE SALON, TN: TANGO NUEVO, GI: GENERAL INTEREST (All levels)

Friday, 10th November, 2006

TS: TANGO DE SALON, TN: TANGO NUEVO, GI: GENERAL INTEREST (All levels)

SAAT	SALON 1	SALON 2	SALON 3	SALON 4
12.00-13.30	<u>A 211</u> Fabian & Carolina Tn.A: Sacadas technique	<u>B 221</u> Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.B: Milonga 1	<u>C 231</u> Esteban & Claudia Ts.C: Diferentes tipos de boleos	
14.00-15.30	<u>B 211</u> Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.B: Vals	<u>C 222</u> Esteban & Claudia Ts.G: Villa Urquiza	<u>D 232</u> Pablo & Victoria Tn.D: Giros desplazados	
16.00-17.30	<u>C 213</u> Christian & Virginia Ts.C: Arrastres y combinaciones	<u>D 223</u> Pablo & Victoria Tn.D: Enrosques para mujeres	<u>A 233</u> Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.A: Tango 2	
18.00-19.30	<u>D 214</u> Fabian & Carolina TnD: Men & women sacadas	<u>A 224</u> Pablo & Victoria Tn.A: Milonga	<u>B 234</u> Christian & Virginia Ts.B: Creatividad y improvisacion	

A: Intermediate (1-2 years), B: Upper intermediate (2-4 years), C: Advanced (4-6 years), D: Master (6 years & above)

İSTANBUL TANGO RITUAL CLASS PROGRAM

Saturday 11th November, 2006

TS: TANGO DE SALON, TN: TANGO NUEVO, GI: GENERAL INTEREST (All levels)

SAAT	SALON 1	SALON 2	SALON 3	SALON 4
12.00-13.30	A 311 Christian & Virginia Ts.A: Tecnica de giros 1	B 321 Fabian & Carolina Tn.GI: Tango Nuevo of today	C 331 Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.GI: El abrazo	
14.00-15.30	B 312 Pablo & Victoria Tn.B: Centrifugas	C 322 Fabian & Carolina Tn.C: Colgada technique & combinaciones	D 332 Esteban & Claudia Ts.D: Sostenidas y deslizadas	
16.00-17.30	C 313 Fabian & Carolina Tn.C: Volcada technique & combinaciones	D 323 Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.D: Secuencias Tanguerillas	A 333 Esteban & Claudia Ts.A: Estructuras basicas	
18.00-19.30	D 314 Pablo & Victoria Tn.D: Rebotes	A 324 Esteban & Claudia Ts.A: Caminata con giros	B 334 Christian & Virginia Ts.B: Milonga con traspie	

Sunday, 12th November, 2006

TS: TANGO DE SALON, TN: TANGO NUEVO, GI: GENERAL INTEREST (All levels)

SAAT	SALON 1	SALON 2	SALON 3	SALON 4
12.00-13.30	A 411 Fabian & Carolina Tn.A: Ganchos technique	B 421 Christian & Virginia Ts.B: Secuencias con ganchos	C 431 Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.C: Musicalidad y pauses	
14.00-15.30	B 412 Pablo & Victoria Tn.B: Ganchos rotados	C 422 Esteban & Claudia Ts.C: Sacadas 2	D 432 Fabian & Carolina Tn.D: Advanced combinations	
16.00-17.30	C 413 Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.C: Milonga 2	D 423 Esteban & Claudia Ts.D: Pivots en P. Abiertas: Ganchos, Boleos y Sacadas	A 433 Pablo & Victoria Tn.GI: Tradicion y modernidad	
18.00-19.30	D 414 Ezequiel & Geraldine Ts.D: Boles, ganchos, adornos	A 424 Christian & Virginia Ts.A: Tecnica de giros 2	B 434 Pablo & Victoria Tn.B: Especial de Pablo & Victoria	

A: Intermediate (1-2 years), B: Upper intermediate (2-4 years), C: Advanced (4-6 years), D: Master (6 years & above)

APPENDIX D

Photos and Brochures – Istanbul Tango Ritual 2008 and EveyeSonik

EVYESONİK

Ultrasonic Washing Technologies

Home | Products | About Us | Contact

Models

Areas of Use

Technical Specs



Documentation (EN)

What is EVYESONİK?

Eyvesonik is a cleaning and disinfection system using ultrasonic cleaning technology, easy to use, cleaning fruits, vegetables, baby accessories from germs, pathological agents, removing the detergent layer from dishes.



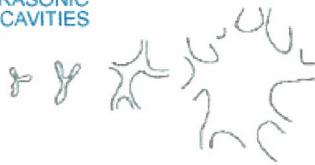
How does EVYESONİK work?

Eyvesonik works by emission of ultrasonic waves. The waves produced by the system create a mechanical vibration through the water. These vibrations clean fruits and vegetables from chemical agents and living organisms. Eyvesonik does also disinfect the dishes and accessories used for baby feeding. It also cleans normal dishes without using detergent, and by consequence without leaving detergent layer.

What are Ultrasonic Waves?

By traveling through water with a frequency of 25-40 kHz, ultrasonic waves produce millions of microscopic air cavities loaded with vacuum energy. These air cavities, when getting in contact with surfaces, create a vacuum effect. The result is the quick separation of greases, carbons, chemicals, blood, particules from these surfaces. In the mean time, these surfaces are also cleaned from any bacteria or living organism.

ULTRASONIC
AIR CAVITIES

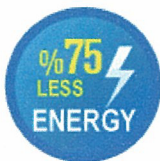


NORMAL AIR
CAVITIES



How to use EVYESONİK?

The use of Eyvesonik is very easy. The 3 buttons on the control panel control the 3 washing programs : dishes (3 minutes), fruits&vegetables (5 minutes), disinfection (10 minutes). Before to use Eyvesonik, the sink is filled with water, the products to be cleaned are placed in the special metallic baskets ordered within the system. At the end of the program, the system stops by itself. After the end of the program, the sink is emptied by removing the purge lid.



Hasdal Cad, Murat Sk, No:6 Kağıthane
80360 Istanbul / TURKEY

Tel: (0212) 295 44 88 - 295 44 89
321 11 40 - 321 11 41
Faks: (0212) 294 93 53

INTERSONİK

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EVYESONİK

Ultrasonic Washing Technologies

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Models

What is EVYESONİK?

Technical Specs



Documentation (EN)

Areas of Use



Cleaning of Fruits & Vegetables

→ Cleans without hand contact the most difficult fruits and vegetables : spinach, salad, parsley, tomato, cranberry, grape...

→ Antibacterial.

→ %100 hygienic.

→ Destroys insect eggs, bacteria, and pathogen microscopic organisms from foods.

→ Economic : uses few water, energy, time, needs few efforts.



Sterilisation

→ Desinfects and cleans feeding bottles, nipples, spoons and other tools used in baby feeding. No more need for a sterilisator.



Dish Washing

→ Antibacterial Cleaning.

→ Garanties hygienic and economic cleaning.

→ Neutralizes %99 of bacteria and viruses.

→ Garanties %99 of disinfection.

→ Uses %75 less energy.

→ Uses %75 less time.

→ Uses %75 less water.

→ Uses %75 less detergent.

→ Using a detergent is not needed. For the heavy duty jobs, 1 coffee spoon of detergent may be used upon your appreciation.

→ Doesn't leave detergent layer on the dished. Garanties therefore %100 of hygien and cleaning.



Hasdal Cad, Murat Sk, No:6 Kağıthane
80360 Istanbul / TURKEY

Tel: (0212) 295 44 88 - 295 44 89
321 11 40 - 321 11 41
Faks: (0212) 294 93 53

INTERSONİK

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APPENDIX E

Photos from Onlytango and If4tango







if4tango

Innovated feelings for tango

Only the Lonely
Collection



Özgül SÖNMEZ

Showroom: Defferdar Yokuşu Batarya Sok. 16/A Cihangir 34433 Beyoğlu / İSTANBUL

Tel : 0090 212 243 33 75

Gsm : 0090 532 466 54 40

ozgul@if4tango.com www.if4tango.com

CURRICULUM VITAE

Melin Levent Yuna

Personal Information:

Date of Birth	06.08.1973
Place of Birth	Istanbul
Status	Married

Education:

Secondary School: 1984 – 1991 Private Dođuř College

Undergraduate: 1991 – 1995 Bođaziçi University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences
Sociology Department

Graduate (M.A): 1996 – 1999 Bođaziçi University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences
Sociology Department

PHD: 2004 – 2010 Yeditepe University, Institute of Social Sciences,
Anthropology Department (I had two years of break during my
pregnancy and breastfeeding)

Art Education 1997 – 2001 Pera Fine Arts School Flamenco Dance Department

Institutional Work Experience:

2009 – 2010 Yeditepe University, Anthropology Department, Instructor

2000 – 2006 Yeditepe University Anthropology Department, Instructor

1995 – 1996 Trio Research and Marketing, Research Project Manager