



Dance and Identity Construction in Political Rhythms in Prefecture of Edirne, Turkey

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to study the process of constructing the national identity of two communities of European Turkey, or otherwise Turkish Thrace, Edirne and Calikoy. In particular, this paper attempts to investigate how the residents of the two communities under study, during the communication with political power negotiate their national identity, through the dancing wedding ritual of "Kina gecesi". Data was gathered through the ethnographic method as this is applied to the study of dance, while the interpretation of the data was based on the theoretical visuals of the socio-cybernetics according to the identity control theory that Burke proposed. From the data analysis it was found that, both communities, interacting with the political ideology of each time, used the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi" as an indicator of their ethnic and consequently national identity, which moves between Kemalism and Political Islam. "Kina gecesi" dancing ritual continue until today to be an indicator of national identity in Turkey and to strengthen the unity of the Turkish territory by presenting in places peculiarities of its performance depending on the time (Kemalism, political Islam) and the place (urban / non-urban).

Keywords: *Dance; Ethnographic Method; Socio-Cybernetics; Turkish Thrace; "Kina Gecesi" Ritual*

Introduction

The nation state requires unique and exclusive identities because it needs its homogeneity in order to govern more effectively its territory and justify its existence (Angelopoulos, 1997; Gellner, 1983). Therefore, its main concern is the construction of a single, homogeneous and unquestionable national identity (Lekkas 1996). To achieve this, it uses symbols in order to "produce" the nation. One of these symbols is dance.

Dance is a symbol of identity and therefore a powerful 'tool' for the creation of a national ideology (Meyer, 1995). Thus, dance as a cultural product was used many times politically by the ruling class, to create policy of consciousness (Fountzoulas, 2016). In Turkey, with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the Turkish state in 1923, nationalism, had to create its own of national symbols (Ozturkmen, 2001). These symbols had to combine tradition but also the modernization

of Turkish society, a fact promoted by Turkish politics in that time period, in order to construct a very specific Turkish image (Conrad, 1998).

One of the national symbols of Turkey is the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi". The "Kina gecesi", which means "night of henna", is a farewell wedding ceremony, in which the bride bids farewell to her parents' house and her childhood. According to Conservative Turks, the henna ritual is considered the most important ritual in Turkish society and in the entire Muslim world, because, this ritual expresses a very strict traditional and religious conception, which defines its body of a woman as an object belonging to her husband, as it is considered that the woman is possible to pass on to the female nature only through marriage (Ustuner, Ger, & Holt, 2000).

Therefore, the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi" is occupied by religious perceptions of the Muslim world, as well as of other elements, such as its participation of the Hodja in it, that do not follow the principle of secularization, on which supported the construction of the Turkish state, through its official ideology, the Kemalism. Within the nation state, the single national identity is constructed and is maintained in a systematic way "from above", that is, by the central authority (Demertzis, 1996). The central authority in Turkey was trying to westernize the Turkish society and as a result was asking the Turks for a "self-alienation" from their traditions, in other words, it was calling for the restriction of their religious customs.

However, the whole process of constructing a single national identity is also influenced "from below", since its reception, assimilation or marginalization by those to whom it is addressed should be included (Hobsbawm, 1994). Thus, despite this alienation sought by Kemalism, the "Kina gecesi" ritual dance was maintained by the inhabitants of both communities under study.

Based on the above, the aim of this research is to study process of constructing the national identity of two communities of European Turkey, or otherwise Turkish Thrace, Edirne and Calikoy. In particular, this paper attempts to investigate how the residents of the two communities under study, during the communication with political power negotiate their national identity, through the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi".

Methodology

The methodological process consisted of three steps, namely data collection, analysis and interpretation. Data was gathered through the ethnographic method as this is applied to the study of dance (Buckland, 1999; Giurchescu & Torp, 1991; Koutsouba, 1997; Sklar, 1991) and based on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources refer to data gathered through fieldwork that was carried out at the region of European Thrace and particularly at the communities of Edirne and Calikoy, from July 2011 up to December 2017. The selection of the two communities under study was made on the basis of their nature. More specifically, Edirne is the center of the homonymous area and has an urban character with all that entails, something that does not apply to Calikoy's rural society. Primary sources refer to the data coming from in-situ research, through interviews (open-type questions for semi-structured interview and unstructured interview) and through participant observation combined with simultaneous audio and video recording of the inhabitants of the community.

Oral history was also used as a method, through which everyday memory is projected as a quest of social history (Thomson, 2002). Secondary sources refer to the review and use of the existing literature based on the principles of archival ethnography (Gefou-Madianou, 1999; Stocking 1992) and historical research in dance (Adshead & Layson, 1983).

For the collection, presentation and analysis of the data, Geertz's model of "thick description" (2003) was adopted. The recording of the dance that accompanies the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi", the dance notation system of Laban was used (Labanotation) (Hutchinson 1977, Koutsouba 2005) as well as

the Laban System of effort and their comparison was made by the method of comparison (Holt, & Turner, 1972; Ogurchov, 1983). Finally, the interpretation of the data was based on the theoretical visuals of the social-cybernetic according to the control model of identity (ICT-identity control theory) that Burke (1991) proposed.

Urged by Cybernetics theory, Burke (1991) structured a model of identity control (Identity Control Theory - ICT) in which the process of formulation of identity results from the process of control (Burke, 1980, 1991, 1995, 1996, 1997, Burke & Gekas 1994; Burke & Cooper 2000, Burke & Stets 1994; Ellestad & Stets, 1998; Simmons, Smith, Erez, Burke & Pozos, 1998; Stets, 1995). More analytically, Burke (1991) considers that identity consists of a set of meanings, which include symbolic and non-symbolic parameters (Burke & Freese, 1989). These notions are applied in an individual while being in a social situation, a fact which determines who someone is (Burke & Tully, 1977). This set of meanings functions as a point of reference, namely an identity standard.

According to the model of Burke, when an identity activates, a circle of feedback is created which consists of four structural elements (Stokes, 2006, 2007) which are: a) the standards of reference or adjustment (an overall of self-meanings) b) the input of information from the environment or a social situation, including reflected appraisals of the perceptions related to self c) the process which compares the input of information to the standards of function of a comparator and finally, d) the output to the environment in which it was compared to which is the source of behaviour that aim to bring the introductory exceptional information in connection with identity standards. (Burke, 1991) (Figure 1).

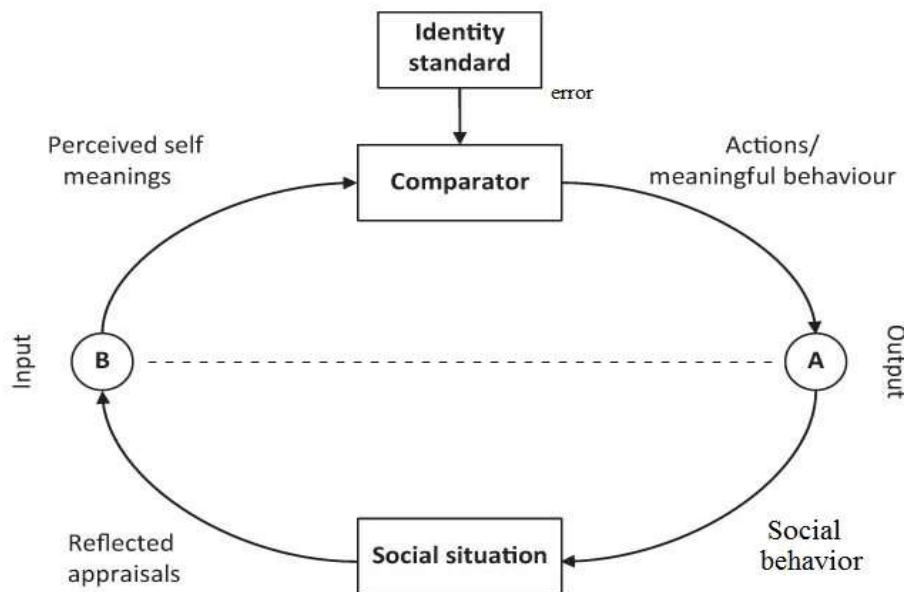


Figure 1. Identity Control Theory-ICT (Burke, 1991)

This model functions by converting the output, meaning the behaviour in a social situation, with the aim to change the incoming information (input) that concern reflected appraisals of self. This is done, in order to match internal standards (Burke, 1991), meaning it tries to self-control the introductory perceptual information it receives.

The Henna Night (Kina Geseci) in Edirne and in Calikoy of Turkey

The night of the "henna" ("kina geseci") is a ritual, which according to Turkish tradition is associated with a story that is considered to have its origin in the time of the Prophet Muhammad (Ustuner, et al., 2000). According to Turkish tradition, in the era of religious wars and one night before an

attack on Jihad, Muhammad gathered his followers and as he prayed with them for victory, he placed henna on the palms of the soldiers (Ustuner, et al., 2000). According to Ustuner, et al. (2000), the red color of henna, similar to that of blood, symbolized the fact that warriors were ready to sacrifice their blood and lives in the name of God. According to Turkish tradition, this ritual that Muhammad followed before the war was eventually transformed into a wedding ritual, in which the bride symbolically abandons her identity as a virgin daughter, centered in her mother's house, and enters a new one phase in her life, like that of the woman, who focuses around her husband's family (Ustuner, et al., 2000). Ustuner, et al., (2000), following this version of tradition, consider that, "kına gecesi" is a female ritual. According to them, this ceremony takes place at the house of the bride's parents, one or even two nights before the wedding ceremony. "Henna night" is an important event for the bride and groom and their families, but also for the whole community, as it is a significant social event.

In the Calikoy community of Uzunkupru district in Turkey, the bride's mother, a few days before the ceremony, personally invites her neighbors and relatives, especially the women, and the bride in turn invites the groom's family, and her friends. When the day of "Kına gecesi" arrives, the neighbors together with the mother of the bride, prepare the meals and appetizers that will be offered in the evening to the guests.

The same night, the "night of henna" ritual begins at the bride's house. The ritual begins with the prayers of Hodja or the wishes of an elderly woman (Ustuner, et al., 2000). After the prayer, the bride, who usually dresses in red (Ustuner, et al., 2000), wearing a traditional dress called a "bidali" and covering her face with a red arrow, enters the room of her house, where her friends and all the women are gathered. An unmarried friend of the bride follows her into the room holding a tray of lighted candles. The bride sits in a chair and is surrounded by her friends, the "virgin girls" (Ustuner, et al., 2000), who begin a circular rhythmic walk around her, resembling a dance, holding lighted candles, while Hodja begins the prayer again.

According to Tyrovola (1999, p. 183), circular dances "... were of great importance and mysticism for all ancient peoples. It was usually danced around [...] a sacred symbol [...] in order to purify and remove any demonic influence. [...]. The circular dance [...] protects the sacred center, while the close relationship of the dancers that results due to the direct connection of the hands intensifies the result...». The closed circle creates the sense of immediacy of the participating group and expresses the exception of the rest of the world. In primitive societies in the center of the closed circle there was the worshiped deity or its representative, usually played by the magician or the priest, who directed the whole magical process (Panagiotou, Papadopoulou, Nikiforidis, & Zacharis, 2000; Tyrovola, 1999).

Therefore, through the same constantly repeating rhythm and through the dance movements, the circular dance, as the absolute union, functions as a symbol of mutual aid, preserves the sacred space and provides the means of initiation to the cult values, protecting the object, the space that encloses the evil eye, while, at the same time, it becomes a means of preventing evil (Loutzaki, 1983-1985; Tyrovola, 2012; Filippidou, Koutsouba, & Tyrovola, 2012).

After the prayer the girls start singing. The song of "Kına gecesi" always refers to separation events, where mothers leave their daughters, who become wives and then daughters leave their mothers and go "abroad". These songs create a "collective transcendental moment" (Ustuner, et al., 2000), in which many participants experience the personal and social significance of the ritual, usually bursting into tears (Ustuner, et al., 2000).

In Calikoy, the representative sitting song of the dancing ritual of "Kına gecesi" is the song "Yüksek Yüksek Tepelere", which means high, high at the top and which refers to the expatriate bride (Table 1). After the end of the above emotional moment, the main part of the "night of henna" ritual begins. One of the bride's friends brings the tray of henna to the bride's mother-in-law and she in turn takes some henna from him and tries to deposit it in the bride's palms, but the bride refuses to open her

hand. In order for the bride to accept the henna, her mother-in-law places a gold coin in her palm and only after receiving it does the palm open and the henna color the bride's hand. After coloring the bride's palm, the tray with henna passes from hand to hand to all participants, who color their hands respectively.

Table 1. The sitting song of the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi"

Turkish	Translation
Yüksek yüksek tepelere ev kurmasınlar.	They should not build houses high in the mountains.
Aşrı aşrı memlekete kız vermesinler.	Girls should not give away.
Annesinin bir tanesini hor görmesinler.	They should not neglect their one and only mother.
Uçanda kuşlara malum olsun.	Maybe the birds carry the message.
Ben annemi özledim.	I miss my mother.
Hem annemi hem babamı.	Both my mother and my father.
Ben köyümü özledim.	I miss my village.
Babamım bir atı olsa binse de gelse.	If my father had a horse he could ride it and come.
Annemin yelkeni olsa açsa da gelse.	If my mother had a sail cloth, she could open it and come.
Kardeşlerim yollarımı bilse de gelse.	If my brothers knew the way, they could come.
Uçanda kuşlara malum olsun.	Maybe the birds carry the message.
Ben annemi özledim.	I miss my mother.
Hem annemi hem babamı.	Both my mother and my father.
Ben köyümü özledim.	I miss my village.

Then, after the completion of this ritual, a dance called "Kina halayı" begins of the participants, during which the first dancer holds in her right hand the tray with henna and lighted candles. After the end of the dance, there is a party with traditional songs sung by some of the guests and with traditional dances, in which all those present now participate. Non-alcoholic drinks, dried fruits, nuts, as well as the meal prepared by the neighbors and the mother of the bride, early in the morning, are offered at this point.

On the other hand, in Edirne the invitations for "Kina gecesi" are made many days earlier, by the parents of people who are going to get married, but also by themselves. They usually give the guests wedding invitations, to which they are invited on both festive days, those of henna and the wedding ceremony. The "Kina gecesi", as well as the wedding ceremony party take place in a local entertainment center, which specializes in such events. Unlike Calikoy, in Edirne the people who are going to get married are placed in the center of the center's dance floor, both wearing special traditional costumes. Immediately after, girls holding candles enter the room and walk around the bride and the groom, as some sitting songs are heard through the loudspeakers, especially of the occasion, while at the same time an old woman prays and gives wishes to the bride and groom. After the end of the song, the mother-in-law of the bride put henna and a gold coin, both in the palm of the bride and the groom, and immediately after the party begins. The first dance is the "Kina halayı", but this time the girls do not hold the tray with henna and candles.

The Dance, the Music and the Song of Ritual Kina Gecesi in Edirne and in Calikoy

In both communities under study the musical instruments used in the various occasions are the zourna (pipe), the nei (a kind of long flute) the davul (drum with two sticks) and the darbuka (Arabic tabla). However, Turkish traditional music is also dominated by a unique musical instrument called the saz or baglama, a type of stringed instrument commonly played by itinerant musicians known as Ozan or by Alevi religious troubadours, called Asikides (Turkish Asik) (Markoff, 1995). However, in the wedding parties, but also in local celebrations of European Thrace, the zournas and the davoul are mainly used, as well as the clarinet. However, in the "Kina gecesi" dancing ritual, both in Edirne and Calikoy, in recent years' electronic music has dominated, played by a local DJ (disc jockey), who is chosen by the bride and the groom to assist in specific occasion, especially when the "night of henna" takes place in official

venues. However, in Edirne, the use of local musicians with zourna and davul was also observed in the "Kina gecesi", but this took place in the courtyard of the bride's house and not in an official entertainment center. In recent years, however, the use of zourna and davul has become more and more common in the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi" which take place in these official places.

According to Turkish musician Mahmut Demir and his wife singer Françoise Arnaud-Demir (2017): "... Throughout the province of Edirne, they use clarinet a lot, with darbuka or davul. In fact, the darbuka among gypsies may be played with a stick, and sometimes a violin can come along. [...] And you know the gypsy people, they will have either clarinet, or saxophone, or trumpet. [...] Saz can also be used for in-house meetings and Bektaşî rituals. But of course the instruments the most used in wedding and sunset are the zourna (two zournas) and davul. The zourna in Thrace is especially long - not the small zourna that exists in East or center Anatolia...".

As for the songs that accompany the "Kina gecesi", they refer to the love, romance and beauty of the future bride. However, the songs are not traditional, in other words they do not come from folk music, but are from famous singers, songwriters or troubadours of Turkish music. In Edirne the song that accompanied the dance was "Kina gecesi", which refers to the events that take place in the bride's house on the night of the "Kina gecesi". This song is sung, but also written by the Turkish singer Yeşim Salkim.

On the other hand, in the community of Calikoy the song that accompanied the dance of "Kina gecesi" ritual was the "Ayva çiçek açmış" which means blooming quince and which is performed by the famous Turkish singer Müzeyyen Senar, who is known in Turkey as the "Diva of democracy" (Dorsay, 2006). However, the dance of "Kina gecesi" ritual can be accompanied only by organic music, in case there is a zourna and davul in the ceremony, where the song in this case is sidelined, due to the size of the sound of the music instruments.

Finally, regarding the dance that accompanies the event of "Kina gecesi", this is danced exclusively by women (Figure 2). Initially the plate with henna and candles is held by the bride's closest friend. Then follow her other friends, her relatives, but also all the women who attend the party that day, who exchange themselves at the beginning of the dance circle.



Figure 2. The dance Kina halayi in Edirne without the sacred object with the candles

In fact, in Calikoy, the bride herself participates in the dance, a fact that is not found in Edirne. In this community the bride sits in a chair in the middle of the nightclub track where the ceremony takes

place, and after the process of painting her hands is completed, the women dance around her, without holding the candlelit plate. However, in a suburb of the same community, where the event took place in the yard of the bride's house, the same process was observed as in Calikoy.

On the other hand, in Calikoy and after the completion of the "Kina gecesi" inside the house, the participants form a straight line and leaving the house they start the dance, heading to the courtyard, where the other guests are present. Arriving there they form a circle and begin to alternate in the first place, always holding the plate with henna and candles.



Figure 3. The dance Kina halayi in Calikoy

The dance that accompanies the "Kina gecesi" ritual in both communities of Turkey is called "Kina halayi". The first dancer in this dance is called "halaybasi" and the last in the series "pocik". Halayi dance comes from the word "alay" which means either "many people" or "unity", "union", "cooperation" (Hartong, 2006). However, according to Nişanyan (2007), the Turkish word "Halay" comes from the Iranian word "Hālāy" (هالای) which means "to stand", "to jump" and "to dance". This dance is one of the many categories of traditional dances in Turkey and is found mainly in central and southeastern Anatolia and Kurdistan (Hartong, 2006).

More specifically, in Turkey there are eleven categories of traditional dances, as shown in Figure 5. These categories correspond to specific rhythmic structures and which reflect the cultural structure of each region, while they are often indicative of a regional Turkish identity (Aydın, 2016). These categories are the "Bar" in Erzurum province, the "Halay" in eastern, central and southeastern Anatolia, the "Hora" in Turkish Thrace, the "Horon" in the Black Sea, the "Kaşık havası", ie dances with spoons, around the region of Konya, the "Lezginka" in Kars and Ardahan, the "Zeybek" in the Aegean, south of the Marmara and in southeastern Anatolia, the "Teke" in the western Mediterranean, and the "Karsilama" in the western and central Anatolia, in the western Black Sea, south of the Marmara, and in the eastern Mediterranean (Duygulu, 2006).

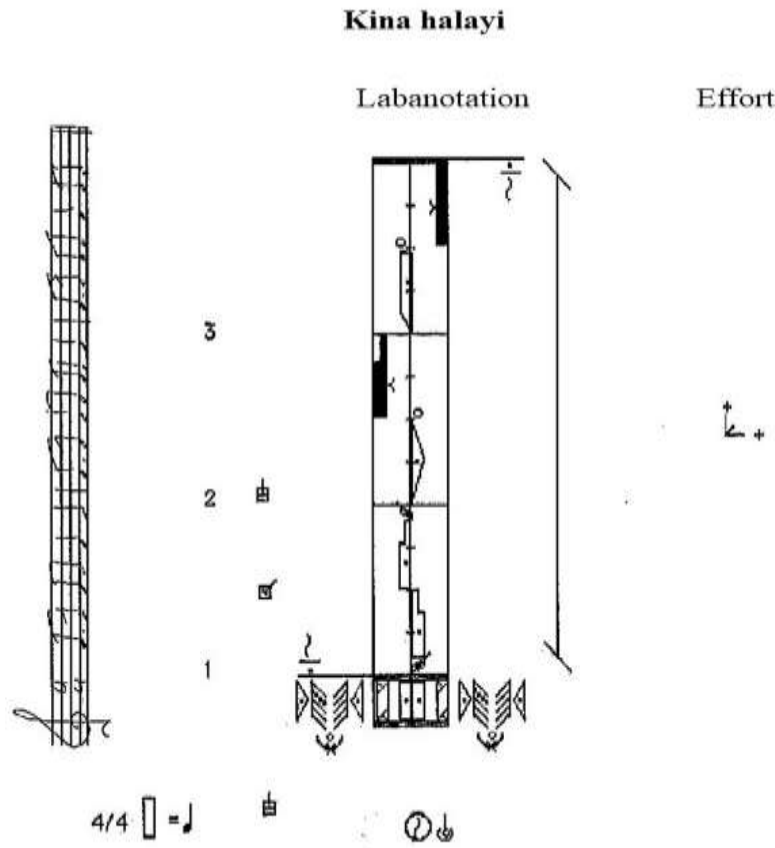


Figure 4. Kina halayi dance notation in Edirne and in Calikoy



Figure 5. Categories of Turkish traditional dances
(source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=19462138>)

However, despite the fact that in the region of Turkish Thrace the dances consist of nine-note rhythms and especially of karsilamades and circular dances from the shoulders called "Hora" (Aydın, 2016), the four-note dance Halay, which is preferred in central and southeastern Anatolia, is the one who accompanies the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi". However, the "Kina halayı" dance is a combination of the "Hora" and "Halay" dances, as from the first the dance movements have been preserved, while from the second the grip and the musical measure have been preserved. Probably, by choosing the four-note

musical measure of the Halay dance, which according to the Pythagoreans symbolizes the completion (Filippidou, Koutsouba, & Tyrovola, 2021) in combination with its name denoting the union (Filippidou, et al., 2021), they made it suitable to accompany a wedding dance event which is also full of symbolism (Filippidou, 2018), while maintaining the Hora dance, which is a dance "in three" (Tyrovola, 2001), a number indicative of fertility (Tyrovola, 2006, 2012; Filippidou, et al., 2012).

Cybernetic Construction of Identity Through Dance in Turkish Thrace

The Ottoman Empire, since its founding in 1299 by Osman the first, and for more than six centuries, has been one of the most important world powers (Schon, 2013). After the First World War, which led to the disintegration of the Empire into smaller entities, its official successor status became the Turkish Republic (Schon, 2013). This was achieved through Mustafa Kemal, who played a leading role in initiating political and social change and in constructing a Turkish national identity (Schon, 2013). However, the Turkish nation-state has been slow to achieve national cohesion, to the extent that it has taken place in the states of Western Europe (Millas, 2005).

More specifically, the Turks as a population group with a single national identity appeared with a relative delay, in relation to the other Balkan nations (Millas, 2005). Until the 20th century, the term "Turk" was used by Turkish-speaking Muslims in the Ottoman Empire to address someone disparagingly (Filippidou, 2011; Millas, 2005). In other words, for many centuries the term "Turk" was a derogatory term used in the sense of the 'illiterate' and 'rude' Muslim peasant (Filippidou, 2011; Karaosmanoglou, 1989; Millas, 2005; Namik, 1965). However, later, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this term dropped its derogatory meaning and took on a much more positive connotation, as the Ottoman ruling class began to embrace European ideas of nationalism (Kushner, 1997). Therefore, the term "Turk" was the "lever" of a new ideology, which aimed to create a single Turkish consciousness, Kemalism or Ataturkism (Millas, 2005).

Kemalism or Ataturkism is the official ideology of the Turkish state, which was formed during the Greek-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the one-party regime of Turkey (1923-1946). Two of the principles of kemalist ideology is nationalism and secularism. Nationalism in Kemalism, which is its main component, aims to strengthen the unity of Turkish territory. It achieves this through Turkification and the elimination of all linguistic, cultural and other peculiarities inherent in Turkey (Andriopoulou, 2014). According to a Turkish proverb, "there are seventy-two and a half ethnicities in Turkey" (Stamkos & Kosanovic, 2006). This proverb reflects the reality in this country, where, according to Andrews (1989), there are at least 52 ethnicities, with distinct linguistic, religious and ethnological characteristics (Figure 6).

Kemal, knowing that Islam was a key element of the collective identity in Anatolia, used the religious element in order to claim the support of the nationalist movement and to achieve the elimination of particularities (Bernard, 2001). The "Holy War" was subsequently created, through which all non-Muslim populations living in Turkish territory were considered enemies of the Turkish nation and most were expelled from Turkey (Poulton, 2000).

However, in Turkey there are also groups with linguistic peculiarities, which according to Kemalist nationalism should either will be expelled or Turkified. Thus, in 1930, the Turkish Ministry of Interior issued a secret circular according to which non-Turkish Turks had to adopt Turkish as their mother tongue and integrate into the Turkish community (Paraschaki, 2008). This circular was handed over confidentially to the prefects, who had to apply it using the appropriate means, in order to understand that the Turkish language and the embrace of Turkism create feelings of pride, in order to make them admit from the heart that they are Turks (Yıldız, 2001). The means they used in this endeavor, among others, were the stigmatized and inferior treatment of the costumes, songs, dances and generally the customs of the foreign-speaking populations, with a direct consequence, either of their expulsion or of their transformation (2001).



Figure 6. Ethnic groups in Turkey

(Source: <https://www.pinterest.co.kr/pin/510877151466997272/>)

Based on the above, the principle of nationalism of Kemalist ideology is based on national unity and faith in the state, considering any difference as a threat (Aral, 1997). However, the inhabitants of Edirne and Calikoy belong to the ethnic group of Turks, as they are Muslims in religion and speak the Turkish language. Thus, the inhabitants of the communities under study, being Turks, having a language and religion similar to the characteristics promoted by Kemalism, did not face particular pressure in order to integrate into the Turkish state (Filippidou, 2018). Therefore, the inhabitants of Edirne and Calikoy did not have to adapt to the circumstances of their external environment, in order to have a harmonious life within it. Being in the same ethnic group, there was a positive interaction between them (Filippidou, 2018). This resulted in the reception of positive messages from the external environment, which, managed by the inhabitants of the communities under study, resulted in the creation of a positive self-perception and consequently a harmonious communication. According to Burke (1991), when communication is orderly, the feedback is in line with the identity model. The result is that the identity remains stable, without the need to take any action.

However, Kemalism also advocates the secular character of the state, wanting to lead Turkey on the path of modernization and Westernization. With secularization, Kemalism attempted to limit Islam and replace it with a national mindset (Andriopoulou, 2014). In order to have space and a spirit of receptivity for the innovation that Kemalism brought, in other words for the westernization of the newly formed Turkish state, it sought from the Turks a "self-alienation" from their traditions and established ways of thinking. This resulted in the restriction of customs governed by religion. One of them was the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi", in which Hodja's role was important, as he blessing the ritual and who, later, after the abolition of religious marriage in Turkey, was replaced by an old woman, who simply gave wishes to the bride and to the groom.

Despite this alienation sought by Kemalism, the "kina gecesi" dance ritual was maintained by the inhabitants of both communities under study, as it is considered one of the most important customs of the Turkish people (Filippidou, 2018). With the preservation of "Kina gecesi" and with religious sentiment prevailing, the inhabitants of Edirne and Calikoy were moving away from their Turkish identity and

coming closer to Islam. This, automatically, however, came into conflict with the Kemalist ideology, and consequently with the political leadership of the time, which aimed to modernize and transform Turkey into the model of the Western European states of the time. The result of the above was the activation of the identity control component, in order to see if the social behavior had a negative effect on the self-perception of the group.

In the community of Edirne, which was the urban center of the region, the demand for the principle of secularization was easily embraced. However, by maintaining the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi" and, consequently, the "Kina halayi" dance, the self-perception of the inhabitants of Edirne was contrary to the perceptions of their social environment. On this basis, the "Kina halayi" dance was set aside in order for the reflective evaluations of the self to resemble the internal standards again and thus with this self-regulation to bring harmony to the group again (Filippidou, 2018). Subsequently, the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi" was maintained as a simple farewell party of the families of the bride and the groom.

In Calikoy there was a reverse situation. Calikoy, being a community "closed" and away from the urban fabric of the capital of the region, but also of the nearby city of Uzunkupru, was occupied by strong religious sentiments. Thus, while the inhabitants embracing Turkish identity, they were not alienated from their traditions. As a result, the "Kina gecesi" dancing ritual accompanied by the dance of the same name continued to be performed normally in this community. Although this fact contradicted the Kemalist ideology of constructing the Turkish national identity, the people of Calikoy adopted it. Although one would expect the increase of degree of agreement with the one identity, the religious, to reduce the agreement with the other identity, the national one, this not happen and the preservation of the "Kina gecesi" dancing ritual did not come to a rupture with the internal standards of the inhabitants. The inhabitants of Calikoy, as they considered religion inextricably linked to their Turkish identity, interacted symmetrically and showed their superiority in the political power of the time, countering its messages (Filippidou, 2018).

Nevertheless, the political power showed neutrality in this behavior of the inhabitants of Calikoy, which means that it neither accepted the supremacy, nor did it react to the control that was imposed on it. This happened for two reasons. First, the preservation of the "Kina gecesi" dancing ritual was not accompanied by tendencies of obsession or return to highly conservative religious experiences of the past. Secondly, the "Kina gecesi" dancing ritual, as mentioned above in the presentation of the research data, is one of the most important rituals in the Muslim world. In Turkey, despite the ethnic groups that exist, the vast majority are Muslims. Thus, the "Kina gecesi" was a common ground between all these different ethnic groups in Turkey and as a result, it gradually became its national symbol (Filippidou, 2018). This dancing ritual, as well as the dance that accompanied it, was and is a symbol of a special identity, which unites the people of Turkey in a common sense and expression of collective "belonging".

Therefore, the Kemalists, not being able to oppose this dancing ritual and the importance given to it by the people of Turkey, made it a national symbol. Thus, the dance of "Kina halayi" continued to be performed in the community of Calikoy, as it represented the Turkish national identity, performed by performers who had a Turkish conscience and therefore "ambassadors" of Turkish culture to the "others", events that were also in line with the identity standards of the inhabitants. The question of why he did not stay in the case of Edirne also arises at this point. However, the answer to this question may be given by the nature of the two communities. Edirne is the center of the region and has an urban character with all that entails, something that does not apply to Calikoy's rural society.

Conclusions

The aim of this research was to study process of constructing the national identity of two communities of European Turkey, or otherwise Turkish Thrace, Edirne and Calikoy. In particular, this

paper attempted to investigate how the residents of the two communities under study, during the communication with political power negotiate their national identity, through the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi". In order to achieve this goal, an on-site survey was carried out in the region of European Turkey in order to collect the data, while their interpretation was based on the theoretical visuals of the social-cybernetic according to the control model of identity that Burke (1991) proposed.

From the analysis of the data it was found that Kemalism attempted to impose a new identity on the inhabitants of the newly formed Turkish Republic. This identity was the identity of the Turk, which tried to replace all other identities that existed in Turkey, religious, local or ethnic. He achieved this fact by changing the collective representations of the inhabitants (Andriopoulou, 2014). Therefore, Kemalism attempted to construct a Turk, who is a modern human being, free from religious and other prejudices, is a human being who has renounced traditional customs and is committed to creating a strong Turkish state (Andriopoulou, 2014).

This resulted in the removal of the dance that accompanies the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi". With this energy the event lost its traditional character and was a simple feast of the bride and the groom. By doing so, the inhabitants of Edirne were moving away from their Islamic identity and coming closer to the Turkish identity. But the people of Edirne, despite identifying themselves as Turks, also identify themselves as Islamists. They therefore had to find a way to get closer to their Islamic identity, without straying from their Turkish identity.

Consequently, although in Kemalism the principle of nationalism helped construct Turkey's national identity, it failed to replace all the identities it sought. Also, today this principle cannot work in the same way, as nowadays more than ever it is imperative to tolerate the "other", as well as a condition of coexistence. Based on all the above, political Islam makes its appearance in Turkey. Political Islam encourages the Islamic identity of Turkish citizens and demands religious freedom, without renouncing Turkish identity. He also denies the "cult of Atatürk" and embraces the unproven proposal of democratization, in order to ensure his survival (Andriopoulou, 2014). The rise of political Islam in Turkey, which began in 1950 and flourished in the 1990s, called into question the principle of secularization of Kemalism, in other words the restriction and control of religion and the replacement of religious belief by the national mindset. Political Islam opposes the invasion of Western tradition and aims to strengthen the Islamic religious and cultural tradition.

With the advent of political Islam, the "Kina gecesi" dancing ritual began to reappear in the urban center of Edirne and not be a simple feast of the bride and the groom. However, the residents of Edirne in order to harmonize these two identities, so that the views of their social environment are in line with the model of their identity, enriched the custom with western elements, such as its interpretation in entertainment centers, the accompaniment of the dance of "Kina halayi" with electronic music and not with traditional musical instruments, the invitation of the participants with printed invitations etc. In addition, they started performing again the dance that accompanies the "Kina gecesi". However, he was not unaffected by the Kemalist influence, as he is now free from the sacred object of henna and candles, which resembles a simple traditional Turkish dance, which can be danced at any social or other event.

On the other hand, in Calikoy the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi" did not stop being performed and the dance was kept as it is. As a result, the inhabitants moved away from their Turkish identity and came closer to the Islamic identity. This, however, contradicted the pattern of their identity, as they identified themselves as Turks. However, they did not have to take any action to change this, as the political authorities showed tolerance and even turned the dance ritual of "Kina gecesi" into a national Turkish symbol.

Finally, both communities, interacting with the political ideology of each time, used the dancing ritual of "Kina gecesi" as an indicator of their ethnic and consequently national identity. In Edirne, in contrast to Calikoy, in the ritual of "Kina gecesi" the Kemalist identity of Turkey is particularly evident,

which wants the Turks to modernize and follow the western standards, free from religious prejudices and traditional customs. However, the fact that the "Kina gecesi" was performed, even by Western standards, shows that tradition continues to play a role in Turkey. Even those who follow the Kemalist ideology are trying to make a "marriage" of the two tendencies that prevail in Turkey: Kemalism and Islam, two completely opposite ideologies.

In conclusion, in Turkish Thrace, the dance event of "Kina gecesi" as well as the dance that accompanies it, are an important part of the cultural life of the region, despite the opposite standards originally set by Kemalism, that is the official political ideology of the Turkish state. Thus, both the "Kina gecesi" ritual and the dance that accompanies it continued and continue today to be an indicator of national identity in Turkey and to strengthen the unity of the Turkish territory by presenting in places peculiarities of its performance depending on the time (Kemalism, political Islam) and the place (urban / non-urban).

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