

原著論文

Whose Belly Dance is it? The Vicissitudes of Modern Ethnic Sports

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Abstract

Numerous ethnic sports, which prevailed among specific ethnic groups and geographical locations, are now practiced all over the world. It has been noticed through much scholarship that the representation of modern ethnic sports is becoming more hybridized than ever in the backdrop of globalization. Belly dance, which is adapted from Middle Eastern dances, is currently popular among Taiwanese women. Taking the globalization of belly dance and its localization as an example, this study shows how Taiwanese people diversely fuse their local culture with belly dance, and bridge connections between Taiwanese identity and the imported culture by emphasizing the nurture of homeland. This study also argues that the fluidity of culture in its laundering, imaging and attaching is an appropriate model explaining the diversity and the changing nature of modern ethnic sports.

Key words: Ethnic dance; belly dance; globalization; hybrid; identity; Taiwan

1. Introduction

It is not an overstatement to say that globalization is the most powerful strength modelling the present landscape of ethnic culture. Numerous ethnic sports, which prevailed among specific ethnic groups and geographical locations, are now practiced all over the world, for example salsa dance, African dance, judo, tai-chi and yoga. Though they do keep their ethnic flavor, through the process of globalization, many of these sports have undergone dramatic changes from the inside out. Belly dance is a typical example. Adapted from traditional Middle Eastern dance, the performance of modern belly dance was mostly formed in the West in the United States in

particular, in the late 19th century. It then spread and became known to the world along with the current of globalization (Tsai, 2009; Shay & Sellers-Young, 2003; Fisher, 2003).

Sogawa (2006, p.101) proposes that when an ethnic sport becomes an international sport, native culture, which had been inseparable from the sport, tends to be washed off. He names the phenomenon **culture laundering**. With respect to the global fluidity of culture in the modern era, Appadurai (1996) proposes that migration and media together help de-territorialize cultural boundaries. It is also been noted through much scholarship that a hybrid orientation is in the present performances of ethnic dances (Shay, 2008; Meduri, 2008; Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006;

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Osumare, 2002; Foley, 2001). This study tries to combine the concepts of Sogawa and Appadurai, while figuring out the path of cultural flow among modern ethnic sports using the following three parts: culture laundering, imaging, and culture attaching.

Belly dance is very popular among Taiwanese women currently (Tsai, 2009; Chang, 2009; Lee, 2007; Chen, 2007). Taking the globalization of belly dance and its localization in Taiwan as an example, this study aims to explore how people creatively imagine and attach various cultural elements and ideology of identity to the dance. Methodologies of literary analysis and fieldwork are adopted. Several news articles published on the websites of seven Taiwanese online newspapers¹ between December 2007 and December 2010 are cited. Fieldwork was done in two Taiwanese dance classes² from January 2011 to March 2011. Further, four Taiwanese dancing lecturers³ were interviewed during the period. The result shows how Taiwanese people diversely fuse local culture with belly dance, and bridge connections between Taiwanese identity and the imported culture by emphasizing the nurture of homeland. This study also argues that the culture flow in its culture laundering, imaging and culture attaching is an appropriate model to explain the diverse representation of modern ethnic sports.

2. Ethnic sports in the modern world

2-1 Ethnic sports and identity

Since the 19th century, colonialism, globalism, tourism and the internet have had a huge influence on the transformation of cultures all over the world (Appadurai, 1996; Bauman, 1998; Tomlinson, 1999; Berger & Huntington, 2002). Additionally,

it has been noted through some scholarship that some traditional cultures are virtually newly invented. In the book "Mirror of Modernity" (1998), many cases are devoted to the invention of traditions in modern Japan. For example, the invention of martial arts, the championship system of modern sumo, its imperial history, its ethnic character and so on. In his influential book *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm (1983) argues that 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules, of ritualistic or symbolic nature which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition that automatically implies continuity with the past. And by observing the period since the industrial revolution, Hobsbawm concludes by describing the invented traditions as three overlapping types: (1) those establishing or symbolizing a social cohesion or affiliation to a group, real or artificial communities (2) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority (3) those whose main purpose is socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior which all seem related to the sense of identification with a community or a nation.

Sogawa (2006, p.99) proposes that ethnic sport can be defined as a general concept for those sports that are related more or less to a traditional culture or contribute to the forging of a specific cultural identity in the people of specific countries, societies, ethnic groups and areas who perform them. However, owing to the influences of colonialism, globalism and international tourism, the meaning and form of ethnic sports has changed a lot in present days. Sogawa also clarifies not all sports described as traditional or folk sports have a long history, but that many were created within

the past century. He thinks the act of creation is quite meaningful because it seems related to the inventor's sense of identity and ethnicity. Also, many recent studies have explored the connection between folk dance/ethnic dance and ethnic identity (Leonard, 2005; Buckland, 2006; Shay, 2006; Karayanni, 2006).

2-2 Global culture flow

In the background of globalization, many scholars notice the performance and representation of culture become more hybrid than ever. Focusing on the cultural dimension of globalization, Appadurai (1996, p.4) argues that electronic mediation and mass migration mark the world of the present not as technically new forces, but as ones that seem to impel (and sometimes compel) the work of imagination. The work of imagination, viewed in this context, is neither purely emancipatory nor entirely disciplined but is a space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practice of the modern. Together, they create specific irregularities because both views and images are in simultaneous circulation. Neither images nor viewers fit into circuits or audiences that are easily bound within local, national, or regional spaces.

Also, it has been noticed through much scholarship that globalization makes the performance of modern ethnic sports become more diverse than ever and the cultural meanings within them become even more hybrid (Shay, 2008; Meduri, 2008; Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006; Osumare, 2002; Foley, 2001). Shay & Sellers-Young especially pointed to the expression of fluid cultural boundaries within performance of modern belly dance:

Using the solo Middle Eastern form as the site of production of the rapidly expanding genre of performance labeled "intercultural performance," we hope to interrogate that genre and its definition as a way of investigating the changing relationship between "ethnic" and "hybrid" and the related national and cultural boundaries associated with them. (Shay & Sellers-Young, 2003, p. 13-14).

Focusing on the phenomenon of culture drift among modern ethnic sports, Sogawa (2006, p. 101) proposes that, when an ethnic sport becomes an international sport, native culture, which had been inseparable from the sport, tends to be washed off. This phenomenon can be called **culture laundering**. An ethnic sport which has become international through culture laundering can be viewed as no longer being the same as the sport created by an original ethnic group. Since much and more ethnic sports are now globally popular, this study tries to extend Sogawa's notion of culture laundering by mixing it with Appadurai's respect for imagination to figure out the path of culture flow in modern ethnic sports.

In what follows I will first briefly introduce the globalization of belly dance and its development in Taiwan, then review relevant literature to show the diverse representation of belly dance in Taiwan.

3. Modern belly dance

3-1 Traditional Middle Eastern dance to global belly dance

As a Western name for a traditional Middle Eastern dance, belly dance is directly translated

from the French term *danse du ventre*⁴ (Tsai, 2009). Geographically speaking, of its localization, this dance genre has been understood to comprise styles of bodily movements that originated in the vast extension from north-west Africa and the Balkans in the West to the eastern area of China, Central Asia, and the western portions of the Indian subcontinent in the east. In each of its areas of origin, the dance is characterized by improvised movements of the torso, hands, arms, and head. It incorporates movements such as pelvic lifts, hip rotations, and shoulder shimmies, found in many ancient folk and social dances of North African and Middle Eastern countries, particularly Egypt and Turkey (Kraus, 2010). The specific portion of the body that forms the focus of the dance varies throughout the vast area it originates from and probably historically as well. For example, in current practice, professional Moroccan dancers as well as people dancing in domestic venues, perform a gentle lifting and lowering of the pelvis. In Tunisia, dancers execute large, sharp movements of the hip from one side forward, while in Egypt, the dance is largely focused on rolling, articulated movements of the abdomen and vibration of the hips that can be rapid or slow. In Turkey, people concentrate on both rapid and slow shoulder and breast shimmies. Iranian dancers utilize the torso, but graceful dancers are evaluated by the bearing of their upper body and the carriage of their arms. (Shay, 1999, p. 20-34). However, these very general observations must be tempered with the concept that this is very idiosyncratic style of dance and individual styles vary greatly (Shay & Sellers-Young, 2003, p. 15).

The different folk dances are often conflated in the United States and elsewhere under the

single term 'belly dance,' which made its first formal appearance in the United States at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, which featured performers from Algeria and Syria on the Midway Plaisance (Sellers-Young 1992, p.142). Since the exhibition, American belly dancers practice a hybridized dance form that has been transformed through colonial contact, Orientalist representation, and the commodification processes inherent in cultural exhibitions and exploitation of the exotic feminine Other. American belly dancers continue to be influenced by the Orientalist images of Eastern women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in painting, photographs, literature and postcards. In the first half of the twentieth century, highly sexualized versions of Oriental dance were exported back to the Middle East and featured in nightclub venues marketed towards tourists and presented as the local dance. This version of the dance was then imported back West. This historical analysis reveals the Orientalist tropes that form part of the foundations of modern belly dance. From the 1950s to present, Hollywood films, tourism, feminism, technology and global markets keep influencing the development of this dance community (Haynes-Clark, 2010: p.31, 38-39). The women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s was the important moment that transformed the image of belly dance in American society. With its movements, belly dance was adopted by feminists as a more liberated approach toward physical expression and sexual desires and femininity exploration (Shay & Sellers-Young, 2005; Deagon, 2005; Forner, 1996; Rasmussen, 1992). Around 1980, a strong and active community of professionals and amateur belly dancers was firmly established in the United States. Classes were offered while

workshops, magazines, websites and competitions kept dancers informed of events, new music and costuming techniques. In addition, the belly dance community has spread overseas to places such as Japan, Australia, Norway and Germany (Oatley, 1999; Sellers-Young, 1992).

3-2 Multiple faces of belly dance in Taiwan

In Taiwan, however, belly dance did not arrive from the United States. In 2002, the first to actively herald belly dance in Taiwan was Wan-Ru Lee, a Taiwanese woman who had learned it in the Middle East (Tsai, 2009; Arabesque Bellydance, 2010). In just about a decade, this exotic dance⁵ was embraced all over Taiwan. News concerning belly dance frequently appeared in mass media. Some academic studies have paid attention to Taiwanese belly dance, and confirmed its popularity and ascents in Taiwanese society (Tsai, 2009; Chang, 2009; Lee, 2007; Chen, 2007). Taiwanese scholarship also points out that fusion is the most common style taught in belly dancing studios (Lee, 2007). Yet, no study examines how Taiwanese people diversely represent belly dance. The following, reviews some reports and pictures of belly dance performances in various domestic and international competitions:

The organizer of the Creative Belly Dance Open Competition in Taichung City states that belly dance is not only a matter of the Middle East now, but that it is becoming popular globally and gradually entering the local culture in Taiwan. Various Taiwanese themes are brought in to create new dance styles in the competition, including, Taiwanese indigenous belly dance, Hakka belly dance⁶, karate belly dance, tribal style belly dance and creative rotating belly dance (CNA News, 2010/03/19).

Another example comes from the 4th National Dance Exercise Performance and Awarding Ceremony, where senior dancer Mei-Hue Lai revealed to the audience a brand-new style by mixing traditional Chinese dragon and lion dance with belly dance (Figure 1). Other fusions included Chicago jazz belly dance, American tribal belly dance, and hip hop belly dance (LT Sports, 2010/01/11).

Jie Liu, the chairman of Taiwan Creative Belly Dance Association interviewed at the first Cultural Industry Exposition including participants from both Taiwan and mainland China, states: “The main difference between mainland China and Taiwan is that the former focuses on traditional style with more ethnic flavor while the latter develops multiple forms like leisure fitness, entertainment and performance. Branches of her belly dance studio have been set up in five Chinese cities, and the cooperative plan for training professional lectures on tribal, fusion and oriental styles will start soon” (CNA News, 2010/06/19).



Figure 1. Mei-Hue Lai blending belly dance with traditional Chinese dragon and lion dance.

Data from:
http://www.ltsports.com.tw/main/news.asp?no=73839&N_Class=1

In the Gala Show of the 2010 World Belly Dance Competition in Seoul, the Taiwanese team performed different fusion styles which blended various Taiwanese cultural elements, including Taiwanese indigenous dance, Hakka dance and Taiwanese folk opera into belly dance. The president of The Taiwan Dance & Sport Federation said, "Creativity of dancers not only diversifies belly dance but also gives a new life to traditional Taiwanese culture" (CNA News, 2010/05/02).

"Hakka floral print dancers" from Miaoli was the champion team of 2010 Nerfeti National Belly Dance Competition. In the competition, they wear self-designed Hakka floral print costumes and confidently show exotic Middle Eastern belly dance. Because all the team members are either Hakka or wives of Hakka men, they hope to underline Hakka character in their performance (CNA News, 2010/12/13).

3-3 *Belly dance, whose ethnic dance?*

Chen (2007) calculates that there were 8 open belly dance competitions held in 2007, which computes to an average of one every 1.5 months. To this date, Taiwanese belly dancers have also participated in many international competitions, and they have won several top prizes. In what follows, several online news articles are cited to show how Taiwanese media relates belly dancers' victories to the Taiwanese identity.

Nancy Kuo's choreography "The Chinese Ghostbuster," which merged Chinese Taoist religious dance with belly dance moves (Figure 2), landed Kuo the bronze medal at the 2007 Nagwa Fouad Cup International Belly Dance Competition held in Seoul. In the following year, she won the 9th Ahlan Wa Sahlan Belly Dance



Figure 2. Nancy Kuo presented her choreography *the Chinese Ghostbuster with tradition Chinese costume*.

Data from Nancy Kuo's blog:

http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/jw!9ResoVa_DEQ2UKLIZXmpO0F2k/article?mid=1439

Festival of 2008 in Egypt, a competition known as the Olympics of belly dance. Her victory was a big surprise as it constituted the first time ever that a dancer from East Asia had taken the gold medal. Taiwanese media praised her: "The pride of Taiwan!" (LT Sports, 2008/07/08); "Her win was not only a personal achievement, but also showed the commitment to belly dance exhibited by performers in Taiwan as well as the growing popularity of this ancient dance among locals" (Taiwan Review, 2009/02/01). Nancy Kuo also invited belly dancers from various countries to Taiwan for communication and promoting Taiwanese culture at the same time. In 2009, she was recognized by the Taoyuan city with honorary citizenship (Sina News, 2009/04/02).

Several Taiwanese belly dancers won prizes at the 2010 World Belly Dance Competition in Seoul⁷. The president of The Taiwan Dance & Sport Federation states that the training of talented dancers has been emphasized in Taiwan recently. Dancers being recognized in international competitions in Asia, the United States and even

Egypt not only aid unofficial diplomacy but also further the international recognition of Taiwan (CNA News, 2010/05/02).

In July 2010, the stories of 99 Taiwanese citizens were published in a special issue of “New Pride of Taiwan” by an influential Taiwanese magazine titled *Global Views Monthly* (Figure 3). Yu-Ting Sun, who won the 2010 World Belly Dance Competition in Seoul, was selected in the category of performing arts (Figure 4). The magazine pointed out that the common feature of these Taiwanese citizens’ profiles was that they had all won international honors in their respective



Figure 3. Global Views Monthly 290th

Data from: Global Views Monthly 290th



Figure 4. New 100 Prides of Taiwan—Yu-Ting Sun

Data from: Global Views Monthly 290th

fields (Global Views Monthly, 2010).

4. Discussion

The above material demonstrates the diversity with which Taiwanese people represent belly dance. In their performances, many exotic and various Taiwanese elements are mingled with belly dance movements. Additionally, though an imported dance without venerable cultural roots in Taiwan, the attempts to bridge belly dance with Taiwanese identity do appear in mass media. Apart from manifesting the hybrid and fluid-culture orientation of modern ethnic sports, I argue that the representation of belly dance in Taiwan diversifies the relationship between global ethnic sports and identity. Reasons for my arguments are as follows:

4-1 Laundering, imaging and attaching: the culture flow of modern ethnic sports

Sogawa (2006, p.101) utilizes the term “culture laundering” to describe the change that happens when an ethnic sport becomes an international sport, and considers that this process can help the sport spread further⁸. However, this study tries to extend Sogawa’s notion by including the global culture theory of Appadurai, which emphasizes the influence of imagination in crafting a modern cultural landscape, to figure out the path of fluid culture among modern ethnic sports. This study argues that after cultural laundering, ethnic sports go through a process of imaging to cultural attaching, by which cultural elements are diversely attached on the basis of various contexts and intentions, thus contributing to the multiple cultural landscapes of modern ethnic sports. Moreover, the fluid is not unidirectional but

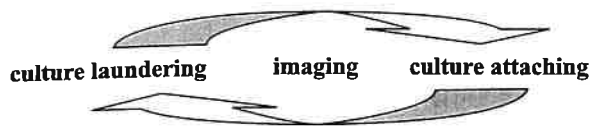


Figure 5. Fluid culture of modern ethnic sports

circulates among the three steps (Figure 5).

Taking the development of belly dance as an example, since the performance at the Chicago World Fair of 1893, the dance underwent a series of transformations both in the United States and in the Middle East which were mainly inspired by Orientalism. During its transforming and re-inventing process in the United States, though the name (belly dance or Oriental dance), basic movements (shoulder and hip shimmy, snake arms and torso rolling) were kept, lots of embedded norms and cultural backgrounds originally tied to the dance were mixed or replaced. Inspired by Orientalism, Feminism, capitalism and globalization, American society created not only new images and meanings of belly dance, but also invented novel belly dance styles such as ATS, Gothic, burlesque belly dance and culture fusion⁹. These American imagination and attachments encapsulated in the signifier of belly dance, and diffused to other areas of the world by globalization.

In the case of Taiwan, we can find similar culture flow phenomenon. As belly dance performances in Taiwan are sometimes mingled with different cultural elements such as traditional Chinese and Taiwanese folk performances, Hakka character, indigenous people's dance, martial arts or other dances like hip-pop, Latin, and jazz, which become multiply represented by locals' imagination and attachment.

4-2 Ethnic sports for broader identity

In the fluid process of modern ethnic sports, we find that besides external performances, people imaginatively attach abstract ideology as well. While most previous studies focus on how people reinforce identity through their own traditional or "invented traditional" ethnic sports, this study finds that belly dance, as an imported dance, can also be connected with Taiwanese identity. The connection is quite interesting when considering Taiwan's difficulty in international politics.

The Indian government issued a series of brochures explaining the origin, meaning and use of the national flag and other symbols of the Indian nation: "The National Flag, the National Anthem and the National Emblem are the three symbols through which an independent country proclaims its identity and sovereignty and, as such, they command instantaneous respect and loyalty. In themselves they reflect the entire background, thought and culture of a nation." (Firth, 1973, p. 341) However, due to the protest and oppression from China, ROC¹⁰ Olympic delegation was forced to accept the name "Chinese Taipei" since 1981. Besides, terms like Taiwan, ROC, Republic of China, and symbols such as the Taiwanese flag and national anthem are forbidden to appear in any Olympic and International gatherings (Hwang & Chiu, 2010:57-63)¹¹. Based on this historical background, to be identified as Taiwanese or to show national flag in international events might be a bigger and more meaningful issue to Taiwanese while comparing with the people of any other country.

Literature cited in previous paragraph showed the creation of a "Taiwanese belly dance" is encouraged by some people and competitions. Especially with the increasing number of

Taiwanese belly dancers winning international big prizes recently, some of them show Taiwan's national flag in award ceremonies to acquaint the world with Taiwan (Figure 6-9). As Nancy Kuo mentioned in an press interview: "I brought the Taiwanese flag with me to the awarding stage of the 9th Ahlan Wa Sahlan Belly Dance Festival of 2008 in Egypt, I felt so proud to let everyone know that I am from Taiwan, from Asia." (The Liberty Times, 2008/08/05) Domestically, when the media reported Taiwanese dancers' victories, some citizens and publication hailed them as "The pride of Taiwan¹²", which usually has a symbolic connection with Taiwanese identity. Also, media states that belly dance can help unofficial diplomacy and even work as a soft power of Taiwan fighting for world recognition. This discourse is just responding to the strategy promoted by president Ying-Jeou Ma, who says: Taiwan must increase its so-called "soft power" if it is to stand on the international stage¹³. The special issue "New Pride of Taiwan" of *Global Views Monthly* (Global Views Monthly, 2010) mentions that Taiwan had long been isolated due to political reasons, and that the achievements of these "New Pride of Taiwan" had gained international recognition for Taiwan. Beyond their personal achievements, the nurturing support of their homeland also contributed to their success. For the makers of the special issue, they represent the new Taiwanese spirit.

One thing I have to elucidate here is, when comparing with other sports like baseball and taekwondo, (Hwang & Chiu, 2010:39-72; Hsieh & Hsieh, 2003; Chang, 2000; Lien, 2007) the connection between belly dancing victories and Taiwanese identity is very new and has not become the dominant association with Taiwanese

identity. However, this study tries to demonstrate that the materials picked for cultural attaching are diverse, but still fairly influenced by the social context. In this case, I argue, it is the special political background and social climate of Taiwan, plus Taiwanese dancers' excellence on the global stage that has caught the attention of the media



Figure 6. Yu-Ting Sun won the champion of 2010 World Belly Dance Competition in Seoul

Data from Epoch Times:

<http://epochtimes.com/b5/10/5/3/n2895325.htm>



Figure 7. Sisters Chen won first place of oriental ensemble category of 2010 Tokyo International Bellydance Competition. Iveta Chen (right) also won the second place of fusion solo category

Data from Now News:

<http://www.nownews.com/2010/09/27/11490-2649958.htm>



Figure 8. Nancy Kuo showed Taiwanese flag when awarded the championship of 2008 Ahlan Wa Sahlan Belly Dance Festival in Egypt

Data from:

<http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2008/new/aug/29/today-style10.htm>



Figure 9. Dancers took picture with Taiwanese flag in the award ceremony of 2007 Nagwa Fouad Cup International Belly Dance Competition in Seoul

Data from:

<http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/jw!6Deqd0KLGRIZOYkgxS7Mmzc-/article?mid=432>

and linked belly dance to the Taiwanese identity. Explaining through the fluid culture model, it shows the attachment not to be restricted to apparent cultural performance, but also connected to an intangible ideology.

5. Conclusion

Belly dance as an imported culture, which initially promoted by independent dancers and non-governmental associations as leisure exercise in Taiwan, has now acquired a more diverse face and meaning. Specifically, after the process of culture laundering, imaging, culture attaching and embedment in new social contexts, we see another facet of ethnic sports in the global world that can also be used as a soft power to form an identity for people outside of the ethnic group who initially practiced it. This model also helps to explain the phenomenon while numerous ethnic traditions are newly invented, because imagination is free and its content is fickle, what really matters is who gets the power to tell the story.

Taking the globalization of belly dance and its localization in Taiwan as an example, this study finds that people creatively attach both external performances and abstract ideology to modern ethnic sports, thus contributing to their hybrid orientation. Furthermore, combining the concepts of Sogawa and Appadurai, this study argues that the logic behind the vicissitudes of modern ethnic sports is the fluid among culture laundering, imaging, and attaching, all of which contribute to making modern ethnic sports something composed of an ethnic shell with changing faces and contents. It is a preliminary attempt to figure out a simple model for the culture flow of modern ethnic sports. In my future study, I am going to observe belly dancing developments in Asian area. Besides, I would do further research on belly dancing in Taiwan, Japan and China, for refining the model and contributing to the scholarship on modern ethnic culture.

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Notes

¹ Including The Liberty Times, LT Sports, CNA News, Now News, Taiwan Review, Sina News and Yahoo News Taiwan.

² Class taught by Zi-Ti Liu in Bade City Music Association and class taught Shu-Lien Lin in Lu Jiang Elementary School.

³ They are Zi-Ti Liu, belly dance lecturer in Bade City Music Association, Taoyuan; Lucy Chen, belly dance lecture of Wanhua Community University, Taipei; Chiu, director of Iveta Dance, Hsinchu; Shu-Lien Lin, belly dance lecture and director of Tsu-in Dance Studio, Taipei.

⁴ Dance of stomach

⁵ Exotic feature was usually emphasized by belly dancing promoters. For example, belly dancing classes of community university entitled "Exotic, enthusiastic, and charming belly dance" (Songshan Community University, 2010) and "Dance of exotic women" (Taoyuan Community University, 2010)

⁶ Hakka is one of the four major ethnic groups in Taiwan. They are Han Chinese whose ancestors mainly emigrated from the provincial areas of Guangdong, Jiangxi and Fujian in mainland China. They speak Hakka language and have their own culture and characteristics.

⁷ World Belly Dance Competition is one of the four major international belly dance competitions.

⁸ "In Indonesia, for example, while no Chinese culture was admitted during the 30-year-long Suharto administration

starting in 1968, the dragon boat race was accepted and conducted by the Indonesia Boat Association on ground that the race was an international sport supported by its international federation.”(Sogawa, 2006, p. 101)

⁹ Detailed introduction and discussion about emergent belly dancing types in the United States, please see Haynes-Clark, 2010.

¹⁰ Abbreviation of Republic of China.

¹¹ For detailed discussion of sport and national identity in Taiwan please see Hwang & Chiu, 2010:39-72.

¹² In Taiwan, people who can gain Taiwan international recognition are always hailed “The pride of Taiwan.”

Especially athletes, for example, the baseball player Chieng-Ming Wang, Tennis player Yen-Hsun Lu and golf player Yani Tseng. Also, much and more belly dancers get the title in Taiwanese media.

¹³ The strategy is wide-ranging. It includes developing globally famous brands, boosting Taiwan’s presence not only in the high-tech sector but also in arts, food and fashion, and marketing great things about Taiwan. As a result, the government has poured millions of dollars into supporting performance troupes, filmmakers and even pop singers (BBC News Asia-Pacific, 2010.10.24).