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A Historical and Relational Study of Ballet and Contemporary Dance in Greece and the UK

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Abstract

This study examines the social conditions for the nature and development of theatrical dance as a historically constructed field. The first part consists of a sociologically informed narrative of the making of dance from its initiation as a courtly practice (court ballet) to its contemporary form (ballet and modern dance), with an emphasis on the social, political and aesthetic contexts in which it was shaped. This narrative outlines the logic of symbolic negotiation, focusing specifically on conflicts over the content, bodily forms and techniques of dance, which take place in different spaces and modes of production. These symbolic negotiations are conceived as reconfigurations of social and political struggles but they are of course expressed through the practices of specific individuals within the field.

This historical analysis sets the scene for an examination of the particular logic or rules that govern dance production in contemporary Britain and Greece. Although ballet in Greece has been relatively dependent on the development of the from in Britain, the two countries are approached as separate cases. The experience of thirty working dancers and choreographers (twelve in Greece and eighteen in the UK) is charted within very divergent conditions, namely training and performing as institutionalized in each country. These dancers and choreographers shape their bodies and tailor their practices in relation to ideal types of performers. They form highly diverse dance styles, especially given their interest in differentiating their own practice from current dance forms. Such styles stand in competition to each other, resulting in conflicting definitions of dance – and of course – dancing experiences.

These particular meanings of dancing and dance making are highlighted by artists' various trajectories within the fields or subfields. The interviews reveal the interdependency of the British and Greek systems of dance production. As will be shown, the individual dancers' and choreographers' trajectories depend on their possession of capitals (economic, social, cultural). It is claimed that the "talented dancing body" in each society is shaped with reference to the particular aesthetic and technical components promoted by the different dance styles.

Table of contents

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Author's Declaration

"I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at he University of Glasgow or any other institution"

Signature   _____

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Introduction

The present thesis constitutes the outcome of an effort to understand and explain an area of social activity which sociology has largely ignored, namely that of theatrical dance (ballet and contemporary dance). In this section I will outline the structure and content of the thesis and discuss the rationale behind the project. Furthermore I will discuss the methodological and ethical aspects of this project with an emphasis on the ontological and epistemological principles that underlie the researcher's particular choices in the course of this investigation. At the end of this section I provide a glossary with the key theoretical concepts used throughout the thesis.

The study is divided into two parts. The first part embarks on a sociological reconstruction of the history of theatrical dance in an attempt to examine the conditions of possibility of the practice in time. From the inception of dance as a courtly spectacle and entertainment, to the eighteenth century Action Ballet, and from that to the Romantic Ballet and the first steps towards rhythmic movement – both of which broke away from established balletic conventions – I examine the processes by which theatrical dance operates as part of certain social, political and aesthetic milieus, which shape the practice of ballet and modern dance by particular individuals. This historical journey sets the scene for the second part of the thesis: a comparative study of the world of dance performance in Greece and the UK drawing on the empirical research examining the experience of thirty two working artists (see appendix) across England, Scotland and Greece.

I focus especially on the experiences of choreographers and dancers across the ballet-contemporary dance continuum in order to reconstruct dance as a collective process of production (field). Considering theatrical dance as a field (Bourdieu, 1993a), namely a set of objective and historically interconnected positions responsible for the emergence of theatrical dance and in an effort to map the experience of its practitioners within this system of positions, I aim to examine the

objective and subjective aspects of the practice of dance. I simultaneously explore the training conditions and experiences of dancers and choreographers, the conditions of professional work and their particular strategies/trajectories with regard to the world of dance, and most importantly their bodily experiences and perceptions.

The body is the primary form of capital (physical capital) invested in the field of dance production and as such my thesis explores its relationship to the making and enactment of dance as well as the bodily experiences and perceptions of dance practitioners. Definitions of dance and the dancing body are also explored as emerging from the dancers' and choreographers's accounts of the former. A brief discussion of talent as defined through this network of relationships is also included. This thesis examines closely the relationship between the objective material conditions that make the production of ballet and modern dance possible and the symbolic, aesthetic and bodily negotiations that constitute dance as an art form firmly grounded in a sociologically-informed account of the history of its development.

Hence, this thesis entails a sociologically-grounded history of ballet and an empirical sociology which locates individual experience within the historical process- both as a bearer and agent of this process. The need for a historical sociology of dance was posed by the relative lack of sociological research in this area of social activity, which would allow a preliminary understanding of the inception of the practice, reveal the rationale of theatrical dance production and hence explain its contemporary character. The study of dance history adheres to an epistemological stance that aspires to avoid what Bourdieu calls ''scholastic'' confinement (Wacquant, 1999:277) in the study of social world; namely the treatment of social phenomena and dance performance in particular as a ''spectacle to be read'', namely as an a-historical/stagnant entity.

The historicization of the space of positions and their incumbents that result in the performance of ballet and modern dance enables the sociologist to trace and establish valid relationships between phenomena and simultaneously construct a viewpoint on dance production. A viewpoint that enables the explanation of the making of dance as

a historical system of relations sustained by a particular logic and through specific processes, practices and embodied dispositions. Specifically, the symbolic practices which dance practitioners perform through their bodily engagement in dance are the outcome of a rationalized approach. Every approach to movement is the product of a set of practices which dancers, choreographers and teachers enact and every variation or innovation is rationally measured against this set of practices. In other words ballet and subsequently the field of theatrical dance as a whole has an internal logic, which shapes the practice and in relation to which transformations occur in time (Hammond and Hammond, 1979).

However, the sociological reconstruction of the history of dance also responds to a lack of a socio-genetic approach in the area of dance history[3]. History has tended hitherto to either present the emergence of theatrical dance as the result of a sequence of ingenious individual initiatives or study individual performance in context without however explicitly relating this to the logic of dance production. In either case, the history of theatrical dance lacked a systematic explanation of artistic change. Hence, the historical part of this thesis contributes to an explanation of artistic change as a symbolic reconfiguration of social change. In other words, it embarks on a socio-aesthetic explanation of the practice of dance with reference to particular individuals and cases and their 'political' role in the symbolic economy of the time. The contextualization of dance practice does not merely serve as a framework for the historical narrative – as is often the case – but rather aims at explicitly clarifying the underlying relations between bodily practices, aesthetic/artistic phenomena, political power and social relations through specific examples of individual practice.

In that sense, Durkheim's (1982:211) idea that ''history and sociology [should] merge into a common discipline where the elements of both become combined and unified'' comes into practice through a temporalized examination of the practice of ballet and modern dance. Moreover, since sociology – as Bourdieu argues (1993b:26) records a particular instance of the phenomenon in question – a reconstruction of its history

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[3] A few bright exceptions of historical studies are (Franko, 1986; 1993;1998; Franko and Richards, 2000, Garafola, 1998; 2005, Maletic, 1987, Manning, 1993).

8

enhances our understanding of the present state of affairs in which it emerges. In other words, the historical sociology of dance constitutes a prerequisite for the construction of theatrical dance as a sociological object of study (Bourdieu, 1977a). Hence, on a methodological level a historicized strategy towards the study of artistic phenomena avoids an a-theoretical empiricism on the part of social science (Steinmetz, 2011: 48).

In both the historical and empirical parts of this thesis I have employed a comparative approach, namely one which examines the development of theatrical dance in different countries (national fields, as we shall see). As Bourdieu (1996a:183) argues "To analyze different fields in the different configurations in which they may appear, according to the era and to national traditions, treating them each as a particular case in the true sense, that is a case which figures among other possible configurations, is to give the comparative method its full effectiveness". In that sense the present thesis is an attempt to call for a genetic, structural and comparative sociology of national fields of dance production (see, Wacquant, in Bourdieu, 1996b: xv)

What is more, the parallel qualitative assessment of two systems of production (Greek and British) was prompted by the expansion of the Royal Academy of Dance and Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing's systems of training in Greece. The ever growing shift from the Russian systems of training to the above in amateur schools and the formal introduction of at least one of the two systems in professional training in early 2000, posed a question about the origins of such a shift. The progressive dependency of Greek ballet and modern dance on the British systems of dance instruction and production - under which the researcher herself was also trained - became a crucial problem in this thesis.

In more detail, the analytical purpose of the comparison between Greek and British dance production was the examination of the conditions and the consequences of a growing appreciation and use of British systems of dance training and their incorporation in the curriculum of recreational and professional dance schools. In effect, the centre of this comparative investigation became the production of particular

types of dancers, teachers and choreographers who embody and practice particular styles of dance in particular ways i.e. as produced abroad. The latter revealed that the rationalized organization of both ballet and modern dance, within a curriculum that corresponds to the stages and certificates guaranteed by British Boards of Examinations/Schools, operates as an asset or as a form of educational capital. In this way dance training has become an area of de facto power relations between training systems, or more broadly, of power relations between national systems of dance production. The increasing regulation of students under these examination boards, the accumulation of certificates that bear the brand of British institutions and, as we shall see, the further training of Greek dance students in the UK, revealed the domination of the latter in Greek dance training at least and possibly also elsewhere.

Indeed, the relational and comparative investigation of this phenomenon throws light on an uneven relationship between central and peripheral national systems of dance production and the relative state of dependency of the latter on the former. The UK as a core country controls, as we shall see, the production and supply of cultural products i.e. dance training systems, material resources (schools) and (ideal) body types. It constitutes in that sense a hegemonic force within Greek dance production. Thus issues of cultural domination, cultural imperialist relations and cultural/artistic legitimacy were revealed through the evidence provided by this comparative examination of Greece and the UK. Nevertheless, the purpose of this sociological comparison was not just to produce a strict causal explanation about cultural dependencies but to also reveal the ''patterns of similarity and difference across observed phenomena'' as products of such relationship (White, 2008:3).

Theoretical Framework.

In an attempt to overcome the dichotomy of structure and agency, namely the distinction between the organized conditions in which movement translates into dance and the subjective creative action as stemming from the body, I have employed Bourdieu's analytical apparatus (see Glossary at the end of the section). The field, as an arena of competing interaction where dance making (action), is 'structured' as a

10

result of the conditions in which it takes place, but also 'structuring' in that it actively shapes and/or challenges these conditions (Calhoun, 2006: 1405), is a major instrument in the analysis of theatrical dance. Furthermore, the concept of the field as a system of interdependencies helps us understand the particular nature of individual dispositions and practices in the making of dance and dancing by relating them to the negotiations taking place amongst actors. Furthermore, individual progress can be better traced in the trajectories of dance makers, by approaching their "position takings" as a result of the intersection between their own creativity and the space available for the latter.

The trajectory, namely what connects the individual with the structured system of practices, is conceived as the movement across positions of power in the field. Individuals arrive at these positions steered by their sense of the 'game'. This sense results from the embodiment of the conditions in which individual actors are generated (*habitus)* and, in particular, the social and symbolic conditions of existence and creation respectively, that steer individuals. *Habitus or bodily hexis* in this respect bridges the Cartesian dualism between mind and body and unifies the subject's dispositions including their own bodily practices (Howson and Inglis, 2001: 310) and consequently links them to the social and symbolic order. The body in the world and in the field of theatrical dance is thus both a means and a purpose. In that sense, the body is not merely acted upon by social structures but rather contributes to a continuous interplay with them. This interplay simultaneously alters and sustains the field.

This analysis however, poses questions regarding the potential of individual invention/creativity in a predetermined set of relations to which each actor enters to pursue their interest (primarily aesthetic in this case). If habitus is the conscious and unconscious internalization of norms through which one creates, norms which are not, however, explicit prescriptions of actions - although they may operate as such - how does change occur? In other words how ''can the habitus be something other than the weight of the personal history that conditions the activity of the actor'' (Frère, 2011:251). Frère argues that Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* renders creativity and

habitus mutually exclusive. However, Lahire (as cited in Frère, 2011:251) explains that habitus is a ''plurality of dispositions'' resulting from the exposure to a multiplicity of situations, inscribed in the mental schemata and individual bodies. In that sense this resourceful habitus accounts for individual flexibility in diverse social settings.

The conception of habitus as tied to or wholly shaped by social norms, often results from a conception of Bourdieusian theory as a theory of reproduction. According to Wacquant (2004:389) Bourdieu broke away early from a structuralist tradition by introducing the concept of strategy, namely a form of rational action depending on the conditions in which actors are situated and the resources available to them; a concept that incorporates the potential for movement and negotiation of the situation. In this light Wacquant argues that Bourdieu's primary questions about the Algerian social reality included the potential for the emergence of a revolutionary class fraction as a result of the shifting pre-capitalist conditions. Furthermore, Bourdieu's reintroduction of habitus was not posed by a theoretical need to address the tensions between structure and agency but from his awareness of the embodied experience of his Algerian participants whose traditional sense of existence was confronted by the ways of the capitalist city and armed forces. In that sense the habitus emerges into Bourdieu's theory not as a static concept, but as an attempt to understand what happens amidst shifting realities which individuals constantly confront and by which they are shaped.

This change, a result of shifts in power and interest amongst hierarchically related groups of individuals, who negotiate power in everyday activity, situates their experience of interaction and regulates further their activity. However, in times of crisis, namely abrupt or fundamental change, habitus confronts a new landscape of interaction which may render it invalid. In this thesis, then either explicitly or implicitly, the concept of habitus, as a result of a plurality of conditions, is instrumental in the explanation of the shifts as well as the perpetuation of dance practices, always informed by shifts or developments in the social organization of dance making. Especially in the historical section of this study, the idea of bodies as

bearers of symbolic codes which are negotiated through movement is crucial and can explain both the persistence of ballet as well as the emergence of new forms.

Methodology

However, this type of study requires to a certain extent what Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:30) calls methodological polytheism, namely the employment of all possible methods in order to address the question at hand. In order to reconstruct sociologically the history of theatrical dance the researcher resorted to existing historical studies and histories of dance, individual studies - including sociological approaches to specific phenomena in dance practice - as well as to primary sources such as biographies, manifestos, reviews, or other primary works such as available lectures and videos of old performances. Thus, the purpose of historical research through multiple sources was to shape a ''feel'' for the various phases in the production of dance. In that sense it aimed at the mapping of the particular positionings of the actors involved in the aesthetic and political climate in which they operated.

In tandem with this historically focused work, I proceeded with a reconstruction of the experience of thirty two working dancers and choreographers in the area of ballet and modern dance in Greece and the UK, through qualitative interviewing. The latter was also contrasted to and framed by other sources of information such as school, and dance company websites and newsletters, published interviews, articles on the political developments in dance production, as well as a few contemporary studies in cultural/dance policy. My empirical investigation aspired to shed light on the following questions: who are the professional dance practitioners, namely what are the social characteristics of those individuals who become theatrical dancers and choreographers and what are the conditions of their initiation into dance, that is how and why do they start dancing and what sort of processes result in their embodiment of dance.

In order to understand these complex and interrelated conditions and processes in depth semi-structured interviews were chosen as a method to be employed. The particular correlations to be examined, as well as the intricacy of the questions involved are better addressed through the latter (Ritchie and Lewis 2003: 58). From an ontological viewpoint regarding the conditions of one's existence as inscribed in their experience and from an epistemological one that sees these conditions as also embedded in the verbalization of individual narrative the sociologist resorted to qualitative interviewing (Bourdieu, 1999). The interview guide used was divided into six main themes which were elaborated through specific questions.

The first theme concerned demographic data in combination with the conditions of initiation to dance, i.e. it explored the social and cultural conditions of the respondents' introduction to dance lessons. Secondly, there were a set of questions about how my respondents arrived at their decisions about taking up dance professionally, including the parental contribution/response to such decision. The third theme revolved around the experiences of training: interviewees were asked to assess and evaluate the conditions in which they trained, the institutions they attended and the outcome of this educational process. A further subset of questions concerned the processes of transition to professional life, reflections on the conditions of work and material existence and an evaluation of the professional experience of these artists as they had come to assess it at the time of the interview.

A fifth set of questions investigated how artists define theatrical dance and the style they practice, their relationship to other forms of dance, the accessibility of dance as a whole and their attitudes and positions towards other styles and forms of rhythmic movement. Finally, the last series of questions concerned reflections on the role of the body in theatrical dance as well as its relationship to different styles of movement and in particular the position of the dancing body in the various phases of dance, namely training, rehearsing and performing. Furthermore, interviewees were asked about their experience of and response to bodily conditions such as injury and pain, and their experience of bodily sustenance and care. Questions about dancers' and

choreographers' bodily image, experience of ageing and sense of physicality were included.

The interview was structured through the above order of themes in order to produce narratives illuminating each respondent's trajectory/career in dance, as well as their aesthetic dispositions and positions in dance production. The objectification of these narratives, namely an analysis of their positioning in various social orders, produces a new narrative about these orders, which aims to contribute to a better understanding of the latter. Even though the experiences and viewpoints of the particular dancers and choreographers − as reconstructed through their narrative − constitute specific examples in the (symbolic) order of theatrical dance, they still offer valuable insights into the latter. Thus, the trajectories that these artists draw in social space through the practice of dance constitute examples of the potential positions one can arrive at, at any time, as a result of the dynamics developed between their subjective strategies and actions and the objective fields of activity they enter (in our case, dance schools, academies, companies etc).

The sample for this part of the study consists of thirty two artists (dancers and choreographers) of which twelve worked in Greece and eighteen in the UK[4]. The distribution of the sample between the two fields was determined by two parameters: the qualitative character of the research and the size of the fields of activity under study. This piece of work does not aspire to quantify the data drawn in order to generalize the findings; however, I did seek to ensure that the numbers of interviews were relative to the size of dance production in each country. Dance production in Britain is significantly larger than that in Greece; therefore I considered it more appropriate to interview a larger number of dancers/choreographers in the UK. In order to attain as a variegated a palette of experiences as possible in a field with numerous companies and dance academies as well as free-lance projects I accessed dancers and choreographers practicing under many possible genres.

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[4]   See appendix for tables on the sample.

The sampling method followed was a combination of purposive and snow-balling techniques. The rationale was to draw on dancers and choreographers who practice dance in multiple formats such as in large and small-scale companies, in residencies, as free-lancers or in various other projects. Similarly, I intended to interview dancers who practice multiple genres and their derivatives such as ballet, modern ballet or neoclassical, dance theatre and modern dance. Access to one artist more often than not led to the opportunity to contact another colleague or friend who may have or may have not practiced dance under the same conditions or genre. However, the consistency and size of the sample was greatly affected by the extent of access the researcher had to particular structures of performance.

Access to large-scale (ballet or modern dance) working artists was limited compared to that of free-lancers or small-scale working groups. Frequent rehearsing and touring made availability very limited, especially in the UK. As a result reaching these individuals presented great difficulty at various levels. In general, access to large-scale production is an intricate matter, even when a gate-keeper is involved. Ortner's (2010) experience of trying to study in Hollywood is comparable to that of any researcher trying to access big cultural institutions. Moreover, her decision to ''study sideways'' suggests a similar practice to my own studying dancers in small-scale companies and free-lancers, formats in which former ballet and modern dance practitioners often resort to after having worked in bigger companies.

In several cases reaching ballet dancers (and choreographers especially) entailed emailing and telephoning public relations representatives of the company they worked for, various administrators, or other mediators who would contact the former on the researcher's behalf. Even when artists would consent to an interview the only time I was able to contact them immediately was at the time of the interview itself. This type of controlled access was also reflected in the context in which some interviews took place, namely the dance company premises. Similarly to the situation that Wulff (1998) encountered in her study of ballet companies, *Ballet Across Borders,* physical access to large-scale company premises can be very controlled. Special permission has to be given to anyone who wants to enter the latter, as the receptions have records

of all forthcoming appointments and the names of the people who are scheduled to access the company. In several cases the researcher was led by a mediator/receptionist to a specific room where the interview would take place. This level of formality was, however, broken in some instances due to the interview itself, especially in cases where a follow up interview was required or in cases where access to another artist was requested.   Personal telephone numbers and emails were entrusted to the researcher in order to facilitate future communication.

However, immediate access to artists was also achieved through other methods such as attending performances and subsequently going backstage. In almost all cases potential interviewees consented to an interview and provided contact details in order to arrange the former. This applied to both large and small-scale artists. The latter, however, were comparatively more accessible than the former. Small-scale working artists and free-lancers were traced and contacted via the details available in their company/project websites or in online dance directories.   In all cases, potential interviewees were handed or sent an information letter about the aims and objectives of the research and the content of the interview. In several cases the interview questions were sent in advance to provide some reassurance or information to the interviewees. In this way informed consent was achieved. The majority of the interviews were face to face but one was conducted through teleconferencing and two over the telephone. Especially in these cases the content of the interview was sent in advance.

However, access was also facilitated by the researcher's relationship to dance as a former practitioner. Especially for the Greek sample access was facilitated through a circle of former colleagues or classmates who have proceeded to dance professionally. This high level of familiarity with various aspects of dance practice constituted the researcher as an insider to the world under study. Even in ''unknown territories'' such as the British field of dance, where access depended on the strategic decisions of the researcher, being an insider prompted artists' consent. The relatively common experience of the logic of dance worlds became a medium of establishing rapport, trust and empathy between researcher and respondent. Moreover, it reduced the

potential tension produced by the underlying power relations, which position the researcher - who has a privileged relationship to the production of knowledge - in an asymmetrically powerful standpoint over their participants.

Social research, particularly its specific manifestation – interviewing – is a form of social relationship according to Bourdieu (1999:608), and as such it can be subjected to the distortions integrated in its construction. Therefore, the sociologist as bearer of legitimate knowledge and of a relative volume of cultural capital, exerts symbolic violence upon the individuals they interrogate, stimulating a form of anxiety shaped by the need to give legitimate responses (ibid: 611). To reduce the potential of unconscious exertion of censorship on the interviewees the researcher accentuated their identity as a dancer. It was the latter which made participants feel less alienated from their interviewer, and this was particularly evident in linguistic signs and gestures assuming a common view of what was being stated.

However, the researcher had to constantly challenge the knowledge she shared with her respondents for this was the object of investigation. On the one hand, the extent of familiarity enabled a better grasp of the appropriate questions to be addressed. The knowledge of a series of practices common to almost every dancer and choreographer, as well as the familiarity with the vocabulary of theatrical dance facilitated an understanding of these artists' experiences. On the other hand the process of interviewing required a higher level of attentiveness in order to focus on the uniqueness of the particular story, a story that signifies a particular position in the universe of relations under study. Hence, conducting in depth interviews involved a "forgetfulness of self" (Bourdieu, 1999:614), in order for the researcher to be immersed in the worlds of her participants. As a result the nature of the field of research and the level of familiarity with the latter required a balance between the roles of the dancer and that of sociologist.

However, familiarity with the world under study and with the actors engaged in it may distort one's gaze on the phenomena under examination. In this particular case

being someone who "possesses a priori intimate knowledge"[5] (Merton, 1972, as cited in Hellawell, 2006:483) regarding experiences under research, required a point of reflection upon the process and outcomes of this project. Reflexivity in this case entailed being conscious of the possibility that previous personal experience might result in taking for granted what is actually to be examined, namely the obvious and underlying relations among practices and circumstances. In other words, during an interview any emergent issues, which fell under the experience of the researcher, were questioned and investigated further.

Conversely, an "outsider" – defined by Hellawel (2006:484) as someone completely unaware of the phenomena under research – might be considered to have a more enhanced vision of the emerging issues and thus be more capable of producing objective accounts of the realities under investigation. However, the researcher would argue that this is not the case; sociological understanding requires a level of critical detachment from one's ideas, values and experiences. In that sense, the practice of sociology becomes synonymous with exercising reflexivity, an inherent process of any scientific enterprise regardless of the researchers' relationship to the object of investigation. Critical reflection upon one's positioning and preconceptions is the precondition to sociology, without which any of these roles (insider/outsider) can jeopardize the sociological study.

In more epistemological terms, the validity of knowledge produced by social investigation depends on "a judicious combination of involvement and estrangement" with the object of study (Hammersley, 1993:219). As Bourdieu (1999:612) argues, the researcher operates like a stage manager, who by objectifying their own relationship to the area under research can focus more or less on particular aspects of a phenomenon. Similarly, Hellawell (2006:483) argues that being familiar with a certain community of people or having a priori knowledge about their practices does not necessarily suggest membership of the researcher in the former. Thus the "insider role" is not associated with the complete immersion of the researcher in the particular

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[5] The researcher had long-term experience in theatrical dance at a professional level.

universe of relations. The relationship between "insidersism" and "outsiderism" in the scope of social research appears in the form of a continuum along which the researcher may move according to the particular circumstances

The construction of an interaction like that of interviewing is indeed a really enhanced experience, managing the asymmetries conceived so as to extract emotions and thoughts for both sides. My experience of interviewing can be condensed, in Bourdieu's (1999:614) terms to a feeling of "spiritual exercise", namely a conversion of the viewpoint I had for these individuals as artists, which often took place. Indeed most encounters constituted unique experiences each for different reasons, while the intention of the researcher towards the people who offered their life stories for the sake of this research was not that of an invader but of someone who made an effort to understand them. A few participants explicitly commented on how valuable an experience the interview was to them since they were given an opportunity to explain their views and feelings and in some cases realize them as well. This was a priceless reward, maybe more important than obtaining the desirable information.

In an overview, in order to comprehend the particular experiences and positions which dancers and choreographers possess, I needed to examine the social conditions in which they were generated as well as their exemplification in individual trajectories. As Bourdieu (1999:613) would put it, our analysis is "a generic and genetic comprehension of who these individuals are, based on a (theoretical or practical) grasp of the social conditions of which they are the product; this means a grasp of the circumstances of life and the social mechanisms that affect the entire category to which any individual belongs and a grasp of the conditions, inseparably psychological and social, associated with a given position and trajectory in social space". In that sense "understanding and explaining are one" (ibid).

The conditions of one's existence can only come to be recognized through the verbalization of each individual life history. It is the sociologist who sheds light on the social relations of which these individuals are bearers and products. The social

conditions of which the sociologist is an "objectifier" - with her socio-logical view over them - are initially represented in the individual's narrations. The sociological analysis of the generation of dancers as artists and professionals is a process of objectification, namely the historicized "nomination of the conditions of their production" as Bourdieu (1999) would put it; in other words an analysis of their experience of the dance world. Overall the processes of sociological investigation - from the moment of its birth that is the conception of the phenomena under examination, the methods put into practice, to the final product of a sociological account- is a highway of questions concerning the possibility of knowledge of the social world.

Data Analysis

Language

The data collected during the research process were recorded and fully transcribed in two separate languages since interviews were conducted in Greek and English respectively. A few Greek interviews were fully translated in English as a trial but in the process it was decided that I would code each response to the different items and have the main themes of the responses summarized in English. This helped me keep the Greek data contextualized as responses were coded in a way that adhered better to the structure, content and ''feel'' of the interview. These responses also became more meaningful in relation to the pattern that emerged from the Greek interviews as a whole. Quotations drawn from the Greek interviews were not always translated word for word but rather so that they could make sense in English, taking into account other verbal parameters; in other words the specific linguistic idioms and tone of voice which often determined the content of the quotation. In that sense, some quotes were paraphrased rather than closely translated, a practice familiar amongst interpreters and other translators.

Analysis

The six thematic divisions of the interview schedule, outlined earlier, constituted the main guides for the analysis of the data collected, as these themes had an internal logic, namely to represent the trajectory and experience of each artist clearly throughout the different stages of dance production. These themes became the chapters of the empirical part of the thesis. Initially, each set of interviews (Greek and British) was analysed separately and contextualized against the respondents' presentation and evaluation of the conditions in which their experience was formed in order to reconstruct the national fields of dance in their present state.

The first step taken was to gather the interview material that referred to the structures in which each individual operated (family, schools, training institutions, companies etc) drawn from their accounts in order to reconstruct their positioning in dance production at each phase of their career. Information about particular institutions/schools embedded in the respondents' narratives was examined alongside other official documents such as websites, legal documentation, reports and newspaper articles, in order to objectively reconstruct the institutional aspect of the systems of relations in question (Greek and British fields of dance).

Secondly, I gathered those responses from each set that presented some level of similarity, i.e. the narratives of those interviewees that had similar experiences or operated in similar (institutional) conditions. I then synthesised these into a text presenting the significant commonalities of dancing experience in each field. The respondents with more divergent experiences or the ''extreme'' cases in my sample, I treated as examples of a potential proportion of artists within each field that my sample could not represent, due to its relatively small size. I simultaneously drew comparisons across the two sample-sets for every theme/question asked, in order to locate potential similarities and differences between respondents' experiences and between the conditions in which their experience was situated. In this way I produced a synthesis of the common areas across fields or highlighted the differences where appropriate.

I also located other emerging themes across my respondents' converging experiences, e.g. shared assumptions about the ideal body type for dance, which was produced as a conclusion to the repeated self-criticisms artists employed about how their bodily image and performance did not match what was considered the right body for dance. Lastly, I traced differences between experiences and structures in my two sample-sets, which I formed into separate narratives in order to highlight the particularities of each sample-set and potentially explain their nature, drawing on the contemporary political, social and economic contexts in which dance is produced.

Ethics

Social research entails a sociological craft ethic, which irrespective of the prescriptions given in a series of textbooks about methodology, is of major importance. One crucial ethical dimension of research is informed consent. The researcher is obliged to ensure potential participants' awareness of the nature and objectives of their research so as to achieve their consensual participation (O'Reilly, 2005). Yet, this statement is as vague as the mist. For, when immersed in the process of investigation, one realizes that consent is a multidimensional and controversial issue. In any case, objections are raised as to whether consent can ever be really informed. The term "informed" actually refers to the amount of information the researcher reveals to their participants in order for them to conceive their role and input in the research: in Goffman's (1961) terms to conceive of the definition of the situation, that is the research project.

Therefore explaining the objectives of one's research involves mostly a thorough account of the main questions to be addressed put into simple language, as well as an account of the rationale under which those questions were designed. Consent becomes, however, problematic where snow-balling is used as a sampling method. For, in the cases in which the researcher accessed participants via e-mail an

attachment of a brief letter clarifying the content and objectives of the research was sent. As a result consent was given for a meeting and an interview.

For those participants, however, who were contacted through other participants, the researcher had to rely on participants' representation of the research. As a result people who appeared willing to meet me had to be asked ad hoc for their consent. I intentionally stressed to those participants that they were not committed to me and thus could withdraw their participation even if we were already in a meeting. No one appeared to be hesitant in proceeding but frequently I was asked for some extra elaboration of the research content, which was provided immediately. In that sense one could argue that consent was given before being informed, although all information and a full explanation were given in the meetings while asking for consent on the spot.

A last but not least issue of ethical concern is that of anonymity and confidentiality with respect to the data. The researcher has to make sure that all information elicited remains confidential and anonymous and will not be available for wider use. I assured my participants that the information trusted with me would remain confidential and would be integrated with a series of other accounts, thus completely anonymized. I stressed their right not to answer any question they felt was intrusive or would make them identifiable. Even though confidentiality practically meant the protection of data from being widely accessible, anonymity and its direct relative – recognition - was an issue that the researcher had to manage in two ways. The use of a snowball technique jeopardized anonymity at least among participants. This was an issue really unsolvable given that snowball technique relies on the communication of common experience among potential participants.

Consequently, anonymity referred to the protection of interviewees from being exposed to the wider public together with a reassurance of not being identifiable in the final version of the project. Moreover, securing anonymity or rather the unlikelihood of being recognized in the written analysis requires an enhanced skill in scrutinizing

and phrasing the outcome of the accounts collected. In some cases the final version is deprived of information, which could jeopardize the anonymity of my participants. Therefore, several parts of the accounts collected were considered as too sensitive or highly distinguishing and are not included in the final version of this project. For the protection of my participants I used pseudonyms throughout the second part of the thesis.

In an overview, methodological and ethical implications are an integral part of social research tied to the epistemological and ontological stance of the researcher. The particular choices made in the course of this investigation stem from an evaluation of the primacy of experience as a source of knowledge and consequently a careful consideration of the means by which such experience can be grasped and explained.

<u>**Glossary**</u>

Field: "A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:16). A field is also defined by the fact that the incumbents of these positions compete for a particular forms of capital, and is therefore unified by a tacit consensus about what constitutes value and success.

The field of power: the chiasmatic organization of power as a result of a historically developed division of labour into material (economic) and symbolic (cultural) spheres. The field of power is composed of the economic field and the field of cultural production (Wacquant, in Bourdieu, 1996b: xiii) and is the site of relations of cohesion or conflict between the classes: working classes and peasantry, petty bourgeoisie (new and old) and the bourgeoisie (dominant and dominated fraction) These are summarised as relations between dominant and dominated classes.

The artistic field/ field of cultural production is "an independent/[autonomous] social universe with its own laws of functioning, its specific laws of force, its dominants and its dominated" (Bourdieu, 1993a: 163). This social universe consists of a set of historically interlinked positions often in the form of institutions, which are occupied by social actors. The structure of the field, namely of this system of positions, depends on "the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties" which guarantees success and power within it and at the same time results in "the winning of external or specific profits, which are at stake in the field" (ibid: 30). In that sense the field is simultaneously and inseparably a space of positions and position takings, which are expressions of the individuals engaging in the activities of the field.

The artistic field is also a field of forces and a field of struggles "tending to transform or conserve this field of forces" (ibid). This network of objective relations relatively determines and orients the strategies which the occupants of the different [positions within it] implement in their struggles to defend, or improve their positions (i.e. their position-takings). These strategies depend for their force and form "on the opposition each agent occupies in the power relations [and in the forms of assets they possess as a result of that position]''. The field is also a space of possibles "which is objectively realized as problematic in the form of actual or potential position takings corresponding to different positions". "The struggle in the field of cultural production over the imposition of the legitimate mode of cultural production is inseparable from the struggle of the dominant class to impose the dominant principle of domination" (Bourdieu, 1993a: 41).

Trajectory: The course of individuals or collectives across different positions in the various fields of activity and, in that respect, in the wider field of power as a result of

their membership in these fields. Trajectories tie individuals to a specific field. (Randal Johnson Editor's Introduction in Bourdieu, 1993a).

Strategy: an organization of one's resources into a plan for the improvement of one's position in a specific field or within the field of power. Strategies are partly a matter of conscious decision making, partly guided by the instinctive sense of positioning governed by habitus.

Field of restricted production/Subfield: "the structure of the field of cultural production is based on two fundamental and quite different oppositions: first, between the sub-field of restricted production and the subfield of large-scale production [...]; and secondly the consecrated avant-garde and the avant-garde […] i.e. between artistic generations [...] in short between cultural orthodoxy and heresy" (Bourdieu, 1993a: 53).

Autonomy of restricted production/field: "The field refracts, much like a prism, external determinants in terms of its own logic and it is only through such refraction that external factors can have an effect on the field. The degree of autonomy of particular field is measured precisely by its ability to refract external demands into its own logic" (Randal Johnson Editor's Introduction in Bourdieu, 1993a:14)

Field of Dance: In this thesis, dance is conceived as a field, namely as a system of positions through which individuals of specific social/class and aesthetic positioning negotiate and develop forms and styles of dance movement, which are more often than not in competitive relation to each other. Specifically, theatrical dance (which in retrospect classifies together ballet and modern dance) is a subfield of this more extensive system of relations, characterized by a symbolic dichotomy between ballet and modern dance. Theatrical dance has historically fluctuated between the two poles of cultural production noted above, whilst dancers and choreographers have been part of a struggle for the autonomy of dance from political and economic determinations (e.g the State or the Church), in other words a struggle to incorporate theatrical dance within the restricted field of cultural production. However, dancers and choreographers possess divergent ideas and practices about dance, influenced by their social and aesthetic trajectories, their adherence to particular artistic generations and aesthetic dispositions as well as their social position. Thus they compete to impose a certain definition of theatrical dance in the form of either ballet or modern dance, and further, within *this* dichotomy, of certain styles of ballet and modern dance. This struggle operates in tandem with the struggle for the autonomy of theatrical dance as such. "The struggles over the definition (or classification) [of artistic forms] have boundaries at stake (between genres and disciplines, or between modes of production inside the same genre) and therefore, hierarchies" (Bourdieu, 1996a: 225). The main capital or property, which sets the field in motion and through which these individuals employ in their engagement in the field is the dancing body or physical capital; however other forms of capital including economic make dance possible.

Nomos: ''the principle of vision and division that defines the field'' (Bourdieu, 1996a: 223). In dance the principles upon which the definition of legitimate dance is built.

National Fields: The idea of a national field, namely a system of positions that is informed by the historical particularity of a geographical area and the social and political organization is quite significant. Questions about the historical roots of a phenomenon often become "planetarized or globalized in a strictly geographical sense [...] [and] at the same time [...] they are de-particularized by the effect of false rupture effected by conceptualization, [...] [and are] progressively [transformed] into universal common sense" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1999: 42). This conceals the fact that phenomena have their roots in "complex and controversial realities of a particular historical society, now tacitly constituted as model for every other and as yardstick for all things". As Wacquant (in Bourdieu 1996b:xiii) explains, the field of power and in effect the subfield of cultural production, as a part of the former, have different phenomenal forms within different countries depending on their historical circumstances and the trajectory of the local dominant class within positions of power. This thesis, as a consequence of its historical and comparative empirical research, serves to reinforce the importance of historical and social peculiarities in the organization of cultural production and of course, dance production more specifically. These are always relevant to the structures of power in the particular geographical areas under study. After all "To analyze different fields in the different configurations in which they may appear, according to the era and to national traditions, treating them each as a particular case in the true sense, that is a case which figures among other possible configurations, is to give the comparative method its full effectiveness" (Bourdieu, 1996a: 183). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999:41) emphasise that on a methodological level the universalization of a phenomenon is often a product of a process of theorization and in that sense it constitutes an ''imperialist'' act of reason. This thesis has adopted a methodological relativist point of view in order to recognize the potential differences.

Transnational Field of dance: the outcome of historically shaped international exchanges of dance artists, which occur as a result of a unified field of entepreunerial activity and recruitment worldwide. It is also the result of dance artists' possession of cross-national networks as engendered through their circulation in international academies and theatres. The transnational field of dance is constituted through the negotiation of movement as taking place via artists' mobility across national fields the trajectory of whom brings to the fore aesthetic, symbolic and political struggles in the wider sense. At a theoretical level the transnational field is "the product of a genetic, comparative and structural sociology of the national fields of [dance production) (Wacquant in Bourdieu, 1996b:xv).

Capital: "accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated' embodied form), which when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour" (Bourdieu, in Richardson, 1986: 46).

Cultural Capital: results from the relationship between living cultural practices and the rules of (legitimate) cultural production. It is apparent in three forms: a) embodied in the form of dispositions of the mind and body, b) objectified in the form of cultural goods and c) institutionalized or certified (in the form of educational qualifications) (ibid: 47)

Social Capital: the set of social obligations or connections, especially the ones that open up opportunities for employment or recognition. Like other forms of capital, these can be converted into other forms in given situations.

Physical Capital: the use of the body as a form of capital within a context where the former is the centre of production. "The use of the natural forces of the body to appropriate that particular part of nature so as to optimize these kinds of forces" Wacquant, 1995:67). The dancing body is a form of capital as it is the main means of dance production. The latter becomes an asset to the extent that it incorporates through practice a set of properties which are measured against the legitimate principles of dance making.

Habitus: "a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation and action" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:16). Bourdieu, unlike phenomenology emphasises that although these schemata and categories of thought and action are durable and to some extent collective they are not universal or fixed, neither do they generate fixed entities (Wacquant, 2009:142). "As the product of history, habitus produces individual and collective practices, and thus history in accordance with the schemata engendered by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemata of thought and action, tend, more surely than all formal rules and all explicit norms, to guarantee the conformity of practices and their constancy across time'' (Bourdieu, 1990: 91f). As Fowler (1997:18) explains habitus has an improvisational character, namely as a "feel for the game" (See also Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) which entails a creative adjustment to the rules and structures of social fields. It is an organizational principle for ones response not only to the internal logic of a social field but to objective social needs.

Hexis: (Bodily) *hexis* the way in which the social becomes embodied and its manifestations; in dance hexis refers to the shaping of the socially and historically constructed embodiment into a dancing body as a historically and socially shaped agency itself.

Part One

Dance refers to the purposive orientation of movement towards a specific effect. With the aid of Weber's concept of rationalization (Gerth and Mills, 1948) we could define dance as a rationalized practice based on the purposive use of bodily movement, achieved through some form of mastery. Hence, theatrical dance refers to the ongoing mastery of physicality - through complex patterns of motion and stillness - towards an aesthetic experience both for the performer and the spectator. Consequently, the history of dance is the narrative of purposive movement, which becomes a value itself.

Theatrical dance specifically constitutes the outcome of the process of transformation of a participatory kinetic phenomenon to a staged spectacle organized around political and economic interests. The development of what in retrospect is classified as such − and especially ballet − constitutes a dynamic modification of courtly dance as a social event with a strong royalist program to a highly differentiated form shaped within a sphere of interest where aesthetics and profit are interwoven. Dance as a social practice is reconfigured to an art form, which is pursued by specific social groups and becomes a part of what Weber calls an aesthetic sphere; namely the product of rationalization of life and intellectual progress in which certain phenomena acquire value and significance in their own right (Gerth and Mills, 1948: 342). As we shall see, in this part of the thesis, this conversion overlaps and is interlinked with wider socio-historical transformations: the rise and decline of feudalism, the rise of the bourgeoisie and later on other forms of social struggle.

As we shall see, artistic change is the product of symbolic struggles, which, as Bourdieu (1996a: 252) argued, are dependent in their outcome on the outcome of wider social struggles and shifts in power. The result of such symbolic shifts is negotiated and transformed through dance practices, which are intrinsically linked to symbolic and material oppositions.

However, the relationship between social and artistic change is not absolutely straightforward neither does it imply parallel changes, which reflect the shift in political or other interests in a clear way. This presents great analytical difficulties for the researcher, as they have to assess how social struggles influence systems symbolic production. Nevertheless, the development of balletic movement and ballet as a theatrical form is also synonymous with the development of *a field of* dance, namely an "independent/[autonomous] social universe with its own laws of functioning, its specific laws of force, its dominants and its dominated" (Bourdieu, 1993a: 163).

Tellingly, the rationalization of social and political life determined the highly codified forms such as the visual arts. The multiple identities stemming from this process, namely the rationalized social divisions between types of artists (professional dancers, choreographers, musicians etc.) and amateurs, or performers and spectators, are indicative of a complex social negotiation – sometimes even conflict in the terrain of the symbolic, a terrain that draws heavily on the social conditions which make it possible (Hammond and Hammond, 1979). According to Sachs (1963:222) the emergence of professional theatrical dance constitutes the unique and incontestable product of western culture, characterized by a clear-cut split between power and service.

This form of social organization, which functions under a certain distribution of power and economic system, namely the monarchical governance and feudalism initially, some type of democracy under the economy of money or capitalism subsequently, presupposes a division of labour which distinguishes between those who produce and those who enjoy the products. In a symbolic reconfiguration of this separation arts incorporate two elements: initially the commissioned work and later the cultural industry production and the pleasure drawn from spectatorship. The latter was exemplified in the member of the court, who held the power to commission artistic work and eventually in the homo economicus of civil society, who exerts economic control in the form by paying for their entertainment. As we shall see across this section "the struggle in the field of cultural production over the imposition of the legitimate mode of cultural production is inseparable from the struggle of the

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dominant class to impose the dominant principle of domination" (Bourdieu, 1993a: 41).

Consequently, theatrical dance depends on: the socio-historical and economic conditions in which it is born and especially the particular audience for which it is intended; As we shall see, processes of artistic differentiation operate differently in different contexts (national fields of art/cultural production are structured slightly differently). As Wacquant (in Bourdieu 1996b:xiii) explains the field of power and in effect the subfield of cultural production as a part of the former, takes phenomenally different forms in different countries depending on the historical circumstances and the trajectory of the local dominant class towards positions of power. Theatrical dance depends on the economic and symbolic power of the institutions producing it as well as the particular groups of artists and performers who employ their bodies in dance. The artistic processes like teaching or performing characterize embodiment in a specific way, which reflects the particular logic of theatrical dance. The body constitutes the focal point of the historical process since "the whole range and history of movement [reverberates]" in the performing figure (Foster, 1996:xv).

Chapter 1

This chapter will discuss ballet as a result of French absolutism and courtly interaction. Furthermore, it will outline the political meaning of the institutionalization of dance and the subsequent struggle for the political/symbolic autonomy of the practice from royalist prescriptions as expressed through the practices of particular individuals involved in this struggle.

Ballet as a Court Entertainment

The term ballet derived from the Italian word *balleto* (dance), which initially referred to all types of rhythmic movement. However, ballet has been identified with a courtly practice in Italy and beyond. Italy was where forms of organized entertainment emerged for the pleasure of the courtiers. This type of sophisticated leisure firstly appeared in the thirteenth century but it was not until the sixteenth that it became a distinctive form (Au, 2002). Court dances derived from simple patterns of rhythmic movement derived from folk and ritual. These infiltrated the Renaissance courtly festivities and transformed into more sophisticated types: the court dance and later on the court ballet (Sachs, 1963:341). Renaissance dances consisted of the burlesque associated with pageantry and the geometrical dances practiced in courts. These refer to what in retrospect we name social dancing enacted individually or collectively for communal entertainment. Yet both become theatricalised at some stage: geometrical dance composed on the basis of symmetry and ideas of spatial harmony associated with Absolutism. Conversely, burlesque - politically opposed to geometrical dance through transgressive movement - satirized the seriousness of the noble form (Franko; 1986; 1998).

The term geometrical derived from the symmetrical positioning of performers in courtly space and in relation to each other, which transformed dancing bodies into

signs of geometry. Bodies held an upright posture in order to be perceived as points. Each body assumed a spot, so that two-dimensional symmetrical patterns emerged. The visual effect of this was a constant reconfiguration of proportionate shapes, given that the spectator observed performers from above (Brinson, 1962:12). Theatrical geometrical dance "drew on [the] spatial visualization of [...] text" (Franko, 1993: 9). Bodily positioning was a reference to texts prescribing courtly manners[6]. Renaissance geometrical dances connoted decorum and were part of the aristocracy's quest for self- perfection as a social example (Hilton, 1981:3).

Noble dance texts were implicitly related to courtesy books (Franko, 1986:11). Dance manuals employed terminology already used in the former delineating demeanour and appropriate posture. In that sense dance constituted "a part of [the] pedagogical tradition which transmitted the social code" (ibid: 37). Renaissance dance was a demonstration of dignity, grace and precision based on deep comprehension of deportment. Social dance was a formalized act, which realized manners in a positive way; as such bad dancing constituted a violation of code. Dance for the Renaissance nobility was a corporeal exercise in the attainment of a physical appearance accepted in courtly life but also a recreational practice in which efficiency and proficiency was socially admired; in that sense it was "exercise as an end itself" (ibid: 7).

However, court dance and court-ballet do not wholly overlap. The former referred to recreational practices whilst court-ballet was an organized spectacle, which involved dance, imitative gesture, décor, effects and costumes (Kettering, 2008:394). Hence noble dance had two versions: the recreational and the theatrical both in the form of court entertainment (Hilton, 1981:3). At this early stage their difference lay mostly in presentation, as geometrical dances were used in the creation of court ballets. Geometrical dance became the first theatricalised form in Europe and the first attempt to include the body as the key element in space (Franko, 1998: 92). However, it did not involve narrative or mimesis. Even when dancers impersonated literary characters, it was rhythm rather than the impersonation that prevailed (Franko, 1993: 29).

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[6]   Texts on étiquette, such as that by Erasmus.

Catherine de Medici was the Queen whose court festivities cemented a new type of entertainment based on the arts. The former drew on a dynamic synthesis of poetry, music, painting and movement. During her reign all arts became the intellectual property of the court, symbolizing its power and majesty. Dance in particular served a definite purpose: the representation of the courtly power structure. Specifically, dancers employed their bodies in the construction of large-scale shapes, which represented the hierarchy of power, also reproduced through the hierarchical positioning of these otherwise noble dancers: into corps de ballet, coryphées and stars[7] (Bland, 1963:43). However, it was not until 1580 that this multi-media formula transformed into a genre intended for exhibition (Au, 2002). In this year the establishment of the proscenium irreversibly altered the nature of court dance drawing a distinct line between participant and onlooker.

Theatrical dance acquired a specific character and structure when transferred to the French court. This geographical and cultural relocation, which took place after Catherine de Medici's marriage with Henri II of France, was crucial for the transformation of court dance into ballet (Homans, 2010:3). Catherine's festivities provided the terrain in which the structure and the conventions of court ballet formed. Under the pressure of creating impressive entertainments as symbols of the royal wealth and power, one can observe the loosening of courtly conventions and the introduction of non-noble skilled dancers in court spectacles (Au, 2002). For instance acrobatics – usually included in performances – demanded well-trained performers, which entailed skill as a principle of selection rather than rank[8] (Hilton, 1981: 4). Court dances and festivities were a concurrent phenomenon in the French and Italian courts, which symbolically competed for supremacy.

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[7] At this stage performers were themselves members of the Court with some form of skill often acquired and developed through manner appropriation.

[8] Performers were more often than not male and performed female roles by cross- dressing (Kettering, 2008: 396-397). Dancers were, however chosen due to their connections to the court, if not rank. As professionals they may have served the King or his immediate family (ibid: 403).

Nevertheless, *ballet*, a rich spectacle – presented in the royal residence theatres (Hilton, 1981:4) – was generated in the seventeenth century French Court. The conditions under which ballet emerged overlap with the rise of the court society as a complex network of relations between the French monarch and the system of inter-dependencies that constituted the court. As Elias (1983:18) argues, the French court was a figuration of mutually dependent individuals who were internally ranked and determined by their relationship to the monarch. The court was linked to the ongoing centralization of power through the radical monopolization of "two decisive sources […]; the revenue derived from society as a whole, which we call taxes and [the] military and police power" (ibid: 2). The politically unstable medieval society - characterized by the centrifugal distribution of power amongst the various representatives of the state - was succeeded by the absolute rule of the king, whose authority superseded that of the nobility, clergy and high administration.

Indeed, underneath the king, came the prevalent categories of the nobility: the so-called nobility of the sword, the high clergy and the high judicial administration, which were internally ranked and in constant competition. After these powerful strata came the middle and lower layers of the court, which belonged in any of the above three specialized occupations. During this early period, though, there already appeared groups of economically strong financiers who managed to penetrate the court and secure a position within it (Elias, 1983: 61). Later in the seventeenth century the intense processes of industrialization and industrial urbanization enabled new social layers to emerge. These ambitious bourgeois strata managed to intermingle with the nobility under a regime of exchange of financial favours with them and the King, who gradually encouraged them politically. The outcome of this embrace between the court nobility and the bourgeoisie was a social figuration called 'court-aristocratic nobility'. These strata engage in an intense antagonistic struggle in order to sustain or upgrade their position in the court.

In feudal society, as Bourdieu (1993b) also argues, the relationship between groupings of power acquired a dualistic form by means of oppositions between warriors and priests, military and hierocratic authority, the nobility of the sword and

the nobility of letters. The gradual rationalization of the state apparatus and the emergence of this "second capital", forced these antagonistic groups into a complex web of interlinked positions, within multiple fields/rationally divided areas of social activity, in which the various forms of social power operate. Bourdieu calls this set of interdependencies *the field of power,* which incorporates the economic field, as the one pole and the field of cultural production[9], as the other. Indeed, the new social divisions that emerge in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century in France (industrialists versus artists, managers versus intellectuals) constitute reflections of the dominant and the dominated poles in the field of power. In between there exist strata whose position is linked to the particular structures of capital, i.e. structures that correspond to the one or the other pole.

The Royal Court as the administrative headquarters, the central governmental organ and the centre of intellectual life constitutes the ancestor of the field of power. In this network, the future of an individual was defined by the "fulfilment of social demands and pressures which [were] experienced as duties" and performed in the royal premises as professions (Elias, 1983: 53). Court professionalism was both a *performance* and the *instrument* for social rank improvement. This type of performance, as we shall see, would be crucial for the development of ballet as a courtly spectacle. Specifically, court members developed a rank ethos, realized in duties, self-presentation and social performance such as feasts. This ethos grew out of the structure of court interaction whilst it also constituted a condition for the perpetuation of courtly activity; in that sense it was not freely chosen

Courtly life was characterized by an overlap of personal and official interest; it involved a professional aspect, namely the pursuit of career through the complex network of inter-dependencies and the personal side of everyday routines including socializing and entertainment. This duality was reflected in the division of courtly space for diverse purposes, such as the ceremonial room, which preserved the socializing character of the lord. In general the spatial organization of the House

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[9] The forthcoming field of dance is in that sense a subfield of the field of cultural production.

reflected the system of relationships that constituted the court as the first House, which included the "extended royal family" (Kettering, 2008:393).

According to Elias (2001) in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance there appeared explicit tendencies towards the individualization of social life manifest in the split between private and public shades of activity. Professional and financial life acquired a social/public character and a specific type of conduct was formed to serve communication and exchange. This entailed a type of professional role-playing, which excluded trivial everyday practices. The latter are gradually kept in the private sphere. What Goffman (1969) would describe as front and back stage behaviour is particularly indicative of the Renaissance courtly interaction. The "privatization" of practices refers initially to the restriction of physical and emotional acts linked to instinctive urges and impulses.

Elias (2000) in *The Civilizing Process* analyses the history of manners in order to explain the embodiment of self-control, which has now become a reflexive mechanism. His reference to the Erasmian courtesy-book concerning practices like defecation or how to behave during a meal, makes evident that "civilized" behaviour is the product of long term exertion of control over one's urges. The embodiment of such regulations becomes a value itself and functions as a social mark linked to specific social origins. The appropriation of manners and self-control constituted a political strategy of the ancient regime and the distinctive feature of court interaction. In Bourdieu's (1984) words, courtly life inscribed on the mental schemata and bodily structure of the courtiers, particular ways of being, namely a courtly *habitus, which was politically significant.* The intricate elaboration of appearance and behaviour served as a medium of social distinction, as well as a manifestation of status and position. *Etiquette* as this type of conduct is known was a political means both in the narrow and broad sense. As a set of behavioural patterns embedded in court interaction it served as a mechanism of action encouragement via mutual demand and acceptance (Elias, 1983:88).

The significance of all this for dance is that Etiquette was thus theatricalised in the form of ballet, which symbolized the court society, in its own way. Court ballet became according to Franko (1993:2): 'the most conspicuous arena of self-display and transformation'. Professional dancers along with the courtiers struggled to maintain their face value, the favour of the kings and secure patronage (Kettering, 2008: 403-404). In the period before Louis XIV's appointment to the throne dance was, thus, purely mannerist. Mostly based on noble gestures exchanged between courtiers, ballet realized the formation of geometrical shapes in the ceremony room. Dance was a means of cultivating demeanour and civility and hence was not an *autonomous* practice. Dance masters taught court-conduct rather than a recreational activity. However, during Louis XIV's reign ballet took a different form.

Louis consolidated the court as the centre of authority, which became less fragile and penetrable than previously. Such concentration of power was monarchy's answer to a series of upheavals during Louis XIV's childhood. A group of nobles, known as the "Frondeurs", challenged the throne and claimed power. Although unsuccessful their revolt triggered general doubt regarding the monarchy (Hilton, 1981:7-8). Henceforth Louis's father and Louis XIV himself became preoccupied against the growth of nobility and worked towards the stabilization of monarchical authority through the systematic control of courtiers. Thus Louis XIV cultivated etiquette as a network of social positioning governed by mutual indirect pressures orchestrated by him. Etiquette was thus used as an instrument of power through which the king could favour or disfavour the members of his court (Elias, 1983: 90). Nobility and aristocracy negotiated their position in court through this.

Such negotiation was not solely behavioural but also physical. The age of absolutism was bodily-centred. The political and legal discourse of the time was beset with references to the body. Descriptions of the monarchical structures as members of the physical body are indicative (Melzer and Norberg 1998: 1-2). The king was always considered as the head of the state while his subjects were the members. The absolutist/royal body served as an institution of power and the ultimate source of authority in its materiality (Turner, 1996:42). The kingdom and the king although

distinct in principle were practically politically amalgamated in the absolutist ideal. The state had no legal/political institutions or forms of collective expression or constitution to be established by other than the monarch himself physically and symbolically[10] (Merrick, 1998:13).

Louis XIV was thus concerned with the use and placement of bodies, both his own and those of his servants and courtiers, so that they glorified his power. Louis XIV systematized etiquette by classifying everyday court practices into a complex network of performances. Every gesture, including imperceptible movements, was subjected to control so that it abided by his project on manners: "The adherence of each body to its specifically assigned tasks and of all bodies to a generalized manner of interaction was mandated […] as a primary means of consolidating and protecting monarchical authority" (Foster, 1996:23). Minutiae of etiquette were indicators of individual position within "the balance of power between the courtiers, a balance controlled by the king" (Elias, 1983: 85). This complex network of mannerisms was significant in terms of prestige. Each action was assigned with a certain status and reflected the face value of the person performing it.

Louis XIV transferred this schema of (bodily) conduct to the theatre, simultaneously transferring the social situation of the court to the performance. Thus he transformed ballet into a practice with a certain political character, which became the phenomenon of his time. Being a dancer, Louis XIV became aware from early on of ballet's potential as an ideological mechanism and a means of control, which enhanced his own power and prestige (Franko, 1993: 109). Court ballets depicted an idealized social unity under the absolute power of the king with a direct reference to his

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[10]   As Kantorowicz (1957) argued in *The King's Two Bodies*, the relationship between the monarch and the state was founded in the double nature of the royal corpus. The king possessed two bodies: a material one – subject to decline – and a sacred one, symbolic of eternal power. These two aspects were especially manifest in the royal funeral, which constituted a mechanism of social unification. The ritual involved both the physically deceased body and an effigy, around which a meal took place. The effigy constituted this symbol of absolute and everlasting power while it materialized in some sense the royal divinity. In this way royal power was symbolically sustained despite the monarch's physical exhaustion. The split between divine and natural body legitimized absolute power. Similarly, the sacred corpus constituted an ''incarnation of the realm'' sustaining the belief in monarchy, whilst ideologically founding power in the royal corporeality.

presence as a spectator and witness of his own political authority. In that sense ballet evoked two parallel realities, the one performed and one referring to the legitimization of such performance by means of the royal presence (ibid: 36). These spectacles were relatively open to the public or at least to anyone dressed well enough to bypass the guards (Kettering, 2008:394). In this way the wider public witnessed the royal majesty.

The royal physicality and especially that of Louis XIV – also a dancing presence – was a sign of power and authority. Foucault defined the king's presence as a performance of power (as cited in Franko and Richards, 2000:44). In that sense Louis XIV's (dancing) body was the site of a systematic expression of sovereignty as it was not only the ultimate symbol of status and prestige but also the material basis of the latter. The King was the embodiment of material wealth from which the definition of prestige derived. Consequently, his performance as a dancer was not merely symbolic; it was distinctive of its potential to transform into political power per se. ''[Prestige] was the product of baroque political economy, […] reducible to the material fact of the king's body'' (ibid: 47).

Until 1661 ballet constituted an allegory of court relations. Louis XIV's emphasis on ballet aimed at the distraction of the nobility from the pursuit of political power as the King redirected the former in a constant struggle for prestige (Hilton, 1981:8). The immanent danger of elite circles outwith the court and the growth of the nobility was, in this respect, the motive behind the institutionalization of dance (Elias, 1983:78). If dance was a powerful political weapon then it should be less accessible to the political enemies of the king. Hence, Louis XIV founded the "Académie Royale de Danse" in 1661, an institution for the cultivation and perfection of the art of dance (Homans, 2010: 15). The legal framework (*Letters Patent*) in which he placed court ballet cemented a series of regulations that empowered the royal institution.

A committee was assigned to establish the legitimate types of movement and dance and new dances were performed before the committee in order to be approved.

Similarly, anyone who declared themselves as dancers was required to register their name and address with the Academy (Franko, 1993:110). This bureaucratic organization and control over dance was exemplified in the classification of rhythmic movement. This was thus a first expression of the *rationalization* of dance occurring in a similar way to what Weber described with regard to the organization of musical values and their standardization through notation (Turley, 2001). The academy monopolized both the definition of dance/ballet as a bodily technique and dance production as a whole. The nobility practiced, performed and organized ballet under the supervision of the royal institution but could not determine the content, style or bodily technique applied. Thus nobility was deprived of ballet as a means of political influence since the royal institution achieved full control over the practice and the political meaning of ballet.

However, the institutionalization of dance was ideologically founded on two principles: the reform of noble dance as a technically declining genre and the autonomy of dance from other forms like theatre and music. The academy would, thus, professionalize ballet and demarcate it against amateurism whilst securing its distinctive character. The technical mastery of the dancing body was, thus, introduced as a scientific enterprise. Ballet was central, in this respect, to the rationalization of movement on the basis of human physiology. According to Franko (1993:110), the Royal Academy adopted a new stance regarding bodily movement "under the guise of pedagogical infrastructure". The focus on technique and training was manifest in the declarations of the academy. However, corporeal enactment still drew on etiquette, which set the basis for the academic curriculum (Foster, 1996). On the other hand, the establishment of a specialized Academy, namely a Dance Academy secured the autonomy of ballet from music and drama and mixed spectacles. .

However, at this stage – as we have seen – dance as a corporeal phenomenon was rooted in a practice embroidered with noble mannerisms as performed in courtly interaction; it was not considered as an expressive performance. Dance was a demonstration of virtue and self-restrain, which lacked emotional expression (Franko, 1986: 33). As Elias (1983) explained, etiquette constituted a means of self-distancing

and emotional detachment from the public affairs. Thus court ballet was far from expressing emotionality. Moreover, it included no plot or narrative, neither was it an extrovert exploration of bodily efficiency (Foster, 1996). In court ballet the body was an accessory, a means of displaying the noble and royal subject (Franko, 1993: 1). However, Louis XIV set dance into the centre of corporeal engagement. In that way not only did he seize control over the noble body but he also founded dance as a discipline (Foster, 1996:23). Dance became a part of the profane sphere, fully bureaucratized and formalized in the Weberian sense (Franko and Richards, 2000: 36). The institutionalization of court ballet was a rational political action intended to maintain political order; in that sense dance was a political practice per se.

Consequently the professionalized dancing body elbowed out the amateur noble one. The development of dance on the basis of royal comportment and aesthetics did not exclude technical excellence. The introduction of turnouts, for instance, at about this period was the manifestation of technical advance in the service of a certain aesthetic. The turnouts initially facilitated the demonstration of accessories (ribbons and buckles) pinned on royal costumes. However they gradually became the major technical ingredient of ballet (Bland, 1976:48). The bodily techniques applied appropriated movement, situating it in the centre of a network of corporeal placements that was considered morally and honourifically acceptable. The execution of such movement progressively formed a chorographical vocabulary, which became the foundation of the balletic idiom. The five feet positions - still a distinctive property of ballet - constituted the outcome of periodical technical modifications of bodily positioning.

However, at this stage, the boundaries between social and staged dance are not clearly set as the particular forms were still a possession of the royalty, limited within the court. Court dance in both its versions (social and theatrical) was a genre made by the nobility for the nobility, excluding the participation of other classes, based on the enactment of etiquette. The court dance developed as a distinct genre, consolidated as such through its Academic institutionalization, which seized control over the practice and the bodies of its practitioners and the political enemies of the Monarchy. The

43

Academy defined the legitimate ways of moving through the formation of a curriculum based on the rules of comportment, which in turn secured the legitimate type of dancing body, which became professionalized.

18th Century action ballet: Towards the art of dance.

 The history of eighteenth century dance is interwoven with the gradual decline of absolutism and thereupon the emergence of new forms of social organization. This section will discuss the challenging of court ballet as an activity, a part of the process towards the autonomy of dance (both theatrical and social) from courtly prescriptions and its reformation as a civil activity. This reformation was a product of tensions between institutions like the Royal Opera and smaller theatres, as well as pressures within the Royal Institution. Here, as we shall see, there emerge the first seeds of two opposing traditions in dance, which will result, centuries later, into the major break-up between ballet and modern dance closely linked to the social and political positionings of their practitioners.

 In the late seventeenth century the French Court effectively incorporated the emerging elites of finance, which increasingly occupied key positions in the state administration. Intense processes of industrialization and urbanization produced new social strata. Market-linked class structures emerge and the new powerful strata gradually consolidate. Wealth as defined by the possession of money and investment potential, form trade and industry beyond the court. The loss of direct extraction of a surplus by the nobility and the decline of monarchical control politically, following the transition from what Elias (1983) referred to as a feudal kingdom to a kingdom sustained by a monetary system, becomes significant. Ambitious bourgeois strata mingled with the nobility under a regime of financial exchange of favours with the King who gradually encouraged them politically. The outcome of this embrace was a social category called "court-aristocracy" which steadily became economically powerful through mercantile activity. The structural modification of the French state

was expedited by a generalized social movement against social oppression, which resulted in an open conflict of forces in the 1789 Revolution. This was necessitated by a chain of tensions between the ancient regime and new social forces striving for the emancipation of civil society.

The new social classes, operating within the emerging field of power surfacing through the Revolution held new political values and ideals. Their immediate interest was the re-definition of social relationships on the basis of freedom and equality, which constituted the humanistic claim of the Revolution. The idea of individuality informed all social practices, from politics to arts and sciences of the Enlightenment, which in turn become forms of capital in the differentiated sphere of power (field of cultural production) (Bourdieu, 1996b). The effort to establish the right to expression became the centre of social struggle. Arts and their practitioners also sought autonomy from political influence and enforcement. Voices, as we shall see, claimed that arts exist in their own right, independent from power and interest. It is in this context that we see the withdrawal of dance from the field of political action and its conception as a political act. The nature of the balletic idiom itself was itself at stake. The revolutionary forces facilitated the conversion of court ballet into a relatively autonomous art through the transformation of its content and conventions from monarchical to civil. Ballet transcended its earlier representational logic namely the exaltation of absolute power and came to emphasize individual experience. Indeed here Bourdieu's (1996a: 252) idea about the dependence of symbolic struggles on the outcome of social struggle in the field of power becomes apparent.

In the eighteenth century dance was rediscovered and reconceived as a unifying, universal phenomenon and a means of expression. Accordingly theatrical dance was situated in the centre of individuated expression as a cultural practice (Foster, 1996). The former was reconfigured through a shift in bodily values linked to the collapse of the noble body as paradigm of corporeality. The new social strata yielded different ideals in relation to the body and regarded physical activity as beneficial both health-wise and entertainment-wise. The urban environment is where these ideas develop and materialize; the court is no longer the centre of corporeality. Dance becomes a

much wider social activity and masters are employed in the French cities – including Paris – to teach the new aristocracy the art of rhythmic movement (Bland, 1976:51). The content of court (ballet) entertainment was irreversibly altered, as the intellectual movement of humanism enforced a dramatic viewpoint on the subject matter of ballet (Sachs, 1963:341). Ballet as a new type of dance was associated with mimesis, a specific theatrical quality, which resulted in the consolidation of the former as an art intended for display.

Thus, in the eighteenth century different forces struggle for the definition of theatrical dance while other styles develop in the shadow of serious theatre. The French Royal Opera functions as a conservative mechanism aiming to preserve the noble features of ballet and the established forms of representation. Ballet of this kind is mostly practiced and produced in the Opera, which became the guarantor of the genre. However, a number of private theatres emerge with special privileges to mount the genre. Touring companies also present some type of ballet, usually attached to private theatres. This period is thus synonymous with a struggle for the right to produce theatrical dance expressed in the tension between the opera and the so-called fair theatres. The latter presented pantomimic spectacles and dance, which became increasingly popular. Indeed here we can trace the inception of a field of dance (Bourdieu, 1993a), which is constituted as an arena of competing symbolic interests between the dominant academic style and other forms of dance and movement which struggle to gain legitimacy and space. These interests are negotiated through sets of positions, namely the Academy, the fair theatres and so on, in which specific individuals are situated. The tension between academic ballet and pantomimic dance exemplifies this.

Pantomimic dance drew on burlesque, whose subject matter was the ridicule of courtly manners. However, pantomime per se developed both within and outwith the context of the court and in that sense both "legitimately" and "illegitimately". Specifically, what was called comedy ballet - treated by the Royal Academy and influenced by *Commedia dell' arte* - utilized pantomimic gesture to place emphasis on

the funny episodes of the plot. Some comedy sections included pantomimic dance[11], a device characterized by intense movement intended to vividly portray a character or situation. Burlesque was also based on vivid movement and lively facial expression and was initially a non-narrative genre founded on masquerade. Burlesque's distinctive property was the grotesque application of the body through provocative movement to scoff at noble manners and courtly life. Specifically, "the genre aimed at a purposive ideological distortion of [court-ballet's] traditional aim: the glorification of the sovereign" (Franko, 1993: 78).

These satirical elements embedded in dance were of great political significance as they were transmitted across the social ladder through performance; hence functioned as criticisms of absolutism and as expressions of underlying public disenchantment. The political function of burlesque was, however, twofold. It also paved the way for an alternative conception and application of the body. Burlesque legitimized the neglected social body, namely the non-noble one, which became a vehicle of expression for every body. The use of voluptuous movement often sensual, abrupt, ironic and in that sense realistic, gave space to the regular body (Franko, 1998:69). Consequently, burlesque secured the political autonomy of the actual performing bodies (Franko, 1993:5).

However, the institutionalization of ballet and geometrical dance in 1661 cemented the exclusion of burlesque from the Academic curriculum as offensive, whilst simultaneously placing rhythmic movement under thorough control. Through the *Letters Patent* with which Louis XIV announced the foundation of the Royal Academy, the legitimate forms of bodily movement and appropriate placement were designated, thus marking a precise distinction between noble and non-noble dance. (Franko, 1998:68). Conversely, burlesque emphasized individual performance through exaggerated grotesque movement, which was aesthetically undermined.

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[11] Moliere's work is a typical example of the genre- his comedies were ordered firstly by Louis XIV's brother and then by him himself.

Burlesque was practiced outwith the Academy and the court in peasant festivities and fairs. Fair theatres inherited these styles and utilized them in their quest for profitable activities. These theatres transformed pantomimic spectacles into forms of popular entertainment (Foster, 1996), whilst constituting fields of experimentation in both movement and acting. Fair theatres facilitated the shift from dance as a spatially defined activity to an expressive one. This change of focus from space to movement established time values as a dance element. Thus the closure of a dance episode was no longer the creation of shape in space but the completion of an act in time. (Franko, 1998:69).

18th Century Theatrical Production

As we have seen, theatrical dance had hitherto constituted a propaganda medium. However, as power changed hands so did ballet as a means of political influence. In the early eighteenth century ballet was still a courtly representation grounded on geometrical dance and the principles of painting. Theatrical Dance constituted a revival of painted life through bi-dimensional geometrical symmetry in the form of tableaux vivant. Dance represented noble painted life (Au, 2002). Yet, several writers, including Diderot, argued for a new subject matter of dance, namely human affairs and emotions. Rhythmic bodily movement could serve emotional expression rather than adhere to courtly aesthetics. In general, "[the] agenda for the reform of dance [fitted] within a larger aesthetic project that conceptualized a new role for all the arts as capable of cultivating an innate sensibility on the part of one human being over another" (Foster, 1996:32).

However, such reform took place under certain socio-economic conditions of production. The eighteenth century performance was marked by the competition between fairs, private theatres and the Royal Opera, which operate as a set of positions constituting a primary form of *a field of dance*. The Royal Opera was the locus where academic opera and ballet developed. Private theatres produced various spectacles - often pioneering- and fair theatres offered unrestricted public entertainment. Profit making governed the particular strategies of these stages, which

devised mechanisms to achieve high attendance. The key element in eighteenth-century French theatrical production was the privilege; "a privilege was a monopoly authorized and enforced by the court for the purpose of limiting certain genres to certain theatres" (Chanzin-Bennahum, 1988:20). "Serious theatre", namely the one intended for the aristocracy, was spatially separated from other genres, a distinction which was further reinforced by censorship. Censorship, a well-established practice in the history of French theatre, was still exercised by the King. The latter assigned the examination of written scripts for drama, ballet or opera to a trustee, who banned spectacles challenging the political status quo (ibid: 4).

Consequently, theatres engaged in a constant rearranging of their productions in order to achieve both legitimacy and pre-eminence amongst their competitors. Likewise the Royal Opera constituted an additional source of restriction forbidding certain genres in certain theatres, thus, becoming a powerful means of artistic regulation (ibid: 20). The Royal Opera consolidated its complete supremacy making use of its legacy and ultimate privilege: the Louis XIV rules about performance (*Letters Patent*). This set of rules secured the exclusive treatment of specific genres in the institution. In fact they served as a form of written law about intellectual property more widely, on the basis of which the Opera designated its rights to mount Opera, Drama and Musical Comedy. What is more these rules bestowed the Opera with the authority to nominate itself as the guardian of performing arts imposing fees on the productions of fair theatres while favouring some private houses (Lee, 2002: 58-60).

Fair theatres were under constant surveillance as they were, by definition, arenas of "deviant" experimentation. Pantomime was one of the devices these theatres employed. Foster (1996:35) argued that pantomimic performances were a widespread phenomenon that took the form of a "craze". This triggered competition amongst the big private houses, which therefore demanded state financial and legal support to compete with their adversaries and the Royal Opera. The latter also prohibited fair-theatres from mounting spectacles that could be classified as noble genres. This kind of restriction combined with excessive censoring of theatrical texts forced fair-theatres into an unregulated application of pantomime in replacement for the spoken

or sung text. Conversely, private enterprises increasingly mounted dance spectacles, which, in turn, steadily gained more viewers. In 1760 the most successful fair-theatres founded year-round houses on the new Paris boulevards: "[dance] contributed generously to the heterodox entertainments enacted by both professionals and aristocrats at their own private theatres" (ibid: 57). Indeed here we can discern the two poles of artistic production, which Bourdieu (1993a; 1996a) describes in his *Field of Cultural Production* and *The Rules of Art,* namely the set of positions that is exemplified in artistic production as popular, profit-driven production and the one referred to as art for arts' sake. "[T]he structure of the field of cultural production is based [on a fundamental opposition] between the sub-field of restricted production and the subfield of large-scale production" (Bourdieu, 1993a:53). However, at this stage dance production particularly had not achieved full autonomy from political power and therefore it resembles more like an amalgamation of economic, political and symbolic interests rather than an autonomous field of symbolic power in its own right. In other words, what is at stake here is the beginnings of a new found autonomy of balletic/dance practice from powerful social forces and their institutions (such as these that had occurred in the form of royal operas and theatres), expressed through performance and bodily movement.

The case of the Royal Opera

The Royal Opera as an institution under the control of the crown suffered from a really complex hierarchical bureaucracy. Productions involved decisions constrained by cost, casting, "public" reception, the rival boulevard productions and the wishes of the Queen. The Opera, as discussed above, cultivated the inherited court ballet as dynamic movement was kept under control and primacy was given to decorous dance. Movement remained hierarchically classified as established by Louis XIV's charter and technical difficulty became the principle of dance evaluation. The Opera developed three specific genres: the noble, a harmonious sequence of elegant poses, the semi noble and the caractère, a vivid and dynamic form which included both the

false[12] and the true five positions (Foster, 1996:109). The emergence of caractère was, thus, the outcome of the pressures exerted by the spread of pantomimic dance outwith the classes of the institution[13].

The Royal Opera employees worked under the auspices of the Royalty and were automatically assigned a degree of status, which in turn entailed the improvement of their social position. Dancers especially constituted a very special social category, although they were of mixed social backgrounds, including "working class" (ibid: 67). Especially for the female dancers of lower class origin, a post in the opera coincided with a marital strategy and with an escape from parental supervision. However, this had a collateral effect, promiscuity. Dancers, given their status, attended the meetings of aristocracy in private theatres and mingled with the upper class. The implicit purpose of these events was the sexual affairs between female dancers and noble men. However, it was not until the late eighteenth century that this phenomenon became extensive in the classes of the Opera.

The Opera employed dancers for their skill and proficiency whilst it also channelled them to specific genres according to their bodily capacities. Dancers were ranked as Premiers, members of the corps de ballet and figurants (Lee, 2002). The distribution of skill between genders was equal, especially reflected in the wages of both female and male dancers. The latter received the same stipends for the same position whilst neither was considered more efficient in technique or agility. The only point of differentiation between male and female dancers was the style employed in the execution of movement tied to gender assumptions: strong and forceful for the male dancer or soft and tender for the ballerina (Foster, 1996:109).

By all accounts the Opera employed virtuoso dancers to protect the noble genres. For virtuosity differentiated the operatic ballet from the boulevard and private theatre

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[12] The inverted version of the five turned-out ones.
[13] Although the opera was very resistant to external influences pantomime was a powerful device (Chanzin-Bennahum, 1988).

dances. Ballet-masters emphasized proper alignment and technical efficiency through a mechanical approach to the body; this was the outcome of a bodily conception shaped by the machine analogy, which dominated the discourse of the period. As a result "the spatial and temporal demands for mechanical efficiency placed on the body, served as well to define what was desirable choreographically" (ibid: 73). It was this type of "mechanical" performance, which was also contested by the new pantomimic dance.

The symbolic premises of action ballet.

 Pantomime set at stake the theatrical status quo by stretching performances to include balanced combinations of music, lyrics and dance, which (quite unlike what was hitherto presented) made sense as a sequence of scenes and actions. While pantomimic spectacles flourished in certain stages, the *Encyclopaedists* published a series of writings on dance and ballet, which they saw as a dramatic/mimetic genre that ought to represent human action (Chanzin-Bennahum, 1988:12-15). Dance reformists like Jean-Georges Noverre and intellectuals like Diderot and Rousseau took special interest in the aesthetic possibilities of pantomime and wrote about the integration of pantomime in ballet. In all of these accounts pantomime was considered in unison with physical activities like dance, thus consisting of an undivided entity. Yet, although pantomime per se was increasingly employed in the elite houses and private theatres, the advocates of dance reformation were still not conscious of how this unification would be achieved (Foster, 1996:42).

Encyclopaedists criticized Operatic ballet as incoherent with no profound plot or meaning. They advocated the initiation of a storyline in ballet in order to attract audiences (Homans, 2010: 77-80). In the period prior to and immediately after the Revolution great emphasis was placed on spectatorship. The rise of the middle classes enforced claims for realism; that is to say an adequate representation of the new ways of being. Rousseau particularly wrote on the possible unison of dance with pantomime in order to enhance the effect of realism in ballet. The result of this

embrace would be the *ballet d'action*; an attempt to transform a textual story into dramatic danced action. In that sense ballet would no longer be the result of textual imposition on the body but rather a translation of a written story into dance narrative where the characters gestured the plot (Foster, 1996: 74).

This radical redefinition of dancing implied new skills and new levels of virtuosity. It also cemented a novel co-operative relationship amongst the artists producing the final work. The Paris Opera was the centre of these remarkable negotiations, given its transition from a royal to a state institution under the auspices of the King. The Opera contained diverse people in its classes, and despite the pressures exerted from above, its troupes developed ideas for the art they practiced. Jean-Georges Noverre is one example. His written work on dance (*Lettres sur la danse* 1760) was an exemplification of the new spirit, designating the aesthetic character and purposes of action ballet. Noverre initially developed his ideas in ten productions under the patronage of the Duke of Wurttemberg in Stuttgart (Cohen, 1992:57).

Noverre derived his themes from Greek antiquity and mythology (Homans, 2010). He drew particularly on a seventeenth century composer: Jean-Baptiste Lully. Lully developed Ballet-Comedy influenced by commedia dell' arte - "a serious and consistent dance drama" (Bland, 1976:51). Noverre gave impetus to Lully's ideas by making dance on the basis of a plot, including characters and interactions. He also removed virtuoso intermissions to achieve logical affinity between movement, action and design. These components equally added to the spectacle – coordinated by the choreographer – who now assumed a prominent role. Noverre's work emphasized the relationship between music, dance and "acting" through facial expression. This in turn cemented a different type of dancing body agile and well trained. The body was now considered an element under mastery, and what is more, a terrain where emotions were generated. Technical skill and expressivity became qualities unified in the dancing body of action ballet.

Noverre sprung up from the provincial fair theatre activity. As a result his appointment at the Opera in 1772 triggered general dissatisfaction. He was an advocate of the new dance, namely the ballet of the new social strata and made unexpected demands on dancers, who were placed under strenuous physical working conditions. Consequently, they claimed wage increases and other benefits, whilst struggling to retrieve their relative autonomy in shaping the roles they performed. This internal turmoil ceased sometime in 1776 when a committee was appointed to settle both programming and payments for all the employees. This committee included all working artists in the Opera: musicians, dancers, singers, designers etc, thus connecting different genres at an administrative level (Foster, 1996: 89).

Furthermore, a new division of labour was employed. The choreographer became the leading figure[14], whose conception of the plot dictated the appropriate musical and motional sequences for the dramatic narration. The placement of the choreographer in the centre of dance production proved to be really disturbing to both composers and dancers, who were now less autonomous. Choreographers had the first and the final say in the making of ballet. In the end it was their view of the story that was displayed via the bodies of dancers (Foster, 1996: 76).

However, ballet as treated in the Royal Opera did not facilitate the relaxation of the body from courtly conventions, neither did it embrace all the novelties suggested. The Opera was an ideological mechanism of the court, which served royal interests, both aesthetic and political. Furthermore, Noverre was hired by Marie Antoinette; thus his post never challenged the symbolic status of the institution, which remained a royal structure. Balletic curriculum and training also remained highly formalized and conservative (Chanzin-Bennahum, 1988:14). However, the Opera gradually became a space of competing interest thus the principles of action ballet increasingly gained prominence. Boulevard and fair theatres continued to mount awe-inspiring spectacles

[14]   The term choreographer had hitherto meant dance notator. Similarly, choreography was defined as the transcription of dance or the score itself. Action ballet gave new meaning to the term: as virtuosity and expressivity turned into core balletic qualities, the dancing figure became a surface upon which the choreographer could "inscribe" meaning. As a result the term 'choreography' now mirrored that process (Foster, 1996:167).

using acrobatics and complex gymnastics. However, the quality of such performances never reached that of the Opera, given performers' expertise in multiple genres (Foster 1996: 94).

Yet even if the Opera intended to dissociate itself from *ballet d' action*, it did so only in name. Noverre's service in the opera did indeed coincide with major administrative and artistic transformations. The style of dance he introduced was less academic and therefore did not adhere to the sterile principles that once governed court dance. It had an alternative aesthetic goal: it was a medium of expression. Furthermore, the ongoing expansion of public entertainment through fair theatres and some private venues gradually displaced the Opera as the centre of artistic production and bodily formation. Technical mastery and virtuosity became the basis for emotional expression through the body. The emotional substance of action ballet constituted the new principle of the staged dance (Lee, 2002). The late eighteenth century French ballet developed in this direction and gradually acquired an elaborate content with clear and coherent plot, distinct characters and a logical relation between action and consequence. Love stories were thematically included and movement became the main means to represent the emotional and psychological attributes of the characters performed.

The mastery of the body also became the centre of interest – especially for dance tutors – who embarked on studying anatomy to comprehend bodily movement. They developed sets of exercises that facilitated elegant and flowing movement. Anatomy was the means through which masters comprehended students' physicality and bodily "deficiencies" and devised types of "workout" to eliminate them. It was in this context that the basic balletic exercises were formed. These gradually consolidated into a specific pattern, which is still practiced in ballet today (Foster, 1996: 111). This phase is also distinctive for the introduction of the mirror in the Opera rehearsing studios. Masters encouraged students to supervise their own bodily placement and movement through the latter. In this way, it was believed they would achieve proper alignment and technical efficiency for the execution of "classical" movement (ibid:

109). In 1781 the opera established its own school for potential dancers where the previous educational initiatives were fully established.

Towards the consolidation of Action Ballet

Action Ballet was nevertheless a genre under constant reconfiguration stylistically and technically whilst it became the bone of contention in an ongoing debate concerning the representational and communicative power of dance. The idea that staged dance could be more than a translation of text, raised concerns about the suitability of balletic syntax for dramatic representation.

The philosophical underpinnings of action ballet resided in the Enlightenment. Action ballet liberated the dancing body from the constraints of an imposed conduct – royal or religious – reinstating it as an autonomous instrument of human physicality. The body served the narration of both individual and collective experience and became a medium of emotional release (Au, 2002:37). It embodied common interaction as a subject matter and negotiated empathy towards the human being. It incorporated an egalitarian view manifested in claims regarding the universality of dance. Action Ballet thus consisted the product of social and political transformation but also actively shaped those social shifts, which resulted ultimately in the French Revolution (Foster, 1996:121).

However, even though artistic liberty and expressivity constituted principles of the revolutionary reformism in arts, they were not fully satisfied through the revolution: "what was deemed sacred and what heretical had been transposed by the destruction of the monarchy; government control over all artistic production was only briefly relaxed and then ferociously tightened again" (Chanzin-Bennahum, 1988:72). Ballet was still part of political interaction and power; during the revolutionary period especially, performing arts had to commemorate the political act of revolution, even though reformists argued for the autonomy of arts from such prescriptions (ibid: 24).

56

Furthermore, the "Law Regarding Spectacles" issued in 1791 disturbed the ever-changing performing universe. This decree authorized all living playwrights and their descendants exclusive rights in performances based on their scenarios until fifty years after death. In the past, the submission of a script to the Opera/Theatre entailed the relinquishment of all control over the production, which limited the rights of several artists. However, the law for spectacles did not affect directly the interests or the status of choreographers[15] and dancers (Foster, 1996:146). Nonetheless, it set their relationship on a new basis as dance scores were now distinguished from individual performance, which henceforth was considered an interpretation (ibid: 316).

Self-evidently, then, in the revolutionary period the theatrical world was a field of conflict between the aesthetics and politics of the decaying nobility and that of the new aristocracy and middle classes. The new regime embarked on changes to consolidate control over artistic production and in 1793 the French commune declared its authority to scrutinize balletic content. The following year this rule was expanded to include ballet and pantomime livrets[16], which had to abide by the structure of comedy/tragedy. Moreover, the central heroes of the plots had to be citizens and not nobles or aristocrats (Chanzin-Bennahum, 1988:75). In the period 1787-1801, ballet was considered counter revolutionary due to its monarchical origins, hence constantly associated with the ancient regime. Hence, ballet's autonomy from the field of politics was not yet fully achieved as it was still under noble patronage. This had a tremendous impact on its practitioners who were as a consequence seen as political traitors and servants of the monarchy. Consequently a lot of ballet dancers and choreographers migrated to London (Salle, Noverre himself, the Vestris family) in order to perform the only style they were trained in, whilst others were imprisoned.

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[15] Choreographers – especially the ones permanently employed in theatres, published notated dance scripts rather than texts, and independent choreographers were not obliged to follow the decree at all since they did not have to submit any proposals to the houses. The latter either declined or accepted the whole production once and for all.

[16] The livret was a type of extensive scenario including contextual information, an overview of the story/plot, and a brief aesthetic preview. It also informed the reader on the cast dancers, actors etc, the choreographer, the dance tutor, the composer as well as the set and costume designer. It also acknowledged production problems, the patron and the publisher. These livrets were distributed during performance bearing the date of presentation and the censor's stamp (Chanzin-Bennahum, 1988:4).

In this way then London became the locus where action ballet actually developed. As the cultural centre of Europe, London hosted every performing novelty at the emerging private theatres. As early as in the 1700s Marie Salle – an Italian ballerina – performed in London theatres a role that cemented the beginning of action ballet. Her role as the Galathea in Pygmalion choreographed by her father constituted a breakthrough at the time (Au, 2002). According to Foster (1998:163-164) this performance transformed the structure of ballet – as a pre-eminent form – in the way advocated by Diderot or Noverre: "Salle's choreography for Galathea, the work of art that comes to life, embraced two distinct aesthetic traditions – the baroque opera ballet and parodic pantomime – and from them bodied forth a third: the action story or story ballet". Pygmalion, and what followed on by Salle gave expression to the philosophical notions of individuality. Moreover, they revealed a new type of corporeality based on a more democratic conception of the body.

The Napoleonic Era

The influence of revolutionary ideas and the revolution itself reflected on the theme and structure of ballet. However, in the Napoleonic period there occurred a backlash. The staging of spectacles and the representational means used became, again, points of conflict. Napoleon reduced the number of city theatres to seven and "assigned to each a distinct repertory based on hierarchy and refinement" (Foster, 1996:150). Genres were re-classified and Action Ballet was bestowed both on the Opera and the second rank Port Saint Martin, which mounted variations of the Operatic productions for popular consumption. New laws restricted entrepreneurship, which limited the availability of dance. Yet, although the decline of ballet as a spectacle was apparent, this was only a temporary phenomenon. The ongoing negotiation of the artistic aims of ballet quickly rekindled interest in dance. The opposition of virtuosity against expressivity as subject matters of dance changed the reception of ballet. Virtuosity was cultivated and more complex steps and motional patterns were developed, turning ballet into a more attractive spectacle.

What was more important, though, was the gradual dissociation of dance from a system of social relations, which had previously rendered it an indication of high

social origins and aristocratic identity. By no means did it any longer "maintain a connection via […] with the rhetoric of social comportment" (Foster, 1996: 173). Moreover, dance was no longer a homogeneous phenomenon: it appeared as a theatrical form and a spectacle distinct from dance as a leisure activity. Social dance was now a totally separate genre, differing fundamentally from ballet in movement and style. Contrastingly, by the end of the eighteenth century, action ballet transformed into an hour-long danced story, which included characters situated in specific historical contexts, depicted through costuming and scenic design.

Overall, eighteenth century dance was marked by the emergence of action ballet, as a result of the decline of courtly dance and the emergence on new social and political forces. The introduction of the dramatic element in dance and the democratization of the dancing body were bodied in Action ballet. The inclusion of social bodies irrespective of social origin or status as subject matters but as also as real dancing bodies constituted a major shift. Bodies were no longer restrained by status-governed rules of comportment neither would they be sorted according to principles extrinsic to dance. "The new mimetic bodies [would respond] logically to events around them, [dancing] out an independence never before available to them; freed from relational protocols they had previously been required to perform, they could now initiate and respond all of their own" (Foster, 1998: 173)

Overall, action ballet constituted a major aesthetic and symbolic shift in dance, *homologous* to the transformation of the social world in which it emerged. It was the first manifestation of dance as an art form and a product of theorization, a relatively more autonomous and scientifically systematized practice, which was eventually organized as a performance intended for an audience to which it would speak. Moreover it became the locus of expression both for its creator and the performer centered on their *physical capital*, namely the only possession of the individual, the body; a body that bears and realizes the self rather than restricting it to a predetermined type and space of performance. Action ballet in some sense was the first break-up of court ballet into a distinctive more modern form, which would be the ancestor of the form designated as ''modern dance'' centuries later.

Chapter 2
The 19th Century

The Romantic Era

In the turn of the century action ballet becomes an international genre. Its expansion beyond France and Italy coincided with the phenomenon of "Dansomanie", a "social dance" craze across Europe especially reinforced by the introduction of private large-scale stages. The eighteenth-century dance legacies set the principles for the development of the narrative ballet that referred to a sequence of action scenes based on mime. Diverse elements contributed to realistic ballets such as settings costumes and special effects. Music was linked to mimic gesturing, often embodying elements from folk and other traditions of dance so as to assist historical and geographical representation (Bland, 1976). Classical ballet as an ever-developing form premised on the end of Feudalism, was significantly affected by the shifts in the political structures of Europe in the transition to Capitalism. Ballet was transformed through Romanticism by drawing on such social transformations, new sources of political thought and aesthetics. Indeed this chapter will show that during this period a continuous attempt to gain the autonomy of dance from political power and at the same time from established symbolic prescriptions within the networks of dance production is at stake. Part of the latter tension will soon result in the rupture of ballet into two separate forms, namely ballet and what is designated as "modern dance".

The Romantic Period, Bourdieu (1996a:113) argues, enforced the process of artistic autonomization and consolidated the field of cultural production as a system of interlinked positions involving different roles in artistic creation. Indeed the production of dance was also now clearly linked to a chain of positions and position takings, namely rationalized and classified divisions of labour in art, each one responsible for the making of ballet (institutions schools and theatres, as well as different roles: teachers, choreographers, stage technicians etc). Within this system, as we shall see, symbolic oppositions occur; namely, contending definitions and

principles of making theatrical dance. These are indeed refracted social oppositions, which manifest themselves in symbolic terms, i.e. in artistic movements and ideas about the content of dance as well as the style of movement employed. As we shall see, these aesthetic tensions operate in tandem with processes of growing autonomy from established and institutional definitions of dance and will lead to a succession of significant ruptures in stylistic and expressive elements in ballet. These tensions are also evident in local/national systems of artistic production, which are gradually emerging in Europe. As Bourdieu (1993a: 53) explained "the structure of the field of cultural production is based on two fundamental and quite different oppositions: first between the sub-field of restricted production and the subfield of large-scale production [...]; and secondly the consecrated avant-garde and the avant-garde".

Diverse negotiations and institutionalizations of ballet operate in different countries although, what underlies the primary conception of such forms of art is the imperial/courtly origins and connotations in movement and content, until ballet fully transforms into a democratic – or at least bourgeois – practice. Indeed Romanticism, as we shall see, coincides politically with the emergence of nation-state and nationalist conceptions and organization of dance practice emerge. However, that does not entail: "The neutralization of historical context" as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999: 41) would argue. Thus questions about the historical roots of a phenomenon should not become "planetarized or globalized in a strictly geographical sense" [and] in the end one [should not] forget that they have their roots in the complex and controversial realities of a particular historical society, [often] tacitly constituted as model for every other and as the yardstick for all things" (ibid: 42).

Ballet and Romanticism

Romanticism emerged at the end of the eighteenth century in political theory, philosophy and art. The term *Romantic* derived from the French word *roman,* denoting tales of military quests and adventure narratives about pursuits of supernatural creatures in the name of chivalric love. When the word was integrated in the German language, Romantic became a synonym for that fictional form in literature – the Romantic Novel – which became representative of the new structure of feeling (Richards, 2002:20). The Romantic Novel, a narrative of adventurous action and emotional fervour in a naturalistic setting, embodied the heart of the Romantic idea, namely, the expression of passion and excitement and ultimately the expression of the Self.

Drawing heavily on Enlightenment and the liberal ideas of the previous century, Romanticism placed emphasis on subjectivity and stood for a profound shift from instrumental reasoning to sentimental expression as a projection of the will (Taylor, 1989: 368). Romanticism inspired a reconsideration of the relationship between individuality and the external world. Scientifically and philosophically the question of how parts (Organisms) are related to the whole (Nature) became prominent. Romantics, unlike Descartes, considered Nature as an interlocking whole in which organisms develop interdependently and according to a certain ideal type from which they derive. Similarly, subjectivity consists in this whole and experiences reality as the outcome of subjective conception and not as independent and external (Richards, 2002).

Philosophers like Fichte and Schelling negotiated the problem of Self and Reality and argued the significance of emotions as sources of knowledge. Fichte saw the Self (ego) as an "all - encompassing consciousness in which and for which the empirical ego and nature exists" (ibid: 31). For Fichte the ultimate purpose of subjectivity is an in-depth introspection, which enables the absolute ego (this form of consciousness) to come into the fore and reveal reality. Schelling considered the two poles Nature –Self as organically related coming instantaneously to existence through absolute

subjectivity, namely via absolute consciousness. Human nature in his view is not determined by the external order of things, as Plato argued, but by "our own inner impulses and our own place in the interlocking whole" (Taylor, 1989:301).

Reality, then, is a result of introspection, the exploration of inner feelings and impulses, the expression of which shapes our knowledge of both nature and individuality. Nature is realized within the subject and in that sense subjectivity is an expressive act of nature, which instantaneously exists through introspection (ibid: 374-375). This profound shift from the definition of the world as externality to one that stems from within, namely the (e-) motion of subjective state, is homologous to shifts in social conditions of existence namely from the externally imposed feudal order to the libertarian social order of individualism. *Emotion* as it broke out of the formerly socially suppressed consciousness became the cornerstone of the Romantic Movement. Sentimentality became central in the conception of nature and life – evidently reflected in the arts as expressive forms – especially literature and (as we shall see) in ballet.

Romanticism cemented a transformation in sensibility also facilitated by changes in the social and political circumstances of European countries. The transition from Feudalism to Capitalism – a change in the mode of production – cemented the emergence of distinct spheres of activity with primacy given to the economic arena. The latter appeared as a system of relations operating according to certain principles and rationale and set the basis for the organization of social life. Thus the economic sphere became the foundation of everyday life (Weber, 1997). The transformation of social structures in Europe, as capitalism advanced through developed market economies, enabled new ways of being. A novel ethos – exemplified in new forms of conduct – marked European social life (Taylor, 1989:286). As Weber (2003) argued, the bourgeois individual situated in the modern European cities forms relationships with the aspiration to contribute to production, and pursues a regulated, modest life. It is a historical phase during which ordinary life becomes the centre of social reproduction.

The transition from the aristocratic ethos to the bourgeois way of being (or habitus), which followed the demise of aristocratic "lifestyle", enforced new conceptions of individuality. As the distinction between private and public is reinforced by the new organization of life, the nuclear family becomes the centre of private life and emotionality. Emotional expression is cultivated via spatial closeness and therefore new types of intimacy emerge. Love becomes a central theme in family life directed from one spouse to another and from parents to offspring (Taylor, 1989:290). This focus on love, especially between partners, became the central theme of Romantic ballet. Evidently cultivated by the narrative Romantic Novel, which developed a discourse on "romance", the construction of a new intimacy and a new ethos of feeling became central (Giddens, 1992: 38-39).

This new romance became the subject matter of theatrical dance. The prevalent theme in ballet becomes the love-death couplet (Bland, 1976:54). Most Romantic ballets revolved around the unconditional, highly spiritual love - unfulfilled due to external, often supernatural circumstances or death. The setting in which these stories unravel is that of Northern countries, especially Scotland[15], thus introducing a mood of mystery and darkness associated with that part of the continent. This shift in content was reinforced by further aesthetic negotiations. As sentimental expression took up moral significance, melancholy emerged as the subjective state through which experience was filtered.

Melancholy referred both to an individual mood and a setting, an atmosphere. It expressed a new ethos, a detachment from sorrow and hardship, which was aesthetically and morally condemned. This form of emotionality was interwoven with the essentially beautiful and the morally accepted. As Taylor (1989: 296) argues: "if distinction is attached to the loftiness of one's sentiments and if the highest were inseparable from renunciation and suffering, then the very savouring in melancholy of a nobly felt misfortune could be seen as admirable". Emotions (like love, sadness,

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[15]   This is a direct influence from the Romantic novel and especially from the work of Sir Walter Scott.

grief) became a part of a highly spiritual world that emphasized new sources of morality and moral experience, which was conceived as aesthetically valuable.

The interrelation between moral and aesthetic values was very vividly reflected in the representational techniques of ballet. The introduction of otherworldly beings (female figures mainly) in the balletic plot, serving as symbols[16] of sensuality, spirituality and eternal love, is one significant aspect. These beings were capable of everlasting higher emotionality, an idea envisaged in the Romantic philosophy of Schleiermacher[17], as they were parts of an aesthetically and morally different universe. These supernatural figures served as ideal types and dominated the balletic scene from their introduction. Their melancholic and pale presence formed the new beauty ideal object of male desire both on stage and beyond. These female types were firstly introduced in *The Sylph*[18] (later to appear in *Giselle*[19]), a direct reference to sensuality and sexual desire.

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[16]   The use of symbols is according to Taylor (1989:379) an attempt of the subjective creative imagination to represent reality via a production of new forms (symbols). These forms constitute articulations of the inner vision. Symbolism is the language through which higher ideas, ideas beyond one's perception can be expressed; "the symbol allows what is expressed in it to enter our world. It is the locus of manifestation of what otherwise would remain invisible".

[17]   Schleiermacher considered that love led to an independent universe beyond our consciousness and experience of reality. In his philosophical system love was a means to infinity, a transcendental emotion to eternity (as cited in Richards, 2002: 105).

[18]   The Sylph (1832): is the story of a young Scotts Crofter, James, who is engaged to the girl next door, Effie. On the eve of their marriage he is visited by a Sylphide, and fells in love. He abandons Effie and pursues the Sylphide into her woodland home. James is desperate to possess her and is tricked by the evil witch into throwing a magic scarf over the Sylphide's wings. Instead of making her human, it makes her wings drop off and she dies. "Ideal beauty cannot live in the mortal world James's anguish is given a terrible ironic twist at the ballet's close as a wedding march passes by celebrating Effie's union with his more steady – headed neighbor Gurn" (Mackrell, 1997:23).

[19]   Giselle (1841): Count Albrecht falls in love with a peasant girl Giselle and pretends to be a peasant himself in order to reach her. She gives in to her feelings for the prince but when she realizes he is a noble man, she loses her mind and dies. Albrecht visits her grave where he dances with her ghost but unfortunately the couple is encircled by a band of Wills that attack men and make them dance to death. Giselle puts all her efforts to save her lover and keep him alive until dawn when both she and the Wills go away (Mackrell, 1997: 24). *Giselle* is a Romantic Ballet that incorporated several Romantic themes, namely the unconditional love between partners and especially the idea of life close to nature. The story takes place in a village surrounded by forests and considerable emphasis is placed on rural life (Bland, 1974:55). Life in nature constituted one of the strongest resolutions of the Romantic Movement. The tendency for a return to Nature away from the corrupted city and the hectic pace of urban living was particularly evident. Nature was considered as a shelter, a source of comfort and love in which one could lead a simple, modest and therefore virtuous life (Taylor, 1989:297). *Giselle* was a Bucolic Idyll, a very popular literary form of the time glorifying eternal love within nature. *Giselle* represented nature as a web of love in similar manner to the Romantic poems (Richards, 2002, 101).

The sylphs or wills were seductresses "impersonating" the eternal feminine appeal (Mackrell, 1997).

The staging of (sexual) desire and love reflected the change in sensibility as envisaged in real life. According to Taylor (1989:292) the industrial revolution and dissolution of collective pre-modern societies altered the structured of communal living, just as it raised the idea of privacy. Even though the distinction between private and public roles as aspects of the self was designated in the context of the Court (see Elias, 1983) through spatial arrangement, privacy became central in nineteenth century bourgeois life. And consequently, love was converted into a private issue. The transition from the communal way of being to the urbanized private one challenged the "collective patriarchic order". That is to say, the choice of partner, intimacy and marriage became less of a family issue. Decisions lay now with partners alone. These changes in intimate relationships and emotional expression were encoded in balletic narrative. Moreover the sharp contrast between marriage as a familial arrangement and as a fulfilling act of love – which is valuable per se – became apparent (Giddens, 1992) (see the *Sylph and Giselle*).

The Romantic ballet negotiated myths and fantasies. However, the transition from action to fantasy served the social need for intellectual and emotional distraction from the experience of modern mass society and the alienating urban environment (Mackrell 1997:18). As Schiller (as cited in Richards, 2002:54) explained, the disharmonious relationship between scientific advancement – emphasized by overspecialization – economic progress and material accumulation dissolved the communal life bonds, a phenomenon that Marx would later on call estrangement. The world of fantasy became a source of consolation, hope and comfort against alienation. Balletic narratives served this purpose successfully. They excited fear and admiration for the unknown or the supernatural and channelled desire and lust via a spiritual representation of sensuality/sexuality.

The new forms of intimacy and emotionality as represented in the mid nineteenth century Romantic ballets stimulated a series of technical changes in both staging and movement. The latter facilitated the visualization of the new content but were also attempts to articulate ideas and express emotions in a new way (Jowitt, 1988:30-32). For instance, theatrical technology was developed in order to produce the effect of melancholy and darkness. Stage lighting, namely gas lamps were used to diffuse the light and visualize the supernatural and the otherworldly. Lighter costumes were also designed to enable fluency of movement and lightness - a sign of the spirituality of sylphs. Point work was also employed in this respect (Garafola, 1997).

However, the most important developments concerned movement per se. New choreographies meant new perspectives towards bodily movement. Movement became distinctively engendered. This shift served the representational requirements of partnership and love as the new balletic content. However, it also reflected a wider change with respect to the gendering of social space. Differences in spatial positioning (exemplified in the distinction between domestic and public space) entailed different bodily applications, which affected deeply both social and theatrical dance. The properties attributed to masculinity and femininity, ranging from the physical to the socially constructed, thoroughly contributed to the reproduction of a number of divisions in ballet. On top of the social representations of gender and the opposed behavioural patterns assumed, the shifts in the perception of the anatomy of sexes enforced modifications in the technique and structure of ballet (Foster, 1996).

As we have seen, eighteenth century balletic technique was common for both female and male dancers and movement was homogenously performed. Contrastingly, the nineteenth century cemented differentiations in the technique employed by men and women, which gradually transformed ballet into a female art (Garafola, 1997:4). The invention of the padded shoe (Pointe) facilitated such reconfiguration, as it irrevocably transformed the classical style, by setting technique at a different level. Point shoes placed the female dancer in the centre of attention and even though male dancers could theoretically use them this never occurred in practice.

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The initiation of point-work coincided with the career of a singular dancer, the Italian ballerina Marie Taglioni, in 1830. Trained both in the French school and by her father Fillippo Taglioni, Taglioni became the symbol of Romantic ballet. Her role as *La Sylphide,* the ghostly seductress, became a balletic prototype. Her footwork on point created the illusion of weightlessness, giving expression to the idea of spirituality (Bland, 1976:55). Taglioni's padded shoes and costume (tutu) became the new uniform of dance. Marie's slim and ethereal presence reconfigured the balletic body on the prototype of fine lines and ease of movement (Garafola, 1997). The popularity of the Sylph expanded in France (where she made her debut), England, Australia and Russia.

However, two years after the tremendous success of *La Sylphide,* Fanny Elssler[20] – a dancer from Vienna – introduced an alternative style of dancing, sensual and provocative. The *Cachucha* was a Spanish dance drawing heavily from eastern dances. This type of dance was typical for the twists of the torso and the excessive use of stamping and heel tapping (Mackrell, 1997:21). Elssler came from a family of fair-theatre performers and performed burlesque before she was discovered (Homans, 2010: 164). From this point the two ballerinas entered a competitive game, which was actually the reflection of two different symbolic approaches to ballet or symbolic oppositions in the field of dance. It was what Théophile Gautier (a literary critic and poet) summarized in his characterization of the two as Christian and Pagan respectively (Gautier, 1947: 16).

Gautier reviewed the performances of both dancers with reference to their technical skill, bodily structure and performing manners. He spoke about the qualities he appreciated in Elssler's recital. He drew emphasis on her voluptuous figure as against Taglioni's slender and pale appearance. Gautier appreciated the different style that *Cachucha* brought into performance, namely that of rhythmical and vivid movement, which excited "a flair of attack" (Gautier, 1947: 16). Elssler was defined as a sensual

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[20]   Fanny Elssler was discovered from Dr Vernon, a wealthy entrepreneur who considered her an asset for his theatrical productions (Bland, 1976:56).

dancer; her movement was the glorification of the body, a quality, which according to him, was inherently human. However, such style stood in contradistinction to the conceptions of spirituality emanating from the Romantic performers. Gautier's analogy of Christian and Pagan styles of dance, through which he conceptualized the particular ways of performing, was an attempt to address the underlying aesthetic and moral values pinned on the diverse dance styles.

Gautier's term "Christian dancer" connoted the (Romantic) idealization of life, an idealization for which Nietzsche (1997: 66) accused Christianity as moral philosophy. Christian teachings preached that a better world would replace the present one, thus promising a better life in supernatural existence. This promise of ideal life constituted both the moral and aesthetic centre of Romantic ballet. The denial of everyday bodily pleasures at a representational level and the portrayal of love in a non-human, spiritual form sealed the fulfilment of happiness in an otherworldly ideal universe. The Christian (Catholic) prototype emphasized an unimpassioned, tranquil way of being, where love emerged through moral action in a controlled and regulated fashion in order to preserve a particular social order. Christian teachings condemned the expression of passion and sexual desire, a phenomenon, which for Nietzsche, was a direct negation of beauty and sensuality. What becomes increasingly evident through this is that dance is still entangled in forms prescribed – even if indirectly – by the political and religious order.

Romantic ballet thus kept the staging of sexual fantasy under austere control in the disguise of otherworldly female figures: "These women, flesh and not flesh, alive and dead, inviting yet remote, could hardly appeal more to men raised in an era of repressive social propriety and sexual double standards. They represented licensed fantasy; they were danger and desire incarnate" (Mackrell, 1997: 21). Romantic ballet reinforced the prominence of the spirit over the body at the level of representation. Cachucha, on the other hand, came to challenge this equilibrium with a strong injection of overt sensuality. Elssler's dance reinstated passion as a human quality stressing the joys of the moving body as against its Romantic and almost dematerialized version. It was the Dionysian spirit that was evoked in order to re-

establish human beauty. In other words, what was challenged here in a symbolic and representational way was typically not just the content and theme of dance but in a reconfigured way the basic principles of making dance itself. Teachers' and choreographers' power and authority to produce dance independently from the interests of the State or the Church is what is in question.

Nevertheless, the Sylph cemented the beginning of the Romantic era in the field of theatrical dance. This approach, above all, contested the classicist form, which had hitherto dominated dance. Although Romanticism was not a homogeneous movement in the European continent, what *was* distinctive about *it*, was a clear anti-neo-classicist tendency in arts and literature (Taylor 1989:368). Through these symbolic negotiations, dance makers, more than ever before, struggled to adjust the balletic vocabulary in order to achieve a realistic representation; an artistic ambition firstly stated by the *Action Ballet.* Different choreographers attempted to accomplish this in different ways. Some, like Salvatore Vigano, reduced the proportion of dancing by applying rhythmic pantomime instead to present the plot. Others, like Pierre Gardel, included pure dancing in their work with an emphasis on virtuosity, which did not necessarily abide by the narrative, although this tended to occur at the expense of consistency (Homans, 2010, 209-220).

Yet, dance practitioners and critics did not necessarily consider dance as a dramatic genre that should by definition convey a story. Given the difficulties of making ballet serve realism, one faction of choreographers considered ballet as liberating of one's imagination. This resolution was very well conceived and depicted in the writings of Jules Janine (a critic of the period) who claimed that dance should not be representative of reality but rather a stimulant of fantasy. He promoted the idea of a participative audience realized in the aesthetic experience shared between performers and spectators (Chapman, 1997: 200). Janine's approach expressed the imminent redefinition of art as a system of relations. The purpose and meaning of art was renegotiated as the focus of attention shifted from the idea of beauty to the aesthetic experience. The reflection of this symbolic and philosophical change is made apparent in ballet through dance reviews and critical texts on the theory of dance.

The dance critic Geoffrey, for example, saw human experience as the balletic subject matter (ibid: 198). The reproduction of action on stage was in his view an instrument enabling participation. Action was the vehicle by means of which spectatorship could transcend from observation to emotional and intellectual involvement. The transformative force of action exercised on spectatorship, would turn the latter into aesthetic experience. Critics like Janine or Gautier favoured abstraction and saw dance as a non - dramatic spectacle, consisting of images and symmetries. Specifically, Gautier defined ballet as "nothing more than the art of displaying beautiful shapes in graceful positions and the development from these, of lines agreeable to the eye […]" (Gautier, 1947: 17). Janine followed Gautier but drew emphasis on images as stimulants of imagination. Here again what gained primacy was the experience evoked by fantasy.

Dance criticism thus brought into light aesthetic changes, symbolic clashes and opposing ideas concerning the significance of ballet, its structure and aims. However, reviewers themselves stood for different styles and commented on works from a particular aesthetic viewpoint. As Eagleton argued (as cited in Wolff, 1983: 15), criticism presupposes interest and a particular stance from which judgments are articulated. In that sense criticism does not simply mirror symbolic oppositions but constitutes an integral part of the world it criticizes, thus reinforcing such contestations. Criticism may have a particular rationale according to which it operates but it exists in relation to the developments of the area it reviews. In reality different ideas and practices about dancing and dance making expressed by practitioners and critics alike are aesthetic positions within the set of relations constituting *the field of dance.* These symbolic positionings are, as we have seen, clashing and are a part of a struggle to either preserve or transform the field of dance and, in that sense, the definition of ballet.

Romanticism and Locality

Romantic political thought and the writings of the philosopher Johann Herder especially influenced ballet in structure and content. Herder developed the concept of nationhood, namely the idea of a shared culture, religion, language and tradition. He assumed collective consciousness of these, which was exemplified in folk expressions. Herder had an egalitarian view of cultures and considered different peoples as bearers of a distinctive (folk) spirit (volkgeist) that was per se admirable. This idea was materialized through the inclusion of national/folk dances in the major balletic repertoire. Moreover, the decline of classicism stimulated an increased interest in the folk stories of Scotland. As far as the evidence indicate, national dances greatly influenced the progress of ballet in this period and certain exceptional ballerinas performed them either individually or in mass ensemble (Arkin & Smith, 1997:15). Nineteenth century ballet appeared particularly egalitarian and pluralistic in the types of movement involved. On the other hand it cemented the emergence of a distinctively nationalist conception of culture partly reflected on the incorporation of folk styles in the balletic idiom[21].

Thus, in some performances folk dances served as an introduction to the ballet, setting the place and time in which action would unfold and presenting the main characters. Such dances were not separate from the balletic theme, they were rather choreographically integrated with the aid of appropriate music to "create a convincing sense of place" (ibid: 26). However, national dances were sometimes included without a distinct dramatic purpose. Several choreographers such as August Bournoville (Denmark) argued for the centrality of national dances in balletic production. Bournoville's disenchantment with Napoleon and the French Revolution

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[21]   This paradoxical observation relates to what Kaizer (1999:18) explains as the problem of two strands of philosophical thought with opposing views on Romanticism. In his analysis literary theorists associate the movement with liberalism, the expression of subjectivity and equality whilst social scientists with nationalism and the totalitarian state. However " the difference between liberalism and cultural nationalism is that in liberalism the being striving to obtain autonomy is an individual whilst for cultural nationalism it is a whole people" (ibid). The latter views the nation as an entity, which expresses the culture of the people, the Volk. In ballet this opposition is sustained through different implementations of ethnic dances, but primarily as the expression of the people.

converted him to a myth and folk culture supporter evident in his choreographic work with national forms (Homans, 2010: 206).

Furthermore, the classification of dances, as established in the 1700s, was in decline and the distinction between noble and character dance (including folk) no longer assumed the technical superiority of the classical genre (Arkin & Smith, 1997:29). The latter – which drew on skills such as speed, balance, elevation and rhythm – was no longer performed by second-class dancers, who could not excel in the academic technique (ibid: 15). Conversely a series of skilful dancers became famous for their performances of national/character dances (including Marie Taglioni and Fanny Elssler). However, the relationship between the local/ethnic element and ballet was not as straightforward. Romanticism was not conceived or applied homogenously. In Italy, for example, the Romantic Movement cemented a resistance to foreign influence and the rediscovery of a glorious national past.

The Italian ballo grounded on the purity of form and ideal beauty - was a fairly closed type and extremely resistant to French ballet and in that sense nationalist (Poesio, 1997). This cultural form was indeed seen as part of the common culture that constituted the Italians, rather than as forms constituted by the people. In that sense they contributed to the construction of the nation-state based on ideas of cultural difference and self-determination (Kaizer, 1999:19). This nationalism, which was historically established through the coercive power of the state as Bauman (1992) argues, reflected peoples' identification with the interests of the state through cultural forms such as dance. Conversely ballet in France, Germany, Poland and Denmark appeared extremely open in terms of movement vocabulary, developing different styles based on national dances. In that sense this use of ethnic dances was rather in line with Kant's ideas on the national as the expression of the oppressed people historically bound by absolutism, religion and superstition (Kaiser, 1999:15).

***Socio - Economic Strategies and Their Effects*.**

Nevertheless, specific socio-economic processes also affected balletic progress in Europe but slightly differently in different national fields, as we shall see. It was not solely the representational shifts that were distinctive in the Romantic period but also the wider "social conditions of production and reception" (Banes and Carroll, 1997:91). In France, for example, the opera switched from a state institution into a partly privately subsidized and operated one (Jowitt, 1988:31). It was now structured as a large-scale business in order to compete with private theatres in Europe and London especially, where impresarios presented extraordinary dancers to achieve maximum popularity and profit. The invention of the *Pas des Quatre* (an outstanding quartet of female dancers engaging in plot-less dance) was, for example, one of the most successful devices in this respect. The appearance of these four dancers attracted the masses to Her Majesty's Theatre in London, securing an economic advantage for the collaborators of the production (Bland, 1976:61).

Against this new commercialized background, the Paris Opera – as it was renamed – made a series of structural changes so as to challenge its rivals. First and foremost, the institution employed a range of professionals to enhance the reception of the productions. The directorship paid people to initiate the applause at performances and compensated dance critics for writing favourably about dancers' accomplishments. They also employed a doctor to supervise alleged sickness and look after sudden injuries. In 1831 Louis Vernon was assigned the directorship of the Opera, which was now a fully independent business in terms of production (Banes and Carroll, 1997). The relative privatization of the Paris Opera affected its employees. Dancers' financial situation worsened, especially at the low ranks of the corps de ballet. This enforced individual patronage relations, which constituted a concealed type of prostitution.

The phenomenon of *petit-rats* – known from the nineteenth century publications – indicates the extension of the problem. The petit-rats were usually poor, hungry girls

studying dance to pursuit a career in ballet. As opera employees, they belonged to the lowest rank (figurants: the equivalent of an unskilled worker) and received inadequate payments, which could not cover their maintenance, training and costuming. Many thus negotiated their livelihoods individually with aristocrats and wealthy businessmen to whom they offered sexual favours in exchange. These negotiations took place under the approval of and with the assistance of a relative, either the mother or aunt and resulted in shelter, a monthly stipend and quite often the opportunity of an upward social trajectory (Foster, 1996).

Thus the opera developed a type of ritual to accommodate these affairs. The so-called foyer contained these negotiations of interest; a bourgeois environment in which symbolic status could not be easily challenged and an aesthetic ambience reigned, which concealed power relations both of a financial and gendered character. However, such practices gradually extended outwith the ranks of the Opera. Under Vernon's directorship, of instance, employment in the opera became more complex; a ranking and a promotion system based on skill was devised negotiating contracts individually and favouring specific dancers. The changes in the economic organization of ballet placed a wealthy category of spectators into a privileged position. Their preferences for specific spectacles and artists – legitimized by their economic power –translated into particular productions. This constructed a star system that superseded ranking and skill. Consequently, state benefits for artists diminished since private grandees undertook the maintenance of dancers and entrepreneurship came to play a key role in the Opera (Garafola, 2005:138).

The phenomenon of the financial and "moral" deterioration of dance did not occur only in France. The Polish case was also indicative. Polish dancers were "produced" en masse in the Ballet School of Poland and were employed in Warsaw's Wieki Grand Theatre, yet under uncertain conditions. Firstly, the meagre salaries they received were inadequate, the promotion prospects were minimum and retirement was unachievable since it required thirty-five years of service. Given the fact that every year the theatre employed newcomers from the school, older dancers could hardly sustain their position. Those who actually managed to remain in the Wieki theatre for

a lengthy period attained an administrative position. Dancers in the Wieki Theater were in constant anxiety about their employment future whilst their financial situation obliged them to seek additional economic resources often in the form of guest starring. However, their chances were limited, as they had to get official permission from the theatre director in order to appear in other cities. Paradoxically, extensive touring could also prove fatal to their jobs (Pudelek, 1997: 152).

As a result, patronage and prostitution flourished. The Tsar himself treated the Grand Theatre as a house of prostitution demanding sexual services from the female dancers, who more often than not paid visits to the royal bedrooms. Even the Polish ballet school channelled students to prostitution. Female dancers were taught mannerisms – as a part of their training - which had sensual and sexual connotations. Thus ballerinas were imperceptibly introduced into the world of sensuality and hence were prone to perform sexual services (Pudelek, 1997: 146). The Polish ballet school was one of the few institutions with no tuition fees and attracted lower class students, who could not afford other forms of education or training. The social background[22] of these performers was kept secret so as not to challenge the symbolic order of both the School and Theatre. In this respect social origin did not affect the prospects of excellence and progress, thus allowing the lower strata to pursuit a career in the field (ibid: 143).

By the mid-nineteenth century ballet had become a spectacle of major financial importance especially in Italy, France and London. Contrary to orthodox assumptions about early capitalism as organized around productive industry, Romantic Ballet from its inception served the purposes of profit making for the new middle classes. It certainly served the reputation of a series of cities that sought to attract travellers and strengthen the local economy. Rome, for example, was distinctive for the production of spectacles, including ballet, which was a developed theatrical form. The theatrical season commenced in spring and usually climaxed during carnival time, a key period

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[22]   The Polish case is one of the few where upper class or aristocrat descendants were not interested in being included in the performing arts.

for forming or renewing contracts. Impresarios then sought famous dancers, who would secure spectatorship, favourable reviews and above all profit (Celi, 1997:167).

Each year saw between fifteen to twenty five ballets, especially during the 1820s. These were all expensive productions given that their aim was to attract and impress wealthy audiences. Choreographers had to form exhaustive proposals, which they handed to their impresarios for approval. When the latter gave consent to the material proposed these were forwarded to the superintendent, who in turn would pass the proposal on to the Minister of Interior. The latter supervised the content of artistic works in case it was deemed to be against governmental and state interest (Cavalletti, 1997:185).

The most prolific period for the Italian ballet was the years between 1845 and 1847. The overturning of the Republic in the late 1840s affected ballet's economic status reduced the resources available, and consequently led to a decline in audience numbers. However, Italy remained a great centre for dancers like Carlo Blasis who was a dancer in La Scala. Blasis published a manual called *Elementary Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Dancing* (1820) where he outlined a systematized set of exercises that would eventually become the basis of ballet training, as we currently know it. After his release from the Imperial Academy of Dancing (1851) in Milan, where he served as a director, he contributed to the technical advancement of Italian ballet and dancers, hitherto seen as being distinctive for their artistry (Bland, 1976:63).

Equally, Salvatore Taglioni – Fillipo Taglioni's brother and the most long-lived artist of the Romantic period – served ballet, but unlike his brother and niece (Marie), never became internationally renowned (Cavalletti, 1997: 181). His inherently Romantic work abided by the core principles of the Movement. Salvatore developed all styles in ballet: mythological, heroic, Anacreontic, historical romantic, allegorical and comic (ibid: 183). His ballets were of epic character, beset with action, passion and fascinating effects. Salvatore saw dance as pure movement, therefore he devised dances totally unrelated to the plot. The latter was developed by mimes while dancers

introduced their parts – which were "variations at will[23]" – as intermissions to the story telling. He also cultivated the historical exotic ballet. His works *I portoghesi nelle Indie* (1819) and *Tipu Sahib* narrated the story of exotic people. *Tipu Sahib* particularly referred to 18th century Indian resistance against British occupation (ibid: 189).

Exotic representations or exoticism as an artistic trend was tied to colonialism. The origins of the exotic scenes were more often than not the colonies of the great Empires of the period (French, British, Belgian). Colonies were a major source of inspiration for artists who manipulated otherness via the construction of images and impressions of what lay beyond, in the Imperial world. Portrayals of the "primitive" or the "exotic" were awe-evoking devices in arts. Primitivism was a significant Romantic tendency. It symbolized a return to innocence and a return to nature (Taylor, 1989:297). The depiction of primitivism as we shall see, was to become a popular balletic theme in the form of an interest in oriental settings.

In general, the Romantic period in ballet (which, as we shall see persisted thematically) cemented a reconfiguration of both the thematic, technical means of dance with the emergence of love and supernatural content as well as the inclusion of folk and national dances. This was linked to wider social and cultural shifts in Europe. The emergence of private initiative in theatrical production as well as the shift in the social accessibility of dance characterizes this period. Indeed during this phase we witness the severe economic and symbolic competitions in dance production mainly expressed in the tension between pure and narrative dance, reinforced by dance critics. These developments had a direct effect in the operation of institutions such as the Paris Opera or the Tsarist theatres. These tensions will persist in the following period reconfigured in particular ways in different social contexts. As we shall see, the first tensions between ballet and other forms of movement will become more evident as a part of the process of the formation of an autonomous field of dance

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[23] Namely, compositions of movement that were formulated on the spot.

production. This will later result in the break-up of ballet into two forms (i.e. ballet and modern dance.

Chapter 3

Encountering Modernity

This chapter will discuss the transformation of Romantic ballet into a relatively modern form, starting from the Tsarist Imperial ballet in Russia. As we have seen, France had dominated balletic production since the birth of the form, although other, local expressions and fields had formed at this stage. However, *Classical Ballet* coincides with the emergence of the Imperial ballet in dance, which is symbolically powerful to date. The "Russian" ballet developed with the import of the French technique to Northern countries, a development homologous with the social and political transformation of the Empire. Russian Ballet was here too, initially, a courtly art. Gradually, and through social processes very much stimulated by the revolutionary forces within the Russian Empire, ballet will once again become an autonomous genre and will be further challenged by the social relationships prescribed by western capitalism and the new social order. Indeed this period cemented the first ruptures in the area of rhythmic movement and theatrical dance, namely a clearer anti-balletic tendency emerging along with a more differentiated field of dance.

The Balletic Idiom

The history of the "Russian" ballet commences in 1847 with the invitation of Marius Petipa (a French dancer) to the Imperial Theatres in St. Petersburg as a principal dancer. This invitation, a purely political act[24] aimed at the enhancement of dance production as a symbol of the Tsarist power via an investment in the status of Petipa as a graduate of the French Academy. Petipa served as a dancer, choreographer and producer in this monarchical structure of organized hierarchies and established power

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[24] Petipa's assignment was confirmed by the Russian Court.

relations (Au, 2002). Indeed, the Imperial Theatres and Opera houses in Moscow were authoritative institutions governed by the particular relationship of the Tsar to the State and subsidized by the royal portfolio. Here again, the Court or the Tsar himself prescribed the spectacles that appeared in these venues. Balletic production was controlled by the Monarchy through commissions. Thus ballet (re)assumed courtly features reflected on the choreographies and the technique of the time (Bland, 1976:64).

Predictably, thus, Petipa's subject matter was the Imperial and the Oriental (Garafola, 2005:11). The representation of the colonized world was a phenomenon interwoven with the imperialistic acts of the Great Empires. The staging of the exotic was one of the strongest trends both in the field of ballet and opera. According to Said (1995: 32) the colonized world was "vulnerable to scrutiny", namely visible and open to Western gaze. In that sense the rise of a range of orientalistic spectacles – including *Aida,* which he extensively discussed in his *Culture and Imperialism* (1994) – can be explained. Indeed, Petipa made his debut with *Pharaoh's Daughter* (launched in 1862) a mass - production of oriental spirit with luxurious scenic designs and a numerous corps de ballet.

The ballet narrated the idyll developed between Pharaoh's Daughter and an English Lord who embarked on an African Safari (Jowitt, 1988: 106). Thematically, the work can be linked to the advancement of Imperialism in Europe and the Romantic interest in primitivism. *Pharaoh's Daughter* was, thus, one example of the Orientalistic tendencies in dance. A number of other balletic productions, such as *La Bayadère*, also featured the oriental as their main representational quality. As such, orientalism constituted a structural element in ballets, which were usually divided in two acts, the first of which contained exotic scenes and the second included balletic movement (Bland, 1976:65).

Orientalism, primitivism, exoticism/eroticism were interrelated phenomena shaping colonial images of race, culture, gender and sexuality in the arts (Thomas, 2003: 152).

They entailed certain constructions of 'Otherness', which defined the formation of European identity itself. As Eric Hobsbawm argued (as cited in Koritz, 1995a: 38) these constructions politically served the identification of social forces with the ideological interests of imperial elites and guaranteed consensus to their exploitative plans. All three elements assumed a prominent position in balletic representation. However, the orientalistic turn was not a mere reflection of economic interest or colonial propaganda. Orientalism, exoticism and eroticism referred to an aesthetic; they were symbolic reconfigurations of social relationships aestheticized in particular ways. They were, in that respect projections of deviant beauty and quite often embodied an ambiguous admiration and desire for the *Other*. As Said (1995) argued pre-romantic and romantic oriental representation also reflected the value of otherness, thus valorising the exotic and the sensual. Indeed, Said ties this idea, for example, with figures such as Schlegel and Novalis who argued for the regeneration of Europe through Indian culture and religion as an antidote to occidental materialism (ibid: 115).

However, balletic work stretched beyond orientalistic representations and faithfully treated the Romantic theme, as discussed earlier, exemplified in the *The Sleeping Beauty* (premiere January 1890). The latter became an immediate success thanks to the musical score, which was especially composed for Petipa's choreography by Tchaikovsky. The latter a consecrated artist in the area of music contributed to the reception of the work. *Swan Lake* and *Nutcracker* followed not long afterwards (Bland, 1976). Petipa structured these ballets into the sequence *Pas de Deux- Adagio-Solo- Coda*, which survives to date. Petipa worked with local performers as he lacked foreign resources and thus welcomed folk dancers to his troupes, which introduced an energetic and highly athletic style of male dancing, characteristic of the "Russian School". Folk dancers challenged the domination of the female balletic body in theatrical dance, in that sense they contributed to a redefinition of the former. Generally, the marriage of folk and classical followed the paradigm of Romantic Ballet.

Through Petipa's work the concept of authorship was challenged. Petipa repeatedly amended and adapted his choreographies by introducing older variations or scenes to new ballets and new musical pieces to old choreographies[25]. He considered choreographic modification unproblematic and perceived each creation as fluid: a chance for innovation despite issues of authorship (Garafola, 2005:20). He saw existing choreographies as relationships between patterns indicative of potential ways of combining movement and dramatic expression; namely as a field of experimentation. In that sense, his dance practice embodied a modernist twist. However, towards the end of his career, he experienced repeated failure as his work was met with disapproval by audiences and critics alike. This signified a moment of crisis in which Petipa's *habitus* as a dance maker ceased to correspond to that of the set of audiences who usually enjoyed his work (see Bourdieu, 1993a; 1996a).

In other words the structure of the "market" his work was intended for had evidently changed. Furthermore, his thematic and aesthetic choices were severely criticized by Sergei Diaghilev – editor of the journal *The World of Art (Mir Iskusstva)*. The latter constituted a means of expression for an avant-garde, which profoundly opposed the imperial arts and their representatives. As we shall see, the type of art this circle advocated corresponded to a new type of producers drawn from the revolutionary social order. Indeed, after the failure of *The Magic Mirror*, Petipa was expelled from his post but was kept in the Theatre after the Minister of Imperial Court's intervention (Garafola, 2005). This crisscrossing of symbolic fire is linked to what Bourdieu (1996a) describes as the battle between the consecrated set of artists and the avant-garde in each historical period and field of art, the expressions of which – in this specific context- were Petipa and Diaghilev respectively.

Nevertheless, Petipa's forced retirement from choreography overlapped with the outburst of the Russian- Japanese war in 1904. The latter triggered social turmoil resulting in the renowned Bloody Sunday (1905). Worker's strikes, anti-capitalist and anti-Tsarist acts and voices against the war triggered general doubt towards the social

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[25] These changes were often a way to accommodate the technical and expressive qualities or inadequacies of his dancers.

organization of life. Social dissent was transposed from the streets and factories to the "privileged cultural institutions", such as the Conservatory of Music (Homans, 2010: 294). Conservatory students raised claims against the school administration and engaged in democratic/collectivist decision making. The struggle for artistic autonomy was apparent, also supported by pioneering figures in the Conservatory. Korsakov, for instance, as the director of the institution, embarked on a series of liberal publications and musical experimentations, which subsequently resulted in his dismissal by the Royal Court. The strikes and demonstrations of the Russian workers infiltrated the ranks of the Imperial Theatre. Dancers also went on strike, demanding wage increases and a five-day work schedule. They also claimed their right to select the director while demanding Petipa's return to duty. This type of struggle exemplified the initiation of a field of ballet/dance in Russia: "a field [that] refracts, much like a prism, external determinants in terms of its own logic […] The degree of autonomy of [this] particular field [would be] measured precisely by its ability to refract external demands into its own logic" (Randal Johnson Editor's Introduction in Bourdieu, 1993a:14)

The 1905 Revolution thus entailed a claim for freedom in the economic, social and cultural spheres. As such, many artists of the period were intensively involved in a struggle for the abolition of Monarchy. Predictably, this upheaval was welcomed neither by the Imperial Theater administration nor by the Court. Dancers, who took strike action, were either demoted or refused promotion and at the extreme expelled, whilst a few migrated abroad (Garafola, 2005:26). The 1905 incidents cemented the transformation of artistic consciousness and a subsequent re-evaluation of the creative process. The strikes constituted an explicit rejection of the conservative bureaucracy under which cultural institutions operated. Dancers developed a form of solidarity and a common identity derived from their participation in the revolutionary processes (Garafola, 1998:6). The social dynamics of the revolt were reflected in the creative forces that emerged in the classes of the Mariinsky Theatre, the future protagonists of the modernist turn such as Michel Fokine (Cohen, 1992:102).

Fokine's artistic *habitus* was shaped by his participation in the political events of the 1905, which reflected on his choreographic method and the content of his early work. The new objectives of dance as expressed through the strikes shaped, as we shall see later on, his means of representation and his ideas on movement. Moreover, Isadora Duncan's appearance in Moscow and her anti-balletic stance found his approval (Cohen, 1992: 123). Fokine's first attempts as a dance maker thus stylistically reflected the emergence of new social ideals and his work served as "a statement of liberal ideology" (Garafola, 1998:6). Fokine's first experimental choreographies negotiated a new type of movement less academic and courtly. However, such works were not presented in the Imperial Theatres. Evidently they challenged the institutional status quo. They accommodated instead in smaller experimental theatres or private venues.

Fokine, however, was recognized by the court and kept his post in the Theatres until his collaboration with Diaghilev in 1909. His political and artistic engagement brought him close to the Mir Iskusstva Circle and the Gogol School of which he was a member (Fokine, 1961). This assembly – named after the writer Nikolai Gogol, initiator of realism in literature and theatre – was a liberal institution formed by dancers and other artists promoting new aesthetic ideals. Fokine embraced the Gogol School Realism, as "he believed that theme, period and style in ballet must conform to the time and place of the scenic action" (Garafola, 1998:10). As we shall see, this idea became the foundation of his cooperation with Diaghilev in 1909.

The First Steps towards a New Dance

Before we consider the development of dance through Diaghilev's Ballets Russes as a company that negotiated the balletic idiom through its performances in Europe, we need to briefly discuss the work of Isadora Duncan and Jacque Emile Dalcroze. Indeed this deviation from the narrative is posed by the need to present the developments in theatrical dance as they take place, namely in historical simultaneity. On the one hand the mid-nineteenth century ballet in Russia corresponded in a pre-bourgeois imperial order. On the other hand the work of both Duncan and Dalcroze developed in the progressively capitalist west as the first expression of a symbolic shift in the area of physical movement. In that sense it was the first realization of a modern form of dance.

However, the development of this new form overlapped with the emergence of Ballets Russes in Russia. Duncan's and Daclroze's performance engaged in an informative interplay with the former as they tour Europe. All approaches were more or less aesthetic and political reactions to the balletic idiom. However, Duncan's and Dalcroze's sprung from different traditions, namely gymnastics and music respectively. As such they were not seen immediately as expressions of a structural change in the production of dance. Nevertheless, the gradual expansion of their audiences – partly a result of the expansion of mass entertainment in Europe and the USA through music halls – constructed a set of spectators demanding new spectacles and at the same time potential practitioners that would transform the relationship between styles of dance and dance production as a whole.

Isadora Duncan

The advancement of western capitalism runs parallel with the emergence of a new ethos of being in the bourgeois order, inscribed in the body through physical exercise. The case of Isadora Duncan is a prime example in this sense. Isadora Duncan was an American dancer (1877-1927), the daughter of a respected banker. She, however, had

a complicated childhood, as her father went bankrupt and abandoned her mother. Nevertheless, she enjoyed a relatively good upbringing. Duncan was trained in gymnastics by Francois Delsarte – advocate of the movement of physical culture – in the comfort of her own home in California (Duncan, 1928). Delsartian gymnastics was a systematic method that predominantly contributed to the manufacturing of bourgeois embodiment, through new constructions of posture and walking as manifestations of the new social typology of behaviour.

Delsarte defined movement as the systematic correspondence between bodily, mental, emotional and spiritual states (Thomas, 2003:170). This spiritual conception of physical engagement operated as an antidote to the alienating character of a materialist world. The capitalist market explosion and the industrial progress called for a form of consoling experience in a rapidly changing social world. Hewitt (2005:44-49) situates the making of new dance during this period into a system of practices and discourses – including philosophical and political thought in this respect – which negotiated materialism as the plague of social progress. What he names a romantic anti-capitalism. Phenomena like Duncan's or later on Laban's, as we shall see, constituted a negotiation of materiality and eventually an aestheticization of the latter.

Indeed, Duncan drew on this spiritual conception of movement and often avoided the label "dancer"[26]. She rather saw herself as a spiritual seeker and a teacher and less as a performer. Duncan saw dance as a mode of being; it was the elementary conception of a harmonious, natural life manifested in movement (Koritz, 1995a: 48-49). Natural movement as it sprang from the body reflected in her view the different stages of soul whilst physical performance mirrored this spiritual state. As Foster (1986:145) has argued: "Duncan created a new paradigm of dance performance, one in which self-expression superseded self-presentation".

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[26]   Duncan never wrote a systematic thesis on dance and natural movement; however she would more often than not use the stage in order to verbally communicate her ideas to the audiences. Sometimes she would propagate her dance on stage in order to attract funding for her school (Koritz, 1995a: 48-49).

Hewitt (2005) argues that such practices constructed the material body as the site and the source of a moral and aesthetic realm – a utopia – which was represented through and by the body itself in dance and choreography. Indeed Hewitt argues that this form of "aesthetic socialism"/ romantic anti-capitalism, which sees the body as medium of a higher feeling as it springs from within – a feeling firmly grounded however in the bourgeois structure of feeling and bodily comportment – contributed to the construction of a discourse on matter as spiritual and aesthetic. This, as we shall see, later on had a profound effect on German politics. Indeed, Delsarte's gymnastics and in that sense Duncan's dance was an amalgamation of intentionality as expressed through the systematization of movements and metaphysics.

Duncan distanced her work from genres like ballet, music-hall performance and even Jazz, forms that emerged mainly in London, Paris and New York. She considered them artificial, commoditized but also socially and morally degraded. She attacked ballet as distortive of natural movement and deforming of the naturally beautiful female body. Thus she differentiated her dance by shaping a discourse that clarified her position in relation to the moral ambiguity that encompassed ballet dancers and their declining art[27] (Scott and Ruttkoff, 1999:42). Her explicit disengagement with ballet secured her status, one that corresponded to a middle class woman who engaged in spiritual work rather than in some form of immoral and sexually dubious activity (Thomas, 2003:170).

Koritz (1995a: 48) argues that "[t]he distance between ballet girls and classical dancers was precisely the difference between the theatre as a trade of working class women and theatre as a respectable profession for the middle class". Duncan also resented Jazz for the vulgar convulsion of the "other" body (black/non-white). Jazz was "primitive, savage and overly sensual" thus morally problematic. Duncan greatly opposed Jazz as a representative of what she saw as "American Dance". Her proto-racist and nationalist discourse contributed to the manufacturing of modern dance as a

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[27] Given the origins of ballet and the reputation that at least the corps de ballet dancers had built in relation to prostitution during the Romantic period ballet was for the middle class a rather degenerate art.

pure form. Equally, she disdained music-hall performance, which she saw as involving the commoditization of dance and as an open door to voyeurism.

Duncan promoted a cold and austere style to override sexual exposure, a reference to American Puritan ideas (see Hewitt, 2005). She denied the sexual aspect of her bodily appearance and ideologically manipulated the dominant racial/class discourses; namely identifying moral laxity and unregulated sexuality as a trait of working class/other "race" women (Koritz, 1995a: 52). However, she often appeared on stage with minimal costuming revealing her thighs and arms, a practice that contradicted her apparent definition of morality. Thus she grounded her white, middle class dancing body in ancient Greek sculpture. Duncan argued that Greek sculptures displayed flesh to signify bodily harmony (Cohen, 1992: 126) The illusion of the natural body and natural/free movement, which Duncan promoted, did not refer to a primitive or primeval state of being but rather to a constructed and socially approved self-expression through the dancing body (Thomas, 2003: 171).

Indeed her conception of art was *homologous* to that of Pre-Raphaelites, who actually encouraged her art (Scott and Ruttkoff, 1999:42). Her return to Greek antiquity run parallel to what the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood propagated as the "return to the old as a means to the new" (Williams, 2005: 158). They also shared the idea of a return to nature. This affinity was not only symbolic; it was a homology of positions, as Bourdieu (1996a) would argue. Both exemplified, as Williams (ibid) explained, that fraction of the bourgeoisie that not only broke away from their class and identified with the working classes (as we shall see Duncan favoured the Bolshevik revolution) but also constituted a means for the later development of their class. Indeed Duncan's work became the new bourgeois spectacle in the following years.

Duncan intended to teach children to observe and embody movement as it appeared in nature in order to express inner feelings (as cited in Kolokotroni et. al, 2004: 156) in the Romantic sense. Her training system was grounded in breathing techniques and exercises through which children attained this state of embodiment. Duncan adopted

forty girls, the so-called Isadorables, who she brought up under her life philosophy. Her sense of motherhood was a corporeal experience and a source of identity reproduced in her dances (Cohen, 1992: 124). The relationship between the physical aspect and the gendered dancing body was what ideologically bonded her to a new dance, made by women.

Indeed Duncan's gender politics associated women's potential for artistic creation in their reproductive capacity. The link between procreation and art was manifest in choreography as the labour process. This idea challenged masculine definitions of artistic process, dominant discourses carried the metaphor of labour to stress the effort made by men whilst placing the emphasis on the outcome. Duncan instead saw dance making as the equivalent to child bearing. In this sense women had an intrinsic right to this process derived from their bodies. Women mediated in her view between life and symbolic production. As Daly (1995:112) argued, Duncan's concept of the female body in dance was the reconfiguring force of Nature to Culture.

The association of motherhood with creativity was actually an attempt to bring together different spheres of activity, to unify existence with thought and action, in other words life with art. In that sense Duncan's view entailed the amalgamation of both creator and creative process (Koritz, 1995a: 54-56). Indeed, she may have not disputed dominant views on femininity but she manipulated such essentialist approaches to empower and legitimize (middle class white) women's full participation in the world. She strove for gender equality from a female perspective, defining the female dancing body as the materialization of an ideal asexual beauty.

The way Duncan negotiated womanhood and dance making was an amalgamation of aesthetics and ethics: she grasped the interplay of reality with the symbolic in the creative process. She therefore developed a distinctive relationship to symbolism especially through her affair with Gordon Craig (Au, 2002: 89). Craig and his associate Symons introduced symbolism in theatre. They thought of contemporary theatricality as an illusionistic portrayal of reality. They rejected narrative whilst

90

favouring an anti-social art in terms of content and function. Craig and Symons proposed a stylized "quasi religious" performance which clearly went against the nineteenth century theatrical conventions (Koritz, 1995b: 59). Symbolism was an anti-realist trend, which denied the moral significance of art. Symbolists argued that "high art" should operate autonomously from social role or function. Duncan shared with them the idea of a non-discursive non-illusionistic art but her political and social beliefs as well as gender politics did not fit in to an artistic scheme with no social/ethical function.

Isadora favoured political change and welcomed the forthcoming Bolshevik revolution (Au, 2002: 90). She believed in social equality and in that sense she was anti-authoritarian. However her body/dance politics were inherently contradictory, as they were class and "race" relative. During the twenties the Soviet government invited her to found a new grand-scale school and teach rhythmic movement. However, her dream for creative space was short-lived since she became disillusioned with the Revolution. She travelled constantly to accommodate her school and spread the new dance (McAvay, 1980). Her approach influenced that of Diaghilev and, as we shall see, set the basis for the "American" Modern Dance.

The idea of rhythm: Jacques Emile Dalcroze

Jacques Emile Dalcroze (1865-1950) studied music in the Geneva conservatory. As a musician he observed what he thought to be the deficiency of his contemporaries, namely the inability to comprehend rhythm and time values. Dalcroze attributed the lack of genuine musical composition to this inability. He was occupied with the idea of rhythm, which he also defined as a combination of natural and spiritual resources and capacities, namely an amalgamation of the ability to listen and to reproduce sound through the body (Dalcroze, 1923: 12-14). Musical reception and reproduction in his view was an ability, which resulted from exposure to sounds and bodily exercise (Dalcroze, 1921: 59-60).

Rhythmical consciousness, as he labelled it, was a reference to the human body. Dalcroze considered rhythm a natural condition manifest in heartbeat or breathing. These along with the loco motor muscles were subject to manipulation and could be used to produce rhythms distinct from the respiratory. (Dalcroze, 1923: 61-63). Indeed, as Hewitt (2005:43) argued, rhythmic movement and dance were conceived as manifestations of the lost will emergent from the declining feudalist order. Dalcroze developed a theory of rhythm, which he saw as intrinsically linked to muscular movement, drawing on physics. He defined movement as a relationship between space, time and force. This definition became the cornerstone of his *Eurhythmics,* a training method consisting of experimental exercises for rhythm acquisition (Jowitt, 1988:158). Dalcroze defined movement as "the visible manifestation of rhythmic consciousness" (Dalcroze, 1921:65) to which the whole muscular structure contributed. In that sense music was inscribed in space through the body (Gil, 1998: 166.7).

Eurhythmics became quickly associated with physical education and dance training. Dalcroze observed closely the dance production of his time, which he considered deeply problematic. In his view dance was grounded on a false perception of movement as a link between positions. This was the "confusion between visual experience and muscular experience" of movement (Dalcroze, 1923: 25). Ballet for him exemplified the fragmented relationship between rhythm and music. This, he believed, was the result of the specific training that ballet dancers received: a training developing virtuoso technique, which determined dance aesthetically. The absence of facial expression as a response to the sensibility of music indicated that incongruity (Dalcroze, 1921: 188). Music and dance operated separately, a result of an equivalent separation of training in music and ballet. Dancers were trained to adhere to conventionalized sequences of steps, whilst musicians did not understand the properties of movement (ibid: 181).

Dalcroze drew on Wagner's conception of artistic unity[28], which he saw as a model for the unity between music and movement. The latter – a potentially never-ending variety of corporeal rhythmic representations – was for him exemplified in the work of Isadora Duncan (Cohen, 1992). In 1911 Dalcroze founded his school of rhythmic training in Dresden, where he applied Eurhythmics. Two years later he put up a Greek-themed festival (*Orpheus)* using rhythmic movement choruses. By 1913 Dalcroze had given demonstrations in several Great Britain cities, which resulted in the establishment of the Central School and Colonies. In 1915 he opened the Central Training College in Geneva also known as Hellerau School (Dalcroze, 1923: 40). Dalcroze's ideas brought him very close to the modernist anti-academic tendencies in dance. Eurhythmics – very influential as a training method – eventually became synonymous with a style of dance. Eurhythmics introduced a new aesthetic that broke down the conventions and barriers across arts.

Indeed, the developments in the area of rhythmic movement as exemplified in Duncan's and Dalcroze's work become significantly incorporated in the dance production of Europe. As we shall see next through the case of Ballets Russes and later on through Laban, rhythmic movement becomes an integral part of the negotiation of theatrical dance and a significant element in the forthcoming rupture between ballet and modern dance. Specific artists identify with the idea of a style of movement that corresponds to a new social ethos and one that is not prescribed by courtly or academic institutions and in that sense autonomous.

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[28] We will discuss Wagner's unity, in the next chapter

Chapter 4

The reconfiguration of the form: *The Ballets Russes* case

In May 1909 Sergei Diaghilev established Ballets Russes – a small touring company – and appointed Michel Fokine as his chief choreographer (Jowitt, 1988: 115). This chapter will discuss the case of Ballets Russes as an example of the developments in the production of dance in Russia particularly and Europe more widely. The trajectory of Ballets Russes vividly reflects a shift in the mode of production of dance namely from the operatic to the independent and in that sense is an integral part of the formation a *European field of dance* (Bourdieu, 1993a); a field with a specific structure and logic. The company itself incorporated a number of artists, who collectively negotiated – often through conflicts – the making of dance. As a collective structure Ballets Russes embodied opposing symbolic tendencies expressed through the practices of particular artists who gained prominence in particular time points. Ballets Russes was initially conceived as a territory for experimentation and the locus of the modernization of ballet and the modernist enterprise in dance. However, Diaghilev did not claim authorship of modern dance. It was Loie Fuller (1890s) and Isadora Duncan who first introduced European audiences to a new style. The Ballets Russes was the first systematized expression of the rupture between ballet and what came to be called modern dance and the first example of a relatively more autonomous mode of production within the emerging field(s) of dance.

Diaghilev's company sprang out of amateur activity, initially subsidized by merchants. The gradual introduction of Ballets Russes in the marketplace professionalized the group, which adopted the structure, management styles and social relationships of a conventional merchant community. That is to say, it operated on the basis of a mutual trust, which utilized personal word as a contractual method for business: " the business style of this class […] rested on personal exchange – as opposed to a relation mediated by authority – [and] preferred to view individuals apart

from their social category or economic function" (Owen, 1981:151). This anti-bureaucratic, anti-authoritarian and informal commercial practice was in an affinity with the practices of those artists who opposed institutional/academic bureaucracy. As a result, the merchants supported independent art as they both shared the same principle, namely personal trade.

The transition from amateurism to professionalism took place with the mediation of the dance studio venture: the small workshop where choreographers developed their style. Fokine's independent work, for example, was shaped in such studios, as Imperial Theatres forbade non-commissioned work. However, the professionalization of independent dance production was not a straightforward process. Professionalism was determined by the Russian State and specifically by the Imperial Academy of Arts, which accredited students with professional qualifications and the status of Imperial Graduate. The institution bestowed its members with patronage, potential for employment and a career abroad. Hence, the emergence of independent activity such as that of Fokine and Diaghilev challenged the monopolization of dispensing professional identity (Garafola, 1998:153-223). As Bourdieu argued (1996a: 123) the Academy gave professional priority or honours to those artists that produced for the market of the consumers of the time. Hence, independent work challenged the "the monotheism of the central nomothete (incarnated, for a long time in the Académie)" and gave way to a multiplicity of artists.

Ballets Russes thus challenged the conditions of artistic production. They championed modernism and broke away from authoritative prescriptions in music, choreography, technique and scenography (Haskell, 1935). Diaghilev and Fokine shared the idea of a new dance based on a non-balletic idiom and resisted the application of an outdated vocabulary in dance (Jowitt, 1988: 114). They embraced the idea of modern and conceived the need for the renovation of movement, a need that both Duncan and Dalcroze propagated during this period. However, Fokine never did away with the balletic technique or syntax. Diaghilev himself also never denied ballet as the foundation of theatrical dance, which is why he trained dancers in full turnout.

They both, as we have seen, adhered to Naturalism/Realism, through their alignment with the Gogol School. Naturalism/Realism advocated arts as a mimesis of reality and was particularly influential in theatre, as in the work of Constantin Stanislavski and Vsevolod Meyerhold with whom Diaghilev collaborated. Meyerhold defined theatre as a dramatic genre inciting excitement through acting. Performance in his view evoked feelings, intellectually and emotionally involving the audience[29], thus turning spectatorship into an experience (as cited in Kolokotroni et. al., 2004:240). Meyerhold did not endorse the text as the core of performance. For this reason he invested in actor's bodies, which he saw as bearers of emotional forces. In Meyerhold's view: "The truth of human relationships is established by gestures, poses, glances and silences. Words alone cannot say anything. Hence there must be a pattern of movement to transform the spectator into a vigilant observer" (as cited in Braun, 1979:46). Stanislavsky conceptualised this idea as dramatic motivation and further developed a theory of acting in this direction.

Fokine drew on Stanislavsky's theory of communicative movement and defined dance as a vehicle of emotional and psychological truth. Fokine's concern with realism/naturalism was born out of an aspiration to convey the reality of humanity manifest in the diverse cultures and practices of people. Dance, in this respect was to him a genuine form of cultural expression. This is why he included folk under the umbrella of theatrical representation. He drew mainly on the ethnic dances of Europe, which, as we have seen, have always contributed to balletic production (Garafola, 1998:24). Based on a thorough study of the continental national dances, he developed a new style, which also legitimized folk dance as an independent genre (Genre Nouveau) (Jowitt, 1988). Fokine employed ethnographic methods to study folk dances as they "naturally" occurred in their cultural contexts. He conducted "empirical observation and research" in order to understand the social world and

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[29]   Meyerhold adopted Georg Fuchs's ideas on theatrical restoration. Fuchs argued the involvement of the audience in theatrical action in light of a shared aesthetic experience between actor and spectator. He saw the latter in unity therefore disapproved of theatrical space structure as a product of absolutist ideas of distancing. Fuchs preferred an amphitheatrical structure which gave equal access to the action on stage (Braun, 1979:55) Equally, Meyerhold believed that people were in need of inspiring entertainment, one that 'engages them totally' (as cited in Kolokotroni et.al, 2004:241).

symbolically reconstruct the time, place and practices of the people he wished to represent (Garafola, 1998:10).

Fokine revitalized this convention[30] and restored folk dances as practiced in the continent via an accurate reproduction on stage. "Authenticity and diversity" were core objectives for Fokine manifested in the plurality of dance styles and movements he employed. This approach drew heavily on Wagner, who saw the national element as the expression of diversity and the embrace of the universal (Kolokotroni et.al, 2004:9). Fokine is argued to have challenged the imperialistic use of the ethnic in ballet, extending the potential of dance beyond mere representation in service of an "authentic expressive quality" in the revolutionary Romantic spirit. In that sense his use of ethnic symbolized the expression of the historically oppressed *Volk* of the feudalist order.

The idea of plurality extended to the "dancing material". Fokine, thus, considered the bodily groupings assumed in ballet as a living collective of bodies emanating an expressive quality invested in dance. Ballet progressed from individual expression to the collective idiom as shaped by this complex network of bodies. This interrelated ensemble was a vehicle of ideas and emotions, not an accumulation of skilled entities. The corps de ballet was to Fokine a dancing subject contributing to all stages of dance making. Fokine "transformed[31] the corps de ballet into a sort of collective artist, imbued with the idea and style of a production, living in it and collaborating" (Garafola, 1998:21). Evidently, the idea of a collective artist resulted in the democratization of the balletic structure as against the traditional arrangement of bodies. The prominence of the ballerina was challenged and the positioning of dancers on stage according to rank was broken apart as a convention rooted in courtly

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[30]   In Petipa's ballets, the inclusion of national dances aimed to enliven the choreography through a demonstration of physical agility and emotionality (Garafola, 1998:11).
[31]   Fokine also stripped ballet of its conventional structure and devised one-act performances. The latter became the core performing-format replacing Petipa's sequence Pas de Deux- Adagio- Solo-Coda, whilst transformed the pas de deux into "a duet [..] fluid in shape and function" for the purposes of the Romantic Love themes. Ballets Russes practiced further technical alterations such as the abandonment of variations as exhibits of physical mastery and the performance of new step sequences, new poses and points of contact for the duet (Garafola, 1998: 36)

performance. Ballerinas interacted and mingled with the corps de ballet, which included the soloists (ibid 36).

Indeed the concept of the embodied collective dance maker constituted a symbolic reconfiguration of the collective as an agent of history. This preoccupation with the collective as expressed in the totality of bodies on stage, a vision stemming from the historical–political events deposited in Fokine's bodily and mental structures (habitus) simultaneously reflected his concern for the liberation and fulfilment of subjectivity as expressed by bodily representations (or symbols). Indeed, this was reflected in his primary artistic means which were again collective: collaboration, namely the contribution of different arts and artists in dance production. In his view, the amalgamation of music, painting and movement could serve realistic representation (Haskell, 1935).

Artistic fusion, as this amalgamation came to be known, was the cornerstone of theatrical modernism firstly introduced by Wagner and subsequently adopted by the Mir Iskusstva circle and Diaghilev. Artistic Fusion was theorized by Wagner as *Gesamtkunstwerk,* namely the perfect artwork. Wagner envisioned a new art based on the synthesis of dramatic, verbal, and musical elements, which constituted the absolute work of art (Kolokotroni et.al, 2004:8). Similarly, Ballet Russes negotiated the relationship between music, movement and setting and campaigned for their synthesis into one form. Drawing heavily on Russia's musical resources, they cooperated with local composers (the famous five: Glinka, Rimsky, Korsakov, Glazunov, Tchaikovsky) and international painters like Picasso, also a member of the Mir Iskusstva (Bland, 1976). The first genuine work of fusion was the *Firebird*[32], which premiered in 1910 at the Paris Opera, choreographed by Fokine on Stravinsky's music and sets/costumes by Alexander Golovin and Leon Bakst (Lee, 2002: 240).

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[32]   It is evident here, what Becker (1982) describes in his Art Worlds as system of interdependencies responsible for the production of the work of art. Choreographers, dancers, musicians, painters and behind them a series of other professions including critics shape and guarantee the performance which in turn is reconstructed by social reception.

Ballets Russes were indeed constructed through their participation in a wider set of intellectual and artistic interactions as also negotiated through the bodies consisting this ensemble. Diaghilev's idea of collaborative art for instance was realized through his work with Meyerhold. In 1910 Meyerhold appeared as the Pierrot in Fokine's production *The Carnival* on Schuman's score, organized by the Journal Satirikon in Petersburg (Braun, 1979:71). The former also collaborated for the production of *Orpheus and Eurydice* where they 'transformed the stage into a dynamic multifaceted construction' in the pattern of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Garafola, 1998:31). Meyerhold had previously collaborated with Leon Bakst in Imperial Ballets and, as we shall see, contributed significantly to Ballet Russes. In fact his relationship to Ballets Russes resulted in multiple artistic advancements in theatre with the assistance of Stanislavsky. The latter attended Diaghilev's exhibitions of eighteenth-century portraits/paintings in Petersburg for which Bakst designed a living surrounding, an exemplification of artistic unity. These scenic designs inspired Stanislavsky who suggested to Meyerhold a similar approach. They then collaboratively produced "a stylized abstraction of the pre-wig Louis XIV" setting (Braun, 1979:44).

Indeed, Meyerhold's first conception of a new theatre entailed the stylization of performance, firstly introduced in the production *The Death of Tintagel*. This work departed from mainstream techniques of realistic scenic construction, namely the creation of carefully reproduced interiors and exteriors. Instead, Meyerhold, drew on the already established *operatic/balletic* convention of two-dimensional settings and created sequences of pictures inspired from the theme of the play. Meyerhold defined this as stylization: an impression, which exposed the inner synthesis of a historical phenomenon. Stylization entailed employment of all possible means to produce a generalized representation of manners and ways condensed in the form of symbols (as cited in Braun, 1979: 41-42).

Nevertheless, Fokine's choreographies premised on the convergence of Romantic ballet and new dance became very popular. Fokine also worked on the popular oriental twist – firstly introduced by Petipa – until the outburst of the World War I.

Ballets Russes presented numerous oriental ballets with intense pictorial qualities and a strong infusion of exotic eroticism and mystery. These awe-evoking fantasy-stimulant spectacles dominated the balletic scene as they enticed the audiences. One example of such work was Schéhérazade[33] (Jowitt, 1988), which according to the critic Arnold Benett (1913: 76-77) was the most "sanguinary [sight] ever seen on an occidental stage". The staging of eroticism and sexual lust followed by a massacre – the punishment for the disloyalty and unfaithfulness of both the Shah's wife and harem – was appealing. The harem itself appealed to the idea of sexual possession, domination and pleasure (Koritz, 1995a: 38). However, at a symbolic level Schéhérazade negotiated the freedom of bodies from the all-embracing control of the Shah, namely the potential of an unrestrained individual existence and expression through the fulfilment of sexual desire. These exotic figures "dressed the fantasy of freedom in the flesh of human possibility" (Garafola, 1998: 32).

Schéhérazade challenged the moral equilibrium of the times with its relatively explicit references to bodily pleasures and to subversive gender representation. The Golden Slave featured in this ballet as an ambiguously masculine character. The exposure of his body and his relaxed corporal application instead of virtuoso[34] performance were connotations of alternative sexuality. The Golden Slave challenged the social norms embodying the primitive and the transgressive. He represented a symbol of self-liberation and this clashed with the social imperatives of his time. The Golden Slave as presented by Vaslav Nijinsky "was exemplary in this regard"; the erotic primitivism and the diffusion of gender barriers emanating from his performance altered expressivity in ballet (ibid: 33).

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[33]   A Shah suspecting his favourite wife's infidelity, leaves her alone to lest her; he returns to find the harem in the midst of an orgy and his wife in the arms of her Golden Slave.
[34]   Fokine and Diaghilev considered balletic virtuosity an obstacle to the objectives of a new dance. The former simplified movement, reduced solo bravura and devised bodily shapes and postures to serve the new representational needs. Fokine initiated the prominent use of the torso, which challenged the domination hitherto of legs. He also created curves that contrasted the balletic verticality via deep forward/back bends, side pulls and waist twists. Arms were not anymore bodily frames but means of constructing shapes (Grarafola, 1998: 37). In that sense he constructed a new *dancing body*.

However, Ballets Russes's engagement with the oriental, the primitive and the sensual, mediated between nature and culture, between sexual passion and control. The oriental ballets served exactly this purpose; they were civilizing processes of the unevenly developed East that bore the Western balletic technique as their means of discipline. Russia's geographical position guaranteed a level of expertise in the representation of the Orient but the technical excellence of dancers symbolized the control of the west on the primitive and undisciplined Other. Schéhérazade in that sense remained a symbolic guarantor of the civilized order in art (Koritz, 1995c:127). Another significant production was *Petruchka* (1911), the story of a puppet who fell in love with a doll-like ballerina, based on Stravinsky's score and Benois's settings (Homans 2010: 305). This work exemplified clearly the new direction to movement (jerkiness and impulsiveness), which Nijinsky performed effectively. *Petruchka* drew on Meyerhold's ideas on depersonalized performance in that Pierrot adhered to highly stylized movement. Petrouchka bore resemblance to *The Fairground Booth* mounted five years earlier by Meyerhold (Garafola, 1998: 30).

Michel Fokine's choreography dominated Ballet Russes during 1909-1912. However, a series of changes in the organization[35] of the company challenged his position. Especially, the conversion of Ballets Russes from a "free-lance" company to a structured one affected Fokine's relationship to the group and his collaborators (Garafola, 2005: 50). Tensions developed between Fokine and Diaghilev and Fokine was dismissed as the main choreographer but remained in the company until the outbreak of the WWI. Consequently, Diaghilev assigned the task of choreography to his first dancer Vaslav Nijinsky (Homans, 2010: 305). Despite the idiosyncrasies of this conflict, the shift in choreographic leadership was a result of a greater artistic conflict in dance taking place "between the consecrated avant-garde and the avant-

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[35] Originally, the dancers employed in Diaghilev's touring group were Imperial Theatre dancers. However, most of them resigned when Diaghilev founded a stable company in 1911, seeking a career in Europe instead. Many dancers chose to divide their working season, by performing half year in Russia and half abroad. As a result the Imperial Theatre became a very limited source of performers for Ballet Russes something that affected Fokine's work. Diaghilev was forced to search for dancers outwith Russia and by 1913 he included Polish and English dancers in the company (Garafola, 2005:56). This was both an advantage and a danger as the variety of styles, expressive qualities featuring in the diversity of dancers made productions extremely attractive but often endangered homogeneity.

garde, the established figures and the new artists, i.e. between artistic generations [...] and in short between cultural orthodoxy and heresy" (Bourdieu, 1993a:53). As we shall see, Nijinsky moved further away from the imperial balletic conventions, proclaiming a truly modern style of movement.

In 1912 Nijinsky choreographed and performed *L' Apres Midi d'un Faune*, a work, which provoked the Parisian audience with the inclusion of masturbatory gestures - a challenge to the moral substance of modern theatricality (Au, 2002). *Faune* also drew heavily on Meyerhold's stylization with its motionless, flattened and angular bodily representations, which appeared repeatedly in Meyerhold's works such as *Sister Beatrice*. The depersonalized style of dancing was subordinated to the total performance through calculated movement and precision (Braun, 1979:70). The most eminent quality of *Faune* was the static images, produced via rhythmic movement, a technique, which Meyerhold initiated in his symbolist theatre drawing on Dalcroze (Garafola, 1998:55).

Nijinsky was accustomed to the bi-dimensional Operatic productions of the Maryinski Theatre such as *Aida, Cleopatra* and Fokine's *Petruchka*. However, what was new in *Faune* was the profile facing bodies, the black and red figures (drawn from ancient Greek ceramic pottery) the freeze- like settings and, most importantly, the plastic non-balletic movement (Haskell, 1935:246). Faune's settings are attributed to Leon Bakst (Diaghilev's main collaborator) who was interested in ancient Greek art. Bakst was influenced from his previous work with Meyerhold and Fokine's Arcadic phase[36] (Garafola, 1998:53).

However, dancers found it difficult to adapt to Stravinski's score. Nijinsky struggled to follow his unconventional music and construct a coherent choreography (Jowitt, 1988:157). For this reason Diaghilev invited Marie Rambert (a Polish dancer trained

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[36] Fokine drew a lot on ancient Greek themes, his work *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912) a two act Greek ballet is indicative. Fokine used non-balletic movement for this work, which he considered inappropriate for a Greek theme.

in Eurhythmics) to teach the cast. Even then dancers were appalled by the style of movement Nijinsky introduced which evidently clashed with their balletic habitus (Homans, 2010:311). Nevertheless, the *Faune* was a remarkable piece, which challenged the rules of dance making at all levels: music, settings and movement. Generally, Nijinsky[37] and Bronislava's - Vaslav's sister and the only female choreographer in Ballets Russes - work signified the breaking up with the convention of Romantic ballet. Nijinsky's performances altered the reception of the dancing figure and placed a new emphasis on the male body (Garafola, 2005:40).

Indeed *Faune,* provided representational space for male sexuality and the male body whilst offering a different view of the primitive. They were a celebration of the libidinal and natural forces, breaching the boundaries of the dominant sexual order. This shift in representation was opposed, for example, to that in Schéhérazade where the massacre punished sexual release and recalled the order. It thus cemented the liberation of dance from a well-established representational cultural pressure. Moreover, it challenged the dominant gendered division of dancing labour (Koritz: 1995c:128). Nijinsky's work in Ballets Russes and beyond cemented a new approach to the dancing body. The latter became flexible and adopted spiral, angular shapes, curved and unconventional positions. Nijinsky's independent work[38] especially featured the body "both as an instrument and an object of mass oppression" (Garafola, 1998:69). The body captivated the resisting human spirit, which instantaneously emanated from and realized itself in it. More often than not the spirit/soul was condemned to exist within corporeal barriers unable to transcend as it did in the Romantic ballet- in that sense the soul "dissolved" into matter. The body was now confined by gravity, it twisted and bended as a sign of its bewilderment with reality. In a way Nijinsky's approach to the body looked abusive and hostile, almost ceasing its own deformation.

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[37] Nijinksy's main works in Ballet Russes were: *L'apres midi d'un Faune, Jeux, Le Sacre de Printems (The Rite of Spring) and Til Eulenspiegel, Faun*e was based on a new style of movement and new settings, Jeux was a neoclassic piece and the Rite had a strong primitive character (Garafola, 1998: 50).

[38] Nijinsky performed in the USA, which would become the soil for the cultivation of modern dance.

Nijinsky worked with Diaghilev for a lengthy period. However, the end of their affair after the presentation of the *Faune* led to Nijinsky's withdrawal from Diaghilev's company and signified the division of modern ballet into Western and Russian forms (Garafola, 1998: 51). Nijinsky's work developed independently from this point. Moreover the outbreak of the WWI forced Ballets Russes to disperse. Diaghilev managed to keep a core of collaborators to maintain the group including Léonide Massine who replaced Nijinsky as choreographer in 1916-1917 (Cohen, 1992: 105). His ballet *Parade* cemented the fully modernist turn in dance. *Parade* was the exemplification of artistic fusion as advocated in Diaghilev's early days. It was a ballet based on Jean Cocteau's libretto, set musically by Eric Satie, and scenery made by Pablo Picasso. Guillaume Apollinaire composed the program notes[39] and praised Massine's choreography as the "quintessence of the union of plastic and mimetic art" (as cited in Kolokotroni et.al, 2004: 213).

Massine's various artistic resources modernism, futurism and theatrical training as well as his deficiency in ballet entailed his departure from the balletic idiom. Massine's work was thus a dynamic response to Fokine's dance[40]. He employed diverse styles to accommodate the idea of modern. Hence folk, popular and acrobatic became all structural elements of his unified artwork (Koritz, 1995d: 169). Massine, unlike Fokine, did not believe in the collective artist. He demanded docility from his colleagues, especially the dancers, whom he perceived as instruments to the production of a unified spectacle. In his view theatrical dance was an artistic amalgamation, which did not depend on individual performance in order to be satisfyingly received. Success lay, instead, in the presentation of an impersonal synthesised piece, perceived as an autonomous work of art, independent from the performers that realized it. In that sense he reinstated power relations in the structure of ballet evoking in a sense proto-fascist ideas.

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[39]   Apollinaire was a key avant- garde figure who along with Picasso formed the principles of cubism.

[40]   Massine's work was a primary expression of a symbolic opposition (in the Bourdieuisan sense Bourdieu, 1993a) to Naturalism through Modernist and especially Futurist – anti–dramatic approaches. In that sense Ballet Russes encompassed these tensions through the inclusion of different choreographers/artists representatives of various artistic movements.

According to Koritz (1995d: 164), the idea of autonomy and impersonality masked the underlying hierarchy of roles in the making of dance (which could challenge dance's autonomy). This kind of ordering was also evident in the performance reviews Ballets Russes received. Critics attributed dance solely to choreographers, as if they were exclusive "authors" and champions of artistic creation. Koritz employed Foucault's ideas on authorship to explain the reception of artworks as autonomous. She argued that when dance is assigned with an author it acquires a homologous position to a literary creation in a set of relationships that attribute meaning both to the work and to the author. Even though the idea of authorship in dance is practically fluid and refers to collaborative action and especially that of bodies, single authorship facilitates the reception of the work and secures its status in the field of cultural production (Koritz, 1995c: 123).

Nevertheless, what further marked this modernist enterprise was the embrace of futurist vanguard ideas. Futurists proposed a theatrical synthesis via the contribution of different forms in a politically autonomous production with less emphasis on technique. Futurism condemned naturalist approaches arguing that contemporary theatre "vacillate[d] stupidly between historical […] and photographic reproduction of daily life" (as cited in Garafola, 1998:78). Futurists thus advocated the rejection of narrative, the reduction of length and the need for concision, figurativeness, speed and simultaneity in performance. However, Futurists like Marinetti had a different vision for the performing arts. He argued for the mechanization of the performer, the abandonment of exaggerated costuming, facial expression and vocal use, and the focus on geometrical movement such as spirals, ellipses, cubes etc. (ibid:79).

He thus favoured the deconstruction of beauty ideals and historical symbols. Marinetti saw the Variety Theatre as the exemplification of his ideas on art: a non-dogmatic and ever-transformable genre, in which actors were occupied in an endless reinvention of astonishment with an emphasis on simultaneity and speed. Marinetti was fascinated by new urban rhythms and technology. The hectic and chaotic movement of people and machines was for him the meaning of art (as cited in Kolokotroni et.al, 2004: 254). Fortunato Despero, on the other hand, believed in the

distortion of the performer through costuming and make up, the erasure of expressive facial and bodily parts including the voice. Despero believed in mechanized performance, applied for instance in Giacomo Balla's ballet *Printing Press*-memorable for the use of mechanized robotic movement (Au, 2002).

Futurism appealed to Diaghilev, who visited Italy in 1917 and aligned with the movement. Futurism discarded "the psychological and historicizing underpinnings of nineteenth century literary convention, […] [thus, the] key tenet of futurist performance, period modernism edged ballet narrative down to the path of abstraction" (Garafola, 1998:93). However, Ballets Russes never completely abandoned the Romantic narrative or the balletic tradition. Diaghilev thus investigated the Italian pre-Romantic music of Pergolesi and Cimarosa as well as the Commedia del' arte. He was attracted to the idea of style that prevailed in eighteenth century music. He saw style as a link between the historical, or situational and the ever present in art. The combination of the old genre with the avant-garde features resulted in a hybrid genre, which constituted the means to a new modern form (ibid: 82).

During this period the Bolshevik Revolution took place in Russia. Diaghilev was generally distant to political developments mainly due to touring. His last visit to Moscow was in 1914 just before the war. Fokine was in Scandinavia and a few months later returned to Moscow. The new communist government was rather indecisive in relation to theatrical production. Eventually, Lenin declared the Imperial Theatres public property, which would present theatre to the people. Paradoxically, Petipa's imperial work continued to be presented and Fokine returned to his old post. For a very long time ballet in Russia remained thematically imperial, but as a form symbolized the communist power. Later on Galina Ulanova became a cultural representative of the regime. However, Diaghilev had clearly turned to the West and especially Paris, where he always premiered Ballets Russes' work (Homans, 2010).

In an overview, during 1920s ballet vacillated between different approaches, such as lifestyle modernism – as expressed by Jean Cocteau – and retrospective classicism – shaped by an elite obsession with aristocracy – and choreographic neoclassicism, as

presented in Nijinska's and George Balanchine's work. They all employed and experimented with modernist ideas which stretched dance in diverse directions. The ballets of this period were thus outcomes of a creative process that commenced during World War I, indicative of how traditional material could be embodied into new work as a part of an informative interplay of the past with the present. Jean Cocteau for instance attempted to reconcile Left and Right bank ideologies in performance. His lifestyle modernism condemned classicism in two ways: namely, by challenging ballet as an academic genre and by attacking the symbolic status that corresponded to the practice itself (Aschengreen, 1986).

Cocteau's performing practices were based on futurist ideas. The latter considered high theatre to be pretentious and corrupt whilst Popular entertainment could reflect contemporary interests and aesthetics. Cinema, Jazz, the music hall and the Circus – all mass entertainment types – especially promoted in the advancement of capitalism could, in his view, enliven art. Kracauer (Kracauer, et. al., 1975) criticized such an aesthetic in his Mass Ornament, whose analysis of popular entertainment took a Marxist approach. The analogy he draws on synchronized bodies and assembly lines is memorable. The music halls exemplified the commoditization of dance as a part of the rise of cultural industry especially in Europe and the United States. As Bourdieu (1996a: 124) explained, the subfield of theatrical production at this stage was characterized by a dualist structure, namely that of large-scale, exemplified in the new mass audience venues, as against the smaller independent production. These forms also reflected the symbolic tension between performance as a commodity and performance as an art, what he calls "art for art's sake".

Nevertheless, Cocteau considered popular leisure (such as consumerist practices and social gatherings) as artistic sources. The ballet *Les Biches* thematically exemplified this: it negotiated the interaction between a hostess and her guests at a house party. The ballet drew heavily on 1920s popular novels; *Les Biches* was an ironic representation of upper class manners facilitated by settings and costumes. Cocteau saw movement as intrinsic to theatre but doubted ballet's expressive potential. For him dance was never a symbolic language alone. It was only meaningful and realistic

when assisted by imitative gesture, speech and settings (Aschengreen, 1986:79). Thus he enhanced performance with sounds, effects and innovative movement inspired by geometrical shapes and angular lines. Massine aligned with Cocteau's approach and the abandonment of the classical idiom. He argued that dance should take a new direction "by adapting its conventions, form and steps […] [to] create a new spirit, representative of the age" (as cited in Garafola, 1998:115).

Massine, as we have seen, drew heavily on futurism, popular entertainment and mass culture. In that sense his work combined commercial and high art, although he resisted the former even when he used its means or venues (Koritz, 1995d: 159). Evidently, modernism in ballet negotiated the relationship between artistic autonomy and commoditization. However, mass culture and high modernism were not the only potential artistic tendencies; neither have they constituted fixed aesthetic approaches. They were antagonistic tendencies within the field of the symbolic positions of an ever-transforming set of relationships of aesthetic interests (Bourdieu, 1993a). Paradoxically Massine's *Parade* took place at the end of the process, namely the transformation of ballet to modern dance. *Parade* was only an attempt to apply the futuristic ideas in dance. Henceforth, modern dance acquired a transgressive character, namely it broke away from past practices, it ridiculed classical dance and employed pantomime to develop ideas and emotions (Au, 2002: 108-110).

However, Diaghilev's ideas differed from Massine's thus modernism was short-lived in Ballets Russes. The expansion of futurism saw Diaghilev resorting to French balletic tradition. Retrospective Classicism as historians label it, was the reinvention of the sixteenth century grand spectacle exemplified in Georges Balanchine's work *Apollo* (Homans, 2010: 336). The latter was a return to figurative modes and nationalist patterns, partly as a reaction to 1914's war ideology. The *Sleeping Princess* (Petipa's *Sleeping Beauty*) was the first expression of this "new" Russian ballet. This was the beginning of an obsessive focus on the French classical past and the glory of monarchy often manifested through xenophobic attitudes. Paradoxically then, within a decade ballet became the bone of contention in a struggle between two artistic movements: "[…] by [a] dialectical process, the same decade that witnessed

the demise of the classical idea in dancing also presided [over] its rebirth" (Garafola, 1998: 122).

Nevertheless, modernism deeply influenced the structure of Ballets Russes. The latter developed along collectivist lines: "Diaghilev's wartime studio exhibited the informal collective structure and shared aesthetics of contemporary avant-garde movements" (Garafola, 1998: 95). Dancers took classes and rehearsed in small studios, and lived on very intimate terms during tours. The closeness developed through such practices affected the administrative and economic organization of the company. Diaghilev loosened the structure and levelled up the salaries regardless of dancers' position or rank in the company. However, the company suffered from the tensions that the capitalist market exerted on artistic production. Ballets Russes ran the trajectory from amateurism to commoditization, namely from a small initiative in the transition from feudal patronage to the commercial market of individualized competition. Capitalism and the marketplace promised freedom to artistic creation by liberating arts from the constraints of commissioned work. Yet, this promise was broken by the demands of the new marketplace itself, bringing Diaghilev's enterprise – and no doubt so many others – face to face with financial uncertainty and failure (ibid: 148).

Yet what changed Ballets Russes' condition was their tour in the USA. The growth of American mass entertainment affected ballet seriously. Diaghilev's choice to enlarge Ballets Russes' production had, in the long run a detrimental outcome. The company could not sustain expensive spectacles and was faced with financial insolvency. The costs of spectacular costumes and settings featuring in Ballet Russes' performances drained the company's portfolio. They returned to Paris in a bad financial state with Diaghilev seeking to stabilize his enterprise. When Diaghilev mounted the *Sleeping Princess* in 1922, he aimed at a hundred and five performances. Unfortunately, this ended in financial failure and his dancers were dispersed (Haskell, 1935). The failure of *Sleeping Princess* was a sign of the inherently problematic character of free enterprise as a system of artistic production.

Thus Diaghilev planned the legal transformation of Ballets Russes to a corporation (Société des Ballet Russes) with permanent headquarters in Paris. This new organization was a public enterprise operating through the sale of stock. As it turned out, Princess de Polignac subsidized Diaghilev's group and guaranteed Ballets Russes' residency in Monaco's Monte Carlo Theatre (Garafola, 1998:223). Ballets Russes' financial crisis challenged their dominance. The company faced the rivalry of Rudolf de Mare's Swedish Ballet, which appeared in 1920 in the Champs-Élysées Theatre. The company replicated the structure, the thematic and musical choices of Ballet Russes, following Diaghilev's formula of artistic f0usion. Mare even employed Diaghilev's collaborators in order to secure the success of his enterprise (Au, 2002: 112).

He also adopted Diaghilev's recipe to create an independent, privately funded company, which worked with male dancers. However, the strength of Swedish Ballet was its exceptional financial status. Mare was a wealthy individual, therefore, able to invest in his company. Moreover, he founded a dance journal (*La Danse*) via which he advertised Swedish Ballet. In 1921 the Swedish ballet published a Dadaist manifesto, through which it castigated academic dance whilst presenting the company as avant-garde thus distancing its repertoire from Ballet Russes' more conservative productions (Garafola, 2005). Nonetheless, Ballets Russes innovative approach challenged the balletic order. Diaghilev managed to present Ballets Russes in high prestige theatrical venues – including Covent Garden – thus legitimizing the company's innovative work. The elites of Europe attended frantically every production at these stages. Evidently the venues themselves could not explain the popularity of Diaghilev's company. It was rather the ability of the company to respond to elitist perceptions of performance. Diaghilev and his collaborators sought to bring about a specific theatrical reception, which seized on certain trends in bourgeois social life (Koritz, 1995c: 120). In other words they formed and transformed the conditions of reception of their work, which in turn allowed a different direction in dance (Bourdieu, 1993a).

However, Ballets Russes was also indebted to the music halls, although Diaghilev refrained from presenting Ballets Russes in such venues, as any association with popular entertainment endangered ballet's status. However, many of his dancers performed there. In fact Nijinsky was the only one to abstain from music-hall performance (Koritz, 1995c: 122). However, Ballets Russes although at the edge of popular production - especially through Massine and Cocteau's work - never adhered to the heteronomous principles of mass production, as Music Halls appeared to be. In that sense the latter constituted a powerful opponent of balletic production both economically and symbolically. Though, at the same time music halls became the locus of a major negotiation between balletic movement and modern dance. These venues were initially the place where deviant movement and behaviour was accommodated. Music-hall dance became a part of the symbolic conflict between ballet and the forthcoming modern dance.

Overall, Ballet underwent a rapid transformation during the period 1850-1920. Ballet had hitherto been symbolically negotiated in a fashion of opposition manifested in dualities such as imitative versus pure dance, adherence to or abandonment of narrative, and oppositions regarding the quality of movement and technique employed. Indeed in the transition from Tsarist ballet to an autonomous form, expedited by the 1905 revolt, we can trace the first expressions of a modern form of movement as anti-academic tendencies. These often engulfed the oppositions such as dramatic versus abstract dance. As Bourdieu (1996a: 225) explains: "The struggles over the definition (or classification) [of artistic forms] have boundaries at stake (between genres and disciplines, or between modes of production inside the same genre) and therefore, hierarchies" – as expressed in the duality ''academic'' versus ''modern'' forms. In the meantime the emergence of Isadora Duncan and Emile Dalcroze put into practice the idea of modern movement. In this context the rise of independent production such as that of Ballets Russes, whose work incorporated different symbolic and aesthetic ideas as negotiated in the European field of arts, voiced the struggle for the autonomy of dance.

Indeed the trajectory of Ballets Russes, as formed from this shift in the mode of dance production, reflects the struggle for their legitimacy and enlargement and indirectly a struggle for the autonomy of dance. An enlargement economically and symbolically affected by the rise of mass entertainment and the capitalist market. Ballets Russes represent the modernization of ballet as result of the negotiation of different and often opposing ideas about the content and style of movement (through naturalism, modernism futurism etc.). The company bestowed dance with an explicit divergence between the classical/academic approaches – very strongly grounded in the balletic tradition – and Diaghilev's Modern unconventional approach. However, as we shall see, these conflicting tendencies turned into centrifugal forces bringing about the rupture of ballet into different styles: the Classical Ballet and the Modern Dance. The symbolic clashes between the balletic idiom and a modern vocabulary in the field of European ballet continued throughout the twentieth century.

Chapter 5

The phenomenon of modern dance

The birth of modern dance was the result of a complex social, aesthetic and political negotiation of movement. Within modernity there emerged a set of systematized principles of motion and stillness inscribed with and productive of certain meanings. In the dusk of the nineteenth century the first steps towards a modern dance were, as we have seen, taken in the work of Sergei Diaghilev, the new dance of Isadora Duncan and the Eurhythmics of Emile Dalcroze. Their influence in theatrical dance was reflected in the new forms that sprung from the regions of Germany and the Austro–Hungarian Empire; a form detached from ballet, which derived from the simplicity of rhythmic movement, as initiated by Duncan and further systematized by Dalcroze, and pointing towards the total artwork as realized in the performances of Ballets Russes. The case of German Expressive Dance and other initiatives before this were indicative of the fragmentation of ballet into different styles and forms, as enforced by symbolic and aesthetic trends often internally antagonistic, as we have seen. Modern Dance was the symbolic manifestation of a shift to individualization as contemporaneously expressed in social relations and political formations. Europe transformed into a network of individual nations-states emergent through the dissolution of feudalism and the slow decline of the empire as a form of political governance. The case of German dance was similarly a case of the struggle for autonomy from political power as well as a struggle for the legitimacy of new styles of movement[41].

Indeed, here we can discern that symbolic and bodily negotiations of movement, closely tied to ideas of symbolic, political and social freedom from particular types of

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[41]   Nevertheless, as we shall see this relationship was very sensitive. Indeed the WWII would once again challenge the autonomy of dance from politics, as it was ideologically bound to the aesthetic and political plans of Nazism.

order (aesthetic and political), reflect the successful process of the autonomization of dance production from secular power and the churches. On the one hand the extent of symbolic oppositions between particular aesthetic trends and shifts in their power/dominance reflect the potential for dance makers to regulate dance making, whilst political and social struggles also emerged, guaranteeing conditions of freedom for dance production. In some sense the opposition between ballet and new forms of dance is embedded in these symbolic/social struggles. On the other hand ballet strives to disengage with a courtly past whilst new types of movement emerge through this process; these in turn also attempt to dissociate themselves from ballet as a courtly form, or even, later, as a bourgeois activity.

The 1905 Russian Bloody Sunday, although unsuccessful, heralded the conditions of possibility for the democratization of Russia and the political organization of the State as a representative of popular sovereignty and an institution of political power autonomous from Czarist absolutism. In this context Diaghilev's artistic creation developed in tandem with the political and social transformation of Russia. The homology between social and artistic change, was exemplified in the work of Ballets Russes. Diaghilev's artistic vision was that of a means of social reformation and regeneration that would liberate modern society from the conventionalized morality of Western civilization as discussed in earlier chapters. Diaghilev's art symbolically delivered the breakaway from western imperial etiquette that muted regional practices and emotions (Eksteins, 1990:30). It negotiated social morality and facilitated later independence of expression, both politically and aesthetically.

However, Ballets Russes and theatrical dance were not ideological mechanisms aiding the social transformation of power. They were rather institutions, which produced meaning that informed the very social relations that defined their role. Productions like the *Faune* and later on *Parade*, operated as a social critique but simultaneously materialized as a vision of unrestricted human expression. Negotiations of sexuality, gender and sexual expression were indicative of this. In that sense dance was inextricable to political and social transformation. Modern art as also produced by Ballets Russes served as an advocate of new ways of being in the industrialized world

and embarked on an exploration of the self through the development of forms that could support self-expression (Howe, 1996:2). The role of dance, in particular, was central to a physical/ bodily liberation from prescribed behavioral codes.

The example of the German developments in this respect is indicative. Germany was belatedly affected by the forces of modernity in relation to France and Britain. The latter had established a centralized form of political organization as a result of political unity, formed industrial cities and embarked on economic development partly through colonialism. Germany, on the other hand, in 1800 consisted of four hundred loosely associated principalities, with autonomous political power and strong regional, ethnic and religious tendencies. For these reasons there was no (nationally) differentiated artistic field formed yet. This required a level of social and political organization whilst at the same time political and social unity appeared to be the prerequisite for the capitalist future of Germany. The emergence of an entrepreneurial middle class and of Otto Bismarck's controversial policies resulted in the unification of Germany in the period between 1860-1871. However, the political figuration produced was simultaneously the outcome of the powerful provincial legacy of Germany. Unity was achieved through an amalgamation of federal democracy and centralized autocracy; namely the leveling effect of national unity and provincial autonomy, which was also expressed in the balance between the rise of the middle class and the conservation of aristocratic figurations (Elias, 1996).

This type of political and social formation constituted the cornerstone of Bismarck's policy. The construction of "German-ness", a national wholeness – an "imagined community'' to borrow Anderson's (1991) term – was achieved through divisive techniques and by promoting the social and political differences of regions and social groups. Bismarck accentuated the need for some form of conformity to sustain the idea of unity and wholeness, which was constructed not so strongly on the basis of interest but on a spiritual and transcendental goal of self-discovery. The "German Spirit'' a term allegedly encompassing a system of ethics and practices leading to "true inner freedom'', namely an abstract self-fulfillment, was part of a discursive manufacturing of a German political and social entity (Eksteins, 1990:66-67).

In the transitional phase between the German Imperium and the new capitalist nation state of Germany the idea of spirituality as Elias (2000:24) showed, served as a means for the legitimacy and consolidation of the emerging German middle class; a class with no initial political or economic power compared to the courtly aristocratic class of the feudalist order or the middle classes of France and Britain. Indeed the consolidation of the new classes was founded on the intellectual and spiritual demarcation of the German bourgeoisie against the German court, unlike their French counterparts who sought to be integrated in courtly figurations. Indeed the idea of spirituality became the dominant ideological mechanism in the construction of "German-ness" as an expression of the political, social and economic identification of German people with the rising middle classes.

Furthermore, this enforced rapid social, economic and political change, result of the late political unity of Germany, which reinforced this projection of a spiritual inwardness – as a remedy to capitalist materialism. Urbanization and the consequent alienating character of urban living reinforced the need for a sense of place and sense of belonging in Germany. Psychoanalytic theories underlined this generalized introspection in political life. Freud outlined the theory of the suppressed unconscious and the manifestation of repressed emotions and desires as dreams. Carl Jung focused on the collective unconscious, seeing myth, symbols and archetypes recurring in cultures. Similarly, Nietzsche spoke about totems and the role of myth and ritual. The focus on internal energy, a flow of movement from within, was manifest at all levels of social life. The cultural response to this was the Expressionist Movement. Expressionism a symbolically powerful artistic movement, which advocated new organizations of life away from the urban industrial environment, was an attempt to restore the inner self in social life (Howe, 1996:2 -7).

The centrality of inner subjectivity was also expressed through a new emphasis on physical culture, namely a new understanding of the human body detached from the social prescriptions of its use. Evidently expressed through the abolition of corsets and brassieres the liberation of the body- and especially the female body- became the new cultural ideal. The phenomenon of *Nacktkultur* (or, otherwise, Nudism) is a

primary example. This movement had several expressions with ecological, educational and health preoccupations. In fact, it responded to a need for a healthier way of being, very much intensified after WWI. For instance, physicians, orthopedics and educators advocated the benefits of bodily exercise in nude rather than in clothing, arguing restrictive character of clothes to movement (Toepfer, 2003).

Nudism very often took the form of organized communities with non-hierarchical structure and anti-capitalist ideologies aiming to cultivate a new form of *habitus,* namely new mental and bodily structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and new dispositions towards social and political life. Such collectives were a response to the repressive character of urban industrial life, and operated as the loci of a search for an authentic life. Nacktkultur was also negotiated in physical performance. A number of schools were founded where children and adults exercised and performed movement nude, often in open space, gardens or villas. The content of such performances was very often erotic and sensual, negotiating homosexuality and fantasy. There is evidence that nude performance did take place in popular entertainment halls. However, some performers engaged in rather introspective and dark performances, which could not be considered as popular (Toepfer, 2003).

German Dance thus developed in the context of a new kind of body culture (*Körperkultur*) and most importantly endorsed *Freikörperkultur,* the ideology of the free body, as encapsulated by the nudist movement. The Monte Verita movement workshops are indicative. Monte Verita was a luxurious resort in Laggo Maggiore near Ascona formed by Ida Hoffman in the 1900. It pioneered community living and creative arts, promising an alternative to bourgeois urban life. The resort attracted middle class youths, who practiced nudism, healthy living in spas, open-air training and natural macrobiotic nutrition. Similarly, Dalcroze's work in a prototype Garden City in 1908 (Hellerau Dresden) where cooperatives operated, reflected this felt need for communal living and being in nature (Manning, 1993:52).

The Garden City was an alternative to the dense urban environment and included references to the nineteenth century rural village structure. It was constructed around a factory based on the craft ideal and workers were set in houses surrounded by extensive space. There, Dalcroze practiced his gymnastics and emphasized human movement as a means to a healthy life. The difference between the two cities, which were otherwise structured around embodied practices, was that Hellerau was organized as a reformed industrial structure whilst Monte Verita offered an alternative to that. This was evident in the radical gender order that members of the Asconian community constructed. Ida Hoffman herself rejected the institution of marriage and preached for a marriage of conscience, namely cohabitation as a sign of gender equality (Manning, 1993: 57).

Rudolf von Laban engaged in dance performance at Monte Verita. Born in Hungary in 1879, Laban followed a number of athletic activities as a child, including rhythmic gymnastics. Being the son of a military Governor he was exposed to military movement (parades, marches, etc) and travelled in the Eastern parts of the Empire, where he encountered folk dance and local rituals. His father urged him to pursue a military career and in 1899 he entered the Austrian military Academy. However, Laban left the following year for Paris in order to pursue an artistic career at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*. There he developed his ideas on theatrical space. At the same time he took up dance classes and was introduced to ballet (Maletic, 1987).

In 1908 Laban left for Munich, where he experimented on the boundaries between amateur and professional dance. In 1910 he founded a dance school and a company through which he explored bodily movement, space and dynamics (Maletic, 1987: 6). He was particularly interested in the dissociation of dance from external elements such as music or drama. He advocated a free Absolute dance, in line with all the emerging social/physical movements of the period. His idea of free dance was inherently tied to the training and performing space. Laban saw spatial structures as major impediments to the advancement of bodily movement. Thus he encouraged open-air training through which spatial restriction was challenged. In 1911-1914

118

Laban ran dance workshops at Monte Verita during the summer and in Zurich during winter.

Monte Verita appealed to communists, anarchists, Theosophists etc. (Jowitt, 1988: 158). However, Laban's workshops attracted especially Dadaist and Expressionist artists. Dadaism – a politically provocative movement – advocated the dissolution of artistic institutions as a reaction to prescribed values and ideas of beauty in a world of instrumental reason. Dada destroyed prescribed meaning and sought to evoke shock and awe. It did so with a "studied degradation of [the] material", namely the means to produce art (Benjamin, 1936:12). Dadaism in dance took the form of a social protest against aesthetics and bourgeois lifestyle, promoting simplicity, freedom and physicality. Equally, Expressionism rejected nineteenth century artistic conventions and explored forms of introspective art negotiating the meaning of existence. It thus challenged common perceptions of reality and endorsed the expression of inner subjectivity (Howe, 1996:15-16). Expressionists incorporated ritual in their life practices with an emphasis on mysticism and the release of inner emotion. Similarly, Laban challenged conventional ways of existence, movement, space and subjective expression. His ritual-like dances were performed in groups rather than individually, and pointed towards transcendental ecstasy, a state of completion of subjective expression, which evidently appealed to expressionists (Toepfer, 2003).

However, as the First World War destroyed Germany's social coherence, dance increasingly acquired a consoling role. Political language had turned unreliable and people sought new means to express themselves. Movement as a non-verbal form was considered trustworthy and dance an innocent art, given that a number of avant-garde intellectuals had supported the War[42]. The cruelty that Germans were faced with resulted in social disillusionment. Dance offered an open field for emotional expression whilst social dance was felt to have brought back a lost joy (Newhall, 2009:69-70). Especially in the post-war era dance played a cathartic role and as Schivelbusch (2003: 267) argues, it was an expression of the repressed subliminal

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[42]   Marinetti, for example, advocated the aesthetics of war and the beauty arising from the destructive technology utilized in warfare (as cited in Benjamin, 1936:15).

urges. Indeed the nudist performers accentuated the sexual character of dancing but social dance and especially Jazz and music hall exemplified this too.

Since the European Enlightenment science and reason were promoted over intuition or feeling, which were considered irrational. Contrastingly, Romanticism as an expression of the forceful will, placed emphasis on emotion. Emotion was better approached in the context of Nature, which seemed to belong to a previous stage of existence, perhaps more primitive. This fascination with an idyllic past of rural life, also advocated by Heidegger, passed on to Modernism. In the twentieth century western Europeans regarded the physical body as the means for an authentic life in the natural world. Healthy bodies became the symbols of this period and dance gymnastics along with other physical activities became prominent. This explains the 1919 dance boom in Germany (Song, 2007:429-430) as well as the number of amateurs that followed Laban.

Laban worked in Switzerland until the end of the WWI, where he cooperated with a number of artists amongst who was Mary Wigman. With her assistance he developed his theory of Space and Harmony as well as what was to become his most significant contribution to dance, his notation. During the following years (1920-1937) Laban presented his work in print, through four books on movement notation. In 1920 he formed the Dance Theatre Laban in Stuttgart and a year later became the executive producer at the Mannheim National Theatre and trained twenty of his dancers with the ballet company. Laban never rejected balletic technique, as he believed similarly to Kant, that all arts should be linked to tradition. He utilized the structure and preciseness of ballet to form a new, more expressive dance. His real interest was movement; he explored all possible paths for movement creation including that of the form he sought to supersede - ballet (Maletic, 1987:7- 8/12).

During the years 1924-26 Laban toured with his group in Germany, Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia presenting oratoria, speech choirs, dance dramas and comedies such as *Casanova and Don Juan* on Gluck's music. Laban combined arts and dance but not in

the Wagnerian form of fusion. He rather enhanced dance through expressive gesture, song and speech. Dance was for Laban an empathetic medium. He saw the inner reality of the creator as a source, the communication of which would be achieved through rhythm and movement. Similarly, he identified spectatorship with kinetic empathy, namely the perception of dance performance through one's own sense of movement and rhythm. Movement in the form of stylized action, either mimetic, or presented as abstract shifts of positioning and fluctuations of balance was to him communicative: "Dance structures can clearly convey to the viewer, an inner experience and development of an inner drive which is anchored in a universal experience" (Maletic, 1987: 11).

This idea of dance universality underlined Laban's conception of amateur dance and movement choirs. Laban worked extensively on them[43], which constituted the core of his theatrical engagement (Maletic, 1987:15). These productions were a collective celebration of togetherness formed on a common experience of rhythm and movement. Choirs in his view represented an image of humanity that materialized through systematic exercises and enhanced intellectual and physical unity. Dalcroze also used the festival/choir format to produce a sense of collectivity (*Orpheus and Eurydice*). He integrated the audiences into the spectacle through interactive processes. The members of the Hellerau community were potentially members of the chorus and vice versa. In that sense, spectatorship turned into an organic part of the theatrical process; it was transformed into a living experience whilst enhancing collective awareness. Dalcroze's integrative approach stood for political and social reformation materialized in dance. Collective productions such as those of Hellerau Gardens promoted internationalism and social equality (Manning, 1993:75-76).

Choir work was a significant manifestation of the power of community with intense social and political connotations. Laban developed this format in the same incorporative way. He orchestrated festivals in the open at Monte Verita, encouraging members in a unifying experience of nature and movement. The *Sun Festival* attracted international attention and was also the context for Mary Wigman's debut. Laban's

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[43] *Titan* was his most famous of such work presented in the German Dance Congress in 1927.

choir work culminated with the *"Pageant for the Crafts and Trades''* hosting ten thousand performers – amateurs and professionals – such as craftsmen, shoe-makers, dancers placed on moving platforms (Maletic, 1987:15). Laban's work on choirs and collective dance was an indication of the possibility for dance notation, since his choreography was reproduced by means of notated scores (movement scores).

This technique facilitated the transmission of movement to large groups of performers. The idea of dance notation can be linked to the reproduction of the work of art as Walter Benjamin (1936:4) described it. The need to bring dance closer to the masses through reproduction underlies both the internal logic of Laban's work, namely the reproduction of movement through a mass of bodies, but also the enhancement of the dancing experience of the audiences through mass movement. Laban worked intensively on notation and advocated its universal application in every style and technique. In 1928 he published his system (kinetography), based on a simplified documentation of movement (Au, 2002).

Laban established twenty-five schools in his career, including these in Britain, where he resorted during WWII. Most Schools accommodated movement choirs as large-scale amateur dance formations. This often entailed the aid of churches and political societies to support choirs as large as five hundred people (Manning, 1993:133). In 1929, Laban lectured on the Problems of dance in the second German Dance congress, where he outlined his concerns for the autonomy of dance. He discussed the importance of lay (amateur) dance including forms of recreational play and rhythmic gymnastics and argued for the training of teachers in these genres. He called for a science of dance as an autonomous form from music and drama.

Overall, Laban developed a theory of Effort and Space in order to support his practice. He observed industrial movement in an attempt to collect data on the forms and motivations of movement in everyday work, aiming at the enhancement of efficiency, enjoyment and work satisfaction (Bergsohn and Bergsohn, 2003). As Hewitt (2005:44-47) shows this period dance incorporates theories of productive

122

labour, evident especially in Laban's work. Thus Laban achieved a systematic organization of movement on the grounds of inertia, force, space, fluidity and balance - indeed modeled on industrial movement and the principle of efficiency. Apparently, his work linked social and aesthetic rationalization (Hewitt, 2005:47). This shift was also reflected on social dance and entertainment where ensembles of girls engaged in synchronized/mechanized movement according to the principles of industrial Fordism (Schivelbusch, 2003: 272-273)

Laban's theory of space was a re-examination of the five balletic positions as directions of movement. Laban did not conceive movement as a sequence of positions in space but rather as a dynamic tendency in space. His theory was evidently influenced by the scientific developments in physics. Einstein's theory of relativity and his focus on the relationship between time and space had transformed not only scientific thought but also the mental schemata of artists as well as the social representations of the world. As a result "space and time [we] re transformed from […] physical properties to world dimensions […] created with the intent of human action, through movement'' (Maletic, 1987: 63). Laban's systematic approach to technique and bodily training was homologous to the principle of efficiency both spiritual and physical as promoted for the construction of German-ness. Laban's work embodied the idea of spirituality materialized in technique and the organization of training. Indeed, his work assisted the construction of, what was believed to be a German trait, namely a systematic education with an emphasis on the self and the spirit (Kant, 2004).

The particular (effective) ways in which scientism and managerial techniques were applied became the focus of the "German advancement". Efficiency was not just a means but was constructed as the ultimate goal and symbol of Germany. The ethics of hard work and effort, the technicality of success was transformed into a national ideal type. As Elias (2000) showed the construction of such ideal type was linked to the German bourgeois struggle against the court. Indeed middle class intellectuals promoted their scientific and intellectual achievements as evidence of a distinctive

work ethos. This was evidently displayed in Laban's theoretical engagement with effort and his insistence on systematic training and the scientific treatment of dance.

Laban's contribution to dance was also the mentoring of another significant figure of German Expressive Dance: Mary Wigman. The latter studied and worked extensively with Laban after studying with Dalcroze. In 1908 Wigman attended a performance based on Eurhythmics, by which she was greatly inspired. During the period between 1910 -1912 Wigman studied at Dalcroze's school in Dresden. His training system was co-educational and promoted practice as a means of learning. The school was open to all members of the community including women, at a time were German Universities had only just started offering admission to women (Anderson, 1992). Wigman embodied Dalcroze's system of training, a valuable means for her future endeavors. In that sense Wigman embodied a physical capital, namely an appropriated form of physical forces, which would optimize such forces for a specific effect (Wacquant, 1995:67)

Eurhythmics may have been a training system for musical awareness, but it also constituted the basis for a new approach in Dance. It was a well organized system of movement production available for dance making: "In this system movement became not only a subjective response to music but also an objective visualization of movement qualities'' (Manning, 1993: 54). Dalcroze saw great potential in Wigman and was ready to assign her the direction of his school in Berlin. However, in the summer of 1912 she attended Laban's workshops at Monte Verita. Wigman was attracted by Laban's improvisational technique and lack of strict rules. She rejected Daclroze's contract offer and worked in Ascona, where she remained throughout WWI (Au, 2002:98).

Laban's approach unlike that of Dalcroze, was not bound by music but grounded on ideas about muscular tension and relaxation against speech or other sounds or even silence; this proved liberating for Wigman. The freedom she was granted with under Laban's direction was essential to the refinement of the working method she inherited

from Dalcroze, namely "structured improvisation based on manipulation of the spatial, temporal, and dynamic dimensions of movement (Manning, 1993:56). Improvisation became Wigman's central mechanism for dance composition. Her cooperation with both Laban and Dalcroze provided her with the necessary tools to develop a new systematic approach to dance and, in this way seal the birth of the modern form.

Wigman's collaboration with Laban also brought her close to Dada. Some dancers who followed Dada performed at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich. However, in 1917 a close association between the Laban-Wigman dancers and the Dada Gallery performers was established. Laban-Wigman students supported happenings in the Gallery, and often danced and choreographed in cooperation with other Dadaists such as Hugo Ball. Most performances drew on Laban's style: barefoot figures in draped or athletic clothing, often wearing masks moving collectively or individually just to the rhythmic beat of a gong or in silence (Newhal 2009; Manning, 1993:69). The convergence between the Dadaist rhetoric and Laban's manifestos on absolute dance was evident in Hugo Ball's advocacy of dance as an end and Laban's promotion of movement as a core focus over costuming, design and music.

Wigman worked with Laban, until she was fully prepared to proceed on her own. During the period between 1914- 1919 Wigman's choreography came increasingly to constitute a critique of both Dalcroze and Laban. She discarded musical visualization and avoided working on large productions choosing instead to use a small number of dancers or prepared solos drawing on improvisation as emerging from movement analysis. In 1919 she started working exclusively on solo dances, which she presented throughout the following decade. These were created on pre-existing notated movement in an attempt to focus more on abstraction (Newhal, 2009: 47).

In 1920 Wigman established her own school in Zurich. She also formed a company – centered in her large educational unit – which secured funding through touring earnings and tuition fees. However, her dancers did not receive wages but money for

expenses, which consequently forced them to resort to family funds or teaching for their maintenance. Wigman's company also received private subsidy, which she invested in expanding the school and creating more work. Wigman's strategy was characteristic of the way in which entrepreneurship and creation combined in the beginning of the twentieth century. The prevalence of private initiative in dance production was associated with artistic freedom and fertility (Manning, 1993:90) evident in the seventy solo dances she produced by 1930.

However, this mode of production encountered serious problems and Wigman was faced with a continuous readjustment of her working conditions. This eventually resulted in the dissolution of her group. Wigman went through a financial crisis in 1928, which forced her to revert to solo creations (titled *shifting landscape* inspired by her own shifting reality in terms of production) (Au, 2002). In 1930 she produced "Totenmal" a multimedia spectacle with the collaboration of the poet Albert Talhoff, which historians see as politically controversial and "proto-fascist". Totenmal negotiated the theme of the fallen soldier with strong military and religious references. Talhoff's intent was to critique political theatre; the production however became profoundly political due to staging choices (Manning, 1993: 149/158).

Totenmal was initially conceived as a pacifist piece that would criticize political theatre. Eventually, it offered a dubious political message confusing militarism with pacifism. Totenmal's artistic ambiguity drew on a multiple crisis: the early 1930 Weimar republic decline, the global financial crisis (1929 crash) and the increasing unemployment. The governing coalition between Social Democrats and Conservatives broke apart whilst in the same year the Nazis made a breakthrough in the polls. Such political uncertainty raised the fear of social disintegration and memories of war. Totenmal attempted to symbolize community and union with an emphasis on the necessity of a strong leader in sustaining the latter (Kant, 2004:11). This idea that Wigman held constituted the point of her ideological convergence with Fascism.

On the other hand, Laban's work stretched beyond professionalism: lay dance, the festival format and improvisation mostly performed by amateur bodies significantly distorted the relationship between professional and amateur dance, that is to say challenged the dominance of a (balletically) trained dancing body, as the central instrument/capital of dance production. This was further intensified by the systems of training applied in the numerous operating schools (Bergshon and Bergsohn, 2003). Tanz gymnastics, eurhythmics and improvisation (namely new forms of movement competing in an emerging field of dance/movement) were employed to enhance one's embodied awareness, an idea manipulated especially by the Nazis. Laban devised the mass-movement choir and a notation system that enabled the transmission of movement from small groups to the mass. In that sense he had a more populist approach. Yet, Wigman was a minimalist. She was interested in small-scale or individual work that promoted individual expression. As she stated: "Dedication to the work recedes in favor of dedication to personality. The true protagonist - the ensemble - is less important than the individual actors" (as cited in Manning, 1993:146). Her work was dedicated to dancers and not so much to amateur movement and in that sense she was more of an elitist.

However, Manning (1993:133) argues that the distinction between populism and elitism in Wigman's work is not clear. Laban's laborious notation structure required deep engagement in order to be applied; therefore it was not as immediately accessible as may initially have been thought to. In contrast, Wigman's structured improvisation was simpler to follow and in that sense more populist. However, the tensions between the two – expressions of more general symbolic oppositions in the forming field of dance- deepened with Wigman's growing recognition, in other words with the growing symbolic power of her work. The latter was not included in the *First Dancer's Congress in 1927*, where Laban proposed the unification of the existing dance groups under his direction (Bergsohn and Bergsohn, 2003). However, the *Magdeburg Daily News* invited both to write for their issue on German Theatre. Laban discussed the significance of group performance and its potential contribution to the resolution between commercial theatre, opera and ballet. Wigman, on the other hand, wrote on *Ausdrukstanz*. She referred to two styles, her own absolute dance, namely a concert form concerned with contemporary life and staged dance: a fusion

of ballet and pantomime with no clear orientation and goal. She discussed the accessibility of training in times of financial uncertainty and what she thought to be a crisis in the style of training (Newhal, 2009:33).

The congress was ideologically charged and made clear the tensions regarding the future direction of Absolute dance and in that sense the "principles of vision and division" of dance in the German and European artistic fields (Bourdieu, 1996a: 223). Indeed the congress reflected and captured the symbolic forces operating in the ever-growing German field of dance, which through oppositions (severely marked by the division between advocates of ballet and of anti-balletic modern dance as we shall see below) sought to maintain or alter the dominant tendencies in the area of rhythmic movement. Indeed the organization of a conference in the area of dance was a prime example of the democratization and autonomization of dance production – which was, however, about to be severely challenged by Nazism. This democratic negotiation was evidence for the presence of an autonomous differentiated field of dance production in Germany.

The conference revealed opposing views on the dependence of Ausdrukstanz on amateurism and its transformation into a professionally organized form. Furthermore, the role of training and improvisation as methods of composition were in question. Would Expressive Dance draw on individual improvisation and inspiration or would it be grounded on a set of rules like ballet? (Manning,1993:134). Moreover dance production and especially Ausdruckstanz had been severely restricted by the financial crisis and this posed an urgent question on the future of the form. Thus, Laban founded the Dance Circle, a collaboration of the first congress members to subsidize the Second Dancers' Congress in 1928. The latter found Laban allied with his student Kurt Joss in advocating the fusion of ballet and modern dance on both aesthetic and economic grounds. Given the financial state of Ausdruckstanz the integration of the two was appealing (Newhal, 2009: 34).

Kurt Joss proposed the recovery of ballet to balance the relationship between expressive content and form, thus grounding dance in disciplinary rules. Joss's work at the Essen Opera choreographing operettas and operatic interludes, explained his aesthetic predisposition to ballet (Bergshon and Bergsohn, 2003; Au, 2002). Most importantly though, his first hand experience of the financial support ballet was receiving justified his position. Joss knew that large-scale production could only be accommodated in the Opera Houses and argued that artists should work towards the dance-theatre (Manning, 1993:160). Besides Joss, a new generation of choreographers – including Wigman's students – also performed on stage and recognized the potential of the Opera House as a funder of Absolute dance. However, in order for it to transform into a discipline like ballet Absolute dance would disengage with gymnastics, physical culture, amateur dance and improvisation. Wigman explicitly opposed the integration of ballet in Ausdruckstanz especially under the Opera House structure. She argued for a synthetic form away from operatic conventions (Newhal, 2009:35). Moreover, she saw no potential in a further development of ballet. Indeed what is revealed here once more is the relative dependency of symbolic creation on the economic sphere, which in fact reconfigured conceptions about quality and structure of movement in dance.

As a result, the Congress arrived at contradictory decisions. Members favored the idea of state support and placed requests to Opera Houses and public institutions to fund and house Expressive Dance. They decided on the professionalization of Expressive Dance via the integration of ballet and the development of a system of rules in dance training and making. The congress also decided on strengthening improvisational amateur dance and the incorporation of modern dance in school curricula. They proposed the establishment of a Dance conservatory similar to the ones intended for music, theatre and visual art, which would train dancers, choreographers, directors and teachers for both professional and amateur dance (Manning, 1993:171).

However, the financial crisis and the political climate gradually restricted artistic production as a whole. A number of artists saw the conditions of possibility of

Absolute dance lying with National Socialism. Indeed, in 1934, Goebbels organized the German Dance Festival and invited the representatives of Absolute Dance (including Laban and Wigman) to present their work on the condition that they would not recruit Jewish Dancers. The festival was one of the first Nazi mass propaganda events and was arranged so as to construct continuity between Ancient Greek classicism, Classical Ballet, Romanticism and Volk Aryanism. In 1935 the Second German Dance Festival took place, where Wigman presented her *Hymnic Dances,* an indication of her alignment with fascist aesthetics. She negotiated the dynamics between leadership and collectivity materialized in her placement as the leading figure, detached from the group. The group was thus constructed as a follower, less distinct and less individualized, and in this respect abided by the Nazi conceptions of the collective. (Kant, 2004:111)

Wigman saw National Socialism as a political force that embraced artistic creation, and she therefore explicitly aligned with Nazi aesthetics. This was mainly expressed via a shift in her conception of "German-ness". Wigman's earlier writings and lectures presented Ausdruckstanz as a German-made form that ought to convey the universality of human experience. In 1935 she openly associated Absolute dance with the German Volk specifically. This ideological repositioning was not so much the result of a shift in her political views, but rather a result of her interest in the future of Absolute dance. Wigman reformed her dance definition to abide by that of the Ministry of Culture. In that sense she complied with the Nazi political orthodoxy. However, she did not develop a racially discriminatory discourse or a similar selection process of dancers, as unlike Goebbels, she believed in individual talent. She saw the latter as the means by which German Dance could be promoted and elevated to its best value. In that sense "she did not believe in a predetermined program which would bureaucratically proclaim German Dance" (Manning, 1993:192).

In 1936 Goebbels founded the Master Institute for Dance to meet the need for a dance conservatory as expressed in the Second Dancers' Congress. The institute placed equal emphasis on all styles: ballet, modern and folk dance, whilst introducing courses on National Ideology in dance schools (McDonald and Manning 1987: 56).

Goebbels also bureaucratized dance to the benefit of those seen as Aryan-Germans who, with the support of his ministry, could receive funding and teach Tanz-Gymnastik in schools and youth leisure organizations such as the Hitler Youth, where fitness and bodily eagerness were valued. The potential for employment and the recognition of dance and movement as components of cultural life fulfilled, in some respects the conflicting demands of the Congress. In that sense the representatives of German Dance in this period did identify themselves with the Nazi culture. However, they failed to realize that the integration of dance into the Nazi physical culture would turn the former into a compulsory practice "celebrating the Aryan race", denying thus the voluntary and universal character that historically characterized the post-Romantic form (Manning, 1993:172).

However, what we would call the restricted field of dance production in Germany, namely the one that operated based on principles that concerned dance and movement on a symbolic and expressive level became much *less* autonomous during this period. The Nazi government directly intervened in the content of dance performance and strictly regulated the conditions of its production whilst banning particular styles of movement or censoring certain ideas expressed through the body. Ballet was especially promoted by Goebbels, who insisted on its integration with Modern Dance. Wigman aligned herself discursively with this idea although she initially opposed such fusion. She also promoted the Thingspiel (Play) entertainment – according to Ministerial dictation - a form grounded on Ancient Greek theatre. By 1935 Thingspiel encompassed all types of movement and theatrical forms like oratoria, pantomime, allegoric representations, tableaux vivants and ceremonial acts, and most importantly ballet. Thingspiel became the foundation of Nazi performance, drawing on Laban's festivals, with as many as a thousand performers (ibid: 193).

Mary Wigman partly choreographed the Olympic Youth performance in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games based on Thingspiel (Wigman, 1975). Her contribution to the Nazi/Olympic staging was consistent with her own vision of dance. However, her divergent approach became apparent in the layout of the spectacle and the positioning of performers. Goebbels prescribed the placement of the Youth as a collective with no

obvious leader, thus symbolically allowing space for the celebration of Hitler's Leadership. Wigman could not accept the submission of the creator to the whole as Goebbels advised, and detached herself from the group. In contrast, Wigman saw dance as a source of higher consciousness and a medium for spiritual inner drives; an idea evidently influenced by Freudian theories. The power of the unconscious as an inner force and a source of improvisation was exemplified in her *Ecstatic Dances*. For her dance making was a means of coming into being and dance the existence itself; "Heidegger and Wigman saw Dasein or a being coming into being, as the action of the most alive and fully aware individuals, wherein the divisions between body, soul and intellect disappear" (Newhal, 2009: 71).

Wigman's productions never openly clashed with official prescriptions. However, the Olympic games case removed her from the Cultural Ministry's official collaborators. Wigman was allowed to pursue her teaching and dance making in her school, which was recognized by the regime as one of the thirteen schools that fully complied with the Nazi orders. The school provided certified training in German dance forms namely classical and folk dance through examinations open to what was defined as Aryan students who were supporters of National Socialism. Although she was never again assigned work by the regime after the 1936 Olympic Games Wigman remained the leading figure of German Dance in this era (Wigman, 1975).

Indeed Mary Wigman's case is homologous that of Heidegger, as analyzed in Bourdieu's (1991) work *The Political Ontology of Martin Heidegger*. Her promotion of Absolute dance as it springs from within, as higher consciousness, draws on Heidegger's pure thought. Both figures shared the idea of simplicity as advocated by Heidegger through his persistence in a return to pre-industrial forms of life as and as reconfigured in Wigman's attraction to Monte Verita as well as Laban's original improvisation. Moreover, Wigman's trajectory in the cultural field of Germany corresponds to that of Heidegger in the academic field, whose theoretical engagement encountered and in turn reinforced the political discourse and ideology of Nazism. Indeed Wigman also was not a direct advocate of the Nazi ideology but rather an artist whose ideas corresponded to the particular political orthodoxy. Indeed Wigman

explicitly accepted Nazi prescriptions in dance making as such shifts did not fundamentally contradict her conception of dance. In similar manner Heidegger aligned himself with Nazi ideology, which was sealed with his post in Academia. Similarly Wigman's prominence in German dance production was an expression of a *conservative revolution* in dance.

Nevertheless, Expressive Dance, as an expressive form, survived through the circulation of artists in Europe, despite the political and social circumstances. The German Expressive dance set the conditions of possibility for the forthcoming modern dance boom in the USA. The former legitimized a whole new approach to movement that was no longer heretic or marginalized but constituted an integral part of the vision for the modern world. Laban, Wigman and a series of other representatives of Absolute dance contributed to the consolidation of a new form and a new style. Wigman's touring in the USA brought the new dance into the continent and triggered the production of modern dance in all possible ways and directions. What distinguishes the German form from Isadora Duncan's initiative was its systematization and scientific character. Absolute dance was the cornerstone for the consolidation of a methodical, organized and thorough approach to intuitive movement equal to ballet. In that sense Absolute dance paved the way for a Modern Dance that would be powerful enough to supersede ballet. Indeed, the emergence of German Expressive Dance prepared the ground for rupture between ballet and modern dance. These split into completely different forms in tandem with the social and political struggles that took place in the twentieth century. The autonomy of dance itself was negotiated by means of this very division.

Chapter 6

"The American Dance"

The second half of the twentieth century is very much associated with the emergence of a new power in the arts: the United States of America. New York became the centre of *artistic production* where dance experimentation would flourish. Moreover, here the rupture between ballet and modern dance would become complete in conditions of relative autonomy from political prescriptions of movement. Since 1910 New York had welcomed European ballet and dance productions mostly those of the Russian School. Since Diaghilev's first visit in the city Russian dancers were highly esteemed. Consequently, with the dissolution of Ballets Russes, many artists migrated to New York seeking for employment in a booming dance period. The Russian community gradually expanded including artists such as Fokine (Garafola, 2005: 238).

After the termination of Diaghilev's enterprise, several attempts to revive the Ballets Russes took place: the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo, otherwise known Colonel Basil's Ballet Russe in 1932, manned by former dancers and collaborators including Fokine and Balanchine. In 1938 Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo were founded, which although named similarly was an entirely different company. The latter performed chiefly in the USA and included a series of Diaghilev's co-workers such as Nijinska, Massine, Markova and Balanchine who contributed to both companies. Massine followed Balanchine in the directorship of the company with quite controversial work. Massine's modernism, in particular, influenced the reception of ballet in the States. Critics classified his work into two styles character and symphonic, with the latter raising particularly notable reactions from audiences. Massine worked with symphonic music and with Hector Berlioz specifically to compose new ballets. He also used Laban's group performance for such works, with the help of Nina Verechina who trained in Laban's Method (Au, 2002:134).

Before the twentieth century the USA had no tradition of dance as a "high art". Only music-hall entertainment or popular ballroom dance was staged. Visiting dancers from Europe performed in public, and these, more often than not, appeared in popular venues for mass audiences. Hence, the history of theatrical dance in America is short but is distinctive in that it features the development of two different styles of dance: the (neo) classical ballet and the modern and "postmodern" dance. Paradoxically, the latter – "a label given to a variety of styles linked only by the rejection of the tight conventions of traditional ballet"– was the form that flourished first (Bland 1976:93). During the mid-twentieth century, artistic initiatives for an American dance as "high" cultural form thrived. The ideological underpinnings of the emergent form were the social trends of self-enhancement. Dance was situated within a network of life-styles aimed towards well being through exercising and a return to nature. Dance was seen, in this context, as a self-liberating activity, an idea tied to feminism and radical politics. Radical individualism and pastoral views of being thus became the prevalent themes of 1920's modern dance (Garafola, 2005:233).

The modern idiom, which developed in the following years, was rooted in Duncan's approach. In 1880 Duncan embarked on her international career. As we have seen, she considered dance as expressive of individual psychological conditions through natural movement (Bland 1976:93; Banes, 1987:2). Ruth St. Denis (1879-1968) shared this idea, evident in her work several years later. St. Denis developed a dance style with oriental grounding to express individual psyche. She performed dances of an allegedly oriental character using exaggerated movement with sensual and sexual connotations. St. Denis, just like Duncan and Fuller earlier, was trained in Delsartre's physical education, which was a radically different system from ballet (Sparshott, 1995: 145-146). However, the type of movement they engaged into sprang from a climate of dress reform, feminism, Christian Science and Theosophy (Au, 2002:92). Fuller, St. Denis and Duncan capitalized on women's grassroots organizations in the States. They all performed in several women clubs and lectured in various women's initiatives. As Tomko (2004:88) argues, St. Denis's performances in such organizations constituted a claim to aesthetic leadership, namely the potential of

women not only to stand out in the public sphere but also to claim a position in cultural production.

St. Denis's work, although strongly oriental (involving, mainly Hindu and later on Egyptian themes) did not claim authenticity in relation to the dances produced. Custom has it, that her oriental interest was kindled by a poster advertising Egyptian cigarettes (Cohen, 1992:129). Indeed, this reveals the fallacy of assumptions about "authenticity" in cultural representations of "the East". Despite St. Denis's creative intentions and negotiations of style through Orientalism, which did not necessarily reflect colonial interests but rather was the result of colonial representations in the first place, her work contributed to generalising ideas about the colonized world. In 1914 St. Denis founded a school in collaboration with her husband Ted Shawn – also a dancer and choreographer – occupied mainly with the spiritual and religious role of dance. Shawn, a former theology student, was interested in dance as a form of religious expression (Au, 2002: 93) and this became a key point of convergence between the two figures and the focus of their school.

Named after their surnames (DeniShawn School of dance), the school was distinctive for the system of training it employed. Both founders contributed to the development of a formula of instruction based on balletic technique as the foundation of dance training on bare feet. The curriculum included indigenous and exotic dance classes creating an ambience of mysticism, divinity and spirituality based on assumptions about the culture of the East, and also free style classes drawing heavily on Duncan's approach. When their school was transferred to New York – the home of avant-guard – this individualistic pre-industrial form was not challenged, neither St. Denis nor Shawn shifted in style. The latter prevailed until 1933 when the DeniShawn student Martha Graham emerged as a choreographer (Garafola, 2005:233).

The Denishawn collaboration ended in 1930 due to financial hardship. St Denis henceforth worked on the union of religion and dance through rhythmic choirs that performed in churches (Au, 2002: 95). Shawn, on the other hand, concentrated on the

preparation of male dancers, which resulted in his company Men Dancers. The Denishawn School gave way to the dancers Martha Graham and Doris Humphrey who, nevertheless, departed from the oriental idiom. They repudiated exoticism and Orientalism and the associated style of movement. Graham's preoccupation was with individual psyche and sexuality whilst Humphrey's interest in social interaction set the tone of modern dance in the USA.

The term modern dance emerged in 1927 connoting the appropriation of contemporary everyday life content, which was faithfully treated by both artists (ibid: 124-125). However, the term did not necessarily refer to a modernist approach to dance *per se,* but rather to the development of contemporary forms of expression. Both Graham and Humphreys developed their own style of movement and eventually a systematic technique, which marked the ever-developing genre. They constructed new dancing bodies applying contraction and release of the torso and used gravity through raising and falling. Graham, particularly, embarked on an exploration of "American Identity" in the same manner that Mary Wigman did earlier in Germany (Garafola, 2005:233). This explicit turn from the exotic and eastern content to the national, introspective dance is crucial (Banes, 1987:3). It is, indeed, indicative of the inception of a national field of artistic production, including, in this respect dance production.

Manning (1993) explains that Graham's style grew out of her following Wigman's performances in the States and John Martin's comparative reviews. Academic and critic Martin reviewed Wigman's Dance prescribing the Americanization of modern dance on the principles of Ausdruckstanz; a form, which he considered to be the birthmark of modern dance. Graham adopted this stance and developed her dances along these lines, advocating through her performance what she specifically considered to be the "American Dance". Indeed as Bourdieu (1996a: 168-169) argues "pioneering" figures in the field of art are more often than not seen as innovators in reality of *already-discovered* material, exemplified in our case in the re-merging opposition between styles. These then owe their symbolic capital and power to their relationship with artists whom they themselves support, the critics by whom they are

favourably reviewed and their own value in the particular/ "national" system of production in which they operate. Thus processes of consecration operate in tandem with the power relations in the field between individual practices.

Hence, the Americanization of modern dance (or nationalization in the form of a national field of dance production) intensified a series of tensions, which were reflected in Martin and Lincoln Kirstein's reviews. The latter argued for the centrality of the Ballets Russes tradition and Vaslav Nijinski particularly, to the emergence of modern dance. Contrastingly, Martin insisted upon the primacy of German Absolute Dance as practiced by Laban and Wigman (Manning, 1993:23). These conflicting views constituted two opposing prescriptions for the direction of modern dance, which further influenced the breaking of the form into various styles and techniques both within the American Field of Dance and internationally. Generally, the 1930s cemented a clear-cut thematic orientation of theatrical dance toward social issues as raised by the flourishing left-wing movement. The embrace of socialist/communist ideas by the avant-garde transformed New York into a centre of creativity. Modern dance reconfigured into a first class expressive medium that conveyed the social concerns of its time whilst developing as a distinct form of art. Modern dance served as medium of social protest following antifascist movements and workers' movements. For instance, the Worker's Dance League (Franko, 2002) was an association through which choreographers conveyed messages of social justice and equality while instructing modes of resistance and claims for fundamental social rights.

The political actions in dance resulted in the expansion of the modern dance audience making it maybe the most "diverse […] [dance] would ever enjoy" (Garafola, 2005:234). A number of Graham's dancers and collaborators actively engaged in political performance. Specifically, Jane Dudley, Anna Sokolow and Sophe Maslow, formed the New Dance group (members of the Workers' Dance League confederation) and worked on the accessibility of dance by addressing issues of poverty, hunger and social inequality (Au, 2002: 128). As Bourdieu (1996a: 159-160) has shown the avant-garde as the dominated fraction in the field of cultural production

is in a homologous position with the dominated class fraction in the field of power. This explains the alignment of these artists with the left-wing movement as an expression of struggles of working classes[44].

Yet, the political and social transformations in the American society in the following decades resulted in the abandonment of the socialist idea. Modern dance lost this short-lived affinity with the left-wing movement and took a different direction. During World War II the American alliance with the Soviet Union permitted the prevalence of socialist ideas and increased membership in the US Communist Party. However, in the aftermath of the war, McCarthyism and the Cold war changed the political structure of America. The New Deal policy, the abolition of Communist teachings in New York colleges and the anti-communist propaganda and strategies employed by McCarthy served as a form of censorship in arts and modern dance. Modern dance was forced into a direction that would not challenge the political status quo. It rather served the growing demand for entertainment in a "prosperous society" brought about by World War II. Recession was seen to belong to the past and a financially healthy American society was emerging (Garafola, 2005: 235). The case of ballet is particularly interesting in this respect.

In 1936, Lincoln Kirstein established an experimental company called Ballet Caravan, intended for the production of a new dance repertory. It was composed by a series of American artists: choreographers, musicians and designers. This enterprise was an effort to unite classical ballet with the ideology of the Popular Front and that of radical modern dance. Ballet Caravan constituted a vehicle for the emergence of several American artists who made their debut within its ambit. However the company also functioned as a mechanism for the gradual thematic transformation of modern dance as a compromise between two different genres (ibid: 239). Kirstein's appreciation of Ballets Russes prompted his efforts to develop an "American Tradition" in ballet, which drew heavily on the Russian heritage. However, as we shall see, Kirstein's enterprise cemented a profound turn in dance production.

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[44]   Indeed, we witnessed similar alignments in the course of this narrative, for example a number of Russian artists like Fokine, who actively participated in the 1905 Bloody Sunday revolt.

In the ways just described political circumstances restricted the progress of modern dance, which was subject to violent censorship and forced adaptation. The new subject matter of dance was expressive individualism, the emergence of which did not take place overnight. In the gap created between the abandonment of a socialist subject matter in dance and the reconfigured genre, myth was extensively used as an explanatory principle of the human condition. Myths served as allegories of social concerns, which could no longer be made explicit. The use of such chorographical devices concealed creators' political convictions and masked the true content of their work, which more often than not was a condemnation of political and social oppression. Thus one consequence of McCarthyism in dance was the reduction of its content to psychological dramas and mythological representations. Graham's work especially was typical of this shift (Banes 1987; Au 2002 ;). The gradual death of social movements and political resistance left dance unprotected. Moreover, the practitioners of modern dance ceased to figure as messengers of a new society.

Yet, in this post-war phase academies emerged. The institutionalization of modern dance, the formation of a modern dance curriculum taught in colleges, universities and dance schools became a widespread phenomenon across the United States (Banes, 1987). Institutions contributed to the preservation of the genre and supported economically its development. These institutions allowed the cultivation and continuance of modern dance via the production of dancers. Schools offered employment to modern dance practitioners as teachers, thus assisting in their survival as artists. At the end they also provided appropriate venues for the presentation of modern dance works.

Modern dance academies definitely secured the endurance of the form but indirectly served as mechanisms of isolation for an otherwise radical art. This can be partly verified by the fact that in the decades between the 40s and 60s, when modern dance witnessed a veritable decline, a rebirth of the classical ballet was on the way. Ballet as a symbol of refinement and social harmony but also as an awe inspiring spectacle, initially detached from political claims, became a dominant form again. A number of ballet companies were established with a distinct orientation towards classical dance.

The ballet teachers of this period were all of Italian origin and especially interested in the cultivation of virtuosity. An obvious shift leading to the prominence of ballet was in the air (Garafola, 2005).

However, the future of theatrical dance as a whole was not settled and many issues remained unresolved until the 1950s. Questions about the inclusion of national dance repertories, the organization of dance on a national basis towards a style that would reflect an "American temperament", were still under negotiation. Yet Kirstein attempted to answer such questions. He invited Georges Balanchine to assist him in the establishment of American Ballet, a company that grew out of a very vague and imprecise idea of what dance should be. American Ballet constituted an ideological opponent to the progressive intellectuals of the time and challenged the hitherto embedded social values in modern dance. In that sense it was an explicit attempt to contest the dominant perceptions and goals of modern dance (Homans, 2010).

From 1941 Balanchine's efforts were scattered around different kind of companies that sprung up during this period. He choreographed for the New Opera Company, the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo, the American Ballet, Ballet Theater and Ballet International while he also assisted in the production of Broadway shows. He also formed the Ballet Society with Lincoln Kirstein's contribution. This company produced multi genre happenings like dance, film displays and art exhibitions at the New York Modern Art Museum. Moreover, they revived Chamber Opera combining modernism with high art. In 1948 Ballet Society turned into the renowned New York City Ballet. Under Balanchine's directorship the company went through two periods shaped by his chorographical intentions (Garafola, 2005).

The "neo-imperial" period drew on the Russian Imperial Ballets, Balanchine's legacy. Then he developed the classical idiom drawing on previous work placing emphasis on the virtuoso execution of the classical steps. He disposed of both narrative and fixed plot and reinstated the past through a cold and austere look. The second period was Balanchine's Leotard ballets (named after the outfit). These were characterized by

higher levels of abstraction based again on the academic style. Then he introduced bodily movements like pelvic contortions, flexed feet and parallel feet positions. The technique of abstraction in modern dance seemed to have influenced a series of artists in the following years; it became systematized and was replicated in various productions (Garafola, 2005).

In the 50s and 60s abstraction was used to channel covert criticism. Yet, the prevalence of abstract expressionism in the arts resulted in a conception of dance as an end in itself free from explicit political, psychological or narrative purposes. The new movement in modern dance drew heavily on Balanchine's innovations, which aimed at a value-free, plot-less and unconventional dance that placed emphasis on moving as an inherent human condition. All these principles were further exemplified in the work of Merce Cunningham. The latter developed his chorographical technique in the wake of Balanchine's balletic formula. He developed a modern dance style based on a strong, flexible balletic body dedicated to the glorification of physically demanding movement. The dancing body, he assumed, had strong and precise leg/foot-work supported by a well-trained back. This bodily prototype, very much influenced by Balanchine's conception, contributed significantly to the making of dance in this period (Banes, 1987:7).

Cunningham's company was particularly affiliated with the avant-garde of the New York School of painting: the abstract expressionists. Cunningham adopted their concept of the Open Field, which became central in his work. The NY School saw the Canvas as an open space in which any part was equally a potential area for drawing. Similarly, Cunningham saw space in egalitarian terms as no specific site constituted a privileged space in which to host dance performance. This democratic conception of space free from hierarchies and conventions had a tremendous impact on modern dance. The most obvious one was the release from the constraints of the stage. Any place could now "stage" choreography. The openness created by the unlimited spatial potential allowed dancers to situate themselves within it creatively. Their positioning in a certain spatial area was not hierarchical, all dancers were equally placed in space, hence were equal. At the end the free use of space placed the audience in a different

position. The spectators became able to literally select their point of view, hence their own experience of dance. In that sense modern dance became more interactive and inclusive of the spectator (Garafola, 2005). This was a clear-cut expression of an anti-academic and anti-hierarchical form of art production and, in that sense, a good example not just of the growing autonomy of dance making from national politics but also of a practice that sought to challenge the hegemonic internal politics and forces of the field as an internally regulated universe.

Cunningham's lack of dominant point of view in choreographing was substituted for by the use of randomness/chance. The former challenged the prevalence of intention by engaging in random selections of material ranging from movement, to costumes or design. In this way he sought for possibilities beyond his conscious intent. He embarked on several techniques to ensure randomness, such as tossing coins to combine patterns of movement. Chance served the open form, a fluid schema with unlimited possibilities of realization. In this fluidity, dancers became a co-creative element. They were no more the instrument of chorographical insight but rather a compositional part of dance. Cunningham relied on improvisational techniques in order to achieve spontaneity and originality. However, Banes (1987) argues that it was more intuition than chance that informed the choreographic process.

Improvisation was the outcome of expressive introspection rather than randomly composed movement. In this way, dancers had the relative autonomy to contribute to the work by devising patterns of movement and structuring their individual performance. The Open form challenged the choreographic principles and the almost hegemonic position of the choreographer in dance making. The latter became a more collective phenomenon. Cunningham saw this process as reflective of social reality in which spontaneity and randomness was a naturally occurring phenomenon (Au, 2002:158). Cunningham cemented the "post- modern" enterprise in dance along with Alwin Nikolais and Paul Taylor.

The term "post-modern" – first used by the artist Yvonne Rainer in 1960s – connoted the choreography produced after the emergence of modern dance in the late 19ᵗʰ century. In that sense the term had a temporal reference, which only roughly indicated any symbolic or aesthetic change in the making of modern dance. Indeed the term post-modern is highly contested in the realms of socio-philosophical thought. The idea of a post-modern art, namely a chaotic non-systematic and purposive art with no distinctions between "high" and "low" – as it has been argued - is problematic. On the one hand such phenomena draw heavily on modern ideas – Dadaism is a good example – on the other they adhere to ideas about the abolition of a privileged point of view in both creation and interpretation.

As Lyotard (as cited in Inglis and Hughson, 2003:141) argued, "post-modern" thought rejected the idea of "*Metanarratives*", namely holistic theories about social and political phenomena and the development of the societies. In that sense, American modern dance, in this phase, rejected not solely the conventions of established dance but also the idea of one specific definition and purpose of dance. That is to say, rejected the idea that dance practices per se point towards an ultimate truth about dance. However, David Harvey (ibid: 185) has argued, that "post-modern" culture refers to the "superstructure" that corresponds to the particular developments of capitalist production in late-modernity, namely the new ways in which culture has become a product for consumption. Hence "post-modern" does not refer to anything essentially different from what modernity brought to social life. "Post-modern" thought seeks to depart from the Weberian *rationalization* of social and intellectual life to which it objects as a form of organization. In that sense "post-modernists" (like Baudrillard) see in modernity the problem of order and organization, which they see as a contradiction to post-modernity.

In that sense, dance never really departed from being rationally organized and systematized but instead has challenged the balletic organization of movement. Hence, the labelling of theatrical dance practices of the mid-twentieth century as post-modern is contested. Nevertheless, historians such as Sally Banes (1987) and Carter (1998) use the term "post-modern" to discuss the development of theatrical dance

after 1960s following Rainer's idea of temporality. In this section the has been used in quotation marks to address what the American twentieth century field of dance has labelled as "post-modern" whilst simultaneously recognizing the problematic character of the term.

"Post-modern" dance was characterized by a shift in content and means. The prevalence of abstraction both as a theme and a medium characterized the work of choreographers in the 1960s and 70s. Cunningham, Nikolais and Taylor - evidently influenced by Balanchine's neo classical approach and his concern for refined balletic movement- challenged the hitherto existing principles of dance making. However, it was not until the Judson Dancers emerged that "post-modern" dance came to be used to define the direction of movement in performance (Banes, 1987: xiii; Carter, 1998). This group – named after a liberal protestant church: the Judson Memorial Church – was occupied with civil rights and politics much the same way as the New Left had been earlier. Their key principle was plurality under conditions of equality and respect.

During the 50s and 60s Judson Church became an art centre hosting different types of happenings along with modern dance creations. The group sprang up from these artistic processes and yielded new values in relation to dance. Diversity became a central point of the Judson aesthetic. Judson dancers considered all artistic genres equal in importance, rejecting the prevalence of any aesthetic in creative process. The principles of equality and democratic selection amongst a range of artistic options were certainly reflected in their methods and means in use: freedom of movement, free selection of movement in composition, improvisation, spontaneity and chance. The Judson Dancers raised the question of the essence of dance "in order to answer it in the broadest [possible] way." (Garafola, 2005:250).

The Judsons considered that movement drawn from the everyday motional vocabulary could be dance. What had been hitherto identified with skilled dancing was now challenged by the inclusion of simple, everyday movement and stillness for

the purpose of dancing. The resulting decline of specialized movement specifically designed and developed for performance had a series of professional implications. Firstly, it challenged the very definition of the dancer, as the outcome of a three-century history of dance. The skilled performer, moreover the skilled and ever transforming dancing body, was again as in with the case of Laban no longer the prerequisite of professional dance. Yvonne Rainer's manifesto exemplified the 'stripping down' of dance movement and dance: 'no to spectacle, no to virtuosity, no to the glamour and transcendency of the star Image [...] no to involvement of performer or spectator [...] no to moving or being moved' (as cited in Au, 2002:165).

However, it is said that the Judson approach liberated the body from its classical constraints (severely imposed by Balanchine's discipline) and moreover, dissociated the female body from the prototypes of beauty embedded in dance forms. The social connotations of the body were severely challenged as such, whilst the latter became the working subject of dance rather than a social representation in service of the content (Banes, 1987: xviii). In these respects Judson dancers initiated the "post-modern" era in dance. However, they never claimed to have had a global vision of how dance should be.

The "post-modern" enterprise featured an anti-definitive approach to art and in that sense offered a new definition of theatrical dance. Moreover, it challenged the concept of individual expression, the basic principles of dance organisation such as musicality, virtuosity and rhythm and hence the meaning of dance as a whole. "Post-modern" dance became objectified in a series of elements, which only derived meaning through their interrelation as parts of the dance phenomenon. The descendants of the Judson initiative (Trisha Brown, Twyla Tharp, etc.) all developed their dance placing emphasis on audience-dancer interaction, improvisational techniques and the use of multi-media (Banes, 1987: xviii).

In the 1970s Steve Paxton developed contact improvisation, a technique based on mutual physical bearing of weight performed between dancers. Paxton's style further

146

challenged mainstream partnering in dance, which serves as a point of impetus for movement (Cohen, 1992:217). The legacy of "American post-modern" dance to theatrical dance was thus a multiple break with all conventions in dance production that still holds. On the other hand, Balanchine's revitalist approaches and even Cunningham's work recreated the field of ballet and gave new momentum to form. Overall, Modern dance, a term encompassing diverse approaches and styles (including "post-modern" dance), became a genre that developed and is still developing in different directions. Under this perspective, modern dance is only a conventional title, which refers to a non-balletic style of dance without necessarily excluding ballet as a resource of inspiration and dance routines.

In conclusion, the relationship of ballet and modern dance is a genetic one. Modern dance strands of development are rooted in the symbolic negotiations taking place in the field of ballet during the previous centuries. These negotiations are expressed in the practices of particular groups of individuals, which compete for the definition of theatrical dance. Indeed, as Bourdieu (1996a) showed these ongoing symbolic conflicts between those who in each phase constitute the avant-garde and the sets of consecrated producers underlie the logic of artistic change. The avant-garde as a less powerful set of producers (dominated) more often than not aligns with those social and political groups in the field of power, which as also dominated in the field of power, strove for a new definition of social relations (see action ballet/Noverre and liberalism, Fokine/Modernism and liberalism, German Expressionism/Wigman National Socialism etc). In that sense the transformations of the intra–field relations often overlap with a transformation of the social relations.

Hence, the emergence of modern dance in the context of modernity has not assumed a linear development from a simple form of dance to a more complex one; neither was it a combination of styles derived from the past. Modern dance came forward as the outcome of a struggle for the autonomy of a certain point of view from which dance would be defined. The ballet-modern dance opposition too commenced as a competitive game between alternative definitions of the aims of rhythmic movement. The split between the two genres did not hasten the disappearance of the classical

idiom, although ballet refers only to the revival of works of the past centuries. Both styles are almost equally cultivated in dance schools and presented before audiences. The present significance of theatrical dance more widely is that it offers space for an exploration of this parallel development with regard to the laws of the dance world and the social laws out-with it.

Chapter 7

The case of Great Britain

As we have seen, the demise of Diaghilev's enterprise created a diaspora of dancers trained in the "Russian" technique, who turned to the major European cities and the USA in order to secure employment. Ballets Russes's financial decline and the relative failure of the modernist enterprise thus overlapped with a phenomenon known as the Post WWI Dance Boom in England exemplified in the migration of an internationally renowned set of artists.

Following the downfall of Puritanism, London became the centre of theatricality, a place where artistic innovation was staged. Exceptional dancers such as Salle, Taglioni and Elssler appeared on English stages. Noverre, the pioneer of Action Ballet, also served as a ballet master at Drury Lane. However, ballet in Britain had never been court or state subsidised, thus was never accommodated in institutions like the French Royal Opera. Private theatres provided the space instead for a relatively unrestricted presentation of work (Guest, 1954; Homans, 2010). Britain significantly lacked a balletic tradition. The spectacles hosted in London theatres were not a sufficient inducement towards fostering an "English Ballet School" with a distinct style. This section will examine the inception of the *British field of dance*, through a historical account of the multiple attempts for the construction of an organized system of dance production. Great emphasis will be placed on the twentieth century practices of Ninette DeValois and Marie Rambert towards the institutionalization and professionalization of dance.

Ballet in Britain

During the Renaissance Britain was characterized by the monarchical organization of the state. Princes ruled the various provinces so as to accommodate an expanding country and secure the growth of the nation by means of mercantile activity. This

political structure cemented the unification of the prince with the state in the form of a fabricated common interest. Artistic production was guaranteed by the King as "every prince was a patron of the arts" (Brinson, 1962:11). From Italy, where the court entertainment flourished, the fashion spread to the French and the English Tudor Court. During Henry VIII's reign, this form of entertainment involved masques. The later Stuart mask was a theatrical form rather than a discrete dance style, which served the power of the succeeding kings and specifically that of James I, in much the same way that ballet glorified the reign of Louis XIV.

As we have seen, the success of court ballet had its roots in the political organization of Louis XIV's rule. The latter formed a centralized and strong government, which the nobility could not easily challenge (Merrick, 1998). However, "In England the king and court did not constitute a power centre overshadowing all others. The English upper classes did not have a court character to the same degree as the French. The social barriers between the nobility and leading groups of the bourgeoisie, the consolidation of which […] Louis XIV always saw as crucial to the preservation of his power, were lower and more fragmentary in England" (Elias, 1983:68) Absolutism and the consolidation of courtly practices in France fostered, as we have shown, court ballet.

Contrastingly, the historical circumstances in which masked performance developed in Britain did not facilitate the maturation of a singular dance style. The seventeenth century political and economic instability, especially exemplified in the quarrels between knights for the crown, inhibited court dance. Moreover, during Cromwell's Commonwealth dance had been outlawed, and aspects of this puritan judgement persisted even later on during the reign of Charles II or George I; ballet was despised for its reference to French etiquette, which the English court saw as pretentious and even a sign of an impure life. The English court favoured more original entertainments instead, especially comedies, inspired by *commedia de l'arte*. For instance, George I invited pantomime guilds to perform for him (Homans, 2010:52). However, despite the political restrictions posed by Cromwell's Commonwealth the court masque was transferred onto the theatrical courtly stage. In this transition the

masque became the focal point whilst dance was treated an embellishment (Brinson, 1962:13).

Yet, in the early eighteenth century a first attempt was made to cultivate *Action Ballet* in England. London theatres became "the fertile ground for the growth of the ballet d'action and the revolt against the strict conventions, which reigned at the Paris Opera" (Guest, 1954:13). The challenging of ballet's aristocratic roots and the growing efforts to reform courtly movement aimed at an expanded civil audience was at stake here (Brinson, 1962:14). One attempt to reconcile the tension between ballet and civil entertainment was made by English teachers John Weaver and Kellom Tomlinson, who devised a combination of masque theatre. John Weaver (1763), a ballet master trained in the French ballet taught social dance to the London nobility. His practices run parallel to the displacement of the English court as the centre of social activity and the emergence of a new social ethos in the Enlightenment period. Weaver worked on the transformation of ballet into a respectable civic activity as well as into a form that symbolized the aesthetics of the upcoming bourgeoisie. English ballet, in his view, should not imitate the "immoral" ways of the French court; instead it should be serious and simple, indicative of what was seen as "distinctively English ethos" (Homans, 2010: 56).

This ethos was synonymous with politeness as a moral code and a form of conduct; an ideological construct that dressed the new forms of "English" civility. The decline of the Court cemented the emergence of new social orders and political formations (fields of power), new strata and behavioural codes (hexis). These were particularly promoted by a circle of well- educated bourgeois, who in the spirit of John Locke and other English Enlightenment intellectuals advocated the simplification of social life and manners. Social clubs like the Kit Kat – founded by Richard Steele and Joseph Addison – promoted politeness to replace etiquette (Homans, 2010: 54). Weaver aligned with this club, claiming ideological allegiance to the new civility Kit Kat advertised, as he aspired to establish an association between ballet and civil conduct. Weaver's work was deeply influenced by the writings of John Locke (Brinson,

1962:17) who was also interested in dance as a means of education and manner appropriation.

Weaver echoed Locke's ideas in his written work, where he argued for ballet's regulatory role in establishing good manners and blurring the marks of social stratification. Ballet, both as a form and a social practice, could contribute to an artificial social coherence drawing on the embodiment of civilized conduct. Similarly, politeness was the behavioural manipulation of the social difference produced by uneven social standings that obscured the very fact of social inequality. Politeness was to be cultivated by ballet to the same extend that it was to shape it (Homans, 2010:55). Weaver developed these ideas extensively in written including an open letter advocating the *new dance* in the *Spectator*[45], which echoed Noverre's views on action ballet. In his essay *Towards a History of Dancing* Weaver redefined dance on the principles of civility and described a new balletic means, namely pantomime as a choreographic medium and a vehicle of this new sensibility (Brinson, 1962:15).

Weaver's choreographic aspirations also brought him close to the Kit Kat intelligentsia, as he needed access to theatre in order to materialize his ideas. Richard Steele was appointed director at the Drury Lane by King George I. Weaver's association with the former unlocked the stage for the mounting of *Love of Mars and Venus* in 1717 (Homans, 2010:56), a performance exemplifying the forthcoming action ballet. Weaver's employment in Drury Lane was also the result of a theatrical rivalry. Steele hired a like-minded ally in order to put financial pressure on Lincoln's Inn, a strategy, which simultaneously provided the space for Weaver's action ballet (Guest, 1954). However, Drury Lane's administration appeared unwilling to financially support a full production of Weaver's work. Thus, in the following year, Drury presented one more of his works by which the end of an English action ballet was marked (Brinson, 1962:16).

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[45] Journal published by Kit Kat.

However, Weaver's early negotiation of action ballet and his insistence on a clear plot realized through pantomimic gesture paved the way for the future spectacles in London. Furthermore, it was also instrumental in the development of action ballet per se. Weaver's teaching formula and performance structure was transported to France through Louis Dupré[46]. Weaver also endowed ballet with a literature on dance: his works *Towards a History of Dancing* and *Anatomical, Mechanical Lectures Upon Dancing* raised important issues in relation to presentation and staging. Similarly, Kellom Tomlinson contributed considerably to a balletic tradition in Britain through his writings. However, Tomlinson's *Art of Dancing* was a manual in which he presented the technical status of ballet, the fundamental steps and movement sequences and his views on the structure and character of performance. Although this essay was completed long before Noverre's equivalent, it was not published before 1735. According to Brinson (1962:18), this delay was the reason why the French essays of Rameau and Noverre prevailed.

Despite Weaver and Tomlinson's work, the political circumstances did not favour an institution for the cultivation of dance in the British capital. The lack of patronage was one reason. Patronage was common courtly practice; however, the instability of British monarchy disallowed such initiatives. Furthermore, the moral and political disposition of the emerging merchant class opposed patronage as a sign of royalty's economic power and demanded state subsidy for the arts. Nevertheless, London as the centre of economic activity accommodated major enterprises in the form of theatres. Venues such as the Drury Lane's, the Lincoln's Inn and the Kings Theatre hosted major productions with famous foreign performers (like Salle). Furthermore, in 1755 David Garrick – actor and manager of the Drury Lane - appointed Noverre as a ballet master (Guest, 1954: 14). Soon Noverre passed on to King's Theatre (later on named Her Majesty's Theatre) where he mainly worked with French dancers, except for the period of Napoleonic wars, when he assigned the main roles to English performers (Homans, 2010: 100).

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[46] A principal dancer at Drury Lane, who became Noverre's teacher.

The Napoleonic wars coincided with Romanticism as an aesthetic and intellectual movement. During this period two significant figures appear in London: James Harvey D'Egville (employed in the King's Theatre) and Charles Didelot, Noverre's pupil. D'Egville as a theatre administrator founded and managed a rudimentary dance school located in the premises, which prepared performers, especially during times of financial unease. The school gradually supplied the theatre with a native corps de ballet paving the way for a distinctive style in dance training (Guest, 1954: 23). Didelot, on the other hand, was a prolific and imaginative choreographer whose major contribution was the '*wire device',* which created the illusion of flying dancers. This technique was subsequently used in Romantic Ballets.

The King's theatre was an institution that played a decisive role in the success of ballet in Britain. All administrations sought to attract French dancers and choreographers to gain legitimacy in production. Ebers especially, who managed the enterprise during mid 1800s focused on turning ballet into a popular spectacle. He reconstructed King's Theatre to resemble the Paris Opera. He built the Green room, namely the equivalent of the Paris Opera Foyer where dancers warmed up before performance. This room would, later in the night, facilitate the potential affairs between dancers and wealthy spectators. The King's Theatre was "the only tolerant place of public amusement in which the varied orders of society [were] permitted to participate" (Guest, 1954:36).

As Bourdieu (1993a: 113) indicated in the *Field of Cultural Production,* the industrial revolution, the Romantic Movement and the spread of elementary education facilitated processes of autonomization in artistic production. The emergence of modern art required a series of preceding changes: the rise of the cultural industry, exemplified in the venues and theatres with larger capacity and the expansion of a market of cultural consumers through the inclusion of the emerging working class. However, simultaneously with the rise of the culture industry there emerged a series of professional artists namely, teachers, dancers and choreographers, and around them other professionals such as the impresarios and managers (like Ebers), who invested in inherited artistic traditions. These professionals recognized the principles of dance

154

making as the governing principles of dance, prescribed by artists themselves rather than by the State or the Church. Even though managerial roles in dance production were motivated by *heteronomous* interests, namely a concern with profit, the alignment of particular agents with certain artistic tendencies enabled, at least initially, the establishment of an artistic "legislation" amenable to the principles of dance making.

An example of such alignment was the famous *Pas de Quatre* presented in 1845 at the King's Theatre, which was a great artistic and financial success (Bland, 1976). The *Pas de Quatre* was the forerunner of Romantic Ballet. The non-narrative abstract dancing, the abandonment of role-playing, the focus on technical execution and the idealization of the female dancing body, cemented a new era in dance. This work was brought to King's Theatre by Benjamin Lumley, one of the most successful London impresarios. Thanks to his initiative British spectators were the first to witness the Romantic idiom in ballet. Lumley's activity subsequently increased competition between impresarios in Britain, which affected ballet reception as a whole (Guest, 1954). In 1838 Lumley became the legal adviser for the Royal Opera House and in 1842 he was assigned the directorship of the institution. In other words he assumed a powerful position in the field of theatrical production and the privilege to shape the definition of ballet. Lumley particularly favoured experimentation and innovative choreography; his conception of performance was close in many respects to twentieth century[47] modernist ideas.

In general, theatrical entrepreneurship contributed to the nineteenth century British cultural production. However, local dance making remained at rudimentary stage. Moreover, the importation of foreign spectacles generated a very eclectic audience, which at the same time became a target for all foreign dance production. The transformation of theatrical dance to a commodity intended for a specific market, (i.e. a special category of audiences who readily recognized dance as such) took place at

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[47] One of Lumley's productions involved the creation of the rainbow effect; the corps de ballet assumed the shapes of consecutive arches whilst they "emitted light of red, yellow, blue and purple with the assistance of two powerful engines" (Guest, 1954: 84).

this stage. In that sense, what was mounted on the stages of the most prestigious London theatres, was classed a *British* success rendered as such by a specifically constructed spectatorship (Brinson, 1962:24; Guest, 1954:50).

In other words, the conditions of dance reception in Britain were the result of the cosmopolitan theatrical activity in London: an activity, which drew on an internationalized set of artists. More often than not this work was controversial; hence it did not abide by French Opera's symbolic *nomos* of institutionalized production. Marie Taglioni for example, performed in London for a prolonged period after a disagreement with the Paris Opera Management over the content of her work and only returned after some compromise was achieved (Homans, 2010). Hence London became the outlet for symbolic tensions concerning the autonomy of dance from specific institutions and aesthetic prescriptions. However, what Britain lacked was a complete system of dance production in itself, namely those alternative institutions and academies, companies or operatic formations that would secure the conditions of symbolic production and reproduction of ballet/dance in the long run (Bourdieu, 1993a).

Nevertheless, in the mid 1800s, the dancers employed in London theatres were English but thoroughly trained in the French technique. For reasons of prestige all such dancers had their names altered. The modification of names – so that they sounded and looked French – was a common practice that was taken to guarantee the quality of individual performance, by associating with the French school, which hitherto monopolized the legitimate definition of dance as an art form. Yet the increasing success of ballet posed the need for a school as a solid resource of dancers at least in London. Even though a school operated rudimentarily in the Royal Opera prior to Lumley's appointment, the latter reorganized training and teaching for the above purpose. As a result he managed to form both a company and a school, which was accommodated in Her Majesty's Theatre (Guest, 1954:85).

Lumley placed the school under the mastery of Petit who by 1856 had become both régisseur and a sous-maitre de ballet. He was labelled as the *English School* master in an effort to demonstrate his intention to train his pupils in a way that would result in a distinctive style (Guest, 1954: 85). However, his training formula was based on the French Technique (Brinson, 1962:25). Most pupils were female and were trained for three to seven years free of financial requirements, in an attempt to attract students. After the first year they went on stage for minor roles and were paid accordingly. In two years time this stipend would increase and after the end of their official training graduates entered the theatre's corps de ballet with a steady salary. In 1851 Her Majesty's Theatre numbered forty pupils and about a hundred corps de ballet members (Guest, 1954: 86).

Indeed, the production of dancers here aimed at the expansion of the corps de ballet rather than in the making of distinctive artists (dancers or choreographers). In that sense, such schools did not have the power of consecration of the French Academy, neither the potential to straightforwardly redefine ballet. Furthermore, even though this initiative indicated the potential for an "English Ballet School" the financial uncertainty of theatrical production in general and the lack of patronage could not secure balletic creation on a steady basis. Consequently, Lumley's project fell: in 1858 the school collapsed, despite leaving behind well trained dancers, a small devoted audience and the foundation of a reformed raining method (Brinson, 1962:26).

However, the development of dance in Britain depended also on another theatrical enterprise: the Victorian music halls. The latter operated yearly hosting both locally produced and international spectacles from music to dance and other entertainments (Carter, 2005a). The Music Hall phase of English Ballet, as Ivor Guest (1962) argues, is characteristic for the staging of popular productions[48]. As Perugini commented, in the turn of the twentieth century, London "had seen every form of dance and ballet that could possibly exist" (as cited in Carter, 2005b: 38). Several attempts to mount

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[48]   The term popular connotes both the enlargement of audiences and the inclusion of the working classes as well as the type and quality of the spectacles staged.

classical pieces like *Giselle* or *Coppelia* appeared but on a smaller scale due to lack of funding. Individual dancers from France or Russia – including Ballets Russes dancers like Tamara Karsaniva in 1909 (Homans, 2010:407) – also performed in London.

Similarly, London stages hosted dancers from the Unites States such as Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis and most frequently Maud Allan. The latter monopolized music-hall entertainment with a run of two hundred and fifty performances in the Palace Theatre (Koritz, 1997: 133). The core element of such performances was the new aesthetic of barefoot non-balletic dancing with strong exotic and oriental features. Ruth St Denis's dancing career became synonymous with the performance of Balinese solo dances and engaged in strongly oriental dancing (Au, 2002). London stages presented these spectacles in almost absolute simultaneity; during the same year (1908), with a few months difference, audiences enjoyed: Maud Allan's *Vision Of Salome,* Ruth St. Denis and Loie Fuller. Duncan performed for the Duke of York[49] (Carter, 2005a).

The simultaneous presence of these artists in London – most of whom already enjoyed international recognition – meant that the city operated as an open field for the negotiation of style, quality and content in dance. The use of the exotic and oriental as an appropriation of the colonized world (Hobsbawm, 1987), the new forms of movement and expression, the formats and venues of dance performance, were all negotiated in this context. This was rather possible as London's entrepreneurial activity saw all styles in equality. Furthermore, the fact that no theatrical type managed to monopolize symbolic production allowed space for a generalized negotiation of all styles and stages of theatricality. In this light, even though Duncan and St Denis were recognized for their pioneering works outwith Britain, their reception was not always equivalent to their fame. Ruth St. Denis's performance, for example, was not always well received (Koritz, 1997:135).

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[49]   Here we can discern the first tensions between popular and serious genres. It is of no surprise how Duncan's performance is welcomed by the nobility. This performance was act of recognition of the social power of the Duke through which her dance became legitimate but also an act of consecration of the genre she performed.

Contrastingly, Maud Allan's prolonged stay in London attracted a certain type of audience that favoured her work, despite critics' reviews of the moral ambiguity of her dances; an ambiguity inherently tied to assumptions about race and sexuality. Maud Allan's work was not perceived as high art; in fact the Palace Theatre manager – where her *Vision of Salome* was presented – considered the spectacle as a "turn" in the repertory. Allan's dance was classified amongst other popular spectacles, which made her appealing to the masses. However, a special performance for both the elites and the press was scheduled, a strategy that achieved her recognition from the London upper class (Carter, 2005a: 40). The blurring of boundaries between high art and popular entertainment was thus a product of entrepreneurial activity but also the result of social mobility and theatrical accessibility to different social groups at the turn of the century. At the same time, the significant number of performances of consecrated artists in popular venues gentrified the latter and gradually altered the consistency of their audiences.

Generally, dance and ballet attracted diverse audiences and it was the London music halls that enabled such expansion. Ballet was mainly accommodated in *The Alhambra* and The Empire Theatres, where small ballet groups or individual dancers performed. Only Diaghilev managed to secure the Royal Opera House for the 1911 Ballet Russes' performance (Homans, 2010:408). However, these smaller productions gave way to a significant figure: Katti Lanner. Lanner worked as a ballet mistress in the Empire Theatre of Varieties. She led the Empire Ballet to a major success by devising thirty-four ballets and reviving another thirty six classical pieces. In 1876 she settled in London after her appointment as the director of the *National Training School of Dancing,* which was founded by Colonel Mapleson. This school became the main source of dancers for the Empire Theatres (Guest, 1962:28).

The Empire Ballets brought to the fore another two dancers – Adelina Rossi and Enrico Cecchetti – who, as we shall see, played a significant role in the formation of "English Ballet". During their thirty years of existence the composition of the Empire Ballets barely altered. Most dancers were of English origin with the exception of a few stars from Italy. The company operated with two divisions, one that comprised of

professional dancers with individual contracts and a second, which involved pupils apprenticed to Katti Lanner. Most (female) dancers came from the working class with a minority of middle class origin. A career in ballet had always opened up possible marital strategies for lower class women; however, that was not necessarily the reason why these young women invested in the field of dance. Ballet, though, contrary to common belief, constituted a lower class occupation and was not particularly respected (Guest, 1962: 37).

Even though performance was satisfied to a great extent by dancers trained at schools internal to the theatres, set up to serve as resources for the corps de ballets, Britain still had no formal institution to guarantee the production of a distinctive style. As a result, dance practitioners posed the need for the formation of a *National School of Dance;* namely a discipline based on the traditional teachings of ballet adjusted to the "English body and mentality" (Brinson, 1962:29). This was facilitated by the 1870 Education Act that enabled the establishment of a Dance Academy. The legal recognition of the urge for dance institutionalization and the redistribution of wealth in favour of public investment in education created the possibility for a dance Academy. Indeed the hitherto initiatives despite their success for specific theatrical productions and their operation as vehicles of recognition for specific choreographers were not adequate for the systematization and organization of dance.

Nevertheless, these efforts often enforced by entrepreneurial competition constituted a primary form of a dance field that constructed an audience accustomed to such variety. Moreover, the period during 1918-1920 England went through the so-called dance-boom phase, a phase of transformation for both the production and reception of dance. The legitimization of dance practice through the emergence of the first schools, as well as the success of music hall entertainment kindled interest in rhythmic movement, which in turn altered the status of the form. For the first time numerous middle class girls took up dance professionally with an aspiration towards a career in performing or teaching. Thanks to the new employment opportunities (theatres, dance halls, etc) the new generations danced along the Russian émigrés of the Revolution. (Garafola, 1998: 224).

160

The circulation of artists in and from Europe and the United States bore within it the conditions of possibility for the construction of self-sufficient and relatively autonomous universes in which theatrical dance could be produced. As Bourdieu argued for the literary field (1993a:114; 1996a) such construction was also related to a shift in the conditions of reception. The different genres and styles, which sprang from these international bodily negotiations, were aimed at different audiences whose dispositions towards the particular spectacles were shaped by dance production itself. In the dawn of the twentieth century the size and composition of theatrical dance audiences in Britain legitimized both ballet and modern dance. Moreover, they consolidated the position of internationally recognized dance practitioners in the British theatres and allowed the emergence of new artists drawn from the new social order. In other words the structuring of a set of units (individuals, schools and companies) for the making of dance and dancing bodies in Britain was a consequence of a historical moment, which witnessed the generation/construction of audiences and producers in tandem mainly due to efforts discussed previously.

In this spirit, Enrico Cecchetti[50] founded a dance school in London in 1918. His teachings set the basis for a British Ballet. Cecchetti systematized and formalized ballet training in order to pass down technique and style, which he also disseminated in written in the *Manual of the Theory and Practice of Classical Theatrical Dancing (1922).* Following this publication the formation of the *Cecchetti Society* developed in practice the recorded ideas. Cecchetti's method was soon incorporated in the *Royal Academy of Dance* curriculum (Brinson, 1962:27). *The Royal Academy of Dance* was established in 1920 by Adeline Genée[51] and was grounded on a thorough systematization of the knowledge accumulated from practice.

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[50]   Enrico Cecchetti had been Diaghilev's ballet dancer and master since the formation of Ballet Russes (see Homans, 2010). Checcetti was one of the many Italian teachers that facilitated the adaptation of the French style into the Italian ballet. The transformation of ballet took place all over Europe although the French style was never outlawed. On the contrary France held the "copyright" of ballet as a genre and thus dominated and manipulated the development of the form throughout the centuries (Brinson, 1962:26).

[51]   Adeline Genèe and Enrico Cecchetti were two major teachers of the Royal Academy of Dance. The former a Dighilev's student and a renowned dancer at the Alhambra Theatre and the Empire ballets: "re-established the standards of dancing and production" (Brinson,1962: 27; Guest 1962).

The teachings followed a set syllabus divided into levels, the attainment of which was – and still is – guaranteed by annual examinations. The RAD[52] gave ballet with a modus operandi, which secured and consolidated bodily accomplishment and athletic skill through gradual exercising (DeValois, 1962:3). This form of institutionalization was the ultimate example of rationalization of balletic movement but also reflected a shift in the power relations between fields of production. The establishment of examinations became a powerful consecrating mechanism that would compete with the "French School" in the definition of balletic movement.

During this period Marie Rambert – Dalcroze's student and Diaghilev's collaborator – migrated to England. After having worked at Cecchetti's studio in London she formed her own small-scale dance school, which later (in 1926) developed into what would come to be one of the oldest British dance companies: the *Ballet Rambert* (White, 1985:18). Initially, Rambert gave a few performances with her students but it was only in 1926 that a professional ballet company was formed. At the same time Ninette De Valois (also Cecchetti's student and as a teenager Diaghilev's first dancer) founded the *Academy of Choreographic Art* (Haskell, 1962:34). These two were the first expressions of dance professionalization in Britain given the status of the particular women in the international field of dance. From this point their practices will enter a competitive game for social and symbolic legitimacy, political and financial recognition whilst intensifying production as a whole with their participation in cultural life and their alignment with particular social and intellectual groups. Moreover, such competition would result in the institutionalization of the ongoing symbolic opposition between ballet and modern dance.

Ballet Rambert made their debut in 1926 with the work of student Frederic Ashton: *The Tragedy of Fashion*. Ashton was originally Massine's student and was introduced belatedly to dance. For this reason Massine sent him to train at Rambert's school who

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[52]   The RAD embarked on the publication of a monthly magazine *The Dancing Times* that campaigned the rising of dance standards. The RAD examinations:"formed the lynchpin of standardization, the beginnings of a system that remains the characteristic feature of British dance training. Under their impact teaching and technique certainly improved but with ballet now canonized as the theatrical and concert standard, they did so at the cost of vitality" (Garafola, 1998:252).

in turn gave him space to choreograph. The following year Ashley Dukes, Rambert's husband and a renowned playwright, bought for her a Church Hall in Notting Hill, which she transformed into a dance studio to accommodate her school and company. This small venue – the Mercury Theatre – served as the company's headquarters until the 1960s. In 1930 Duke's initiative resulted in the formation of *Ballet Club*, which was "a society of supporters, including people who were influential in English social life and the arts, […] offering […] regular performances in a cultured atmosphere" (White, 1985: 20-21).

After Diaghilev's death in 1929 and the dissolution of Ballets Russes, London became the melting pot of dance activity. Intellectuals including the economist John Maynard Keynes – also an associate of Bloomsbury circle – contributed to dance developments. Keynes's[53] interest in Victorian culture, with which he associated ballet, and his appreciation of Ballet Russes, rendered him a theatrical dance supporter. Keynes, Haskell (a dance critic) and other intellectuals formed the *Camargo Society*, a board comprised of all dance artists/lovers of the time in Britain (Homans, 2010: 411). The Camargo society consisted of the Anglo Russians – dancers who had previously worked with Ballet Russes – and had returned to Britain, such Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin[54] or other Russian dancers like Nicolas Legat and Anna Pavlova. Rambert's studio and De Valois' projects were also involved. The Camargo society operated until 1933 promoting dance to the British audiences (Anglin, 1985:57; Haskell, 1962:33).

Similarly, DeValois worked towards a "British Ballet". She created her own space in the Sadler's Wells theatre, which became the performing base for her company, a company that later on transformed in the renowned *Royal Ballet*. DeValois's disposition towards the classical form, resulting from her training and participation in Ballet Russes explains her persistence in a national ballet. De Valois worked mostly

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[53]   Keynes, married Ballets Russes dancer Lydia Lopokova and associated with a number of her colleagues (Homans, 2010: 409).

[54]   Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin were English dancers who joined Diaghilve's company. The former Lilian Alicia Marks Russianized her name for status purposes (Homans, 2010:420).

with dancers like Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin[55] with the assistance of whom she managed to mount classical pieces such as *Gisele* and *Swan Lake* (Haskel, 1962:36; Homans, 2010:420). In 1931 the *Academy of Choreographic Art* turned into the Vic-Wells School, which operated under the same principles as the RAD. DeValois' teaching reflected her main concern, namely to inscribe on the British body the heritage of a long European tradition in a way that would result into a distinctive school (Anglin, 1985:56). De Valois' academic enterprise soon yielded fruit despite Markova's departure from the company in 1935, whom she replaced with the famous Margot Fonteyn. De Valois gradually welcomed a number of other collaborators such as Frederic Ashton who joined her company in 1933 (Haskell, 1962:37).

Similarly, just before the outbreak of World War II (1938) Rudolf Laban fled Nazi Germany to England, hosted by his former colleague Kurt Joss. Laban did not settle until 1942 in Manchester. He lectured on rhythmic movement and prepared his posthumously published book *Choreutics*. Laban gave his first lecture in the Darlington Hall in Devon - the point of inception of Modern Dance Education and Educational Gymnastics in England (Maletic, 1987:24). However, the outburst of war was a major setback for the development of dance/ballet. In 1939 Ballet Club came to an end due to the blitz, which practically shut down most London theatres. Most male dancers were conscripted which inhibited De Valois' and Rambert's work (White, 1985:26).

However, balletic production did not cease during wartime. Ballet Rambert and the Vic-Wells Ballet kept promoting dance in order to introduce "many people to ballet, who might otherwise never have the opportunity of seeing it" (White, 1985:26). Similarly, the Arts Theatre in West End London embarked on a series of lunchtime performances to entertain the remaining working class in the city. These small-scale shows became quite popular and gave way to afternoon performances (tea-time ballet) in several London venues. Simultaneously Laban engaged in an unusual project. In 1941 he collaborated with Charles Lawrence, an industry consultant, in a study of the

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[55]   Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin would later on (1951) form Britain's third ballet company The Festival Ballet, which in 1989 was renamed into the English National Ballet (White, 1985:12).

industrial process, in order to resolve problems related to the lack of male labour and its substitution by female workers. The outcome of this study was a joint publication labelled *Effort* (1947).

In 1946 Laban's former collaborator Lisa Ullman established the Art Movement Studio in Manchester where Laban lectured until his death. This was an educational unit for which Ullman negotiated with the British education authorities. The Studio focused on movement education and included courses on movement in work, recreation and rehabilitation, as well as theatrical movement (Maletic, 1987:25). In the same year the *Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts* was formed cementing a new era for dance in Britain. The first move was the reformation of ballet; the council undertook the management of Rambert Company, which gave a series of performances before workers and military troops (Haskell, 1962:37).

According to Haskell (1943) the war forced British ballet into artistic isolation, which peculiarly facilitated the maturation of a new idiom. The lack of competition enforced dancers and choreographers to work towards different directions for the first time. Besides technical advancement, the existing companies sought new audiences and means of expression. The expansion of De Valois' ballet was one great example of such processes in dance. By the end of the decade (1950) England had three dance panels and boards of examination: namely the *Royal Academy of Dance*, *The Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing* and the *British Ballet Organization* (Anglin, 1985:56).

At the end of the war, what was now the Arts Council provided Ballet Rambert with financial support on a yearly basis. Consequently, in 1947 Ballet Rambert numbered thirty six dancers (Haskell, 1962: 27). Similar developments took place in Vic-Wells Ballet, the structure of which was finalized. This development sealed the formalization of dance production in Britain and its active recognition from the state. However, the expansion of DeValois' company posed the issue of residence quite clearly. Sadler's theatre could no longer accommodate the capacity of the company.

Hence, De Valois sought accommodation in the Royal Opera in Covent Garden (Haskell, 1962:38; Homans, 2010).

On the other hand, Ballet Rambert's financial state prohibited larger-scale production. As audiences gradually became re-accustomed to classical productions, Ballet Rambert became increasingly unable to accommodate such spectacles. Furthermore, Rambert dancers were significantly underpaid compared to the Vic-Wells and London Festival Ballets. In that sense the company "was now facing the increasing competition from the largest British companies" (White, 1985:31). Contrastingly, DeValois' company was securely based at the Covent Garden. In that sense the forthcoming opposition between ballet and modern was grounded explicitly in economic structures. De Valois also formed an experimental company operating with regular workshops at Sadler Wells, thus giving opportunities to young choreographers; in 1947, these workshops transformed into an independent school. By the end of 1948 a clear organizational formula for the accommodation of ballet training and performance emerged (Haskell, 1962:39). In similar manner, in 1949 the Art Movement Studio gained the recognition of the Ministry of Education and was able to grant two/three year diplomas. In 1953 the Studio moved to Surrey and a year later incorporated Laban's Art of Movement Center (Maletic, 1987:25)[56].

In 1955 De Valois's independent school became a boarding school while two years later the Royal Opera House took up the management of both company and school, which merged into the Royal Ballet by means of Royal Charter. The consolidation of the company under the latter was the legal reassurance for the future of ballet at a national level (Haskel, 1962:39). The Royal Ballet established large-scale balletic production in Britain following the example of Europe. Nevertheless, such institutionalization drew heavily on Diaghilev's ideas and practices. The one-act ballet – the heritage of Ballet Russes to dance – was, however, rejected by DeValois. She worked on the enlivement of the three - act French ballet in an effort to re-

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[56]   In the mid seventies the Centre developed an association with the University of London Goldsmiths College, which resulted into its transfer in the University Campus under the name Laban Centre of Movement, and Dance (Maletic, 1987:26).

establish the association between plot and movement. De Valois was an advocate of theatrical dance, which in her view materialized in narrative: "the scenario […] becomes a *raison d'être* for the movement itself, a return to the significance of drama in the theatre" (De Valois, 1962:7).

On the other hand, Ballet Rambert struggled to attain a working structure and a definite character until Norman Morrice re-invented Rambert as a modern dance company. In 1953 Morrice joined Ballet Rambert as a dancer. Five years later he produced his first choreography the - *Two Brothers* - an evidently modern piece. In 1960 he left for the USA to study modern dance. In 1966 Morrice returned to Britain and introduced Martha Graham's technique in Ballet Rambert in an attempt to pave the way for the creation of a distinctively modern dance repertory. Morrice also proposed the dismissal of the corps de ballet as a structural component replacing it with a reduced number of dancers of soloist potential and the reduction of the orchestra. Marie Rambert approved of Morrice's[57] proposal and appointed him assistant choreographer. In 1966 the conversion of Ballet Rambert into a modern dance company was complete (White, 1985:33). During the 1960s Graham's technique was conceived as one opposed to ballet, but Rambert and Morrice advocated their fusion. They both aimed at a breed of dancers with diverse performing and technical skills. However, the revival of classical pieces was unfeasible due to the new structure of the company.

Ballet Rambert also had to deal with the reception of their work. Audiences were quite reserved towards new trends in dance as they were accustomed to established ballet forms (ibid: 34). What Becker (1982) describes in *Conventions* in his work *Art Worlds* is evidently the reason for the distance between audiences and contemporary dance. Modern dance had decomposed and impoverished the system of conventions of classical ballet. The introduction of abstract/impulsive movement and the abolishment of narration confused the audiences. Thus a decline in attendance of contemporary performances was eminent. Further, the codes of ballet, immediately

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[57]   Norman Morrice was released from the company in 1974and worked as a free lancer until his appointment as the director of Royal Ballet in 1977.

recognizable due to the prolonged exposure of audiences to such spectacles, facilitated Devalois's company expansion at the expense of Ballet Rambert.

However, both Rambert's and De Valois's efforts saw a growing recognition from audiences and by these means new initiatives sprang from the activities of their students. Moreover, artists like Laban and the breed of artists that emerged from the Ballets Russes or these influenced by "American Modern Dance" and Balanchine, contributed to British theatrical dance. However, the two women having access to the most pioneering artistic schools and enterprises embodied a historically enormous amount of symbolic, artistic and bodily knowledge which they made use of in their own enterprises. The *symbolic and cultural capital* they accumulated in their dance trajectory was crucial in the institutionalization of theatrical dance in Britain. The first step towards the emergence and consolidation of such a form was the establishment of schools, which secured the conditions of symbolic production and reproduction.

The schools that both Rambert and DeValois established paved the way for a systematized and organized dance education as later exemplified in RAD, the Royal Ballet School and the Rambert School. These schools tacitly passed down a bodily and symbolic load as these two figures embodied them. It is of no surprise that the split between ballet and modern dance in Britain was exemplified in their endeavours. De Valois's belief in ballet as a sustainable form required the construction of a circle of other believers and practitioners that would render ballet a legitimate form in Britain. On the other hand, Rambert – trained in Dalcroze's rhythmic gymnastics and involved in Diaghilev's modernistic experiment – saw the transformation of her company favourably. In that sense there was a *homology* between her own bodily and artistic *habitus* and the trajectory of what came to be modern dance in Europe and the United States.

In an overview, then the historical developments of British dance are associated with the ongoing attempt at the construction of a specific field of dance (Bourdieu, 1993a). That is to say, a system of interrelated positions that would determine, control and

168

reproduce the principles of making dance and dancing bodies in specific ways. The end of the twentieth century saw both ballet and modern dance systematically cultivated and produced in Britain. A fusion of techniques or styles emerged, especially at the level of choreography, whilst dance gradually became accessible to the wider public. As we have shown, dance production is not initiated as a singular creative force but rather as the outcome of an art world (Becker, 1982); that is to say, a system of interrelated agents responsible for different stages and parts of dance making.

In that sense the idea of a "National School of Dance" coincided with the consolidation of dance production with primacy to ballet, in the pattern of the historical development of the form. Furthermore the term national derived from the historically long-term construction of balletic/dance movement as means of establishing power culturally but also a means of fabricating political and social unity in the service of political interests. Especially the formal institutionalizations of dance mirrored to a great extent the aesthetics and morale of powerful groups, despite the intentions of the particular individuals involved in dance production. However, all institutions became arenas of negotiation of the definition of dance and the dancing body. Indeed the particular organization of social life in combination with the historical particularities of specific countries in which dance was cultivated reflected on the form in terms of content, bodily placements and shapes and in the different emphasis on styles and technique. In that sense different "schools" of dance exist in different geographical settings, which very often contribute to the construction of an imagined cultural identity, which is seen as unique.

Chapter 8

The case of Greece

Theatrical dance in its systematic and organized form in Greece dates from the beginning of the twentieth century. Unlike the case of France or Russia it does not descend from the systematization of courtly practices and ceremonies. It is rather an importation of a form and a cultural practice of the West, as reflected in the origin of its first practitioners in Greece and on the training opportunities of the first Greek dancers. As with the British case, the Greek field of dance drew on the circulation of dancers and choreographers in Europe but also on the ability of a part of the Greek elite to study dance abroad. The two fields (Greek and British) evolve in parallel whilst Greece develops a form of ongoing dependency on the British field. However, the peculiarity of Greek theatrical dance (along with the USA) is that it presents an inverted pattern of development. Ballet was never established but rather modern dance was the first form to emerge at the level of organized performance. On the other hand, some initiatives for the practice and staging of the classical form took place but it was not until the mid twentieth century that an established practice of the genre was institutionalized.

The birth of theatrical dance in Greece is interwoven with ideological processes, including the invention of a close relationship between the Modern Greek state and the Ancient Greek world, a process initiated in the early nineteenth century. In the twentieth century such processes are expressed through an attempted cultural reform orchestrated by the poet Angelos Sikelianos and his wife Eva Palmer. The ideological construction of continuity between the modern Greek world and Greek antiquity as reinstated by the West was primarily cultural. Sikelianos and Palmer promoted the "Delphic Ideal" through the recreation of Ancient Greek rites as a part of the invention of a tradition that saw Modern Greece as the worthy inheritor of a glorified past.

Specifically, their mounting of the first "Delphic Festivals" in 1927(-1930) at Delphi consisted of a reconstruction of the Greek Tragedy Prometheus infused with Greek

antiquarian and Olympic rituals and folk dance (Fessa-Emmanouil, 2004). The couple was also closely associated with Isadora Duncan whose visit to Greece in 1903, and later on in 1920, was made with the intention of founding a dance school, and paved the way for the development of theatrical dance in Greece; a modern dance to be developed on the basis of ancient Greek Myths and rituals. Duncan's effervescent interest in Ancient Greek drama along with her performances in the Ancient Greek theatres and landscape reinforced the reinvention of Greek culture by means of a dance style based on ancient Greek themes.

Nevertheless, the Delphic rituals, although a short-lived enterprise, provided the space for the consideration of bodily movement as a legitimate and independent form of expression in Greece. As a result Koula Pratsika – a young middle class woman –, who participated in the Delphic rituals in 1927, developed a great interest in movement. This led her to Vienna and the Dalcroze-Hellerau School of Rhythmic Movement and Dance (Laxenberg). There she systematically studied Eurhythmics (1927-1930) and movement composition under Dalcroze's system. In 1930, Pratsika returned to Athens bringing back with her rhythmic gymnastics and kinesiology: the study of kinesis/movement. Initially she worked for the National Theatre, where she taught movement to actors.

However, she emergently felt the need for a school of dance, which she managed to open in September of the same year, "The school of Rhythmic Gymnastics and Dance'' (Pratsika, 1991). The school constituted a place where her ancient Greek vision – evident in her dance themes – was cultivated. In 1936 her school participated in a public festival organized by the Metaxas dictatorship. There, in an extraordinary simultaneity with Mary Wigman – who as we have seen, also prepared a mass choreography for the 1936 Olympics under Hitler – she presented her rhythmic work. Pratsika's school became attractive to a series of bourgeois intellectuals and artists (especially during the World War II).

Before that, in 1929, Morianov – an exceptional ballet dancer from Russia – migrated to Athens and set up a small ballet-school. This school would be the first one to train professionally those dancers who would go on to work for the newly established National Opera in 1940s. Similarly, other foreign teachers (mainly French and

Russian) taught rhythmic movement and ballet at National Music Conservatory (Odeon). The latter fed dancers to the National Opera. However, ballet will be performed officially just before the mid- twentieth century (Fessa - Emmanouil, 2004). In 1937 Pratsika founded the first professional department of her school with full curriculum both theoretical and practical. Ballet was included in the body of courses but the emphasis was on her own tradition- rhythmic gymnastics.

On the other hand, the foundation of the National Opera in 1940 as a state funded organization hosting western Opera and Greek operettas would cement the beginning of the ballet in Greece. At this stage ballet was only practiced in Opera interludes and not independently. Moreover, World War II kept productions to a minimum and the existing dance schools shut, which did not allow the development of ballet. Similarly, Pratsika's school also declined in attendance during the war, however she kept practicing dance with some devoted students and with whoever was able to reach the school. The operation of the school resumed after the end of the war and dominated dance production in the 1950s. Amongst her students would be another significant figure for Greek Theatrical Dance: Rallou Manou. The latter broke from the Eurhythmic tradition of Pratsika and followed the expressive dance tradition of Mary Wigman from Germany and Martha Graham from the USA (Hassiotis, 2001).

Manou developed the chorodrama drawing heavily on ancient Greek drama but also on Martha Graham's fascination with Greek Myths and rituals. Manou studied, amongst other things rhythmic gymnastics in Munich, and later on attended New York University where she studied Graham's technique (Bourneli, 2008). Manou's family was closely related to King Paul of Greece and she belonged to the upper classes. That enabled her to study abroad in very rough political times for Greece (Manou, 1988). Although Manou used the techniques developed abroad, her vision was to develop a "Greek" style of dance grounded in folk tradition and with reference to ancient Greek theatre. Her long-standing company (1950-1967) marked modern dance/art in Greece as she – like Diaghilev in Russia – collaborated with significant figures of music and painting for her productions. A number of both Pratsika's and Manou's students would go on to introduce further innovations on the basis of eurhythmics and the principles of modern dance as developed in Germany and the

172

USA. Specifically, Agape Evaggelidi and Zouzou Nikoloudi both studied next to Mary Wigman in Germany and brought Expressive Dance in Greece.

In 1960 the National Opera Ballet was officially formed and manned by dancers trained in the existing schools as well as dancers who had migrated to Greece. The same year, however, Ninette DeValois visited Greece with a concrete educational plan for the development of a Greek Ballet School and a Greek Ballet Company after the invitation of the British Council. However, the political climate and policies at that stage did not allow the realization of such plan. Instead De Valois founded a ballet company in Turkey (Fessa-Emmanouil, 2004:49). However, the relationship between Britain and Greece does not stop with DeValois's initiative. A number of young artists visited Britain and trained next to Marie Rambert, including Yiannis Metsis who managed to perform at the Covent Garden. He, along with other dancers, returned to Greece and danced for the National Opera.

In 1973 Pratsika offered her school to the state, which was renamed as the State School of Dance. This school became the first professional institution of dance recognized by the state. Morianov's school was also transformed into a professional body but was not recognized formally until 1981 where a legal act would regulate private dance education in Greece. A number of other ballet schools were also created, which after the 1981 Act were legally recognised by the ministry of culture as the locus of ballet training in Greece (Karagianni, 2005). There have been numerous efforts since the middle of the twentieth century to establish a balletic tradition in Greece and efforts to establish other ballet companies, however they all failed.

Metsis's and Leonida De Pian's attempts to develop neoclassical companies, for example were deemed unsuccessful as they never received financial or other state support. As a result the National Opera remains the only institution responsible for balletic production to date. On the other hand, the state school of dance established a modern orientation drawing on Pratsika's tradition. Moreover, drawing on its heritage as a centre of bourgeois intellectual life as well as the first establishment of

dance, the state school remains the most prestigious dance school in Greece, exerting a symbolic power over any other institution. It thus assigns worth and status to its students at the moment of their admission into the school.

However, modern dance in Greece drew basically on the Dalcrozian and Eurythmic approach despite Manou's successful enterprise. This tradition was transformed into a style of dance, which was modern in terms of movement, but drew on cultural material, which was historically and politically loaded. This in itself does not imply the lesser artistic value of the work but rather signifies the attempt to adjust foreign techniques to a content that was shaped by the social and political climate of the period. In that sense, what developed in the period between 1940s – 1970s was a highly idiomatic form of modern dance. Mantafounis (2002) argues that Manou's enterprise was a pure implementation of Expressive dance in Greece.

On the one hand, she followed Graham's technique but on the other dissociated her dance from the ancient Greek element and focused more on the folk spirit. This was, however, the underlying principle of Laban's and Wigman's work a reference to the national spirit of people. In that sense Manou's Hellenic Chorodrama was an attempt to form Greek Expressive Dance. However, such developments did not precisely cement a field of dance in the form encountered in Europe or the States. Ballet was not fully cultivated and produced at an organized professional level and modern dance technique was blended into the theatrical enterprises. In that sense neither of the genres was fully established as autonomous practices, and moreover, only a few approaches or techniques prevailed.

However, the peculiarity of Greek theatrical dance concerns the sources/fields from which it drew in a historical and political climate, which was extremely tense, especially before and during the World War II, the civil war and the dictatorship. On the one hand, modern movement in Greece drew heavily on the German/Austro-Hungarian dance field, whilst ballet hardly drew on the Russian and mostly on the developing British field. The possibility for such associations in times of tension is

quite extraordinary. On the one hand, the political alliances of European axis powers in Greece made it possible for some social groups to have access to cultural developments of the West. Moreover, the direct involvement of Great Britain in the Greek state of affairs post World War II – one of the factors that led to the civil war – explains to a certain extent the conditions under which a cultural association was possible. The circulation of dancers and teachers of specific status from and to Britain and from and to the USA (later on in the twentieth century) was facilitated by the imperialistic plans of the latter in Greece (Margaritis, 2001).

However, the political and social tensions in the mid twentieth century did not allow the systematic organization of theatrical dance practices as a whole. Moreover, what was evident at that stage was at least some form of primacy in the modern dance techniques over that of ballet. This reverse development of theatrical dance left a sharp mark on Greek dance production. As we shall see, there is a clear-cut distinction between ballet and contemporary/modern dance, which is reproduced both in practice and discourse. One of the profound issues concerning this distinction is that Modern dance is accommodated in the most prestigious dance institution of the country, which offers free, non-fee education to its students, whilst ballet is practically only a product of private training. Although a number of private professional schools also accommodate modern dance at a professional level and have gained sufficient recognition, classical ballet training is restricted to certain schools. Although all eleven professional dance schools that currently exist share the same curriculum there are clearly different emphases upon the styles of dance they promote.

As we have seen this distinction between ballet and modern dance is the historical product of a symbolic clash between two approaches in ballet evident from as early as the eighteenth century; an opposition between different trends or styles of classical ballet, that is to say a clash between the court derived movement as opposed to a more naturalistic one that is closer to the types of motion encountered in nature and everyday life. However, the division of ballet and modern dance at the end of the nineteenth century cemented the development of two distinct forms. Bearing the

momentum of this clash, as we have seen, modern dance further breaks into different techniques and styles of movement. Hence, the formation of theatrical dance in Greece was one example of the institutional division between ballet and modern dance reinforced by the particularities of the Greek cultural production, politics and economics.

By the end of 1970s Greece gradually developed a system of dance education supported by the first generation of both modern and ballet dancers that had withdrawn from dancing and had either resorted to teaching or choreographing, bringing their own knowledge-experience and understanding of dance into the dance making/production. It is noteworthy that the field of dance in the 1970s and 1980s in Greece remained quite small. Only a small number of people engage with dance at a professional level, therefore studying abroad is relatively easy – the state school of dance provides scholarships for postgraduate studies (fees only) that facilitate the extension of studies and a few more scholarships are given by the Onassis foundation.

However, the contemporary state of professional dance education in Greece now enables the production of dance, dancers and teachers at least in principle independently from the European field. Greek dance can be said to be partly[58] self-sufficient in terms of training conditions. Nevertheless, the professionalization of dance through institutionalization is once again both the outcome of and the condition for the wider accessibility of dance to the various social/class groups. This determines to a certain extent the status of dance (as a form and activity) in the field cultural production and power.

Overall, the emergence of national fields as systems of dance production bear within them the residuals of a long-term negotiation of movement according to certain principles, which correspond to historically particular social, political and aesthetic phases. As we have seen, artistic change is the product of symbolic struggles which as

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[58] As we shall see, however, further studies/postgraduate studies in dance are not available in Greece.

176

Bourdieu (1996a:252) argued are dependent in their outcome on the outcome of wider social struggles and shifts in the field of power. The symbolic material produced by such shifts is negotiated and transformed through dance practices which are intrinsically linked to symbolic and material oppositions. As we shall see, in the next part, conflicts such as dramatic versus abstract or tensions linked to the mode of dance production still persist. In that sense the historical examination of theatrical dance sets the ground of a synchronic investigation of contemporary art worlds. The next part, as we shall see, will examine the state of dance production in Greece and the UK.

Part two

This part will consider the structure and logic of dance production in Greece and the UK, given their historically shaped interrelation, through the experience of thirty working artists (dancers and choreographers). A relational analysis of the processes, the institutions and the particular practices and trajectories dancers and choreographers perform and champion in their dancing life will be addressed. In an attempt to show the underlying mechanisms of dance making with reference to symbolic, material and bodily conditions we will look comparatively at the points of convergence and differentiation of the former across different geographical fields as designated by the particular social conditions in which the fields are structured.

In order to represent the world of theatrical dance in its current state, we need to look at the latter as a set of positions and position takings that are constituted by their relationship to each other as representatives of certain forms of dance (Bourdieu, 1993a: 30). As we have shown, the interdependence of these positions is historically constructed via a process of autonomization from political interests and power. This was a process that simultaneously allowed the emergence of different approaches and dance styles the practitioners of which negotiated in specific ways. The negotiations for the legitimacy of particular types of bodily movement drew on the material of dance per se, namely was a product of the very logic of dancing and making dance. This in itself gave birth to particular forms of regulation of dance enactment, materialized in the operation of institutions (schools, companies), what Bourdieu (ibid) calls *nomos*. This *nomos* is the product of the negotiation of the specific capitals necessary for dance production, which guarantee the actors involved a legitimate position and even prospect of dominating within it. Hence, the operation of the field of dance depends on the social and symbolic conditions of production, namely the distribution of the material and cultural prerequisites for the making of dance.

The structure of this distribution and the relationship between the positions that correspond to these distributions will be the focus of the latter stages of this study. As

we shall see, the social positioning of dance practitioners prior to their initiation to dance and the capitals available to them as a result of such positioning determine to a great extent the relationship they will develop with the form. The volume and structure of capital (economic, cultural, social and bodily) these individuals possess and embody – in the form of dispositions – relates to the accessibility of dance as well as the strategy or lack of one, which they employ in order to arrive at a position in the field. These capitals and most importantly embodiment as such – resulting from the physical and social conditions in which it is generated – translate accordingly in the universe of dance. That is to say, they translate into access to particular areas of the field, which operate upon specific principles; for example, a ballet school negotiates bodily movement in specific ways and particular teachers within it may favour certain styles. Hence they attract and approve of certain bodies: bearers of the relevant capitals.

The encounters of these bodies with specific teachers and their arrival in particular institutions materialize a set of possibilities amongst the ones open to them as a result of their capitals and dispositions. At the same time, however, they constitute a capital to be embodied that determines – either positively or negatively and in relation to their position each time – their trajectory in the field of possibilities. These possibilities refer to dance genres and to qualities within these genres as negotiated in the field and to the positions individuals can posses in relation to genres and forms within them. Such genres are born by means of the activity of certain sets of individuals who have interests in their practice and conservation. As we have seen, ballet itself as a genre has been drawn in multiple directions: from courtly to action ballet or from narrative to abstract, practiced with more or less virtuosity or with more or less reference to the standardized vocabulary until the split between ballet and modern dance. The persistence of all these forms and approaches to dance is the result of the belief in their value and as such, is amenable to the interests of their practitioners, who compete in order to secure the legitimacy of their practice amongst the dance practices of others in the field.

Chapter 9

What is theatrical Dance?

Dance production, as we have seen, is characterized by ideologically opposing practices (and bodies) such as, in principle, ballet and modern dance (and their bodily products) the relative power of which is measured by their institutional power (academies, operas and schools and companies respectively) and their potential to reproduce symbolically at the level of performance (through the number of practitioners and their recognition from both their peers and the audiences). Institutions like schools produce and reproduce to a great extent the means of performance and are in a homology with specific areas of dance making.

The latter, depending on the material conditions and the symbolic freedom and space available, transform the style, content and embodiments of dance as well as the relationship between its practitioners and their positions in dance production. Using Bourdieu's (1993a) concept of the field as a set of historically interrelated positions grounded in specific forms of capitals and operating through the competitive interaction of the incumbents of such positions, we will look at the contemporary state of dance production in UK and Greece. The first point of our analysis will draw on a discussion of the definition(s) of theatrical dance as produced through the accounts of thirty two dancers and choreographers across fields and with reference to the aesthetic purpose and principles of production as negotiated amongst these artists. In this way we intend to symbolically map the two fields and thus outline their symbolic logic.

The creative process of dancing and dance making constitutes the stake of the field. Dance is constantly negotiated through dancing and dance making and acquires particular characteristics according to aesthetic allegiances embedded in dance practices. As we shall see, the different ways through which artists practice dance stem from their particular position in the field as a set of creative forces which define the meaning and aesthetic content of theatrical dance. Dancers and choreographers

practice, define and comprehend what they do depending on their role in dance production (dancer or choreographer); on the genre and style they practice – fractured especially by the division between ballet and modern dance – as well as by their bodily experience as an embodiment of such forces.

There is an underlying consensus on what dance is based on converging explanations across the British and Greek fields. Dance is an expressive form despite the differences in opinion as to what it can express or the directions this expression can take. Specifically, dance is a form that satisfies a need for communication and expression primarily by means of bodily movement within time and space. It is a codified form, a "language" as some wish to name it, serving as an alternative to text and spoken forms of communication and expression which conveys ideas, emotions and symbols to and by means of the body. In that sense, it has a universal character; it is an ever-present phenomenon across cultures. However, the ways in which artists approach such phenomenon (and that of theatrical dance in particular) indicates that a conceptualization and theorization of dance practice does not entail a single definition. Hence, theatrical dance is characterized by the means (body, animation, digital technology, etc) used to produce it, the setting in which it is situated (stage, site specifics, outdoor happenings, etc) and the style employed.

Choreographers especially define dance from their viewpoint as encompassing dance making, namely the use of movement for specific purposes and in specific ways. For example, one choreographer discusses dance as a mathematical relationship between space, movement and time – an abstract construction – that does not have a (definite) meaning, like music. The majority acknowledge the multiplicity of dance forms as well as the multiple meanings of dance. In that sense dance composition is based on a synthesis of elements, such as intended technical movement (athleticism), performing and acting skills, stamina, bodily representations/formations, pictorial representations, narrative or abstraction indicating precisely the purposive character of theatrical dance.

As a result, the making of dance is a multidimensional symbolic process that entails negotiation of the means and aims as reflected in the different themes, (bodily) applications and techniques, stylistic and representational choices. These different approaches are very often in tension, as they constitute prescriptions for the meaning and purpose of theatrical dance. One principle of division or tension, as historically shaped through the negotiations on the direction of dance, is the narrative/abstraction dualism; especially discussed by the practitioners of the British Field. Dance often takes abstract forms on the basis of pure bodily movement. Such an approach creates an intricate relationship between space, time and rhythm taking advantage of motion, stillness and bodily shapes. In that sense, dance can be a purely physical aesthetic experience with the aim of impressing through the body on the grounds of a predominantly visual aesthetic. Abstraction applies both to classical and contemporary dance. As Anthony, a classical/modern ballet choreographer explains:

> Somebody like Balanchine, [...] his life-work was to show that you can have just dancing and it can still be completely riveting. He was very prolific he made so much work and each piece showed the different styles that he worked with, much more abstract sometimes much more classical at [others]. He even told occasionally a story, he has a very famous production of the Nutcracker but rather traditional [...]; [However] one man can make so much work that doesn't have the narrative element to it and still be considered the greatest choreographer of the century [...] So, I think dance can do many things and of course there's that whole thing the contemporary dance.

Contemporary choreographers accept abstraction as a possibility in modern dance and a subsequent focus on the physical engagement in pure rhythmic movement. However, they also speak about dance as a communicative form, a vehicle for ideas, emotions and conditions by means of the body. If not active supporters of the balletic narrative (a story telling with definite roles and structure) contemporary dance-makers see dance as a fusion of arts aiming to represent human experience and stimulate emotions and ideas about the social world. Modern dance does so through bodies and the connotative meaning of their size, shape or age. However, different styles may operate within the spectrum of contemporary dance with reference to more or less

theatricality or a greater of lesser fusion of various arts. Moreover, different techniques such as Release, Improvisation, and Graham are used by means of which choreographers represent their ideas. For example, Ross a modern choreographer explains:

> I now find abstract dance to be very limited as a form of expression. I think at the beginning I was very much influenced by Nikolais, so it was all about motion and it was very abstract and using lights [...] and that quickly changed. It is definitely not abstract now, I prefer drama, I like to make theatre and dance with humour and I like to work with different kinds of bodies, I've been working with people with learning difficulties. I like actors, I like professionals I like working with students, so I like to work with different people.

The emergence of a particular style or approach in dance movement is a manifestation of the particular position choreographers possess in the symbolic struggles for representation (Bourdieu, 1993a); in this case, the dramatic or abstracted content of modern or classical dance. Some Greek choreographers and dancers on the other hand address the need of modern dance to acquire a more direct relationship to social and political reality and experience and in that sense believe that it should be less abstracted. Contrastingly, Greek ballet dancers see abstract movement as far more challenging in terms of meaning than the typical balletic narrative, although they acknowledge the difficulties of role-playing in storylines.

The Greek subfield of modern dance production is marked by another dualism regarding the content of the form. Modern dance is divided amongst those who argue that dance should be integrated with text and other elements and those who stress the primacy of movement. In particular, this constitutes a tension within that fraction that adheres to dramatic/ narrative dance. As Anna reports:

> I think that dance should be closer to the theatre. We need to use text, music and movement combined. This is the direction that modern dance should take.

Whilst Christine argues:

> I have noticed that choreographers have reduced dance into effects and stillness, there is not so much dance up there or movement.

Others propose the integration of historical dances and historic movement in the same manner that great choreographers have realized this in the past. These ideas circulate amongst artists but have not been practiced yet. Dance practitioners acknowledge the relative lack of innovation in Greek theatrical dance. Although most artists in this set engage in cultural activities and are interested in other forms of art such as music, film, theatre, photography, literature and poetry they may not make as much use of these in the actual production of dance. This, however, may be attributed to the particular constituents of the Greek sample. In any case though, modern artists in this sample witness and report on the relative repetition of patterns and styles in dance production and admit a lack of openness to more diverse elements. Christine as a choreographer reports:

> There is not a lot of communication between artists, this is something that we lack in, we have fallen behind and we tend to mimic what people do abroad.

George, a modern dancer also states:

> Choreographers tend to borrow or even steal foreign techniques of staging or aesthetics from abroad.

A number of practitioners trace this problem in the tendency of Greek artists to mimic foreign dance techniques and performing styles. In their view, there is a lack of integrative spirit or a lack of imagination as dance makers avoid integrating indigenous cultural forms or adjusting these techniques to their needs. In that sense, they tend to reproduce the various styles as performed abroad. This is very often reflected in the way that dancers perform and the way they apply their bodies in the work.

The embodiment of these forms may be a global phenomenon, in the sense that the particular techniques and styles of dance are disseminated, practiced and negotiated globally; however mimicry or close reproduction is a result of an embodiment of the belief in the value of particular institutionalized applications (Bourdieu, 2008: 51). In other words, the former recognize the cultural authority of foreign institutions (both academies and companies) as primary producers of dance. In that sense they consent in the traditional type of authority, as Weber would argue (Blau, 1964). Hence the strategic investments in education abroad are an indication of that belief in the supremacy of practices taking place in the international fields. In that sense the field of dance production in Greece and the subfield of modern dance especially is subordinate to other international fields, including the British and the American.

Furthermore, modern dance in Greece is accommodated in small-scale groups with no hierarchical structure and often with no steady membership. Each project these companies deliver is a collaborative work and an active negotiation of the aesthetic direction, style of movement and content of dance performance under the direction of the artistic director and, on occasion, with no obvious director at all. This has an effect on the stylistic direction of contemporary work as a whole, since group dynamics influence the character of dance making. Hence, there is no systematic direction in such formats, although some may develop a style or a preference in style through these attempts. Furthermore, the authorship of the product is often a point of contestation. Some argue that collaborations are extremely difficult in the world of Greek contemporary dance, which is why the number of solo projects has increased over the years.

Nevertheless, choreographers across the two fields stress the importance of generating new movement and new approaches to dance as a whole, regardless of the genre they cultivate. However, in Britain this is evidently more possible at the level of performance. In the British ballet world new versions of the classical repertory and new neoclassical work are presented, which serve as means of developing and simultaneously sustaining the form. In the modern dance subfield choreography takes advantage of human movement drawn from every context of social activity and

185

transforms it for the purposes of performance. Both genres are facilitated by organized structures that give space and support to dance making as a whole.

However, ballet and contemporary dancers as a whole see dance as a means of self-expression and in that sense they have a more restrictive scope. To the extent that they contribute to dance production they see dance as a very wide platform of expression, namely a form and a means through which potentially all ideas can be expressed. Hence dance can change through encounters with other arts and techniques. However, dancers' focus on personal expression indicates its role as an outlet of emotional energy. Ballet dancers, whose involvement in choreographing is minimal or as Luke (a modern ballet dancer) put it restricted by the conception of the choreographer: "[as a dancer] you are interpreting someone else's vision") are especially likely to see dance as a very physical and expressive form through which they translate their emotions into bodily movement.

Dancers thus emphasize their corporal involvement and the athleticism and precision dance enactment requires in order to communicate a specific emotional state. Generally dance is seen as a very physical and hence primary form or expression which transcends verbal communication; in its codified form dance and especially ballet constitutes a "lingua franca" amongst the various dancing bodies. A simple word dictated by the master or the choreographer can generate uniform movement from dancers. A technical term constitutes a calling to ones body which responds as a result of technical embodiment. In other words, dance is an embodied experience resulting from long immersion to the practice; a natural extension of one's bodily sense or better a bodily-conscious sense of self, a self that is perceived through the particular application of the body (Wainright and Turner, 2004). The multiple embodiments, outcomes of the different styles and techniques of dance in which each practitioner meets their expressive needs, shape the dancers.

The practice of theatrical dance is, however, marked by a second and deep division: that between ballet and modern dance. This institutional division is, as we have seen,

a product of modernity in the sense that modern societies witnessed the outcome of a historically ongoing struggle amongst dance practitioners seeking to break away from authoritative prescriptions of styles and representations of movement. In other words, the struggle for an autonomous dance production was intensified in this historical phase (Bourdieu, 1993a) although ballet as a form, style and technique has been the bearer of such tensions in its four-century history. Tensions regarding thematic content, the inclusion or exclusion of storylines, the quality of movement, the extent of a focus on technique, the negotiation of expressive means, the settings, costumes and so on have all been the bones of contention between practitioners.

The more ballet became autonomous from political power, the more these negotiations acquired a complex symbolic character that referred to dance per se rather than dance as a means of political influence. As these tensions were reconfigured to aesthetic tensions (Bourdieu, 1993a), the field of theatrical dance became a space of symbolic interaction where interest lies in the effort to monopolize the definition of the legitimate forms of theatrical dance. As such, these tensions were released with the emergence of modern dance as a break from the balletic conventions and with its further fragmentation into different styles within the new genre itself. This opposition between ballet and modern dance was politically loaded but did not have a political goal as such. Political and aesthetic allegiances define the history of the arts to the extent that political power allows space to symbolic creation. Nevertheless, the opposition may be transformed into distinction and vice versa when a genre acquires or loses ground in the production of dance.

Dancers and choreographers in both fields acknowledge the distinction between the two genres, especially as one between content, technique and style. In Greece, this symbolic battle between ballet and modern dance appears to be very sharp, although the Operatic mode of production was never fully established as the only legitimate one. Greece inherited this opposition at a time when modern dance was advocating the liberation of movement from any kind of convention and the aesthetic decomposition of dance as a form representative of the bourgeois lifestyle. Modern

dance thus operated in the same way that action ballet a few centuries before served as an anti-absolutist and anti-academic form.

In particular, five Greek participants (out of the thirteen Greeks across sample sets) considered that there should not be such distinction, as technique or style alone is not sufficient to divide a universal phenomenon such as dance. Moreover, these respondents suggested that movement constitutes the source of dance and in that sense there is no such thing as suitable or unsuitable movement in dancing. Four Greek artists believed that classical training is a prerequisite for the practice of theatrical dance at a professional level, regardless of the stylistic choices one makes. In their view, ballet is what secures the appropriate posture, consolidates bodily agility and strength upon which one can built and develop other forms of movement, other forms of representation and different aesthetic approaches.

On the other hand, their counterparts in the British field believe that a foundation in one technique is crucial for one to become a dancer but this does not necessarily need to be ballet. Contrastingly, Greek interviewees stressed the historically deep-rooted relationship between the two forms and saw modern dance as a derivative of ballet. In some cases, however, Greek modern dance practitioners refused to admit this relationship, most likely due to the anti-balletic character that the early twentieth century forms had developed. In other words, a tendency to distance one form from the other resulted in misrecognition of their relationship as such. Other Greek respondents spoke about ballet and modern dance as different languages with divergent aesthetic goals, content and social role. The main difference, according to some, concerns precisely the relationship of the form to the social setting in which it emerges. They see ballet as a form that reflects older and outdated social concerns, as opposed to a contemporary dance, which negotiates everyday life.

Generally, at an artistic and symbolic level, modern dancers and choreographers are in conflict with the conventions of ballet. The decorum and posture, the specific and rigid placement of the body as well as the social and aesthetic connotations of balletic

representation are not in an elective affinity with the ideological framework of contemporary dance. The canonized balletic repertory (often rife with supernatural references), the pictorial content and the association of ballet with other historical phases and social experiences are considered irrelevant to modern artists. Elisabeth reports:

> In my early training I didn't feel comfortable within classical ballet, you're not really a human being, most of the time, maybe lots of times you were in theory an otherworldly being, you're not even really a woman! I think that is something that I was never comfortable with, on top with all the other issues we already discussed. But for me contemporary dance has a freedom of expression through its wide movement vocabulary, you can use any movement vocabulary, I some times use classical movement and I'm not limited in movement vocabulary and that's the distinction.

Furthermore, the repetition of certain sequences of steps or physical feats that ballet often presents is equally rejected. For some artists the lack of involvement in the making of movement, or the scarcity of new balletic work can discourage engagement with ballet. Most modern dance practitioners, that I spoke to, explain that their choice to take up contemporary dance was driven by the sense of creative bodily freedom and the limitless possibility in movement that the latter offers. They see ballet as a restrictive form with respect to one's expressive needs as it has a prescribed set of movement upon which dance is built. However, certain choreographers and in turn, their dancers, may borrow or take advantage of the balletic vocabulary in their work.

On the other hand, modern dancers across the samples see their physique and bodily capacity as non-responsive to the balletic technique. A great number of contemporary or modern dancers reject ballet as a result of their bodily structure and their lack of the physical facilities required to perform this type of movement. Having the right body, for instance, having the capacity for hip rotation that successfully allows what in the ballet world is called a turn-out, namely the extension of the feet and legs sideways rather than on the direction of walking, is considered crucial. Generally, ballet requires a particular bodily shape, weight and height and a series of specific

bodily characteristics. In that sense many dancers do not match the bodily requirements of the genre. As Rea explained: ''you have to have the right body, not everyone can dance ballet''. Evidently, here there is a tension between the balletic ideal type and the real dancing bodies, which are measured against it. This often deters dancers from the practice.

Some also argue that ballet is violent and very strict on the body as the focus is placed on virtuosity. They do recognize, in this respect, the effort required to become a ballet dancer and the difficulty of such practice. It can be argued that very often such ideas are cultivated during the process of formal training where students may witness contradictory comments on styles, whilst some form of condemnation of one or the other may occur. In other words, such oppositions may persist due to the particular approach of the academy they attended. This is acknowledged by some artists in the British field who saw balletic training itself as hostile to and exclusive of particular bodies and personalities rather than ballet as such.

On the other hand, ballet dancers across fields present less uniformity in their views on modern dance. In Britain they more or less embrace modern dance and see it in more a positive light; only one respondent sees it as a less challenging form. In an overview they appear less antagonistic to their fellow modern dancers and recognize the artistic value in the practice of modern dance. However, their Greek counterparts acknowledge the fierceness of antagonism generated between the practitioners of ballet and those of contemporary dance in the field. They first address issues of technique, although some reported that their perception of the latter has changed through the years.

What they stress particularly is how difficult it is to deliver a technically flawless piece on stage. In their view, balletic technique is synonymous with refined execution of movement. Any mistake or technical inadequacy is apparent on stage. This is very often opposed to how modern dance can cover for such incidents by making any move off-balance seem intentional. Greek Ballet dancers also criticise some

contemporary dance work for stripping down movement to the extent that the performance stops looking like dance. They very often experience this as an insult to the art of dance feeling that they cannot identify with such effortless practices. Rea and Nikolas report:

> I think there is a misunderstanding about what art or the art of dance is.
> There are some performances where dancers do not move at all.

Ballet practitioners across fields admit that ballet requires specific bodily assets, something that does not apply in modern dance quite so strictly. However from that, Greek dancers discern that ballet is the more skilful and difficult form. This is also acknowledged by those modern dancers who started their training at a late stage, who admit that ballet was not an option to them as it was physically too demanding. However, ballet dancers across fields very often admit that ballet can be expressively restrictive as the repertory they perform may be limited to ballet alone. Those who have had the chance to dance some contemporary work reported that it was a pleasant and liberating experience that developed their performing skills in different ways.

However, Greek Ballet dancers argue that their ability to perform modern dance stems from their technical adequacy – a result of their rigid training – which enables them to adjust to multiple techniques. This is also acknowledged by those modern dancers/choreographers whose training was primarily classical but from which they departed later on in their lives. All ballet dancers across both samples reported having an interest in contemporary dance. Some also often attend performances and keep in touch with the genre. They argue, however, that this is not a reciprocal practice in the Greek field, as modern dancers/choreographers may avoid attending ballet. This is partly confirmed by three modern dancers/choreographers who admitted not having an interest in ballet at all.

Generally, most dancers and choreographers in both countries (including the ones who practice the classical form) see some level of restriction in ballet; whether that refers to ballet's technical rigidity and precision or to its aesthetic and symbolic representations; it is evident that the latter operates as an overly specified field of

191

bodily activity. It is the liberation from any type of restriction and dictation, or, as most modern artists put it, "the space for and freedom of expression" that explains why modern dance appeals to them. The flexibility and transformability of the genre together with an openness in the direction of movement with no definite rules on bodily application is the core quality that modern dance offers according to its practitioners.

The fulfilment of the need for personal emotional expression as well as the diversity of work satisfies modern dancers and dance-makers. This, then, is precisely the point of ideological and symbolic conflict between the two genres. However, different bodies respond in different ways to the above tensions, which they see as ongoing in the field of dance. Dancers and choreographers openly or tacitly admit the existence of a distinction between ballet and modern dance, even when they adhere to or reject particular conditions of work, aesthetics or bodily usages. As they have developed a certain *habitus*, that is to say they have embodied a certain way of thinking about and applying bodily movement, they have embodied the tensions to which they respond in practice.

As a result, each body responds to those ''dictations'' and that type of movement that are in affinity with the dispositions cultivated through training and performing in ones trajectory in the field, what Wainwright et al. (2006; 2007) call *institutionalized habitus* in dance. Moreover this is reflected in the type of companies in which they perform and the style cultivated within that context. In this sample there are six purely classical dance practitioners. They all report that the comfort they feel within the genre stems from their long-term practice of ballet and the continuous application of the body in this particular technique and style of dance. Two out of these three are open to the fusion of styles whilst one introduces new types of movement often drawn from social dances in their classically-structured work. Only two see contemporary dance as irrelevant to what they do and as a less challenging technique.

Dancers and choreographers in the British set perform a fusion of styles and techniques very often grounded in balletic movement. These artists may practice ballet in its neoclassical form enhanced by other types of movement. These reside in-between the two genres and techniques. However, there is a clear preference in style as well as clarity in relation to the capacity of the body to perform either style. Dancers especially, report a bodily comfort in practicing the classical steps and applying the balletic technique but may favour a more open style of dance, which encompasses contemporary movement. The large/medium-scale companies in Britain, especially, which practice neoclassical dance and modern ballet or engage in extensive repertoires, select dancers with a versatile palette of techniques or dancers with specific bodily and technical skills. Hence, some feel more comfortable in applying the body in one technique, but may be used to more classical pieces or vice versa. Dancers of this kind often advocate the significance of the ability to perform various techniques and see this as being crucial for the emergence of hybrid genres. As Luke reports:

> When I was at school I was always the modern dancer and teachers would ask me to take classes more into the modern direction but then when I went to other companies or when I went to Germany, I was more channelled into classical and that changed the way that I move. I think also I am lucky in a way because I am tall and not ugly and I can play the prince easily: it fits somehow if I stand there in the costume people say oh you look like a prince. I feel lucky but I enjoy modern dance a lot, because I like how extreme it is, I love the physical aspect of it and also the technical [aspect] it's not so right and wrong, classical ballet is either right or it's wrong.

Nevertheless, dancing bodies are the outcome of a combination of a socio-physical response to rhythmic movement and the conditions of dancing in a given historic-geographical space. As such, they may transcend these distinctions when they derive from different rhythmic bodily traditions of movement, establishing thus new tensions and distinctions. In other words, those dancers that arrived to modern dance or ballet from other styles or traditions of movement may see theatrical dance as a continuum that in principle requires similar understandings and uses of the body, whether that is

193

fully conscious or not. Thus, Leona a dancer of Jamaican descent reports on the modern dance/ballet distinction:

> This is quite funny, my view comes from an outsider's perspective [...] a lot of contemporary teachers and dancers are very kind of arty and say ''I am a contemporary dancer'' and say that contemporary ''it's not ballet it's all about expression with your body'' and so on [...] but in the essence of it as far as I am concerned contemporary is just ballet. There are people who shun ballet and say that contemporary is a revolution against ballet, which it is not really because I still point my feet I still turn my legs out, for me and for a body which is not shaped for European forms it's exactly the same.

Similarly Alana, a choreographer and dancer, who passed from Irish dance to contemporary, found both equally difficult to respond to, even though they had incorporated modern dance as a more comfortable type of movement. In practice, though, they admitted that they could see where they fitted in the distinction between ballet and modern dance: "I would say personally [in] contemporary dance but physically [in] Irish".

The construction of antithetical or antagonistic corporeal regimes or genres is a part of those relations of symbolic production and dance production specifically as they negotiate the aim and format of dance movement; depending on the conditions of its production and the social recognition of the particular forms different styles acquire different status in the field of dance. However, it is evident that Greek dancers and choreographers in this sample, as against those who work in the British field, engage in a more polemical practice of dance. This was particularly revealed in their eagerness to speak about the distinctions in genres and especially the one between ballet and modern dance; they were more keen demarcate the symbolic territory in which they operated.

However, a few were keen on the creative fusion of styles such as neo-classical or modern ballet, at least in theory. Moreover, they consider that the best artists in the history of dance have performed all styles. However, the actual performance of fused styles is minimal in Greece. In contrast, the British field presents a space of positions where fusion and collaboration between such styles takes place. This is both at the level of training but mainly at the level of performance. This is why the tension between ballet and modern dance is less intense, as the fusion serves as a middle ground between the two camps. Hence, the lack of performing space for modern ballet – at an institutional level – makes the Greek field less tolerant.

In general, symbolic oppositions stretch beyond the major genres of theatrical dance. Theatrical dance is antagonistic to other forms of codified movement such as social dances or forms with a certain recreational status (such as Latin-American dances and others). Dancers and choreographers in theatrical dance demarcate their practice from that of popular and social dances thus distancing their own embodied forms of practice from other corporeal rhythmic techniques. Regardless of their individual stance towards such dances they are able to articulate the underlying differences between these and their own practices; differences which constitute part of their own *doxa* on dance; hence, the reason for these artists' marked retention of distance from such dance practices, as we shall see.

The first major difference that theatrical dance practitioners trace in relation to the popular, concerns the purpose of dance enactment. In their view, theatrical dance involves performance intended for public spectatorship offering a theatrical experience or a narrative, thus conveying a moral or political message. Contrastingly social and popular dances were presented as involving a purely recreational engagement of the body in dance without the above characteristics of performance. In other words, theatrical dance engages in role-playing or other symbolic negotiations intended for an audience, whilst other forms such as ball- room dance or tango are not theatrically composed. Even though the latter may be considered interesting and legitimate ways of moving, they were not seen to serve the same purpose nor share the same rationale as theatrical dance.

Secondly, most dancers and choreographers see the movement vocabulary of recreational and popular dances as limited and repetitive as opposed to the enhanced palette of ballet and the "limitless" contemporary dance movement. To most artists dance is a form of expression associated with creativity, change and the development of new patterns of motion and stillness that will enable such expression. The development of a technique and, hence, patterns of motion and stillness, the use of space and the content of dance appear to be crucial for dance practitioners. As a result, they see popular styles as limited forms of expression, which however can serve as sources for theatrical dance. For most contemporary and neoclassical choreographers social and popular dances feed into dance composition and enhance the means of performance. Similarly, choreographers especially see the *lack* of enhancement of such styles "for their own sake" as one of the sharp distinctions between popular dancers and theatrical dance.

Lastly, theatrical dancers and choreographers may see the practice of popular dance styles as interesting ways of moving, sometimes alien to their own bodies, but as genres that they would not practice professionally even if some would try them recreationally. Some interviewees (four: one ballet and three contemporary practitioners) stated that they see popular dances as overly commercial, too sexualized and linked to commercial trends rather than aesthetic styles. British artists particularly acknowledge that the commercialization of such dance styles may add negatively to the perception of recreational dances. Conversely, some Greek dancers argue that the appeal of commercial dance to younger audiences as diffused through TV and reality shows actually benefited theatrical dance. The popularization of dance per se legitimized the practice of dance as a whole.

However, the majority of dancers and choreographers do not consider popular dances as second rank styles. Yet few see them as less physically and/or aesthetically challenging. The application of the body is not considered as demanding and their execution is hermeneutically limited. For them physical effort as well as the effort in

196

composing ideas and movement is seen as the product of intense study, which then sets the boundary between theatrical dance and other forms of rhythmic movement. Only a few choreographers attempted to integrate such styles of movement in their own work, two who were fascinated by the technical skill involved in forms like street dance, or hip hop, whilst the other uses such styles as a code and a symbol through which they can communicate an idea or a comment on social reality.

At least four modern dance practitioners admire the bodily potential of those dancers practicing such styles, although they may take less interest in social dances such as the Latin-American. Tango, out of all the social dances, seems to be appreciated more than any other form, indicating its status amongst the multiplicity of genres. Overall, dancers and choreographers of the sample do accept and respect the existence of these dances as social practices and in that sense they do not actively oppose them. It is interesting though that almost none practices them at a recreational level and very few (five from a total of thirty) have ever engaged with such styles. As a result, even though theatrical dance practitioners do not fully reject recreational and popular dances as genres, they evidently attempt to distance their own practice from such dances, regardless of their appreciation of such forms. Thus they tacitly construct a hierarchy of styles in which theatrical dance has technically, symbolically and aesthetically a primary position.

Overall, then professional theatrical dance production constitutes a relational bodily negotiation of symbolic, technical, aesthetic and corporeal elements under specific social and economic conditions, which reproduce and sometimes transform the highly codified forms of movement. In this set of social relations specific bodies are generated which invest in several directions of dance whilst they also negotiate these directions in an ongoing battle with other bodies which become the bearers of specific ideas and are incumbents of certain positions within and outwith the field of dance. The reality of these struggles as emerging through the experience of theatrical dancers and choreographers has been outlined in this section.

The construction of a legally-professionalized and typified procedure through which dancing and dance-making emerge, although under constant (re)negotiation, indicates precisely that the arts and dance in particular are not the outcome of individual charismatic initiatives but rather a complex relationship between the structures and norms of artistic production in combination with (or very often in contrast to those) dispositions that seek to be expressed via rhythmic movement and its derivatives. Such dispositions – products of the internalization of the normalized forms of artistic movement – namely the dance technique ''as a feel for the game'' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:128), serve as a prerequisite for both the corporeal perpetuation of dance production as well as the physical conflict between movement and its representation.

Chapter 10

Social Origins and Trajectories

In an effort to map British and Greek dance production as fields, I will firstly examine their accessibility to different social categories. It is important to do so with reference to the social traits of those groups of individuals that engage professionally with the form. The social origin of dance practitioners is one crucial component in the complex relationship between symbolic production and individual performance, which underlies the relative autonomy of the restricted field (dance) (Bourdieu, 1993a). The fusion of the objective conditions, which prospective dancers enter, their objective assets (capitals), together with their subjective strategies and individual trajectories constitute the field.

As we have seen, the inception of the British field in the late nineteenth century saw a highly internationalized set of artists practicing dance in Britain. Similarly, in the present day, the relationship between the practice of dance and the social origin of its practitioners stretches beyond the national borders and the class system of Britain. Contrastingly, the Greek field of dance has a less internationalized character and in that sense is less extensive. However, as a part of the examination of dance production in these societies and, in particular, the study of those agents who engage immediately with the body (dancers and choreographers), I will look at their conditions of entry into dance and the particular positions they occupy in the local and international fields respectively. Although not adequate for generalization, this sample is indicative of the social actors involved in the two fields and the nature of their experience.

As we have seen, this study was conducted with the participation of thirty two artists (see also appendix) – dancers and choreographers – located in Greece (thirteen), Scotland and Central England (nineteen) and composed of a host of nationalities: French, Italian, Finnish, Chinese, Greek, American and British. The first set of artists

(British) included two classical ballet dancers, four modern ballet dancers, who are primarily classically trained and practice a classically grounded style of modern dance, three modern dancers and one artistic director working in large dance companies, five choreographers that work in small companies, and five free-lancers. Seven participants are male and twelve are female, and their age span stretches across 22-52, so that participants represented different positions and different stages of careers and power in the field. The second set (Greek) consists of thirteen artists, six dancers, four choreographers, and three that practice both. Three are ballet dancers in the National Opera; one is a neoclassical choreographer, and the rest (nine) engage with modern dance. Similarly, eight are female and five are male aged 28-66. Only two participants are not of Greek origin and entered the field as professionals (one ballet dancer and one neoclassical choreographer respectively).

As we will show, these artists' initiation in dance was the outcome of a combination of material and symbolic conditions to which these individuals were exposed. A closer look at their biographies makes it apparent that the interest developed in the art of dance is the implicit outcome of their exposure to various artistic products and practices that enhanced their knowledge of the existent art worlds and indirectly legitimized art as a possible career path. Hence, their level of engagement with symbolic material at an early stage – determined by familial economic capital and appreciation of arts – are crucial for the introduction and continuation of dance practice in time. A great fraction of both samples owe their involvement in dance, to their specific relationship to the legitimate and dominant culture to which they were socialized through familial practices (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

The common denominator of individual experience in both sample-sets is the early introduction to dance. The vast majority of my participants (twenty three) – nine in the Greek and seventeen in the British set – started dance as children, whilst the other seven (almost evenly distributed between genders) started between the ages of 17-23. Introduction to (predominantly) ballet or other forms of physical exercise such as folk dances, eurhythmics or athletics characterizes the early physical experience of these individuals. Frequently, immediate or extended family members were responsible for

their initiation. In the Greek case, female family friends appear to be an important factor (social capital). This, in itself, exposed the type of socialization these individuals experienced, suggestive of particular ideas about the value of physical engagement, materialized in turn in relevant strategies and practices.

In more detail, three broadly defined social categories – as generated through these samples – appear to direct their offspring towards an artistic physical activity. The first consists of those families with relative financial security, as a result of higher rank professions and educational capital[59], who have strong cultural interests. These consider that extra-curricular activities are a meaningful way to enhance one's leisure. This category includes professional artists, mainly painters and musicians. The second category consists of those parents/families with comparatively less economic and cultural capital but sufficient to explain their disposition to some form of arts. The third one possesses no educational capital[60] but has an interest in some forms of art and an appreciation of physical bodily activity as a means of personal development.

Category one

Fifteen of the thirty artists in this sample belong to the first category, including seven, who come from families where at least one immediate family member is an artist (a painter or a writer) or has studied in a school of art. Similarly, in the cases which parents do not engage professionally in arts, at least one parent or immediate family member practices a form of art as a hobby: painting, art-crafting (design, jewellery etc), folk dancing, or playing an instrument. Parental engagement in arts more often than not resulted in the participation of children in cultural activities in the form of extra curricular classes or collective family practices, such as dance and theatre

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[59] Analytically, they possess degrees in Physics and Mathematics, English, Sociology, Law, Economics, Civil/Electrical/ Chemical Engineering, Architecture, Medicine, or have followed studies in art and drama schools. They may also occupy high managerial/ senior management posts, or posts in consultancy, academic posts, teaching posts, or engage in business. In the Greek sample it is usually the father who holds the degree or the post, with few exceptions as we go down the generations.

[60] These cases refer mainly but not exclusively to those parents who were refused access to artistic education mainly due to financial reasons, but retained their interest in several forms of art, like dance and may have practiced the latter at an amateur level.

attendance, gallery and museum visits, or travel and listening to music. In similar manner rhythmic gymnastics and ballet are included in these activities. The rationale under which such choice took place varied, resulting, however, in the same outcome, namely one's introduction to these activities. The importance of physical exercise and expression, the appreciation of dance as a means of socialization, or as a potential outlet for the very energetic and active children are positively alluded to. Most families in this category supported such practices financially, even to the extent of supporting professional training and in some instances support during the search for employment. Especially in the Greek case, where training is predominantly private, financial backup is essential.

However, introduction to artistic activities and dance in particular did not necessarily entail their consideration as professional prospects. On the contrary, parents in this category did not uniformly approve of dance as such, despite their appreciation of the art. As a result, eight dancers/choreographers in this category met the resistance or the concern of their parents in their decision to follow dance academically and professionally. Seven families favoured university education, whilst most indicated their concern over the viability of dance as a profession and the economic uncertainty, which it may entail. In one case particularly it took great effort to persuade one parent to support theirs child's decision to attend a dance boarding school over a typical day school. In another case a young dancer secretly auditioned for a professional school. The cultural legitimacy of dance practice, as opposed to an academically based education, was at stake here.

This explains the possession of extra qualifications on the part of two artists from the British set in this group, who hold degrees in Film and Theatre Studies, Linguistics and Speech pathology respectively, and five from the Greek who studied Dance Therapy, Medical Management and Educational Studies including two choreographers who hold Masters in choreography. In the British set one pursued a PhD in Dance Studies at the time of the research. For the latter two such studies constituted forms of compromise between parental and personal aspirations.

Contrastingly, dancers and choreographers whose parents were artists experienced minimal resistance in relation to their decision to pursue dance.

For a great number of the British set of artists in this category the decision to undertake dance professionally came at an early stage; but arriving at this decision was not an equally straightforward process for all. Usually, initiation in dance was synonymous with the study of ballet, which entailed long-term training in the classical technique; a technique, which did not necessarily fulfil the respondents' artistic aspirations. Consequently, for some becoming a dancer/choreographer involved a symbolic and physical clash with the particular style of dance into which they were trained. Specifically, four artists reported that classical ballet did not physically suit their bodily capacity, whilst all of them were faced with some form of "failure", namely a rejection when auditioning for ballet academies. This meant their re-orientation towards modern dance, often initiated by an exploration for other types of institutional training such as professional contemporary dance schools. Workshops and dance classes constitute part of this exploration, where often teachers have indicated the possibility of contemporary dance as a suitable form.

The potential for shifting directions is very strong in this category of artists and reveals the relative social power of these individuals to negotiate their position within the field of dance. Moreover, the specific knowledge, which they and their families possessed as a result of their cultural capital, reveals their relative ability to renegotiate their position and to use cultural institutions for their benefit. In the Greek case these clashes are paradoxically milder, despite the fact that, as we have seen, there is a sharper distinction between ballet and modern dance traced in the respondents account. This can be explained by the structure of professional training, which evidently leans towards modern dance. As a result Greek students, who experience discomfort in ballet, are steered into modern dance through the institutions they attend.

Category two

The second category consists of these dancers and choreographers, who originate from families with less economic and cultural capital but with some access to the former. In these cases there might be one parent with a university degree or with lower qualifications (mother or father or both) such as college or senior high school in Greece, or a parent who professionally engages in skilful technical work. More specifically, eight participants belong to this category with one parent holding a higher education degree or a college qualification – such as design or secretarial diplomas – whilst the other parent is a technician, a taxi driver or craftsman, or a low-ranking civil servant. Similarly here there is at least one parent interested in dance as a physical activity (in all cases the mother), or may have an interest in attending dance performances or musicals. In four cases, the father was also interested in music (folk, experimental and classical respectively). In two cases the mother practiced dance and gymnastics at an amateur level, whilst most mothers or grandmothers were interested in dance and would accompany their children to such performances. However, familial attitudes towards dance as a professional prospect diverged significantly between the British and Greek sample sets in this category.

In the British sample, these families appear to have had a more positive attitude towards their children's decision to pursue dance as a profession, viewing the latter as a good prospect, especially for the boys. In one case specifically it was seen as an improvement of social status. Parents in this set encouraged their children and at points financially supported them to pursue this activity. Only in one case were concerns were raised about the level of dedication and discipline professional dancing entailed. Contrastingly, their Greek counterparts experience greater familial resistance in their plans to pursue dance. Again Greek families insisted on their children investing in university or formal education. The example of one father is indicative of this viewpoint: he objected to extracurricular activities like dance, as he thought they were time consuming and distracted children from school studies. However, parents in this category financially supported such activities where applicable. This category presents low mobility between genres with only one dancer having shifted from ballet

to modern dance in the British sample and one from the Greek, for employment reasons.

Category Three

The third category consists of eight participants with minimal inherited cultural and economic capital. In these cases the father is mainly a skilled or unskilled worker, a local politician[61] or small business owner and the mother a worker or a housewife. Four are considered to have come into dance later in their lives whilst the rest were introduced in their early childhood. Out of these, two were introduced to ballet by their mother and were encouraged by their teacher to pursue the activity, whilst the other was chosen in school to attend classes. They then passed on to a boarding school that catered for both training and schooling and guaranteed a career in ballet in the country of origin. Two were introduced to dance (folk, and commercial dance respectively) by a friend. One of them is a latecomer whilst the other one started as a young adult influenced by a pop star of the period.

The latter three report commercial dance as the only form available to them due to their disadvantaged social position and the subsequent lack of access to cultural resources. The practice of commercial (modern) dance opened up the opportunity for a socialization of the body that later on rendered the academic study of contemporary dance possible. The technical affinities between these genres enabled the passing of these social bodies to contemporary dance; a world otherwise not immediately open to them even in geographical terms. Four artists referred to the significance of geographical positioning in relation to accessing culture as they have been relatively deprived of cultural opportunities for such reasons. In one instance, ballet was in fact one of the few available activities for children in the particular geographic area mentioned.

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[61] Although the profession of politician/member of a town council may look rather incompatible with the rest of the professions of parents in this category, I decided to include in this one, as it was not secured by qualifications. Moreover, the post was in a small constituency very far from any urban center and the local amenities and resources very scarce.

Interestingly, however, this group includes two male choreographers and a female ballet dancer all latecomers and at the age of forty or over at the time of the interview with other qualifications. One holds a title in Performing Arts[62], which he acquired whilst engaging in commercial dance at an amateur level whilst he later on decided to study contemporary dance. The other (whose origins were also in commercial dance) was pursuing postgraduate study in dance theatre practices at the time of the interview. The latter acknowledged his lack in formal education aside from his dance training and this was why he justified his decision to undertake further studies. Similarly, the Greek ballet dancer had just acquired a title in Philosophy at the time of the interview. Her trajectory was also interrupted partly because of changes in career path a result of familial pressures. Here again Greek parents were financially supportive of the practice when applicable.

Overview

What was particularly striking in the composition of the British sample is the difference between the social origin of female dancers and choreographers as opposed to their male counterparts. None of the male dancers and choreographers (seven in total) belongs to the first category; three belong in the second; whilst the last category consists of four male participants and two female. This is indicative of the distribution of gender and class in the particular sample. The higher we move to social categories the less male artists we see. This said the size of the Greek sample does not allow valid observations for the distribution of gender across class within it.

A similar observation can be made for the distribution of artists in the geographical areas of work in Britain. Irrespective of the country of origin those dancers and choreographers of the British sample located in Scotland come from less privileged environments than the ones located in England. More specifically, from the ten artists interviewed in Scotland, only four belong to the first category, two belong to the second, and four to the third. Out of the dancers and choreographers that work in

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[62] The particular choreographer is the son of the above politician. Here we see the conditions of possibility but also the simultaneous restrictions embedded in one's trajectory; Coming from a small Italian village and from a family with considerably less cultural and economic capital than others in this sample, this artist had little access to cultural resources. On the other hand being the son of a prominent figure in this particular social setting, granted this individual better access to education and training than usual for his social position.

Central England five belong to the first category, three in the second, and two in the third. This is indicative of the geographical spread of access given that all but two participants were brought up in capital cities.

In an overview, specific cultural practices determined by dispositions formed in the conditions and means available to specific social groups embodied as a result of one's socialization in such conditions (Bourdieu, 1984) are responsible for one's involvement in dance in these samples. Particular class fractions with various types of accessibility and understanding of such accessibility to culture are seen to embrace and incorporate dance as a practice. The majority of this sample owe their initiation to dance to family practices and interests, namely to the relative volume of cultural, social and economic capital available to them, which allowed and enabled a familiarization with the form and the development of *bodily hexis* appropriate to dance practice. For those participants whose parents did not engage in cultural activities but may have had an appreciation of arts, it was television, school and other forms of dance that constituted the medium through which they became familiar with the form.

Evidently, cultural capital in its embodied and institutionalized forms played a significant role in one's early initiation to dance. Such capital signified the recognition of emerging dispositions towards dance in childhood or practically resulted in an opening of options and the introduction to activities that prove to be determinants of future trajectories and pursuits. Economic capital secured initiation to and a long-term involvement in artistic activities like ballet and cultural practices such as theatre attendance, until these become embodied in mental structures and bodily practices and are expressed by means of dance. Here we can discern the homologies between the positions of those who engage with dance both in the British and Greek sample sets. Similar types of familial practices and especially those of the mothers or other women, as determined by the particular relationship with culture, set the conditions of engagement with dance.

Here, equal emphasis is placed on economic and cultural capital, the volume of which is crucial for one's introduction to dance. As we shall see later, Britain and Greece share to a certain extent a structure of dance training founded either on private

initiative or requiring fees. This, in itself, affects the nature of capitals required for artistic training. In that sense the structure of capitals available to prospective dance artists entails both economic and cultural forms. This does not undermine Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991) argument about the primacy of cultural dispositions in accessing of cultural institutions and works of art. Especially in the *Love of Art he* discusses the cultural barriers of attendance with reference to public museums, where the admission is free. However, in the case of dance training the barriers are both cultural and economic, even though exposure to cultural practices and products is a common occurrence in our sample.

Training Accessibility and Professional Dancing Trajectories.

In this section we will show that the strategies developed as a result of one's resources and social positioning are in affinity with the capitals accumulated during one's trajectory, an affinity that also reflects the particular position one occupies in the field of activity (in terms of geography, employment and recognition in the field).

Cultural practices and dispositions are only one condition of entering the field of dance. Generally, access to and progress in the latter is determined by a number of parameters both external and internal to the logic of the field. As we outlined earlier, a certain relationship with, or access to arts and some financial potential was a key means in securing the study of dance at an early stage. However, the transition to the formal academic study of ballet or contemporary dance was for some the product of a complex strategic plan based on elements internal to the field. This included decisions about the style practiced, and factors such as the level of bodily response to training and encouragement from teachers. Strategies were also shaped by elements external to the field such as the potential for social "reproduction", improvement of social positioning and status, or both. In other words, on occasion such plan presupposed specific forms and combinations of knowledge that certainly stretched beyond a general interest in arts. These combinations were especially evident in the strategies of those families that raise concerns over the future careers and educational strategies of their offspring.

For the British sample-set it is the dancers and choreographers who belong to the first and second categories, as outlined previously, who experienced their education as a part of a wider strategy that relates to their future prospects, financial security and status. This is why some of them met the resistance of their parents in their choice to pursue dance professionally. Contrastingly, in the Greek sample such tensions occurred across the three categories. The strategic question underlying the investment in extra-curricular activities is very strong in the Greek case. This is why objections were reported to occur not only at the stage where a decision on professional

orientation took place but also at an earlier stage, thus constituting a profound difference between the Greek and British samples. Even though strategies developed in both cases, the different perception of dance as a means from a very early stage for some cases is evident; a means which different actors utilize in different ways depending on their relationship to it. For example, in both sets, parents who are artists were more likely to welcome their offspring's orientation to arts and dance in particular. Others who are not directly involved in the latter appear more resistant.

As far as the British sample is concerned, when they settled for such an option parents carefully selected the dance institutions, which their children attended, so as to get the best possible training and recognition as graduates. For this they also tended to seek teachers' recommendations. Such strategies were reported for six respondents amongst the second and first categories, namely the ones with more economic and cultural capital. In contrast, their Greek counterparts had less direct involvement in the institutional choice or had no further involvement than their initial inductive activity. This is linked to their persistence in their offspring developing parallel educational strategies, as we have seen, at least in the cases where dance could not be abandoned as a practice; this can be observed across the three categories in the Greek set.

The strategies of those individuals who met no objection in their choices to do dance (these belong to all categories in the Greek field but mainly to the latter two in the British, namely the ones with less economic and cultural capital) are solely shaped by criteria internal to the field. Their response to the demands of training, their physical abilities, and their dedication to the practice of dance as well as the teachers' recommendation often directed and determined their choices. These may or may not be assisted by their parents in these choices depending on the knowledge they posses. Hence, there was a relative variation in the extent to which cultural capital was strategically invested in dance education as such investment also depended on the specific properties defined by the field.

Hence, in the three cases in the British set where the demands of training and the aspirations of the prospective dancers clashed, it was evident that internal criteria applied. However, secondary capitals made a new strategy possible. In all three cases, the inaccessibility of professional ballet schools (for reasons that were in a sense, internal to the field: e.g. a lack of certain physical attributes and bodily responsiveness to balletic technique) resulted in a reorientation towards modern dance. It is of no surprise, however, that this renegotiation was a result of specific forms of knowledge that parents possessed which enabled them to advise a new approach.

On the other hand, the late-comers, or those with no familial support in the form of educational strategies, saw their bodily response to the practice of dance, and/or the recognition of a cultural authority (namely a teacher or an institution) making up for the lack of a concrete plan. Some individual research was also common. However, late initiation in the field was either a result of strategic clashes (evident in the Greek case mostly) or a product of a shift in academic strategies and professional orientation. In three cases academic studies preceded dance training (precisely as many as in the British one) and in one case resulted in a dancer confronting issues of both dance legitimacy and career re-orientation. Nevertheless, all strategies – however complex in composition and investment – stemmed from the objective conditions in which these individuals operated. In other words they were a result of their social position and their cultural means and dispositions.

Analysis

The capital (Bourdieu, 1993a) invested in the field of dance takes a physical form, namely it is embodied. The field is set in motion by means of the body whilst it produces and reproduces bodies through the body. This is the means by which dancers gain legitimacy for those who produce dance namely choreographers, companies etc, and for the ones who guarantee legitimacy by assigning symbolic value and recognition to particular forms, namely the academies and dance schools. For example, a number of participants in both samples mentioned that they went on

with dance because their teachers strongly approved of their bodily skills; and more generally they were encouraged to proceed to the next level of study because of their bodily performance. On the other hand, as we have shown, cultural capital appeared to have shaped one's initiation and educational strategy in dance. The relationship between social origin, cultural capital and a certain artistic habitus may seem sociologically predictable, as it indicates one's particular positioning in the social world that in turn derives from one's bodily exposure to specific living conditions and often results in specific strategies and practices. However, the complexity of such a relationship is enhanced by the interplay between bodily, cultural and economic capital as conditions for the practice of dance.

According to Bourdieu (1984; 1993a; 1996a) this particular relationship expressed in the form of *habitus* – namely a set of durable and transposable dispositions – and cultural capital directs individuals to certain practices by means of which they invest themselves in fields of activity. What is interesting, however, in the Greek case, is the proportion of dance practitioners who have invested in the accumulation of further educational capital either in the field of dance or in other fields. Specifically, six out of the thirteen artists in this set hold degrees besides their dance diploma at either university or college level (philosophy, dance therapy, medical management, infant education, Music, Theatre studies).

Only two ballet dancers in the set possess dance diplomas alone, whilst a small number (three out of nine modern dance practitioners) invested solely in dance training. The remaining six have at least a second degree or some post-graduate training or masters and speak at least one foreign language. Furthermore, four modern dance practitioners have post-graduate training in dance possessing a Masters in choreography or engaged in free-lance post-graduate training. Four have a university degree out of which only one is a ballet dancer. All but the latter belong to the first and second categories, as outlined earlier. As we shall see, the possession of such educational capital has an indirect outcome in the field of dance.

Generally, the potential for decisions regarding one's strategy in the area of theatrical dance was also dependent on economic capital, either individual or collective. The accessibility of dance training depends on both family funds as well as on state provision, to the extent that such provision permits inclusion of a greater number of social groups in the field, especially the economically and culturally weak. State (financial) provision is an important factor in formal dance education and especially in professional training. The latter, as exemplified through a set of consecrating institutions which construct the dancing body and license it as such, is set in motion by means of economic capital which can either be directly drawn from specific individuals or be the result of a form of welfare.

As we have seen, the trajectory between one's introduction to dance and an initiation into formal/professional training in the British set is mainly funded by the family or is self-funded for the latecomers, whilst professional training can be accommodated by student loans, scholarships and secondarily by family aids. For those studying dance in the Greek field training (both recreational and professional) is private, with the exception of that offered in the State School of Dance and the newly established Opera School, both of which, however, admit only small numbers of students. As many as twelve out of the thirteen Greek artists in the sample attended private schools at some stage during their training. Seven graduated from private schools, whereas only four attended the State School of Dance for their professional training. In that sense, economic capital played a significant role mainly (but not exclusively) at the beginning of artists trajectories, as in both sample sets they mostly attended private schools and dance studios for their initiation to dance. Only a few dancers initially attended local community dance schools or were under the provision of the state and were offered free training in Greece.

Contrastingly, four dancers drawn from the British set attended a boarding school that offered either scholarships or free education. Another three from the same set attended dance academies that offered free training but these studied outwith the UK in their country of origin. Another three participants moved in the UK to further their studies in dance and attended very prestigious schools, two of which were self-funded

whilst one received some parental help. The rest studied in UK dance academies receiving full or part governmental financial help whilst families may have contributed to a certain extent to fees or maintenance. Contrastingly, the Greek dancers and choreographers, who studied privately, were mainly supported by their families, as only exceptionally were scholarships available to them. The ones that studied abroad received scholarships for their fees but they partly depended on family funds for their maintenance. In that sense economic capital was a prerequisite for their initiation to dance given the minimal number of public dance schools.

However, access to particular schools was not solely amenable to those with economic capital, given that in a number of cases the latter has not been a necessary condition for tuition. This is demonstrated by the arrival of economically and culturally less privileged individuals in renowned schools. Especially for the British sample-set access to prestigious schools has been achieved despite the volume and structure of capitals they possessed at different time points. To illustrate this, we will mention some schools which were accessed by participants in the third category as outlined earlier: the Paris Opera School (one), the Paris Conservatory (one), the Central Ballet School (one), the London Contemporary Dance School (one), the Northern Contemporary Dance School (one), the Rambert Ballet School (one), the Millenium 2000 (two), and from the Greek set the Greek State School of Dance (one).

Despite the relative competition between such schools in terms of status, namely competition over their position and power in the field of dance relevant to the styles and techniques they accommodate as a result of their allegiance to particular symbolic orders, they retain a strong authoritative role in the production of dance. As I indicated earlier, one's progress in dance is mediated by the particular requirements these institutions set, namely specific forms of bodily capital for the enactment of dance, often tested in the form of auditions and examinations. This in a sense explains how less socially privileged individuals had access to institutions like the above.

Professional Trajectories and Capitals

Professional Trajectories are primarily shaped, as we shall see, by internal to the two fields criteria, depending on their particular structure. Generally, the bodily capital that agents bring in the performance of dance as a result of their training in particular institutions defines their future in the field. However, as we shall see bodily capital does not straightforwardly determine a trajectory in all occasions.

The particular forms of embodiment cultivated within the academies are homologous to the style, technique, and aesthetic of the particular dance organizations in which these artists practice dance. In other words, specific bodies train under specific conditions. Similarly, such embodiments are homologous to specific styles and formats of dance making that correspond to the professional world. A first indication of such homology is the promotion of graduates to specific companies such as the ones affiliated to the academies. For instance, the Royal Ballet School serves as a source of dancers/choreographers for, amongst other companies, the Royal Ballet. Equally in many cases Greek professional dance schools can be the locus where employment opportunities arise, especially for the contemporary dancers. As many as six dancers in the Greek set got employed before the end of their formal training as a result of a choreographer's visit to the school. For one case in particular that meant moving to the UK to work.

In more detail, the relationship between training and employment reflected on the distribution of dancers in companies and other forms of employment: the dancers who attended the Paris Conservatory (two) and the Paris Opera (one) are all employed in medium and large-scale companies of significant standing; the ones who attended the Royal Ballet School (two) are equally employed in internationally renowned Ballet Companies including Royal Ballet. The three that graduated from the Millenium 2000 are employed also in large ballets, the two that attended the Rambert Ballet School are also working for renowned companies and one who attended the Central Ballet School also worked at a larger ballet company at some point.

Those participants who attended Laban centre, the Greek State School of Dance, Northern Contemporary Dance and London Contemporary Dance Schools work(ed) for small-scale modern dance companies (often quite renowned), have formed their own groups or work as free-lancers (at least for some of their time). This does not necessarily imply the lesser value of their formal training – since, for example, the Laban Centre is one of the most renowned schools in the world of dance – but is rather the result of the structure of the subfield of Modern Dance, which was historically shaped by the anti-academic ideal. That is to say, by the idea that dance production should not be affiliated with or prescribed by the state or organized in rigid hierarchical forms that do not allow innovation. Historically modern dance has been accommodated in non-hierarchical forms, groups and companies where the contribution of all members is equally or relatively equally important. In that sense, a number of dancers and choreographers may prefer to work under these conditions or form their own companies in order to express their ideas. Other dancers may work free-lance but may also be interested in working with companies- even large scale.

In an overview, the bodily and symbolic status acquired through the study of dance[63] in specific training institutions corresponds to a position in professional dance production and in total to a specific trajectory within the field of dance. The working artists of this sample (British), some of who were/are employed in highly recognized companies and projects are products of the particular training institutions, which qualified them as such and guaranteed the standard of their performance as materialized in their position within dance production. The status and position of

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[63]   Dancers and Choreographers in the British sample mainly hold the degrees awarded to them by Dance Academies and Schools by means of which they qualify for dancers/choreographers and teachers. Only six artists in this set hold other degrees or furthered their studies in dance. Three hold a university degree (Theatre studies, Language and Speech Pathology) all contemporary dancers/ choreographers, whilst the other three have furthered their studies to post-graduate level (twp hold a Masters in Dance Performance Studies one of which also acquired teaching qualifications and one pursued a PhD in dance at the time of the interview). Such acquisitions do not operate precisely as assets in the way that educational capital may do in the job market, at least at the time of the interview. However, they are signs of distinction and constitute an institutionalized form of cultural capital, which indicates their status. Particularly three artists acquired a first degree and then decided to undertake dance professionally, whilst the other two had already reached the best possible position in their work when they undertook postgraduate study. Only one made use of university qualifications (Phd) for teaching purposes at an academic level a work prospect developing in parallel with a choreographing career. To what extend these qualifications will prove to be assets in future pursuits falls beyond the potential of this piece of research. However, the possession of both external and internal to the field institutional capital often determined the possible positions which individuals can occupy in a universe of options. It is interesting to note that out the six dance practitioners, who hold high qualifications only one is a ballet dancer (a phenomenon also seen in the Greek sample). Ballet dancers seem to acquire less educational capital than their contemporary peers, even in the cases where their inherited cultural capital is relatively rich.

dancers and choreographers at the time of research revealed the powerful interconnections between the conditions of constructing dancing bodies and the conditions of dancing and dance making more generally.

However, in the Greek case transition to employment did not correspond to a position in performance solely, given for example, that ballet is performed in the National Opera alone – the only large – scale dance institution in Greece. The differential structure of the professional world of dance in Greece does not allow an analysis of the particular trajectories with reference solely to criteria internal to the field. The lack of large-scale companies other than the Opera and the simultaneous dominance of modern dance production in relatively unstructured forms should be examined. It is the case that most modern dance practitioners in Greece work free-lance or in small companies with no steady members and more often than not in an interrupted pattern. This means that they are not economically sustained from performances.

Contrastingly, ballet dancers who achieved entry in the Opera have relatively more secure employment and recognition as such[64] than their peers in modern dance, a result of their investment in *bodily capital*. These work for a public institution/organization whose employees are typically civil servants. They receive wages and rarely resort to teaching on the side (although this may change). In contrast, modern dance practitioners' primary professional engagement is teaching or other similar work. The strength of strategic planning and the effort to accumulate appropriate forms of capitals – often the result of parental urging – are evident here. The multiple/ extensive investments – aimed at securing future prospects and survival – have a differential role in the Greek field of dance. The accumulation of capitals may not affect the chances of becoming a dancer or a choreographer per se. In principle, it may be that physical capital operates more straightforwardly in that respect as in the British set or the case of ballet dancers in Greece. However, educational capital may affect the chances of being employed in the Greek field by opening up opportunities for work relevant to dance. Those that do posses

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[64] At the time of the interviews, public sector cuts and possible redundancies had not yet occurred.

institutional cultural capital in this sample-set have teaching jobs or exert influence in the field; for example one chorographer has a Masters in dance and a degree in Theatre studies through which she achieved a teaching post in a private day school teaching drama and dance. Another participant, also with postgraduate training, is a member of the Ministry of Culture Dance Examination Board. They both also own dance companies but are not wholly economically dependent on them.

Modern dance practitioners in Greece possess more certified cultural and educational capital than ballet dancers. Only one in the sample-set holds a university degree and is seen as an exception amongst the staff of the Opera, (she also confirmed that her colleagues are less educated and they do not have computer skills); indeed one of the ballet dancers I spoke to admitted not being able to use the internet). This was particularly indicative of the inverted relationship between possession of capitals (educational or cultural) and positioning in the field. The same applied for the British sample in terms of proportions between the practitioners of either genres. However, the British set as a whole has evidently less educational capital and more employment opportunities than the Greek set, at least in principle.

The accumulation of certified capitals (in dance or other subjects) does not correspond to a space of possibilities in the world of Greek balletic performance in the way that it does in other fields. What is more, the actual ballet training and the titles granted from the Greek dance academies do not have the same symbolic power as other academic units and do not necessarily "guarantee" the quality of a dancer. However, graduates of certain dance schools may tacitly be preferred over others in the Opera. This is not necessarily the outcome of the status assigned to the school through which prospective artists become consecrated but rather the results of straightforward power relations in the field, the dynamics of which very rarely change. On the other hand production in the Greek subfield of modern dance is characterized by severe competition. Different companies/choreographers engage in a constant struggle to obtain public funding, which constitutes a form of recognition of their work. This, in turn, may be a result of symbolic or other types of favouritism where institutional capital ceases to have effect. For those practitioners, who are

qualified in subjects totally unrelated to the art form or to arts per se like medical management, institutional capital has no power in the field; it may, however, operate as an asset in future strategies or professional reorientations.

As we have seen, the possession of titles and educational capital are directly related to the education background of parents. Yet, irrespective of the volume of educational capital that Greek parents possess, there is an evident pressure towards academic investment as a legitimate and secure means of social reproduction or upward mobility. In that sense, studying dance has lesser value but becoming a dancer may be considered a change of social status and positioning especially for those social groups who appreciate the arts but cannot access them formally[65]. Nevertheless, the sense of security (false or real) that academic education promises is a source of tension with regards to planning one's career in dance. As a result, most artists in the Greek set are alike in resorting to multiple strategies and investments. The *ones who come from more privileged environments* accumulate more educational capital than the ones who do not. As a result the distinctions between them are evident in the volume of capital possessed at the end of their educational trajectory.

Dance and International Mobility

The forms of capitals, which artists (come to) posses namely bodily, cultural and economic, blend in their trajectories. These trajectories often materialize in the form of relocation and mobility across international fields. Both samples consist of artists whose dancing experience (both training and professional work) is characterized by great mobility – including mobility between companies and fields/countries – as parts of educational strategies and employment opportunities in dance. Specifically, thirteen international artists entered the British field of dance for some time or permanently, three British dance practitioners have worked outwith the UK, whilst the rest have little or no mobility across national fields. Starting with the international

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[65] The same phenomenon was observed for the lower origin groups in the British sample. However, pressure towards an academic orientation is only observed in the strategies of the groups with more assets in Britain as opposed to the uniformity of opinion that all groups present in the Greek sample.

participation of artists in the British field we can trace the circulation of dancing bodies at the level of education. Out of the thirteen dance practitioners of international origin, eight moved to the UK to further their studies in dance (four are Greek); out of which only one is a ballet dancer whilst the rest are contemporary dance practitioners. All eight remained in the UK to pursue a career in dance, whilst two (Greek) returned to their country of origin to practice dance after having worked in small companies in the UK.

Three are out these eight are of working class origin (group three as outlined earlier), one of whom received a governmental scholarship to study in the UK, whilst the rest were self-funded and supported themselves during studying. Two got employed in ballet companies, whilst the third initially engaged in free-lance and eventually formed their own dance company. Four of the eight internationally mobile artists moved into the UK partly or wholly financially supported by their family in order to study dance[66]. One taught in universities but also worked on some small-scale projects as free-lancers. The other three moved to the UK to work as dancers: two auditioned for ballet companies (whilst being members of youth companies in their country of origin) whilst the third attained a placement to a renowned modern dance company with the mediation of the school they attended in the country of origin; this resulted in their full employment. This particular dancer further worked for another two modern dance companies. Two out of these three dancers have an artistic background whilst only one is of working class origin.

Only three British nationals present inter-field mobility of this kind. Two dancers auditioned and worked for ballet companies abroad before settling in the UK. One worked overseas as a dancer and choreographer before becoming artistic director at a ballet company. Two belong to the first - the more privileged categories and one does not. Intra-field mobility of the UK nationals appears also relatively low, even for those who work as free lancers in the field. The latter (four) are affiliated with dance establishments that promote dance production or teaching and dedicate space such as

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[66] In one case this resulted in undertaking doctoral study for which they were self- funded.

studios for the preparation of dance projects or have residencies in small companies also accommodated within such establishments. These prepare and engage work within a certain geographical area and may engage in touring but do not present the mobility of ballet dancers.

Similarly the dancers that graduated from Dance Academies affiliated with Dance companies (three) also present low or no mobility. Only one dancer in this category has worked outwith this institutionalized convention, and in that case they still returned to the dance company that the academy pointed towards. Finally, small-scale contemporary dance production in Britain is restricted to the geographical areas artists are located in whilst some touring, or a cooperation with another artist abroad, may get them to work outwith the borders. However, employment abroad does not appear as an option for this category of the sample at the time of the interview. Equally, Greek ballet dancers are less mobile, whilst their modern dance counterparts present mobility, in some but not all cases, at least for the purposes of further training.

Dancers and choreographers with international/transnational mobility have different motives and make different uses - depending on their capitals - of their migration to different national fields or different companies. As we have seen, the circulation of artists and especially that of dancers has been historically shaped by the entrepreneurial spirit of dance emissaries, who saw touring but also residency abroad (London in particular) as a form of expansion of individual fame and a source of profit. This form of cultural migration is an embedded tradition in the practice of dance. However, since the traditional forms of patronage and management have declined, individual efforts and strategies have replaced the quest for training and employment. Seeking the best possible institution for one's training is often a troublesome process both financially but also with regards to the style and quality of training. The candidates with more means, both in the form of social and bodily assets, have more options in the field.

The term "means" may refer to bodily efficiency, either natural or cultivated by previous training, the specific knowledge over the quality of training offered by specific institutions and lastly economic capital[67]. There is an intricate relationship between the means of social reproduction and the means of reproduction within the field of dance as reflected in the position takings in this set of relations. For example, social or cultural capital in the form of knowledge may contribute to gaining access to that particular area in the field that has greatest affinity with the habitus of the individual in question. In that sense, succeeding into the most renowned ballet school as a result of investing in the latter often means an enhancement of the existing assets, mainly bodily, but also a potential for future work.

This is either because dancers are steered to the Ballet/Dance Companies tied to the training institutions or because their training secures a level of bodily and stylistic responsiveness that meets the demands of large or smaller-scale dance institutions both within and outwith the national fields. Although (Wainwright, et. al., 2007) argue that the circulation of ballet dancers especially across international companies results in the globalization of the balletic body in terms of form and style, it is always the particular set of relations - namely the company – which defines the style employed and proceeds to relevant recruitment strategies.

Employment in the field of dance, especially for those that make use of their bodies to make a living, namely the dancers, becomes an imminent preoccupation that may force/motivate individuals to seek a career beyond their country of origin. Such practice can operates as an asset but can also be seen as the force of necessity exerted on individuals with a wish to become dance artists. This is directly related to one's means for sustenance. As we have seen, some ballet dancers deprived of other options or qualifications may follow work, in other words audition anywhere in the world in

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[67] I have shown that in a few cases financial help was provided by institutions to particular candidates to study within the national field or abroad. Very few were supported by their families during their formal training. However, even in cases like these scholarships and other financial aid is given with consideration to the specific requirements prominent in the field. In that sense the term means or assets or forms of capital may refer precisely to the fullfilment of these requirements as negotiated and defined by the networks of dance practitioners responsible for the perservation of the specific logic(s)field.

order to secure a post in a ballet company. This may apply to some contemporary practitioners as well, especially those that wish to dance in larger-scale companies.

Of course, employment in a renowned large scale company, besides its obvious result in fulfilling one's aspirations as a dancer or choreographer, also becomes a form of social capital, which assigns status to the occupier of a position and can operate as an asset in the event of a change in employment conditions, in other words is a form of capital. There was no significant difference between the social origins of those who work in large - scale hierarchical ballet/dance companies, as they seem to distribute evenly among the social groups. Free lancers and small-scale dance artists, however, come evidently from more privileged environments and are also the ones with greater educational capital in the field.

Out of the nineteen artists that work in these conditions, only three come from less privileged backgrounds (both male and both choreographers in small companies), two, however, happen to hold degrees. Similarly, the majority of dancers and choreographers in this sub-group belong to the first category with either artistic backgrounds or from families with great interest in the arts and holders of educational capital. In other words they had significant inherited cultural capital. For example, one participant studied dance at her day school (private), she then passed on to a studio directed by a former Opera dancer/choreographer, where she went on the advice of her brother who was a musician. She then passed to the State school of dance encouraged by a dancer that she met in that studio. Similarly, another participant started at a fairly renowned private school that taught eurhythmics - on the recommendation of a family friend - and then passed on to the State school on the advice of her teachers.

Conclusion

Overall, the number of participants that come from relatively privileged environments is higher than the ones that are not in this sample. Ballet dancers come from relatively less powerful social groups and have evidently less cultural capital than modern dancers. The initiation of these artists to dance is linked to their economic, social and cultural capital which in turn determines their educational and training strategies. Economic capital determines to a great extent the educational strategies especially for the Greek respondents, who are anchored in a private system of dance education. The latter acquire more certified capital in dance or in other academic subjects than their counterpart in the British sample-set. These assets may operate differentially in the field given its structure, namely lack of companies and funding, opening up opportunities of work in teaching or examining.

On the other hand, artists from the British set appear to have more opportunities in the field despite their capitals. Access in renowned training institution is often secured by a form of welfare which allows some economically and culturally weaker groups to study dance. On the other hand, the possession of capitals including bodily as a result of training is also linked to the transition from the educational units to the professional world. The styles of training are often homologous to the conditions of professional dance making locally and internationally. Furthermore, such homology allows particular individuals depending on their capitals to mover across national fields for educational of or work purposes.

Chapter 11

Training Conditions and Experiences

Theatrical dance operates on two levels: a symbolic level that concerns the ideological or moral content of dance, such as thematic representations, bodily techniques and their relationship, as well as beauty ideals. In other words, it operates through aesthetic negotiations of the conventions, meanings and purposes of dance. The second level refers to the production of dance as an objective set of institutional and non-institutional relations organized around dance training and theatrical staging. These simultaneously transform, reinforce and underpin the symbolic negotiations of the form. This distinction is only analytical as, in fact, the production of dance is inherently symbolic, which in turn manifests in the practical phases of dance making from dance class on technique to the settings that frame a performance. The relationship between the symbolic and the technical is under constant negotiation in the very practice of purposive movement. In that sense theatrical dance is a symbolic system, a system of training and a system of careers that refers to material life-chances, the fusion of which is responsible for the dance production.

In this chapter I will explore how the fusion of these systems shapes the field of theatrical dance in Greece and the UK. As we have seen, during 1940s Ninette DeValois strove for the development of a specific style of ballet that would be representative of the "British character" (DeValois, 1962), in other words a British field of dance production. The specific principles upon which the latter would operate (symbolic, bodily and institutional) would result from the practices and teachings of those dancers released from Diaghilev's Ballets Russes (including Marie Rambert). De Valois' rationale was precisely the creation of a School of dance – similar to a school of thought – independent from what had hitherto been the Russian or French tradition, which could expand outwith the borders of Britain, as shown in her initiatives in Greece and Turkey. To what extent British Dance production is a school

per se is constantly at issue as local fields operate as competitive markets and dance production may be antagonistic to that of geographically distinct areas (Bourdieu, 1993a). However, given that the institutional expansion of ballet (and subsequently modern dance) in Britain enabled dance production at a local level as well as the international recognition of some core dance companies, there is no question as to the existence of a British field of dance.

Contrastingly Greek dance production is relatively dependent on foreign fields and particularly on the British as is demonstrated by the circulation of individual dancers abroad for the purposes of training and employment. The differential power of the two fields and in reality the relative lack of autonomy of the Greek field shapes the experience of dancers and choreographers. The distribution of power between schools and companies in the international dance market is as complex as the economic and political relations between countries. Nevertheless, the specific versions of dance practice in both fields (Greek and British) and the attraction of individuals who meet the standard of the former can reveal these particularities. Starting from the level of education we shall shed some light on the processes operating in the areas of dance.

The Structure of Dance Education

Dance training in both fields is structured on two levels: the recreational/amateur schooling and vocational/professional training. The first consists of private dance schools, community projects and local council dance schools in the UK. In Greece recreational dance is almost exclusively privately provided and fee paid with the exception of a few municipality projects that operate dance schools and the State School of Dance that admits children via auditions. Generally, admission to recreational schools does not involve auditioning and enrolment is voluntary. Children start dancing in such schools and proceed until the next level at the age sixteen or eighteen.

Most recreational schools in Greece are ballet schools, in the sense that ballet constitutes the core of their curriculum. However, there are exceptions to this such as schools offering a variety of classes (dance studios), which target professional dancers; or perhaps when children at schools make a demand for modern dance. In these schools children are strongly encouraged to take up ballet classes even when they do not wish to pursue[68] it or even enjoy it, as it is considered the foundation in dance training for all theatrical genres. Note that this idea is challenged by some practitioners/teachers. In Britain recreational schools may include ballet but do not necessarily promote one style of dance.

Ballet and modern dance in Greece generally is as an extra-curricular activity, not at all included in compulsory education. Only some prestigious private (secondary) schools may employ dance tutors to teach ballet a few hours a week to their pupils. Thus, at the age of eighteen, students who wish to pursue dance professionally are

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[68]   However, the extended practice of ballet at an amateur level contradicts the actual practice of ballet at a professional level in Greece. The percentage of ballet dancers over ballet teachers and modern dance teachers is significantly low. In other words there is a significantly uneven relationship between the production of ballet dancers and their potential employment as such. However, becoming a ballet dancer is very often determined by a combination of parameters, that is to say personal preference for a particular style and for the type of dance school one attends and also from the direction received from teachers at an early stage.

called to study at the Greek Professional Dance Schools/Academies. After the successful completion of senior High School – a prerequisite for higher education – dance pupils are entitled to participate in a course of examinations via which they are admitted to the former. Unlike Greece, vocational training in Britain may take the form of specialized schools, namely Dance Boarding Schools, (such as the Tring College, the Dance School of Scotland or the Royal Ballet School) which specialize in dance or performing arts. Boarding schools offer both primary/secondary school education and training until the age of sixteen/seventeen. The tuition is equally divided into basic school education and dance training[69] . Seven artists in this sample attended such schools out of which three were in the UK.

The Boarding School Experience

Art Boarding Schools in Britain relatively self-determine the breadth of the performing arts and styles they accommodate as well as the level of training offered to students. Although these schools operate as secondary schools, their main focus is dance/performing arts. Boarding schools attain the production of artists and dancers, in particular, via long-term immersion in certain styles and techniques. They are mainly private with high fees that increase yearly with the level of study. Few offer scholarships to successful candidates or accept students that are funded by local councils. Consequently, parents are expected to contribute to fees. Some may organize internal competitions with financial awards/rewards, which, however, do not fully cover the level of fees. Others may be funded by city councils (e.g. the Dance School of Scotland), where students have their fees and residency covered by public funding. Generally, admission is secured by successful audition in a set curriculum defined by the school. Often graduates of such schools find employment after the completion of studies whilst others may proceed to Dance Academies. Some, such as the Paris Conservatory or the Royal Ballet, in London offer similar services.

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[69]   Most schools accommodate performing arts rather than dance alone.

Boarding school attendance is the product of a calculated decision regarding one's career as it implies conscious decisions about one's professional orientation at a very early age. In other words, it is part of a (familial) strategy[70] towards future prospects and one's employment security as a prospective artist. Sarah reports:

> Yes, they [parents] wanted to send me to a school that didn't particularly concentrate so much on the academic side of things […] not to say that they thought it wasn't important but as a child I was much better on the physical side of schooling, you know, that side of education. If it was to be sports or dance or something like that because that was really where my talent was.

Similarly, such schooling implies a great level of commitment on behalf of young children, namely an early professional dedication to the study of the form. This entails a series of difficult adjustments for young children, such as moving away from home to another city, changing lifestyles and environments in a way that can be very intimidating. This applies to all dancers who attended boarding schools in this sample, regardless of the country of attendance. Sue, a ballet dancer comments:

> It was a big change for my family, you know you go to a boarding school and they only see you once a week; being only ten years old was quite tough, washing all your clothes and stuff. Emotionally you had to be strong and independent because you don't have your family around you. So it was a big change […].

Full-time training at this level requires the dedication of one's day to the study of dance, to which the lifestyle of a youngster has to adapt. The dancers who attended

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[70]   As we shall see, such decision may come as a result of a strategy or it may be recommended as the best possible option for students "with potential" by the first teachers. In both cases it constitutes a very crucial decision.

such schools report the difficulty of moving away from their family and adopting a busy everyday schedule, which deprived them of their previous childhood freedom. This raised concern for families who considered this lifestyle very burdensome: for instance, one dancer was deterred from attending such a school as a child. In many cases the study in dance boarding schools was associated with the pressure for achievement, since all activities whether practical or theoretical, are focused on the study of dance. Thus they serve as constant reminders of the aims of dance education. Shawn explains this:

> When I did the secondary training at the dance school of Scotland that really sort of moulded me […] I think that probably played the biggest part for what I am right now because the training was so intense and hard for an eleven- year old child. I don't want go through it again […] it was such hard work and I have never worked like that in my whole life.

The whole new set of responsibilities added to the life of children, the pressure of work, as well as the exposure to new values represented a considerable challenge. Cultural/class shocks can be part of one's experience especially for those who come from more or less disadvantaged environments. These pupils enter worlds coded with dominant class attitudes and mingle with people from at least culturally privileged backgrounds. For example Anthony reports:

> I went to the Royal Ballet School at [the age of] twelve, hated it, had a hideous time, I don't really think I learnt much […] I went into a class of boys who were very sophisticated for twelve [years olds] and they've been there for two years already so they were quite a close group and I was probably quite a young twelve and my experience was much more straightforward suburban and I loved playing football and they didn't and we just clashed and I wasn't very happy because I didn't have any friends.

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This case shows clearly what Bourdieu and Passeron (1990: 44) calls the process by which the Boarding School, as a total institution, uproots the class habitus in order to produce a new genetic one ex nihilo. Direct or indirect pressures such as those deriving from the class position and status of other students reinforce a conversion in values and behaviour (cultural metanoia) furthered by the transformative power of the school at all levels (behavioural, linguistic and bodily in particular).

Academies and Professional Schools

Dance Academies (for instance the Royal Ballet) also offer full-time vocational training for children. They are often linked to the world of performance (especially ballet) through affiliated companies drawing on a historically dominant form of production: the operatic. Academies have more symbolic power as educational institutions, hence, they assign status to their students, legitimized and validated through the diplomas they provide. Academies deem their graduates attractive in the dance market and dance companies and directors consider attentively the qualifications of prospective employees. This results in fierce competition between graduates of institutions with considerably less symbolic power in the world of dance education. Luke argues about his own case:

> [T]he people who I trained with […] we all worked really hard, we all pushed each other because we knew […] things wouldn't be given to us; you know because it's not the Royal Ballet School where people will see you and they will come to your school and see what you do and hence you have more opportunities. Or when you go to audition and they see in your papers […] Royal Ballet School they say, "I know this I'm going to watch you". Now with us, people don't know […] the school. They don't know what's going on there, and so we know that if we wanted to do it, we had to work hard.

However, such power differentiation between academies and their graduates may refer to the content and the quality of training and education offered but does not necessarily secure the excellence implied in the accreditations. What is guaranteed is the product of an assumption resulting from a long-term domination of such schools in the field of dance. In other words, the domination of a particular mode of dance production is reproduced in part by a belief that these are the best possible means by which one can become a dancer (Bourdieu, 1993a: 258). In that sense the genesis of the Dance Academy overlaps with the genesis of the field of dance - "a universe of belief " - as Bourdieu characterizes it (ibid: 164); in our case, a belief in the purity of balletic movement. As a result the historical monopoly of the academic making of dance, although challenged by other organizations, still shapes perceptions in relation to dance education. Luke again reports:

> I mean it's not one of the big schools; it's not royal ballet school or Central Ballet School [and] because they're outside of London a lot of times they're forgotten about. But we got taught by some amazing people, who used to be in Royal Ballet […]

Even though, in practice, other institutions possess both the means and the material to produce and claim excellence in dance, their social recognition may not be equivalent. This is because, as we have seen, power and status in the field is historically interwoven with the prominence of the Academy, once exclusively responsible for training in dance (Franko, 1993). The emergence of an educational market through centuries of conflict and oppositions may have entailed the end of a monopoly, like that of the Academy but only to the extent that it allowed the transformation of those formerly dominant institutions into a significant power in the field (Bourdieu, 1993a). In other words, the emergence of a field as a wider and more complex system of symbolic relations in which different actors or collectives of interrelated actors pursue and define dance in different ways never entirely undermined the original power of the Academy. As a result, those with classical training in the dance academies/operas appear to have a smoother and relatively easier transition to dance companies as they

promote their dancers to the opera, whilst others seem to be attractive to several well-known and established dance companies.

Dance Academies operate as higher education units offer three/four years of professional training. In the UK they are divided into Ballet Schools (e.g. Central Ballet School) and Dance schools (London Contemporary Dance School), depending on whether their emphasis is given to ballet or modern dance respectively. They have modern dance and classical ballet included in their curriculum; however their main objective is to produce a certain type of artist. There are numerous such schools across the UK, some of which enjoy international status. Their structure often resembles that of universities as they gradually transformed their curriculum into structured programs such as MAs or equivalent degrees. Academies also admit upon audition and have yearly tuition fees[71] .

In Greece professional training is accommodated in what are labelled Professional Dance Schools. These operate under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and grant diplomas for dancers and teachers. Typically Schools are not genre-classified, however, they may emphasise internally the one or the other style. Nevertheless, regardless of the style favoured, schools include anatomy, theory of dance, history of arts, ballet and modern dance techniques and repertoires, psychology, improvisation and dance composition, eurhythmics and folk dances in their curriculum. There are eleven professional schools in Greece nine of which are private and three, public. Eight are located in Athens, one in the midlands, and three in Northern Greece. These offer three-year training programs providing qualifications similar to higher education degrees.

Despite this, theatrical dance in Greece is practically and symbolically excluded from formal education and is, therefore, marginal in relation to a predominantly logo-

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[71]   Students have their fees paid by loans or other scholarship funds or are self-funded.

centric public education. It is constructed as a less academic subject and a less legitimate career path. The relationship of dance production to the wider field of political power is thus greatly unequal. The lack of a viable policy on dance and the marginalization of the latter as a practice, mainly through its exclusion from the national curriculum and the reduced employment rights of its practitioners in the public sector[72], condemn these artists to relatively unregulated training and uncertain working conditions. The apparent lack of dance academies and, more importantly, of public ones – except for the State School and the Opera School – rules dance out academically and renders it less legitimate than some other cultural practices.

Therefore, prospective dancers and choreographers resort to private training. Candidates (especially the ones who wish to train classically)[73] are examined before a committee appointed by the Cultural Ministry, which determines the number of successful entries to the private schools each year. In this way the state controls the process of admission in much the same way that it has assumed control of public education without, however, supporting it financially. Specifically, prospective students for the private schools attend an audition organized by the committee, usually consisting of recognized choreographers, dancers and teachers. Examinations include ballet, modern dance and essay writing. The successful completion of the process allows students to attend the private school of their preference.

They are then responsible for the payment of the tuition fees. One school explicitly states the availability of scholarships to male candidates in an attempt to motivate boys to study dance professionally. The State School of Dance holds its own examinations every year and has a set number of admissions. The spaces offered are limited therefore young students who previously trained in the school at a preparatory

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[72]   Dance graduates have no employment rights in public education. Physical Education may include for example teaching folk dances or rhythmic movement but it is taught from graduates of Sport Science departments and not dancers.

[73]   The State School of Dance, although cultivating thoroughly all dance techniques, reportedly has a modern orientation. As a result, most students who wish to study ballet effectively chose to take the exam for the private schools.

level are not guaranteed admission. They also need to attend the audition. Successful candidates study for free.

Even though professional schools present uniformity in their curriculum they reflect different ideas about dance and the dancing body. Those focusing practically on modern dance may directly or indirectly reject ballet training. Although ballet is included in their curricula, teachers may challenge students by campaigning against the particular style of dance or movement or ideologically condemning the aesthetics of ballet. Conversely academies that favour ballet may be antagonistic towards modern dance, stressing, for instance, the extent to which the latter is physically less demanding and less precise than ballet. As Bourdieu (1984:67) would put it, dance schools perform a type of Academicism by use of a set of specified rules framed in terms of exclusions in order to transmit a particular type of knowledge.

George reports:

> I think teaching in Greece is problematic; if you don't like a style of dance you can't say to your students this style sucks, you will only do what I teach. This is counter-educative. It is a form of fascism.

Such practices are also common to traditional ballet academies and are manifest in the experience of their students. The latter demarcate their curriculum and the bodily standards in similar ways. Dancers and Choreographers with experience in multiple academic environments[74] reveal the differential operation of the academies attended and the particular ideas and practices embedded in the organization of such institutions. Their experiences reflect these particular approaches across the same genre or may reflect clashes that constitute justifications of shifts in institutions and genres, resulting from the particular academic practices. For instance, regular weighing and measuring of bodily development, strict dictation of movement, lack of

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[74] Drawn mainly from the British sample.

openness to various physicalities and their responsiveness to technique, a lack of aesthetic and stylistic variety; these are a few of the criticisms that dance students made regarding the institutions they attended. Especially for those with mobility across institutions comparisons between positive and negative experiences and training indicate the symbolic and physical affinities or divergence of bodies and schools, which in turn (dis)allow the production of specific kinds of dance and dance practitioners. For example, Josephine reports on different approaches in training and other practices between two different schools:

> Paris Opera has a very old traditional way of teaching for example, very strict and for me very closed-minded. I think that as a kid they push you far too much, you must be careful of your weight, you must work hard […] they were making us think in a certain way […] There are a lot of people who stayed for five years at the Paris Opera and they only see [that]! If you're not at the Paris Opera company you failed […] they condition you when you're a kid [...] The Paris Conservatory is much more open-minded [there] we did classical but a lot of modern as well and they were much more respectful to the student […].

Traditional Ballet Academies are dedicated to the development and inscription of ballet on the body, namely as a technique and form. Very often, however, they omit to incorporate wider theoretical and practical courses. As they tend to focus on performance and especially on a particular kind of bodily response to dance, prospective dancers may strive to find room for personal and artistic expression and creatively adjust to the form. In many cases, they reported academies fail to provide such space to creative forces. The following examples show this clearly; Sue:

> It's really hard work, you give yourself and you train and you have to be very dedicated to what you do. You have to be highly driven and decided to achieve. However, they do not develop you as a person, so you don't know who you are but you are a dancer […] The training is isolated, […]

236

you are single-minded, so you only know about ballet, there is lack of social skill […] When I came here in the UK I received a lot of care and nurturing. Artistically I changed so much, I had the opportunity to be educated and grow as a person.

Elisabeth:

The first two schools I attended were much more focused on ballet and what I rejected about ballet and why I rejected the whole dance type was […] because I felt that they were trying to mould me into being a kind of robot and serve them; in other words to become a member of the corps de ballet. To perform in an exact way to have a precise type of body […] there was no flexibility, no creativity […] I don't think I really fitted in that kind of institutionalization [which] would be needed for me to really become a ballerina, I didn't have that type of mentality. I needed to have more creativity. I needed to have an area that I could express my self more fully, although I didn't know what that was at that time. So, I think at the Laban Centre they pride themselves [on that] they are able to create thinking dancers and dancers that do work with creativity.

This kind of ideological and very often bodily conflicts between genres or between particular dancers and dance styles originates from individual dispositions towards other forms of expression which appear to collide with the interests of dance academies, interests which are at once symbolic, aesthetic and, in one sense, material. These, as Lahire (2003) argues, are incorporations of the multiple sets of conditions within which individuals operate. In that sense, bodily conflicts stem not solely from the dispositions formed in the process of training but also from the various incorporations of interests developed in different contexts. Hence, as Elias argued (as cited in Lahire, 2003:335) individual stances can be interpreted as the result of habitual processes that are only activated through particular experiences and, in this case, experiences of conflict. Similarly, collision or opposition may occur in the form of rejection on the part of the academy of predominantly forms of bodily hexis

237

(Bourdieu, 1984). That is to say, corporeal forms shaped through a combination social conditions of existence and training. The body then becomes the site of struggle of different forces. Jacob reports an example of this below:

> [A]t the age of fifteen […] I decided that I was going to do ballet […] I wanted to go […] to the Royal Ballet School and I took it quite seriously […] I auditioned to lots of ballet schools, actually to all the ballet schools in England and I got turned down by all of them […] I found what happened quite shocking […] One ballet school said that it would be immoral for any school to take me because I didn't have enough turn out facility in my hips which was true but it was a big shock.

A number of young students are steered into academies with the encouragement of their previous teachers. This in turn entails their participation in an audition where, depending on the level to be accessed, a series of physical and technical skills as standardized by the academy, are assessed. Success in these auditions is not an easy endeavour; in many cases young dancers fail to obtain a position and are rejected. This can often result in a reorientation in style but certainly operates as discouragement to pursue ballet especially. The example of Emma, a dancer, is indicative:

> I think it was at the age of twelve […] one of my friends auditioned in a ballet school. We were friends […] and I always felt that we were very close and worked well together and I realized she's going away to dance. I thought why can't I do that? […] So that got me interested in [...] how I could take it further. So when I was fourteen, I auditioned for that ballet school too but I didn't get in. My mum supported me [...] but after I didn't get in she was like "oh well that's a shame but at least you tried and there's plenty of other things you can do". I had other interests, academically and artistically, and at the same time I was introduced in

contemporary dance through a teacher [...] and I realized that maybe this was something [where] I could be successful rather than ballet.

Dancers may experience rejection in the course of their study but in many cases this may not make sense to them. Similarly, restriction and loss of interest is also common. Very often the approaches of teachers may be responsible for this sort of struggle between different understandings and practices in dance. A change in schools and teachers may be of benefit to students and result in their development as dancers. The previous male dancer reports: "[…] but then my mother suggested the Rambert School, which turned out to be the best thing".

This also applies to ballet students, who may experience restriction in the course of their training. Indicatively Anthony explains:

> If it wasn't for a particular teacher arriving half way through my years in the upper school I think I would have completely given up […] Because I didn't feel I was progressing […] And this teacher was a godsend, he made me interested all over again, he made everything much clearer, he explained things clearly and he [enthused my] passion for it again and he believed that I could do it as well.

Similarly Nikolas refers to his experience:

> In my fourth year in the school I had a teacher with whom I clashed, she was asking unreasonable things [she was asking him to loose weight]. She had issues. I left the school. Luckily after a few months I returned and I was assigned with a different teacher […] She gave me everything and everything I know I know from her.

These material/corporeal oppositions have been historically shaped by longstanding symbolic struggles over the definition and purpose of theatrical dance and the definition and use of the dancing body. As we have shown, dance as a form of representation has been constituted as an object of struggle between versions prescribed by the field of power – translated into a dominant aesthetic in dance production – and less legitimate and often transgressive forms of dance embodiment. These reconfigured social struggles (as Bourdieu, 1993a characterizes oppositions between aesthetic and symbolic approaches) produce real, material, results: namely corporealities that bear both the conditions of possibility and impossibility of specific genres.

Thus, even across the same genre academies may focus on particular dance techniques rather than others, in an attempt to produce embodiments with a certain perspective on theatrical dance. This is especially the case with professional dance education in Greece, which steers individuals into certain styles that determine their future symbolic position in the field. It is noteworthy that this oblique process by means of which the relationship between dance styles and dancers is constructed is responsible for the future homogeneity or fragmentation of dance practices. I used the term oblique because as I implied earlier, Professional Dance schools in Greece do not claim a particular orientation in style. Typically they claim to teach all theatrical dance techniques equally (apart from one that emphasises ballet).

Hence prospective students need to have prior knowledge of what is being taught and how in each school and therefore choose according to their preferences in style. Without this, they are faced with the challenge of embodying a specific aesthetic and technical viewpoint dominant in their school. Dance schools, as educational units are "apparatuses of consecration, which hold the political power to impose their visions" on their scholars (Bourdieu, 1996a: 49). Dancers' and choreographers' experience of training reflects precisely the imposition of a professional state approved education through the dissemination of legitimate styles of movement and the classification of styles and bodies. For example Joanna reports:

The new school administration introduced Graham technique and the
Royal Academy of Dance system of ballet training. We did Graham
every day often twice or three times a day and this was a big change [...]
I did not like RAD, I didn't like the fact that we were forced to take the
examinations at the end of the year.

Artists from Britain also described their transition to professional training and their
experience of physical engagement as a result of the standardization of style,
technique, movement and bodily structure for dance (modern or ballet). Leona
reports:

I was ignorant of the fact that I didn't have the perfect technique because
I didn't know what technique was. I only knew that I could move well.
[…] I was taught things about my body that I didn't feel [were] a
positive experience. It was like "We take for granted that you are a good
dancer but now we need to sort your body out" basically. "You can
move, yes, that's fine, but you need to have a certain type of body and
make certain shapes or look in a certain way with your body". For me
that was difficult because I had to really work to achieve certain lines in
my body [which] were natural for other people [of] different
nationalities.

Dance training is synonymous with the inscription of certain values about rhythmic
movement and dance on the body as well as the reconstruction of physical properties
for the purposes of specific dance styles. In that sense training is responsible for the
cultivation of a bodily habitus (Turner & Wainwright, 2006). This habitus
corresponds to specific social and aesthetic structures as embodied in the course of
living and dancing and explains to a certain extent the specific choices individuals
make in the field of dance.

Conservatories, Higher Education Units and Dance Centres

Professional dance schools in the UK facilitate the possibility of an enhanced training and are organized in the form of Conservatories[75] , that is to say, institutional umbrellas for more than one form of art, usually music, drama and dance. Some Conservatories and Contemporary Dance Schools collaborate with universities in post-graduate studies such as performance/theory, technology/digital performance and other subjects. Furthermore some Universities in the UK also offer dance or performing arts training. Ballet academies, more often than not, do not offer post-graduate training of that kind. However, other schools such as the Central Ballet School may provide a less strict type of training giving some space to other styles or approaches under the degree title of dance performance. A number of international dance graduates (twenty one out of the thirty of this sample, five of whom are Greek) have completed full or part of the training in such schools, only one of who is a ballet dancer. Modern dance practitioners especially arrive at these kinds of schools depending on the genre and style they wish to pursue or as a result of previous training in the same, broader performing palette. Artists that studied in these types of institutions report a rather positive experience mainly stemming from their potential to expand their knowledge in the area of performance and not solely on dance. They can also built their curriculum rather than follow a set structure prescribed by the institutions.

Conclusion

In this section I have outlined the structure and character of dance training in Greece and the UK. As we have seen, dance training in Britain has a specialized character. Schools are dedicated to the cultivation of particular genres or to the production of particular kinds of performers corresponding to the theatrical genres staged locally and internationally. Dance academies and ballet schools particularly are the product

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[75]   This type of schools are not necessarily called conservatories, their names may be various such as Centres, School of Performing arts and so on.

of a series of attempts to either simulate the structure of the Paris Opera (School) as the oldest institution in dance training, or have diverged from this and operate in the form of Conservatories and Centres. Conversely, dance education in Greece is limited, due to a lack of public investment in arts, and not explicitly classified in terms of dance genres. The number of professional schools is less extensive and public funded tuition is restricted to the State School of Dance and the National Opera School. However, in Britain, even though tuition is fee paid, there are more opportunities for financial student support.

Dance is an expensive activity that may be affordable at some stage for parents but in the long run it requires considerable backing, as the tuition fees are the minimum expenses for a dance student. Especially in Greece dance education and production is not state protected to the extent that formal academic education is. As a result students and their families are financially responsible for their attendance in dance schools and dance academies very often for a prolonged period, namely from their initiation to their graduation as professionals. The students of the State School and the National Opera are the exception to this.

Generally, training is the product of a specifically structured system of institutions (boarding schools, academies et.), which develop specific types of movement and bodily techniques. Dancing Bodies are constructed through long-term engagement in movement through these institutions and develop a specific bodily hexis. As Bourdieu (1992:18) argues this hexis "expresses the first result of an organising action; […] it designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a disposition, tendency, propensity or inclination"; in this case, an inclination towards a particular forms of dancing. However, this correspondence is never absolute; it encompasses conflict and competition. Dancing bodies are the locus of conflict between individual bodily hexis and academic/prescribed definitions of the ideal dancing body. Such tensions are expressed through processes such as auditioning as well as teaching practices.

Training experiences

This section will focus on the particular experiences of training as described by the artists in this sample with an emphasis on these processes of construction that come into conflict with the particular dancing bodies; in other words the way in which respondents experienced their own bodies as sites of struggle (Wolff, 1997).

The competitive spirit cultivated in schools in relation to performance and physical engagement is common across samples. Certain teaching practices encourage aggressive comparisons in order to secure the maintenance of students' level of performance. Similarly, teachers may demand a constant and highly consistent level of daily achievement and introduce penalties for failure to adjust. Such practices very often result in the disheartening of students and loss of enthusiasm for dance. Nevertheless students cope with this particular style of training via a mental separation of the value and significance of dance as an art form and the technical training required. Students, who are faced with conditions of training incompatible with their habitus, emotionally detach from the practice of dance – at least during their studies – whilst finding ways to make the best possible use of all their training in dance in the future. Leona offers her experience:

> They encourage you to think that you are a small fish in big pond! They want you to feel that way, […] I was very competitive – not [...] looking around in a nasty way, nothing like that or being bitchy but inwardly I wasn't really training for myself. Nobody was […] they were training to be the best in class. But that thing made me retreat [...] and I was accused of being lazy and all sorts of things. […] in order for me to feel good it is not necessary for someone else to feel inferior. So I didn't want to get involved in this kind of game […] I mean I went to class every morning and I was training as hard as I could but I didn't get involved in that side of things.

The power embedded in the practices of these academies manifests both symbolically and materially in training. However, this does not imply that there is un-challenged/un-critical incorporation of the particular approach to dance/ballet. Even though immersion in the School's approaches may and will have an effect on both intellect and body (habitus), scholars are aware and very often opposed to the practices of such institutions. They are able to discern the problematic character of their tuition and to recognise contradictions. George a Greek modern dancer commends: "Teachers often tell you different things that don't add up". Rebecca, a British choreographer also reports:

I found it really difficult; I'd gone from absolutely loving dance […] to suddenly being in an incredibly negative, serious, competitive and unsupportive environment. […] it was [the] kind of attitude that if you are ill, you have a problem: you go down the grade, if you are injured, you have a problem get out [...] There was like a campaign to break me, I'd go from A to E and in my final year and I went to the head of the school and I said this is impossible I cannot be one day A and then be an E […]. And she said you know "if you are not careful, you will be E in everything so shut up kind of thing". So I lost getting a first by one percent; and they were really nasty, really confusing - totally un-transparent.

As also implied above, contradictions in teaching are something that artists from both samples reported in their training experience. Contradictory comments can be received as different teachers may have different ideas on training and technique. Contradictions also occur when schools restructure their operation, change curriculum or directorship. These inevitably result in shifts in teaching and style approaches, which cause confusion and frustration to students and, at the extreme, failure in studies. Moreover, criticism can be expressed in offensive ways in relation to a series of flaws or supposed inadequacies of the students, such as height and weight, bodily shape, technical inefficiency/skills, without acknowledging the failure of the teaching

245

practice itself to transmit the intended outcome. George, a modern dancer from Greece reports:

> Teachers are horrible, they are insulting, they look down on you, they are strict but in the wrong way. I tried not to pay so much attention; sometimes I wouldn't even take their comments into account.

Moreover, the failure of certain teaching practices as pedagogic methods is also an issue, which leads back into the curriculum itself and the absence of training for teachers as such. Greek male dancers comment that criticism is mainly directed to female students and noted especially the number of comments regarding their appearance. However, dancers and choreographers in both samples and with experience in various institutions report similar practices. A modern dancer from the British set reports that her ballet teacher used to say in a derogatory manner: "just look at you!" Teaching, especially at the professional level, may be characterized by aggressive or insulting behaviour, harsh criticism and practices of favouritism, which are linked subsequently to networks of power. As Rea a Greek ballet dancer reports:

> My teacher, she operated a lot with favouritism. You had to always acknowledge her as the best thing that ever happened to you. I wasn't interested in that so I wasn't her favourite student.

Greek artists report that criticism may extend to students' personal lifestyle and life choices as extreme as criticism for attending university! The same ballet dancer explains:

> They use to say, I will fail you if you miss a class to take your university exams. They even told my mum, what does she need university for?

These phenomena are often expressions of resentment about teachers' lack of success in the field, embodied and reproduced through training, which are either directed towards particular individuals or dance styles or both. A number of Greek artists acknowledged these as such and were aware that dance training passes down not only bodily but also behavioural structures. In that sense, dance academies owe symbolic power to the particular values and ideas developed amongst the various networks of practitioners and the dynamics between them reproduced through the body. This is why dance academies are staffed with teachers of significant symbolic power/status and field recognition such as former dancers, choreographers or teachers with significant educational capital.

Given, though, that theatrical dance production in Greece dates from the mid twentieth century there appears a very slow process of renewal with regard to both teachers and directors in the various private and public training institutions. This is evident in the tensions created very often between the new generations of dance practitioners and the older ones; these tensions may be evident at the level of professional positioning or they manifest themselves at the level of training in the relationship between scholars and their tutors. This is what Bourdieu (1993a: 55) discusses as "synchronising oppositions between positions" in the field. Dance is preserved by older generations who set the conditions of possibility for the field of dance by means of established schools, dance groups or as dancers in the National Opera. The number of schools that operate under the directorship of the first or second generation professionals is indicative of the power they hold in the production of dance and dance practitioners. In general the circle of accredited teachers in the professional schools is small, which means that this older generation of teachers may circulate amongst all schools, standardizing training conditions as a whole.

For example Rea explains

> I think ballet in Greece has a problem. It has been practiced by few
> people – quite important in that they did their best to establish dance in

Greece – who are now teachers. So there is not much choice or perspective. I personally had that problem, I didn't have many options, I chose to go to the particular school, the director was a dancer during 1940's; they later on became the director of the National Opera. They were very single-minded. They did not know how dance had developed since their time.

In other words, there exists what a lot of younger dancers label as an old–fashioned approach to various forms followed by an old–fashioned application of teaching methods as well as a behavioural pattern that reinforces the latter. This is the type of Academicism Bourdieu (1996a) refers to. This even applies within the same genre, where antagonistic approaches in technique may have developed in the same manner as between ballet and modern dance. However, the number of schools that "specialize'' in ballet is small and there are not many options for prospective scholars. This, in itself, reinforces the tension between newcomers and established dance practitioners. Many students, with the direction of their teachers, choose professional dance schools that at least in name suit their previous training, stylistic preferences and perceptions of dance; in other words, they make choices based on their dance habitus acquired in the process of preparatory training and the advice of some specialist of the field. In some cases this may mean long-term tuition in the same academy (a lot of professional schools, including the state one, have preparatory levels for children and young adults).

The continuation of old techniques often drawn from teachers' experience rather than from an up- to-date material on training characterizes the practical exercises. This is usually attributed to the short tradition in theatrical dance and the limited scale of dance production in Greece. Even more so, teachers' lack of stage–experience, as reported by some interviewees, meaning that they are thus unable to convey key transferable skills, indicates the limitations in dance production. Technical hysteresis either in the form of a possession of a limited range of dance techniques or in the form of an outdated application of the body, is something that reflects in students' technique, bodily shape and efficiency as well as the likelihood of injury.

As a result, students resorted to supplementary classes during or after their graduation in order to amend or correct their training. It is very common amongst dancers, whether they remain in the genre they initially chose or whether they pass over to another, to discover inadequacies in their training. This is mostly evident to those who furthered their studies abroad or attended other training. Diana, a choreographer reports:

> I believe that dance education in Greece has been insufficient, with all the respect to my teachers. When I went to the States I realized that I had to correct my technique, which was really painful. We were taught the wrong things and even after so many years of practice I can still see problems- results of what I have been taught.

Furthermore, some practitioners acknowledge that Greek academies are theoretically ill-equipped. There are hardly any courses with a historic-philosophical outlook on the phenomenon of dance. Moreover, students tend to underestimate the importance of existent courses mainly because they are taught as intervals to the practical classes. Courses such as history of art are taught after two/three hours training, when students' attention span is really low due to fatigue. Moreover, students take notes while sitting on the floor, while most schools do not have rooms suitable for theoretical classes.

In general, the formal curriculum of professional dance education channels students to certain techniques and dance forms which are the results of a particular aesthetic. This is often considered restrictive or is perceived as a forced or violent imposition on their bodies. An insistence on certain styles or on one bodily technique alone is translated as a lack of openness to alternative ways of moving and dancing. In that sense dance education can be a profoundly conservative process. Students, however, may develop different perspectives or may wish to depart from the dominant forms prescribed by the academic conditioning. Therefore, they may resort to other types of training, less one-sided and more open to other styles of movements as well as being more

theoretically rich[76] . However, there is no overall uniformity in the training experience of dancers, namely not all dance practitioners experience dance education negatively. For instance, some latecomers have a more positive attitude towards their training mainly due to their aspirations to study dance even at a later stage. Salvatore, a modern dance choreographer states:

> I think so many things came together for me during that time [formal training], I wanted to do what I wanted to do and I had the opportunity to meet a lot of interesting people and I had the chance to learn how to do things and what it is to make work and I think that it was sometimes difficult as well as very useful and if it wasn't for that starting point, I wouldn't be here now I think of it as the way which brought me here.

Similarly, a number of artists see their dance education as adequate, well organized and well thought-through. Especially dancers/choreographers who received prolonged training in the same institution (overall seven: two male – five female, three ballet dancers and four modern dance practitioners) and have experienced all stages of preparation in the same conditions appear content. Even though they recognize the flaws they also recognize the strengths of their formal training. Some see the latter as a secure basis for their future development and a good preparation for the professional world of dance Students of the State School of Dance and the Tring College respectively tended especially to praise the variety of subjects taught at all stages of training and the systematic approach implemented. Dancers, who studied there, report:

For The (Greek) State School of Dance Joanna says: "I am very satisfied with my training, it was well-rounded and we were prepared for what is out there professionally"

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[76]   Given that there is little connection between theoretical and practical classes in some schools, theoretical knowledge is extremely desirable a reasons that often steers individuals to study abroad.

For the Tring College Sarah reports:

> […] I need to say that I had an amazing time at school […] it was a very rounded training, because I did not just focus on one form, I mean totally ballet, I did drama, I did singing, music, tap, jazz, Spanish, ballet, contemporary […] [whilst] some will argue that you need to focus 100% to become a really high standard dancer. However, […] looking back now on my training and my professional career, those things gave me such a great platform in going into contemporary dance; because we draw on all those things. Because we draw on speech, on acting skills, on singing skills, you know so for me it was a well-rounded experience.

Conclusion

Training across the two fields can be very diverse, depending on whether the focus is placed on ballet or on a combination of styles especially. However, all artists address the disciplinary processes they are subjected to and formality of their schooling. Participants comment on the (mental and physical) effort required to complete training under these circumstances, which is very often synonymous with hardships. The direct and indirect pressures of physical and technical achievement that often relate to the preservation of the standard and status of the school or the status of dance overall are the common denominator of experience in dance production. As a result, professional training is often experienced as a conflict with institutional prescriptions of movement.

Especially, the Greek artists as we have seen are highly critical of the institutions they attended and acknowledge the limitations of their training. The latter relies in their view on the empirical knowledge of its practitioners formalized according to a general state directive rather than on an organized plan aimed at dance production. This simultaneously creates a network of power in the area of training. Specific people direct the schools and teachers circulate among them. This has negative effects on the training experience of dancers but also constitutes a means by which the latter are

channelled into certain areas of the field. This becomes more evident when dancers further their studies abroad. Nevertheless, there is some level of satisfaction derived from training in Greece.

However, these are generally the conditions by means of which dancers and choreographers are produced. The latter may encounter challenging situations but they eventually respond effectively regardless of the (mental and physical) effort this required in this sample. For some training fulfils their artistic and technical aspirations. For those with a secure technical or theatrical foundation, especially professional dance training rounds up their artistic and bodily experiences

Higher Education Mobility, Examination Boards and Strategies

This section will address the issue of the Greek student mobility in the UK for educational purposes into Art Conservatories and Higher Education Dance Units as channelled through examination boards. These strategies will be explained as relations of dependency between the two fields of dance production.

Greek dancers and choreographers strategically invest in UK Universities, Dance Centres, and Conservatories for further training and specialization in the same manner as other students do in Higher Education. As Eliou (1988:60) argues, the mobility towards foreign institutions arises from an unequal distribution of resources amongst countries in relation to educational development. The phenomenon of Greek student mobility dates from the 1960s and was reinforced by the waves of migration in difficult economic and political times. Karagianni (2005) shows that Greek modern dance artists invest in further dance education abroad in British, French, German and American institutions. The channelling of graduates to study abroad evident in the academic strategies of higher education graduates also applies to dance.

Research has shown that 37% of Greek student enrolment in Higher Education takes place abroad (Papas & Psacharopoulos, 1987) whilst more recent statistics by Eurostat (2007) shown that Greek students engage in high geographical mobility within the European Union whilst one of their preferred destinations in the UK. The study in renowned institutions for dance, such as the University of Middlesex or the Place in London is a strategy that reveals the ongoing dependency of Greek dance production on the British field especially. The experience of studying abroad is very different from that of the domestic dance education. The difference lies not just in the material conditions of the training offered, such as bigger studios and stages to train or access to technology, but also in access to libraries, performances and seminars as

well as a variety of theoretical and practical classes (such as video-dance or animation) that are not included in the Greek curricula[77] .

The embodiment of practices, modes and genres taught abroad define, as we have seen, the approaches choreographers develop in Greece when they return at the end of their studies. However, the channelling of dancers and choreographers to the British dance institutions is prepared for during both their preparatory and formal training. The establishment of British systems of training with the mediation of the British Council in Athens such as the Royal Academy of Dance (RAD) or the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dance (ISTD) syllabi straightforwardly shape the experience of ballet dance students, and to lesser extent modern dance ones[78] . Younger students are likely to be trained in and take the exams of one or both systems.

Moreover, RAD established a youth dance company in Greece especially dedicated to ballet, offering professional experience to prospective dancers after a successful audition. This is open to students and graduates, but the former have primacy over the latter. As a result, the British style of dance clearly dominates training in Greece. Even though it appears optional in some schools it has, practically, primacy over other styles. Bourdieu (1977b) argued, in discussing the relationship between a rural periphery and the Parisian centre in terms of linguistic usages, that the bureaucratization of a state enforced homogeneity on linguistic articulation was a means of control. Similarly the expansion and application of the standardized curriculum of British Board Examinations operates as a yardstick to local production and therefore to any potential development of a local idiom.

Both systems (RAD and ISTD) have spread across professional and recreational schools becoming the main sources of dance accreditation. Dance practitioners in the Greek sample recognize the value of a systematic and well-organized teaching of

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[77]   The respect that students receive was also mentioned by respondents

[78]   It is noteworthy that the expenses for examinations of both RAD and ISTD are the responsibility of individual students and are not included in the tuition fees.

dance that directs bodies safely to performance. Simultaneously, however, they consider that such systems allow little freedom of expression and creativity as they operate on a fixed set of exercises, which are repeatedly executed throughout the academic year. Moreover, for some the very idea of accreditation at every stage of training (from infants to majors) is not in line with the idea of shaping a performer but rather is an "academicisation" of dance training, which transforms dance/ballet into a fragmented curriculum, the mastery of which constitutes the purpose of training. Moreover, dancers who were initially trained in the Russian system, that is to say through another system with reportedly significant differences in technique and style, especially as regards ballet, felt a kind of clash evident in bodily performance. In other words, the introduction to such training clashed with the bodily habitus formed through other channels and styles of dance practice. Moreover, the financial value of such training re-established the role of private tuition as the only mode of dance training.

In general, Greek dance production depends greatly on foreign and especially British institutions, as expressed through the investments of students in the latter. We speak about dependence rather than a cultural exchange, as the influx of foreign students or practitioners is minimal. Even though in principle Greek dance appears to be self sufficient in resources, in practice the expansion of the field is due to the mobility of students abroad. Historically, studying abroad would bring more knowledge and status to the practitioners of dance; this is actually a pattern that persists regardless of the actual training potential in the field.

Training trajectories - Training Experiences

Ballet is the starting point for the majority of this sample. As many as seventeen artists started ballet as children, although some diverted from it during or after their professional training. Fourteen participants were classically trained whilst the rest focused on modern dance, although ballet was included in their training. Only six became ballet dancers with another three performing the neoclassical technique. They all trained at renowned schools or local Operas and Conservatories, whilst the Greek born ones attended the private professional Schools. Seven ballet dancers/choreographers remained at the same school for all of their professional training, one changed from a public (i.e. state supported School to a private one - as they could not be admitted to the Paris Opera School[79] (their ancestors were not tall enough!) Another passed from a private school to the Greek State School and in the last year of their formal training back to a private one.

On the other hand, modern dance practitioners may commence their training through ballet but sooner or later practice other styles to which they gradually give primacy. As many as eleven artists switched from ballet to modern dance in their trajectory, whilst thirteen started their training in more than one dance genre (jazz, tap etc). The latecomers of this sample (six) have in all but one case focused on modern dance, although they received ballet training. One became a ballet dancer whilst another attended a ballet school but eventually practiced modern dance. The transition from amateur schooling to professional training may be smooth for most students, however, as we have seen there are cases where passing from one school to another was troublesome.

The conditions, which prospective artists experience on arrival, are not necessarily in an affinity with their previous experience of training or bodily efficiency. This is

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[79]   The particular school has very strict admission requirements that involve the bodily features of both the candidate and their family in an effort to predict the bodily development of the child and assess their suitability to become a dancer.

often the reason why dance students are rejected by or forced out of dance institutions. Few students made attempts to leave for other schools not all successful. The example of a dancer/choreographer from Greece, who moved frequently between schools, is indicative of such tensions. The former intended to pursue ballet but following the advice of their teacher, they chose to enter the State School only to find in the process that it did not focus on ballet to the extent that they wished[80] . As a result, they moved to a private professional school that placed more emphasis on classical training in the last year of their tuition.

The participants who did not pursue ballet as a profession recognize the significance of their initial training. However, six considered ballet restrictive both stylistically and aesthetically, whilst another found it hard to be employed as a ballerina. Those whose training was more specialized in modern dance engaged in long-term tuition at the same institution or moved by a smooth transition from amateur to professional dance education. Even for the latecomers the conscious decision to take up dance meant an orientation towards dance studios and schools that focused on modern styles. The variation in the training trajectories of this sample is characterized by shifts in schools and in some cases in styles. In an overview, eleven participants present relative mobility across schools and styles in the period between their initiation and their graduation from professional schools mainly migrating to modern or neoclassical dance.

Nevertheless, modern dancers' experience of training may not be as smooth as their trajectory suggests. They all comment on the pressure they experienced in the course of their professional training. For example, two dancers from the Greek set report on the frustration they experienced as their school aligned both structure and curriculum with the European standards of dance education. They argue that such a shift had a knock-on effect on the style of teaching and made tuition far more competitive. Changes such as the introduction of new courses or new systems of teaching like the

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[80]   Although the State School of Dance is not considered to be a producer of classical dancers it is the most prestigious school and a number of teachers often recommend their students to attend their exams. In addition the lack of fees can also be a sufficient motive for students to seek admission.

RAD system of ballet training, a change of teaching staff and new approaches to dance styles can significantly impinge on students' experience. In one particular case the instantaneous transformation of the school operation at all levels caused distress, failure and stoppages in studies. Others commented on the offensive behaviour of teachers whilst only two reported that they were not affected. The latecomers present greater resistance towards the pressure of formal training driven mostly by their aspiration to dance professionally.

Those who attended the State School have all pursued modern dance professionally, which indicates the orientation of the school. One artist stated explicitly that this particular school tends to steer students into modern dance. These graduates tend to have a more positive stance towards their training, and felt well prepared for the professional world. In two cases, however, training in that school had involved more deleterious effects. Two female dancers suffered from anorexia during their training and consider dance training responsible for their state. They considered the amount of pressure on them immense and struggled intensely for the next level. One of them eventually shifted from the State School to a private one where she experienced great relief thanks to a lessening of tuition hours and of the consequent demands on her body.

For those who pursued post-graduate studies, training experience was often differentiated from that experienced in Greece or in their home country. The six participants who received postgraduate training in dance studied in the UK whilst one further trained in the US and Germany. The main element that characterizes the experience of the Greek artists who studied in the UK is the exposure to a more extensive number of techniques and styles as well as the access to performances that had never reached the Greek theatres. In other words, participation in a larger field expanded their understanding of the form as well as their creative potential. For example, one participant was re-introduced to dance through a university exchange program, which resulted in postgraduate training in dance. In four cases postgraduate training was a conscious decision to further one's studies in dance.

Similarly, the two artists (British set) that proceeded to postgraduate training in the UK have different experiences of the institutional and aesthetic aspects of such training. One holds an MA in Applied Studies in Dance from Birmingham City University and comments on the more open and versatile approach of such training compared to their initial studies. Contrastingly, the other saw the allegedly less structured approach of the Laban Centre less helpful and concrete. The four Greek born graduates studied at the University of Middlesex, the Laban Centre and the Place (London) respectively. Three of them attempted employment abroad during their training but found it too hard to keep up with other auditioning or retaining a place with a dance company. All but one returned to Greece after at least two years of study or practice. In an overview, at least seven artists from the Greek set (of which six are contemporary dance practitioners) have attended seminars in London in order to further their knowledge in dance. One ballet dancer attended Royal Academy of Dance and the Royal Ballet summer schools towards the end of their professional training, as well as a successful audition at the Birmingham Royal Ballet[81] .

It is apparent that there is a marked association between British training/educational institutions and the educational strategies and investments of Greek dancers and choreographers. As we have seen, such practices date from the inception of theatrical dance in Greece. However, what is interesting is that since Ninette DeValois's unsuccessful attempt to establish an academy and a company in Greece and thus a direct relationship between British and Greek dance production, such connection was made possible through other routes; namely the imposition of systems of training and syllabi but also the attraction of individuals to the training institutions of Britain. Wallerstein's (1976) theory of core and periphery applies in this case. The core countries including the UK control, in this case, the supply of cultural products/ services as well as some material resources, which in this case include the living dancing bodies. The benefit of such control translates into the cultural hegemony of the core countries over the peripheral and semi-peripheral ones (Greece belongs to the latter category according to Wallerstein). Furthermore, it yields profit for the

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[81]   This however, did not result in employment due to injury.

economically dominant countries as they attract labour/graduates or supervise their production through boards of examination.

In summary, eighteen out of the thirty artists have an uninterrupted trajectory in the field of dance and a smooth transition from training to professional life as dancers or choreographers. Two of these eight people changed styles on the way, one during training (from one style of modern dance to another) and the other for employment reasons after graduation[82] (from classical ballet to modern dance); the remaining twelve present interrupted trajectories in the field - including those with late (re)initiation in dance. In most cases higher education strategies are involved or tensions between styles and physicalities. Some diverted from dance to study in universities or started studying before they took up dance - or pursued another art (one became a musician). They (re)entered the field either because their studies were relevant to dance, or because they decided on a career change for good. Some dancers, were forced out, rejected by, or had chosen to opt out from particular institutions (mainly ballet schools but not exclusively). In the cases were the dancers whose bodily and cultural dispositions were not in an elective affinity with the academic - balletic definitions of dance. Such dancers, driven by a physical and mental interest, namely by their particular dancing habitus, discovered modern dance as an alternative universe of corporeal expression through a polemical relationship to ballet or by a particular approach to modern dance.

As we have seen, dance production is synonymous with symbolic conflicts over dance-making and other contradictions linked to the organization of training as a power structure. Even though modern dance education is structured in an ideologically and materially opposing way to the Operatic, power relations persist. A series of Professional Modern Dance Schools worldwide were formed on the principle of anti-academism in so far as the latter cemented the dissolution of the specific type of (power) relations responsible for the production of dance/ballet.

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[82]   The particular dancer "failed" a number of auditions in the national opera and re-oriented towards modern dance and formed a company of their own.

There are three categories of dancers who arrive in these schools. The first consists of those who are interested in performing arts, have a foundation in various forms[83] and who wish to specialize in dance or musical/dance theatre. Four dance practitioners belong here: two dancers and two choreographers. These present a smooth transition between different genres and institutions. They have a good foundation in different styles whilst their relationship with ballet is determined at an early stage through processes of selection. The second category refers to those dancers who shifted from a strictly classical or other training to modern dance - a result of academic rejection or reorientation. This group consists of two dancers and one choreographer/dancer. Two pursued ballet training to a level that did not, however meet the standard of the academy and gradually passed on to modern dance. The third shifted from folk to modern dance. The third category consists of the latecomers, namely dancers and choreographers (two), who did not engage in formal training until their early adulthood and whose training experience does not stretch as far as the first two categories. The diversity of dancers admitted in these schools and the multiplicity of pathways through which the latter arrive indicates the differential operation of contemporary dance/performance education. That is to say, it indicates the multiple in the study and practice of dance.

For the rest, however, (including the ones who shifted from other styles and the latecomers) professional training in modern dance is not as straightforward or positive. Admission to the contemporary dance schools constitutes a form of recognition of potential but does not guarantee an effortless and easy response to training. A very common issue is the adjustment of the body to the academic standard of work. Very often the transition from recreational to professional training can reveal the specific technical inadequacies (as defined by the academic rule) of students. In these cases students strive to adjust their physicality and attain the set standard. Such a process often requires comparisons with other bodies and the achievement of peers. Especially for those students that arrive from different dance disciplines such an adjustment entails a new way of thinking about and (doing) bodily movement and dance technique. In that sense their effort is not solely "physical but also intellectual",

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[83]   This is the case of the ones' who attended performing arts boarding schools.

as they struggle to alter a specific type of habitus, that is a certain mental and bodily understanding of movement.

Nevertheless, this particular sample is only indicative of the training conditions to which dance students are subjected. All the same, their experience offers a valuable insight in the world of dance training. Dancers' mobility in and across fields indicates the developing dynamics and the limits of local professional dance training as well as the dependence of dance production on foreign resources, manifest especially in the Greek case. In general movement across institutional positions explains to a certain extent the particular practices that individuals will develop professionally. This will be discussed analytically in the following chapter.

Chapter 12

Employment Structures and Experiences

Employment in the world of dance is tied to the style one practices, the conditions of employment and the particular capital – (bodily and institutional) (Wainwright et al. 2007) – that individuals posses and invest in the field. Choices in dance styles, at least between genres such as ballet or modern dance, take place relatively early in one's dancing life. One may reach that decision during professional training. However, often attending a particular school/academy may be prescribed by one's affiliation to the style the school promotes. Specialization in certain techniques – mainly of modern dance - may come at a later stage. To what extent the selection of style is conscious and intentional or a product of one's long immersion in training in a particular technique depends on the particular relationship a dancer develops with the form, their bodily attributes and, of course, the quality of training they receive and are subjected to. However, the particular dancing habitus one forms in the process of training is in an affinity with the conditions of professional performance and the particular approaches to dance in the professional world. In that sense they constitute options in the space of dancing possibles, namely the field of dance (Bourdieu, 1993a:162).

Specifically, this second stage of dance institutionalization revolves around those more or less formalized processes of dance enactment, namely the modes and means of theatrical dance production such as the dance/ballet companies. This section will explore the social grounds of the professional experience of theatrical dance artists in order to reveal the conditions of artistic creation as a part of a complex system of technical and bureaucratic processes. Such processes both structure and enable artistic creation; that is to say, the engagement of embodiment in the symbolic production of meaning. Dancing bodies engage in representational negotiations as well as

negotiations of social meanings through movement. They do so, principally via the two archetypical modes of dance production: the operatic and the small-scale respectively. As it is traced out in the first part of the thesis, these two forms have been historically shaped through symbolic struggles over the definition and legitimacy of specific styles of dance movement and embodiment: these are adapted and transformed in time according to the specific principles of production at specific historical phases and geographical locations.

In Britain as in many other countries ballet, neoclassical and what is broadly defined as contemporary dance are accommodated into what are labelled large[84], medium and small-scale companies, but also in unstructured groups, often formed for the purposes of a specific production. Historically, the standardization of the mode and means of such production stemmed from the constant transformation of the conditions of possibility of dance globally. The operatic mode of production has dominated balletic performance for the past four centuries. However, as we have seen, individual dancers such as Marie Taglioni in the 18th century toured and performed on their own in the various theatres of Europe assisted by their impresarios (Homans, 2010).

As against such initiatives Operatic ballet, since its original courtly form, has been preeminent. Nevertheless, it was constantly challenged by those less legitimate dance platforms with less formal structure, such as the fair theatres and touring guilds. In modern times Isadora Duncan especially and later on German Expressive dance initiated and established a free non- institutionalized production. Such formats served as vehicles for the emergence of new styles and approaches in dance as they were immediate manifestations of a new approach in movement as a whole. The subsequent symbolic and institutional division between modern and contemporary dance cemented the association between small-scale companies and contemporary dance styles. However, such styles are not restricted to these organizations alone in the UK.

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[84] Large-scale does not refer to what Bourdieu (1993a; 1996a) labels as commercialized production but rather refers to the capacity of these companies in terms of employees and collaborators

Similarly, in Greece, dance production is divided into two professional formats: the Operatic and the private small-scale company. Ballet dancers are exclusively employed in the National Opera – the only institution that accommodates ballet in the country – based in Athens. The National Opera Ballet focuses mainly on classical repertories and rarely presents contemporary work. On the other side of the spectrum, contemporary and neoclassical dance in Greece is only accommodated in small – scale companies which have no steady membership and assemble only for specific projects and performances. In that sense the structure of dance performance is totally different from that in the UK.

In the UK an extensive field of both ballet and contemporary dance has developed. Almost every major city has at least one large-scale ballet or neoclassical company, whilst a variety of both large and small-scale contemporary companies also exist. The diversity of both classical and contemporary groups and the types of work they produce is peculiar to Britain. Such companies range from classical to neoclassical and from that to modern ballet, as well as from dance theatre companies to improvisational groups, aerial/circus dance and physical theatre. In that sense the field is highly aesthetically inclusive. Such variety, however, is not encountered in the Greek field where distinctive techniques are employed both in ballet and contemporary dance, a result of the specific training conditions. Hence, the structure of both fields is the outcome of the interaction of those dispositions formed in and by the particular conditions of dance production, the institutions involved in the formation of such dispositions and the wider position of dance as a form in the field of power.

In general, the structure of dance training is relatively homogenous internationally. On the other hand, the conditions of dance making are less rigid. As a result, the trajectories of dancers and choreographers in the professional world are much more variable and unpredictable, precisely reflecting the distinctive character of dance production. The transition from the academic study to the professional world reveals the multiple pathways through which performing bodies and their mentors (choreographers) engage in the phenomenon of dance with all its potential forms. The

relatively firm organization of the academy gives ways to the less secure and less structured world of dance performance in which specific individuals are "attracted" to specific forms of production either as a result of their particular disposition or out of necessity (Bourdieu, 1993a).

One type of transition to professional life concerns performing during the last years of training. Depending on the style of dance and the academic environment in which students train, both ballet and contemporary dancers can perform professionally at an earlier stage. For those dancers who train at schools linked to a large or medium-scale company, such as the Royal Ballet or the Rambert School, professional experience can be gained via participation in the productions of the company in minor roles or via apprenticeships. This can lead to employment in these companies[85]. Similarly youth companies resembling some of the structural features of large-scale production operate as another platform for the transition to professional dance performance. Such groups usually accommodate both classical and modern dance whilst serving as a source of dancers especially, but not exclusively, for large-scale companies. This is particularly the case in the UK and elsewhere whilst in Greece there are only the RAD youth company and one that is attached to a particular private school, which hence operates as a transitional step for the graduates of that school. They are both focused on ballet, unlike those in the UK that assist transition to either style.

In the contemporary dance world, dancers and choreographers across fields at the end of their formal training often form non-hierarchical groups consisting especially of their school colleagues. In such adaptable groups they engage in choreographing and performing in festivals both locally and abroad. It is also quite common that auditioning may start at an early stage even before graduation. Such auditions may lead to short- term contracts or full time employment in a company. In cases where full-time employment occurs at an early stage, dancers may not formally complete their studies. In Greece professional schools can be the locus where employment

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[85] This is especially the case with ballet students.

opportunities arise. Given that a number of teachers also operate companies they often invite students to work with them. This can often lead to long- term collaborations between choreographers and dancers. Especially in the State school of dance the potential to invite teachers and choreographers from abroad – especially from the UK – can also result in employment.

However, a great number of dance practitioners are faced with the intricate issue of employment post-graduation. This, in practice often means extensive periods of unemployment, coupled with multiple auditions and great efforts to sustain their high levels of bodily agility. This is especially an issue for those with the intention of joining a large-scale company. Characteristically a Shawn reports:

> I graduated and I tried to do classes […] to keep on top of things and it doesn't happen. I mean it's a like pointless struggle trying to stay fit and so when I got this job [in a large scale modern ballet company] I was so less, I mean the standard was so high and I was so not matching it and yeah I had to really work to get there […]

As a result hard training and extraordinary persistence in auditioning characterizes such periods. Alternatively, some contemporary dancers may get involved in commercial dancing or teaching at the start of their careers. Community Projects, choreographing in theatre, modelling and commercial dance are a few examples of initiation to the world of dance.

In general, the contemporary sub-field is less formal in the making of dance, and this is reflected particularly in employment conditions. This relative lack of structure explains to a certain extent the diversity of trajectories that lead to any given, particular form; for example, classically trained dancers, (neoclassical or modern ballet ones) can shift slightly in style in order to be employed in team-projects or small companies, at least temporarily. Although the latter usually aim at the bigger

companies where their specialty genre is cultivated, they can and do resort to other forms of dance production and styles of movement for survival. The emergence of informal groups with no set structure and hierarchy whose existence is often limited to the production of a single piece of work, entails the collaboration of a diversity of embodiments – for instance, collaborations between ballet and modern dance practitioners – without auditioning or other selective processes.

These are precisely the conditions of possibility for the development of hybrid genres, on the one hand, and shifts in trajectories and styles, on the other. Consequently, the relative flexibility of modern dance production allows, to an extent, the easier survival and engagement of different types of dancers and choreographers in the field, whilst it also provides an open space for experimentation. In practice, dancers and choreographers' working conditions take the form in Britain of either large or small - scale dance production or free- lancing depending on the specific style practiced, the nature of dancers' artistic aspirations and, most importantly, their material circumstances and urgencies.

Contrastingly, large-scale production is usually organized on the prototype of operatic dance. Companies that adhere to this form – especially, but not exclusively ballet companies – are hierarchical, with the artistic director being the head of the group whilst the dancers are classed into different categories according to skill. In Britain companies consist of a board of directors, which appoint the artistic director after a call for the post while candidates can be either internal or external to the latter[86]. Ballet or large-scale contemporary dance companies receive funding by the relevant councils, upon application based on an estimation of the budget required for a number of productions. Some are also open to private sponsorship and support mainly due to reductions to State funding.

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[86] The case of Alvin Ailey American Dance Theatre is a good example. The company management has passed on the directorship twice since its foundation to existing members of the company.

The Greek National Opera, equally a large-scale company is a state funded organization that cultivates opera and ballet and is structurally and economically similar to the ones in Britain. The minimum number of employees of the Opera namely musicians, opera singers, dancers (thirty one), stage staff and other necessary personnel are defined by Law. The Ministry of Culture appoints the artistic director for three years, along with an administrative council responsible for the management of the Opera. In 1994 the legal framework of the opera changed and since then it has operated as a state funded private institution or in other words as a public corporation (what we call relative privatization) a result of governmental neoliberal politics. As a result the institution became legally flexible, thus could draw funding from various sources besides the Ministry similarly to some companies in the UK.

The economic and political dependency of such cultural units on governmental subsidy and legislation is increasingly crucial for the sustenance of artistic creation in the area of rhythmic movement. The legal and economic framework of artistic operation thus increasingly affects the quantity and quality of work presented as well as the survival of its practitioners. Although artistic directors, unlike their counterparts in small-scale production, are not directly responsible for the administrative and economic affairs of the company, they have immediate knowledge of the conditions of operation. Especially in Britain such directors intervene in economic or structural matters as well as issues related to the employment of dancers and other members of the company. Moreover, such artistic directors have extensive input with regard to the economic policies and marketing strategies of companies and cooperate with producers on methods for increasing spectatorship, such as merchandise design, costume exhibitions, interviews, talks, open days and so on (Wulff, 1998; 2005). Such practices aim at the maximum public exposure of a large-scale company with the aim of attracting sponsorship and enhancing attendance since only by these means can a company increase the revenue available for future productions.

Looking at such types of production it becomes apparent that the chorographical process for which a director is partly or exclusively responsible and, in the end, the creation of a piece of dance, entails a series of practices and tasks, related to the

overall operation of a large/medium scale dance company similar to a cultural industry. In other words, the making of dance is not independent of a host of promotion strategies that often include the structure and content of performances in order to secure the best possible reception. For example, Anthony, an artistic director, reports:

> I am now choosing the repertoire carefully and putting these kinds of pieces like the [X] with something else – other works that may be more passable – because the other works are more accessible without being shallow I hope. The piece [Y] was made really to [be] put into programs with works like the [X] to, if you like, sweeten the pill. That doesn't mean though that I made [this] to be a frivolous piece of fluff, it's actually quite substantial and challenging for the dancers.

Hence the pursuit of recognition is not exclusively related to the appreciation of the artistic value of a dance performance. On the contrary, reception guarantees or undermines economic stability not only in the form of profit on the tickets sold but also in the form of success with ballet critics based on which future funding can be argued and negotiated. Evidently, the immediate association of the conditions of reception to those of production sets the grounds for the economic possibility of theatrical dance. On the other hand, the economic conditions of large/medium-scale ballet or contemporary dance operation may also depend on other practices, such as individual sponsorship of dancers based on the prototype of athletics. This is not a very common strategy in the UK but it does take place in a few companies.

Unlike this case, the Greek National Opera is less dependent on the conditions of reception for funding, as it is the only company of this kind and is permanently subsidized by the Ministry of Culture. As a result the artistic director of the ballet is less concerned with such strategies and more with the making of dance based on the budget available. Although reviews may affect the status of the company and its employees there was no imminent danger of financial consequences due to bad

reviews at the time of the interview. However, the particular approach to dance, including the choice of the repertory, has been a bone of contention amongst dancers and choreographers in the ranks of the opera. Nikolas reports:

> It is important to broaden your horizons, you can't always dance *Swan Lake* and *Sleeping Beauty* choreographed by Igor Zelensky or all old Kirov productions. At some point we were like a decadent Russian ballet that would take old-fashioned uninteresting material to work on that no one else wanted to mount.

In general, Ballet companies and Operas abide by the archetypical and internationally adopted hierarchical organization. At the level of administration such companies adhere to the board of directors and internally to the artistic director whilst in the National Opera it is the administrative council and the artistic director who have the ultimate say in production and in the distribution of roles. Hierarchies are also reflected in the formations of ballet and dance itself common to every Opera and Ballet Company of this type.

More specifically, dancers are divided into categories which are (in principle) determined according to skill and bodily efficiency, namely the corps de ballet (which) includes the largest number of dancers that support and frame a classical piece), the coryphées or head dancers who are members of the corps de ballet but usually detach from the mass ensemble and dance in front of it. Next come the soloists or artists that are assigned small solo dances or smaller roles (b class roles) and, finally, there are the principals who undertake the main roles in a ballet. Such structures may vary slightly across companies; however, the principles of division remain.

The formal principle, which underlies these divisions, is one that refers to bodily skill and expressivity. The classification of dancers according to these is an indication of a purposive organization of bodies that fulfil a particular role in performance. In that sense they resemble the orchestra, which as Weber argued, was the first expression of

the rational organization of music. The classifications of instruments (strings, wind), which satisfy particular goals, are expressions of the generalized rational organization of social life (Inglis, 2005:20).

Promotions are granted from the artistic director, ideally, as a result of one's improvement as a dancer. The chances of getting a promotion may lie in the artistic director's aesthetic judgement, their particular preference as regards style and technique, but also in the relationship between the particular position to be awarded and the ensemble (for example, in terms of terms of ideas of symmetry, homogeneity and so on). Wainwright et. al. (2007) argue that homogeneity is also a principle of selection in auditions for external candidates. However, dancers who wish to achieve a promotion struggle to improve their performance both physically and dramatically.

However, this process is not as straightforward in the National Opera, Rea reports:

> Overall, dance in Greece does not operate on the basis of meritocracy but on favouritism. Moreover, to a great extent choices are subjective and a matter of taste.

What is implied here is that, in practice, within this company the artistic director may promote whomsoever they consider useful or worth promoting at a particular time or whomsoever they may favour for various reasons. Participants discussed the practices of various artistic directors, the rationale of promotions, the organization of the ensemble and the particular choices in terms of productions. For example, they reported on one particular director who gave promotions to the older dancers so as to exclude them from the corps de ballet in an attempt to create a young, efficient and homogeneous ensemble[87].

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[87] i.e. formed by people of similar skill and as such well synchronized.

These older dancers (aged over forty) acquired the title of a soloist or even of principal but were never called upon to dance since they were practically unable to perform to the standards of such a position due to the bodily effects of aging (see also Turner & Wainwright, 2006). They were promoted on the grounds of long-term service in the Opera in the same manner as might be expected in military or bureaucratic administrative organizations. Their title was honourable rather than indicative of their potential. In essence this was an exchange over their practical retirement from dance by means of a prestigious title and the salary that this title entailed.

The effect was, however, that they deprived younger skilful dancers of the opportunity to advance through the ranks of the Opera. Two of those ballet dancers that I spoke to had a difficult time during such periods and had thought of resigning. They also witnessed a host of serious arguments and clashes over production choices. Dancers considered that the repertory in the Opera was old fashioned and very demanding but also not appealing to the audiences. They used to mount long performances, which they reported the audiences found uninvolving. Moreover, the director had a certain understanding of the particular roles entailed in these productions therefore distributed them according to their will but also placed certain demands on their enactment that dancers considered unreasonable. Nikolas reports:

> They had some issues with roles and ballets that they wanted to have danced and never had the chance to, so we had to mount what they liked, I remember members of the audiences used to scoff us.

Dancers reported that cooperation in such cases was difficult at either personal or artistic level. The same dancer reports:

> I used to think that I wanted to resign and go do some white-collar office work […] I would sit in front of the computer drink coffee and play solitaire.

Attempts to restructure the National Opera and appointments of new directors have somewhat normalized the internal state of the institution. Dancers report that they now perform a variety of repertories including some contemporary work, which had been excluded in the past. The Opera invites several guest choreographers in the name of diversity and dancers feel more contented. Even though the tension in the institution has settled, practices of favouritism may still persist. More specifically balletic productions always include a number of roles that are not demanding at all and that may just require walking across the stage or acting but no dancing and therefore, do not require effort. These roles are more often than not assigned to members of the corps de ballet and are paid extra money.

This, in itself, is a sufficient motive for dancers to undertake them. The assignment of effortless work becomes a bone of contention and an issue of competition amongst dancers as they compete to influence the director in order to get such roles. They may invite them to dinner or flatter them and so on. Because the national Opera is an organization whose structural composition is predetermined and its system of relationships highly inflexible and rigid, dancers are directly dependent on and committed to such power relations, which very often severely compromises their autonomy and creativity. Dancers are forced to adhere to a hierarchy, which is constructed and controlled by the state, often personified in the role of artistic director, which turns them into cogs in a machine rather than dance makers.

However, residence as an issue of power; that is to say whether a dance company is state protected or private) was consequential even in Diaghilev's time. Diaghilev went private in an attempt to escape the Tsarist influence on balletic content and thus exercise his creativity in artistic liberty. He detached Ballets Russes from the auspices of the sovereign and turned into a private touring company. However, after a very long and exhausting tour in the USA he was faced with the limitations of a privately-managed dance company: financial uncertainty, a lack of sponsorship, the lack of profit when a production fails, unpaid dancers; a situation that gradually resulted in the dissolution of the group (Garafola, 1998).

274

On the other hand, ballet dancers from the British sample appear to have experienced more positively their working conditions at least in terms of internal relations and the conditions of dance making. However some have experienced the latter as a very oppressive environment, which forced them to leave. Rose reports:

> When I was there I thought, why am I here? The ballet world horrifies me, it's deeply sexist and paternalistic and they really demand from the dancers to keep [quiet about] their views and opinions; you're supposed to do what you're told and not ask questions; but in the contemporary dance world most of the time I work with people and even if it's not collaborative we treat each other as human beings with thoughts and feelings and opinions […] and for me this is a healthier environment.

Overall, the structure of dance performance in Greece and the UK follows the historically shaped operatic and independent forms, exemplified in the Operatic and large-scale companies and the small-scale and free-lancing respectively. Britain has various such companies including ballet companies, whilst Greece stages ballet solely in the National Opera. The latter strongly hierarchical, as all companies of this kind, is formed on the basis power relations, reflected in the organization of employees and also in practices of favouritism, which however are not as fierce in the equivalent British ones. Artists circulate across these forms, as a result of their type of training and the style they pursue. Generally, the rigid hierarchies of larger companies often do not allow creativity as the interviews reveal, whilst smaller productions are favoured by modern dancers for the relative flexibility in dance making.

Material conditions and experiences

275

The material conditions of large-scale production offer to the artists involved both status and a place in the field of power stemming from the particular positioning in the ever-transforming relations of dance production. In general, work under large or medium-scale companies is characterized by relative security as dancers and choreographers usually have permanent or long-term contracts and receive monthly stipends with the exception of those who are employed short-term to cover companies' needs for a specific production. The working conditions of large-scale productions allow dancers (especially in ballet) and directors, some stability. The latter derive greater satisfaction from their financial rewards, which increase as they move up the ranks of hierarchy. As the following artists report:

Lynn:

Absolutely, I am sure though we all want more money, I mean whatever you do you will want more money unless you are a billionaire, I am sure that they want more money too but I think I am very lucky in this respect.

Or

Sue:

I think we are very well paid. The company looks after us so well. Of course it doesn't pay like a pop star.

However, large-scale contemporary dancers report comparatively less income than ballet dancers and they consider that their level of pay fails to reflect the labour and physical effort, which they put into dance practice. Overall, dancers and choreographers in large-scale production acknowledge the paradox of having little financial reward compared to athletics or football although dance/ballet is equally physically demanding. Sarah explains:

I think that this issue certainly needs addressing. I can't speak for the ballet world. I know they get paid more than us in the contemporary

world. Especially with the training that is needed to get to the level that we need and it is a very high skilled job and in that sense I don't think that pay is good enough.

On the other hand, the Greek National Opera also provides relative job security to its employees and monthly wages regardless of their productive activity. Indeed, before 1993 all employees were considered civil servants. In practice this meant was that their redundancy was almost impossible. They were all employed with permanent contracts or, as they are called, indefinite time contracts. Dancers had the right to retire at the age of forty eight (for obvious reasons which would come to be challenged in the following years). After 1993 the state of employees falls in between the private and public sector. Most members still have permanent contracts like all civil servants. However, it was after 1993 that the enhancement of short term employment appeared as an employment practice. Short term employment was offered on the basis of need for particular productions that required a number of extra people to undertake particular roles or which were related to the needs of the Opera at a certain period in order to replace someone who was on maternity leave, injured etc. Overall, National Opera dancers are considered the most well - paid and most secure artists in the field. The Opera offers wages on a monthly basis as well as benefits and bonuses for married employees with children. Rea comments:

This is the way it works in Greece you get a good wage which compared to what dancers get abroad may be low but it is a good wage for the Greek standards, even for the dancers that have just started the wages are good.

However, a series of political decisions may affect that status for two reasons. Before 1993 the retirement age for dancers was forty-eight; this later changed to sixty. At present none of the dancers employed after this date has reached the retirement age, therefore are all still active. Ageing and retirement is a crucial issue for all ballet dancers unlike what might be argued by an ultra-constructionist theory on age (Turner & Wainwright, 2006). Ballet dancers gradually realize the effect of age on their body

through everyday pain and fatigue that accumulates due to long immersion into stressful and intensive activity. Through the years the body becomes less able or less resilient or needs special treatment in order to perform at the standard once achieved.

Ballet dancers reckon that even the age of forty-eight was late to retire let alone sixty, an age band aligned with the age of retirement in both the public and private sector for both white and blue collar work. It still remains unknown how this problem will be tackled and whether a number of older dancers will be given other posts and responsibilities. This is a very serious matter, as most dancers have no other qualification, they are typically unable to undertake an administrative position and they may be technologically unskilled. In a way they only have their bodily labour to sell. Rea, who holds a degree, reports:

> Most ballet dancers have nothing else in their life no other interests just their family and dance. I have colleagues that have nothing else to talk about but dance and their children. Moreover they are completely illiterate if you place a computer in front of them they will ask you: what is it?

Nikolas reports: "I don't know what else to do this is what I am trained for".

Furthermore, a plan had been put forward for the full privatization of the Opera, which will involve restructuring[88]. This would entail the private ownership of this cultural institution. Long-term contracts will be cancelled and the Opera will be restructured on the same basis as foreign national Operas. That may mean that older dancers will not be included in the New Opera whilst their retirement age will be long in the future. What the alternative will be for these artists is unknown. Most will resort to teaching to sustain themselves; but what is actually at stake is their autonomy, a clear indication of how privatization under with the blessings of state can

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[88] This restructuring is planned to be funded the Niarchos Foundation (ship owner).

affect dance production and its practitioners. However, ballet dancers that make it to the National Opera reach the best possible post that dance production in Greece has to offer.

On the other hand, contemporary dance graduates seeking a career in the Greek field as dancers/choreographers, often become free-lancers. Those that wish to dance or make dance are practically forced to form their own companies in order to do so. This can be attributed, on the one hand, to the lack of structured large-scale modern dance companies, and secondly to more individualized reasons such as the number of successful auditions at the existing companies or due to tensions between the style that particular companies accommodate and individual practice. There is here a remarkable contradiction as the field produces a greater number of modern dancers that cannot be securely accommodated to any dance company in the same way that ballet dancers are. There is thus an uneven relationship between the production of dance graduates and their accommodation in dance companies that affects the status of modern dance in Greece.

In general, contemporary dance as a whole, has been synonymous with small-scale production; a structurally different mode, which covers solely contemporary dance styles. Such production takes the form of small companies that operate legally as such or is the outcome of free-lance dancing/choreographing. Such companies may or may not have steady members depending on their artistic goals and financial potential. Most companies with steady members are not hierarchical. The artistic director/ choreographer is responsible for every stage and level of production including administrative work. The former undertakes the full planning of a production, from the inception of the idea to funding, to the pursuit of suitable collaborators such as costume designers, musicians, dancers, as well as the venues and touring dates for the performances. Hence, the organizational and financial responsibility of small-scale dance lies exclusively with the choreographer.

In Britain, small-scale companies obtain funding upon yearly application from the Arts Council or other foundations interested in investing in dance production. Artistic directors are responsible for securing funding as well as other economic resources

whilst managing the financial and legal matters arising from the operation of the company, one of the reportedly most difficult tasks attached to the role. Artists are often consumed by application processes, which entail the clear formulation and articulation of an idea, a clarification of the type of production and the means used as well as an estimation of its cost. Most importantly, though, such process entails a justification of the value of such work as well as an effort to meet the requirements of the funding organizations. As Rebecca comments: "[funding applications] are the auditions for choreographers''

Similarly in Greece most companies resort to public funding. Every year companies apply for funding to the Ministry of Culture and present samples of their work before a committee responsible for the distribution of funds. Not all companies receive support and when they do not they give up on the project. There is a great financial risk in this process, which the choreographers have to handle alone, whilst taking care of taxation and other bureaucratic procedures related to the companies (they are registered private companies that ought to make profit). Candidates are either called before the committee or send off a DVD with sample-work. This practice can be a challenge, especially for smaller companies that cannot afford to produce a good quality DVD. As a result, they tend submit an amateur production, which can severely compromise the chances of their project being accepted.

Greek artists comment on how antagonistic this process is, given that alternative sources, such as private sponsorship, are practically not available due to legal complexities. As a result companies depend solely on public funding and compete for the latter. Some choreographers report that favouritism policies operate in the distribution of such funding. Favouritism is either driven by stylistic preference and is exerted to the extent that may exclude other styles (i.e. aesthetic favouritism) or it takes the form of a policy favouritism aimed at building networks of influence within the field. Moreover, when renowned companies or choreographers apply for funding, it is almost impossible for them to be rejected, a situation that puts smaller groups and projects under pressure.

Another important factor that affects small- scale production and its financial security is their dependence on the reception of performance. Reviews, in this respect can have a serious impact on the trajectory of a dance company such as on future audience attendance and funding. This is especially the case for Greece. Diana reports that one of her major problems was the bad review she received from a particular dance critic, who labelled her work as amateur. Reviews and funding process have sharpened the competition and have instigated fierce antagonism between contemporary companies, which are literally exposed to criticism and depend upon positive feedback for their survival.

The dependence of contemporary dance and its practitioners on such processes entails a great uncertainty at the level of production but, more importantly, in terms of potential for survival. Choreographers report the financial constraints on the making of dance and the frustration that this creates on a yearly basis. Ross from the British sample memorably reports:

> I am in the peak of the miseries now to be honest with you, it's so strange when you look back to what you've done there is a real logic in it and you say come on you must have faith in yourself, but each time after I have finished a project or after I have finished a tour I am back to writing funding applications for the next year again for the next project and I think that you know there's no guarantees that this project will happen.

The financial and creative risk of producing dance is particularly noted by all contemporary choreographers across both fields. Indicatively, Renia a Greek choreographer reports:

> Having a company is a great risk and causes great anxiety. If things go wrong it is the choreographer who is responsible. Financially it is a great risk given that you have to financially manage the company.

281

Nevertheless, failure to obtain financial support has real effects on the survival of all artists and their collaborators. For the choreographers lack of financial support means the ceasing of their company operations Diana from Greece reports:

It's been two years that I haven't received funding and I am in a financial predicament; I have decided that if I don't get funding this year I will close the company. I think you can survive one year without help but the second year it is a struggle, you need to take care of your taxes, to have an accountant and all sorts of things. I am really disappointed I have also noticed that funding is mainly given to new groups.

Similarly Ross from the UK states:

We've been very lucky we've kept having two and three-year grants but it's just ended this year, which has been unfortunate. But it may come back! I am going to keep the company open, I am not going to close it, we are just not going to be doing performances next year, but after that I am hoping we can come back.

Thus, financial security is not guaranteed in the field, especially for the modern dance practitioners. Funding is really important for the employment of both choreographers and free-lance dancers. Ross reports:

The last four to five years I've had a steady wage coming in, so I will notice next April when I won't have my wage coming in it will be a bit weird, I will just have to go back to free lance work.

Joanna, a dancer, also explains:

> It was really bad luck that the [X] company closed down, it is a very difficult phase when you stay out of work or out of a contract; there is great agony.

The above indicates precisely the implications on social sustenance as well as the limitations of contemporary dance making in the field of arts. The financial and structural organization of dance production shapes both the working conditions of artists and those of artistic creation.

As a result, the experience of financial insecurity is common amongst dance practitioners across fields. However, in Greece, it is evident dance making or dancing alone cannot sustain most artists. Some resort to teaching or a second part-time job like waitering[89]. One of the solutions that dancers resort to in times of financial hardship is commercial dance or nightlife dance. Three[90] dancers from the Greek sample (two male and one female, one ballet dancer and two modern dancers) have worked in Greek entertainment clubs. They all agree that when one has a family it is difficult to make ends meet. Therefore, one may resort to work in nightclubs as they can pay up to 1000 euro per night! Philip reports:

> When my wife got pregnant and I needed money, I went to work there I made 14.000 euro in 3 months, but I had to sacrifice the New Years Eve, I spent it in that place and not with my family.

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[89] Almost all of my Greek participants have another job.
[90] Only one dancer from the British set has similar experience, during his transition from training to professional world.

Moreover, in Greece there are two really well funded choreographers who mount big and expensive productions, their companies or projects do not have steady members but occasionally employ a large number of dancers. Dancers who have worked for them report that wages are not equivalent to the profit made by the performances or the funding received. Wages come to the minimum possible amount in relation to the profit/funding. Similarly, in smaller companies, artistic directors/choreographers may avoid, for example, paying national insurance for their dancers, or sign contracts but engage in ''illegitimate'' employment schemes in an attempt to cut the costs of production.

In general, contemporary Dance practitioners are aware of the difficult nature of their profession with regards to income from an early stage. However, a great number of artists derive satisfaction from being able to earn a living through something they enjoy, aside from the financial hardship they may encounter at several stages of their trajectory. Young artists, especially, cope better with the idea of low financial reward as they are more absorbed with building a career and taking opportunities to dance or choreograph. Older artists, though, are less tolerant to the implications of financial uncertainty and low rewards as these often interfere with their life-plans. Jacob a nearly thirty year-old dancer reports:

> Well, I feel I had to sacrifice maybe being able to get a mortgage at some point, that kind of thing and I am at the peak of my career and I am not earning relatively much and I think that there is probably no chance of earning anymore so that kind of holds me back and I don't know what the repercussions of this would be in the future.

Overall, Dance making in both fields depends on public funding for which smaller companies and choreographers compete, quite more fiercely in the case of Greece. The economics of dance making constitute a major issue for the practitioners of both formats, but especially the choreographers of small-scale companies and the free-lancers who alone take care of all stages of a production. Modern dance artists work

under precarious conditions, a fact which in Greece entails that they have second jobs other than choreographing and dancing. Ballet dancers are more economically secure and enjoy a better standard of living. In General modern dancers and choreographers suffer the consequences of economic uncertainty in their personal life, which prevents them from making future plans.

Power relations in the contemporary subfield

Power relations also determine small-scale modern dance companies' structure and operation. These do not share the hierarchies according to which Operas classify their

members and, because they are often are not steady; such companies employ dancers depending on the production and funding available. However, Choreographers decide upon the concept, the payments and prepare contracts for the former. They also set the technical and aesthetic principles of dance making to which dancers are called upon to observe through an audition process via which they select dancers. On occasion they may invite former colleagues to contribute to a production.

Even in the most collaborative approaches to making dance they seek dancers who can invest their technical and performing abilities in the vision of the choreographer. The particular style or technique that dancers possess as a result of their training constitutes a prerequisite for the immersion of one's body into a particular set of choreographic ideas. However, choreographers creatively use such embodiments without directing specifically dancers' technical abilities. A number of dancers see this as a challenge and a source of experience in different types of performance as well as an opportunity to build a performing palette.

As we have shown, the association between one's training and the type of employment as well as one's bodily habitus – as a set of dispositions, which are products of the circumstances in which the body is generated, conditions the trajectories of dance artists (Bourdieu, 1984; 1993a). Specific styles of training lead towards certain types of employment not solely in terms of structure (e.g. transitions from the academy to large-scale production) but also in terms of understanding and applying rhythmic movement. What Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 128) describes as the genetic process by which the world encompasses the individual, who in turn understands the former through the mental schemata generated by their interaction with the world, applies in the world of dance. Embodiments incorporate specific styles of movement and those involved, in turn, think of movement in these terms. Bodies enter specific conditions of dance production, which inscribe on the former the principles of its perpetuation. Dancers and choreographers, who are themselves the bearers of the conditions that generated them, make use of particular institutionalized bodily assets in order to invest in the field of dance (Morris, 2001).

In other words, there is a *homology* between the conditions of dance production and the habitus of those individuals who are directed in and operate within these conditions. However, the expression of distress or disapproval over the particular approach of a company or a choreographer indicates precisely the divergence in symbolic, ideological and bodily interests between them. For example, some dancers report the lack of variety in repertory performed in the frame of a company or a closed mindedness towards other styles whilst others enjoy the latter. For example a Joanna reports:

> We reached a good point and then I got very bored as we kept doing the same piece for two years. They became known and they wanted to tour this work over the world, and we did help them with that, we helped them turn the whole project into a company […] and we toured the world and after two years it just became too much for me, I was fed up. I am not a person who wants to do the same thing over and over, for me dance is an art form not an industry and this was my issue, it had become like a factory and we operated like factory workers […] doing the same thing so that they became famous and made money.

This powerful quotation summarizes precisely the recurring aesthetic and political antagonisms in which bodies are the ultimate stakes. Such bodies are objectifications of the symbolic and material interests dance production. Conflicting ideas and corporealities are products of the same sets of relations that generated and allowed their co-existence. This is apparent to the extent that different experiences on the part of different artists are formed from the same common ground such as the training conditions or the exposure to specific dance styles and techniques. However, the relative homogeneity of experiences does not necessarily entail homogeneity in the professional practice of dance, and especially not in the conditions in which the latter takes place. The clash between the symbolic and material interests of choreographers and dancers, as expressed through their bodily engagement, results from their divergent viewpoints on the meaning and purpose of dance; in turn a consequence of

their own specific positioning and position takings in the field of theatrical dance and in the field of power (Bourdieu, 1993a). In reality such phenomena transcend the style of dance or the type of production.

Similarly, practical tensions exist not only with reference to aesthetics but also to the specific shape and application of the body and these can reveal power relations between dancers and choreographers. Even though modern choreographers argue that they do not seek particular bodies or shapes unless their project calls for that, in reality they do consider specific types of physicality as more suitable for dance. One of my interviewees- specialized in the neoclassical style- repeatedly mentioned cases where audition candidates were not tall enough (below 160 cm) or were seen as being overweight[91]. Therefore some of the factors that influence decision-making in auditions are appearance, technique and dramatic potential. Technical skills and particular perspectives as to body use may be required from dancers. Rebecca as a choreographer explains:

> I suppose the extras for me: I want them to be fearless. I really like dancers
> that are a bit fearless, a little bit mad perhaps that are willing to go places
> (meaning physically). Because I am a little bit fearless and a bit "Oh!
> Come on let's just try it anyway" and I like dancers that are able to do that.

Greek Dancers especially report that they are very often asked to perform risky movements or acrobatics or falls from heights, or execute combinations of movements that are physically impossible in terms of impetus or strength. Some also argue that choreographers see their work as more important than the people who work for it; i.e. they give primacy to the project rather than their dancers. Philip memorably stated:

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[91]   I also very recently received an email from his company advertising an audition. This specified the height of both female and male dancers, who were allowed to audition. Additionally, one of the requirements was to send off full body and face pictures prior to audition. This was a clear indication of the attention paid to appearance, which is judged upon certain standards.

Do you know the difference between a choreographer and God? God doesn't think he is a choreographer […]. They treat dancers the way a painter treats the canvas and the colours, it may sound dramatic but what I mean a painter *owns* the colours […] and one way or another dancers are the means for the choreographer, but they are alive they are human beings, they might have a had a bad sleep the night before, or feel sad etc.

Indeed, dancers are practically the means by which choreographers materialize their visions and ideas and, therefore, are expected to fit the latter to a certain extent. Fred from the Greek set reports:

Some dancers write in their cv's that they collaborated with such and such choreographers, I have never collaborated with anyone […] the truth is I just suck their blood and they work for me!

Although not all choreographers explicitly express such ideas or even agree about the above, they tacitly or implicitly designate the power relations developing as a part of the artistic interaction. This is especially apparent in the choreographers' definitions of who is a good dancer. Georgia, a choreographer reports:

Someone who is perceptive and gets your idea quickly, someone who has bodily ease and is smart […].

Alana from the British set also reports:

For me they are the ones who have absolutely no fear on many levels, like they are not afraid of their body and they're not afraid of the floor. In contemporary dance if you are afraid of the floor you are screwed. They are not afraid of their image as they see it and other people see it and they

don't care about how something looks in the mirror and they're not afraid to go that far.

Dancers trust their bodies with the choreographer. Hence the latter has great power and also responsibility over the moving bodies. This responsibility is greater in small-scale companies, where there is no formal process by way of which injuries or accidents are handled (for example, in the Operas there is a doctor and a physiotherapist present during a performance). What is suggested here is the directive nature of the choreographer's role: although most choreographers do not see dancers as flesh and bones or solely as moving entities but as personalities, their relationship with the former is inherently instrumental. The choreographer claims some form of cultural authority over dancers and, moreover, has certain performing expectations that are to be met by the dancing body. Christine, a Greek choreographer acknowledges:

One of the things that I do that must be really harsh on the dancers is that I make dance through my body and for my body, I work with my body and one cannot do otherwise. [Meaning that the choreographer combines movement by using their body to form them] My body has different facilities than someone else's therefore is hard […] that is what my dancers tell me […] they want to reach the best possible result but it is not always feasible.

Renia also states:

The body of a dancer is the words, a part of a vocabulary. I don't do the job of a dancer therefore I deeply respect it. However when one names themselves "dancers" they raise expectations, I have very high expectations from them [...] overall a body should be open and by that I

mean available to explore and learn and this can be a very complex and painful process […].

Overall, the form of power the choreographers posses in a small-scale modern dance company is a controversial matter given that such companies do not operate on the basis of hierarchy. To a great extent this is a residue of a different mode of dance production – namely the Operatic - as we described it earlier. Yet Power structures are formed in all situated activities such as training and choreographing and in that sense all dance companies consist of a set of power relations.

However, very often small-scale companies practice improvisational techniques under the supervision of the director in order to produce a piece. In these cases the director is the coordinator of this process and has the final say in the making of dance. Other groups may operate solely with improvisation with no obvious director and this may raise issues of authorship. When there is more than one dance maker antagonistic relations can develop amongst those involved. People may claim full authorship and responsibility for the work, which causes clashes and establishes an uneven distribution of power within the group. Conflicts of that sort concern the aesthetic/symbolic elements of dance, namely style and content. As a result particular aesthetic viewpoints prevail and determine the orientation of the work.

In line with the above modern dancers and choreographers in the Greek sample address issues of communication in dance making by which they explain the lack of mass-scale modern companies. There is a fine balance between the one who coordinates dance making and those who contribute. Trust may often become an issue especially between dancers and choreographers; trust, as regards ideas and practices. The choreographer is responsible for developing an idea, making it appealing to the dancer, namely they are the ones who have symbolic power, a quasi-magical power by which they become a source of inspiration. In that sense the choreographer becomes a cultural authority or what Weber would define as a charismatic one. The choreographer symbolizes and constitutes the embodiment of aesthetic ideas by

means of which they can evoke the physical and emotional response of the dancing bodies (Weber, 1968; Blau, 1963: 308).

Dance as a corporeal form refers to the embodiment of emotions, ideas and experiences, realized through rhythmic movement. However, the latter neither has a fixed definition nor is it perceived or performed in an exclusive way; even within the broader boundaries of dance genres the definition of movement and dance is under constant negotiation. Every performance is an active definition of movement while it is the outcome of the interaction of social embodiments, which simultaneously internalize, incorporate and externalize meaningful movement. The particular approaches and understandings of dance are reflected in the working processes, which exist between dancers and choreographers. Both institutional and individual demands (*individual habitus* in the form of bodily facilities: Wainwright et. al. (2006)) on dance enactment can mean various forms of engagement that stretch beyond the structure of employment. Such demands are evident in auditioning and everyday schedules and performances.

Although forms like ballet may bear different social and aesthetic values to contemporary dance, the underlying rationale of each genre is the preservation of its aesthetic and bodily conditions of possibility and development as such. To the extent that such a process is formally standardized in the shape of a company, dancers and choreographers are bound to interact within a framework, which determines the form of their interaction. However, the practice of dance per se is a set of forces that can transform the institutional framework. The transformation of Rambert Ballet to a contemporary dance company is an indicative example. The degree to which particular institutions are open to different approaches is always a site of struggle amongst dancers and choreographers of both small and large-scale production.

 Similarly, a variety of dance productions and approaches constitute goals for most choreographers across fields. The multiplicity of the creative tasks involved as well as the different bodies contributing (amateur or professional, young or old or with

disability) to dance is reportedly one of the privileges of contemporary small-scale and free-lance dance production. Especially for those companies with no evident structure and set collaborators the exploration of different approaches to movement as emerging from the contribution of different individuals relates to both the choreography and the bodily shapes and styles utilized. This simultaneously transforms the artistic aims and work of choreographers, which they experience as their artistic development.

However, highly organized dance companies, including large-scale modern and ballet ones, appear to be less open and flexible in their artistic operation or transformation. Nevertheless, such an assessment depends on the previous experience of their members and the particular set of principles according to which companies produce dance at any stage. Given that such industries are relatively autonomous in defining the meaning and the style of dance they produce, there is room for various interpretations of such work on behalf of those who contribute to it. The relationship between dancers and choreographers, or dancers and dance companies, is linked to the relationship between the ideological principles on which a company is founded and those attributes of dancing bodies that generate new forms of theatrical movement; the basic principles as defined by the choreographer and other contributors, bearers of symbolic, bodily and aesthetic values and projected on the dancing bodies.

Tellingly, those artists with shifting trajectories in dance, namely the ones who passed from ballet to modern dance or from large to small-scale production, justify such transition in terms of conflict. Indicatively, the conflict between balletic work and modern work has served on several occasions as the reason for such shifts. This complex system of power relations, which is not solely prescribed by the structures under which dance is practiced, is also a product of power enactments between bodies. The latter are the bearers of antagonistic ideologies and aesthetics resulting from variations in the artistic habitus formed in the process of being in the world and dancing and are driven from the necessity of artistic expression. On the other hand, such bodies are restrained by the institutional rule and the necessity of social

reproduction. The case of Rebecca who as a dancer and choreographer decided to resign from their position in a large-scale company is revealing. A disagreement over how their work fitted in the company logic exemplifies the clash:

I had choreographed […] and presented at a festival. That kind of gave me my first step in because it was reviewed and there was a lot of press interest. Then I went back to the company and performed it and very strangely I was signed on for another year and they said that they would take the work. However, I had to change it to fit their criteria so I said no and walked out. That was my confidence […] well it's not confidence, it's some sort of burning desire to have to do it in a certain way.

The end of collaborations as described above, either due to incompatibilities between a choreographer and a dancer or the conditions of work *per se*, is the manifestation of the conflictual relations involved in the act of dancing. The objective demands and subjective views on dance composition and enactment can also be in conflict; a clash between the operation of a company as a cultural industry and the commitment required from the artists employed in it – very often at the expense of their personal/subjective needs and plans – is one example. On the other hand, the symbolic, aesthetic and ideological positioning of both dancers and choreographers operating in hierarchical relation to one another within that framework also reveals the opposition of forces in the production of dance. As Anthony reports:

You know dancers are particularly notorious for complaining even when they have a particularly good situation - and it doesn't matter how good you make it for them they will moan about something. Here, I ask a lot of them and I work them very hard and those who don't want to work that hard or get injured easily they just don't stay. So I've got a very strong company at the moment because I've either said thank you very much this isn't working and they've gone or they've just gone on their own accord because I asked them to work so hard and to do such hard pieces. I try to make life as comfortable and look after them as much as possible.

Overall, dance making is the product of power relations often manifest through processes of conflict. Even in the contemporary subfield where the structure of work is not predetermined as in ballet companies, implicit hierarchies as resulting from the different positioning in dance production (i.e. the roles of the choreographer or the dancer) emerge. Choreographers that own small companies supervise dance making even though they produce work collaboratively with their dancers. Unstructured groups may encounter issues of authorship in their collaborations and independent creators may clash with institutions in their effort to make dance. In that sense, dance making is not a harmonious process but rather an intense and confrontational process through which bodies emerge as dancing ones.

Conditions of work and Personal life

Dancers and choreographers – especially drawn from the British sample – experience work in an intensively internationalized field as determined by the origin of dancers and choreographers as well as the practice of relocation of individuals in order to dance and produce dance). This requires artists' commitment and the structuring of their lives according to the demands of the profession. Firstly, that is to say with the potential for permanent or provisional geographical adjustments: dancers especially follow work within or outwith the borders of their country. The same applies for those choreographers who get commissioned to work for companies on specific projects. Such a practice may mean relocation within or even outwith the UK. Lastly, companies and free-lance collaborators engage in touring in order to expose their work to a diverse audience. This, very often, has an additional impact on the life structure of such artists. As Josephine reports:

> I didn't choose Glasgow. Glasgow is not the best place in the world to be for me and I do miss friends and like, ok I'm only 23 but I know that I don't want to do my whole life here.

This level of commitment to dance expressed in their willingness to move geographically and their reduction of social and personal time is a significant point in the working experience of these artists. These was something encountered mainly in the context of the British sample, as Greek artists relocated for educational purposes but they eventually returned to Greece.

The tension between professional and personal life is an issue which dancers and choreographers from the British sample report at all stages of their careers. For those who are at an early stage of their career this clash is less intense. However, the lack of time to develop a social life or enter into and maintain a relationship, in combination

with physical exhaustion, is considered one of the most common problems in the field. To the extent that working in a large-scale company can provide artists with a source of close circle of friends some types of relationships can be more easily accommodated in that context.

However, some dancers and choreographers admitted having to put extra effort into maintaining social relationships outside their working environment. Moreover, they admit great tension between intimate relations and working life. Those who are not in a relationship attribute their abstinence from partnerships to their focus and dedication to work. Hence they consider that a supporting and like-minded partner is crucial for the sustenance of a relationship. Those in a relationship, on the other hand, admit that their working life outweighs their personal life and that they have limited time to share with their partners. Those who work in large-scale companies, especially argue that such an imbalance is not a matter of personal choice. Dancers working under the latter format see companies as controlling of their personal time at the expense of both socializing and partnering. Free-lancers and small-scale working artists are more conscious of their choice to invest more in their career than in their relationships. However, most dancers and choreographers, across the spectrum of ballet - modern dance, give their career priority and agree on its disruptive character in relation to their personal and intimate life.

Indeed, the Greek case slightly differs, although both ballet and modern dancers appear to also focus more on their professional lives, they consider that there is more space for personal relations since dance production rhythms are not as intense for either genre in Greece. Nevertheless, contemporary dancers and choreographers in this set appear to experience more the restrictions posed by their career plans given that they are not as secure financially as the ballet dancers are and therefore work on the side of performing.

Generally, the underlying rationale of investing so much time in dance is that professional success can be achieved only on the grounds of full dedication to one's

work. Given this perspective a fulfilling personal life can only be structured around these artists' working lives, as other time is relatively scarce. Women especially contemplate their potential for having a family. The relative incompatibility of full-time engagement with dance and procreation is very often an issue for them and indeed for some male dancers. Especially in large-scale production, employment can depend on the marital status of dancers as well as their age and life plans. As Jacob observed:

> I know people who have children and I just think it is difficult to be compatible with a dancing career but it is the nature of what you're being asked to do not dancing in itself. The company that you work for, they want everything. They don't want someone who has other responsibilities and because there are so many dancers they'd rather have the ones that don't have responsibilities.

The artists, who have reached a later stage in their careers as well as an age when they start considering family life – especially but not exclusively from the British sample-set – acknowledge the incompatibility of combining such tasks with a full time dancing life. None in the sample acquired had children at the time of the interview or were planning to have children in the immediate future. Nevertheless, they report that certain adjustments in lifestyle would need to be made in order to perform both roles as parents and artists. This is especially an issue for women who deliberate precisely about the nature of these changes in relation to their career as well as the risks of longer or shorter-term abstinence from dance in order to have a family.

Indeed in their view, this choice is associated with the decline or the end of a career in dance. However, some female artists argue that a shift in the type and intensity of work can accommodate the new way of life. Shifts from intense dancing and touring to free-lance choreographing and teaching or even a relative reduction of working time can be the remedy for those artists in small scale and free-lance production. On the other hand large-scale dancers and choreographers in this sample refer to

examples of colleagues who decided to have children as a sign of their having a less intense commitment to their careers.

Dance as a sense of fulfilment?

What has been described so far, are the conditions of professional work for both dancers and choreographers as resulting from the structure and organization of symbolic production and the implications of the former on their bodies. It is apparent that this set of productive relations operates in conflicting and disharmonious ways as is reflected in the experience of the particular artists. Nevertheless, these are the conditions of possibility for ballet and modern dance production, which simultaneously enhance artists' involvement in dance and secure the transformation of the latter. Under this perspective one can recognize the sense of fulfilment that such artists enjoy despite the hardships or complications in their professional trajectory. Insofar as the conditions of operation of the field of professional theatrical dance facilitate a better way of being for those who focus their position taking on this network of symbolic and material production, we can explain the notable resilience of dance practitioners, despite everything.

In this sense both ballet and modern dance choreographers and dancers report a considerably better sense of being as a result of their engagement in dance. All artists acknowledge the satisfaction they derive from their professional engagement in a form of work through which they express themselves and are creative; whether the latter involves the making of movement or dance enactment per se, they see their work as emotionally rewarding. A satisfactory level of financial reward, that is to say, one, which meets their demands of everyday life, turns professional dance into a fulfilling job.

For those who embark on choreography, the joy refers to the realization of a vision or an idea through bodily movement or more specifically the development of a particular style of movement with the contribution of dancing bodies in space. The diversity and multiplicity of bodies and roles, as well as performance related tasks such as

299

costuming, sound production or setting construction add up to the overall fulfilment generated from the staging of dance. Similarly, the communication and interaction between choreographers, dancers and the audience constitutes an even more profound source of artistic fulfilment.

On the other hand, dancers themselves refer to their sense of physicality and the potential for the physical expression emotions as a source of satisfaction. Their experience of bodily engagement in versatile combinations of movement and styles enhances both their knowledge of movement qualities as well as their performing repertoire. In an overview, dancers see dance as a defining aspect of their life and a source of individual identity. For those who work in large-scale production even the dictatorial style of a choreographer can be experienced positively, as it reportedly contributes to a childlike state where dancers' overall responsibility appears less intense. Even though performing (especially a role) requires a deep understanding of the chorographic directions – often accompanied by individual research on the character to be enacted – the engagement of ballet dancers in the making of a work is less burdensome than that of their counterparts in modern dance. This is precisely the difference in the habitus of a ballet dancer as against that of a modern one. As the former adheres to and produces solely under the control of a choreographer the latter seeks to actively contribute in the making of dance.

Overall, dancers and choreographers, especially in Britain but not exclusively, suffer the consequences of the commitment required to dance and choreograph. Their limited personal time restricts them from socializing or forming relationships all that easily, which for women often constitutes a major preoccupation. However, these artists, despite the hardships they experience in their personal life, draw major satisfaction from the artistic process, which for some time makes up for the sacrifice that this entails.

Chapter 13

The Dancing Body

The phenomenon of dance, whether more organized and institutionalized such as theatrical dance or less objectified such as various folk or other forms, is historically defined as a bodily phenomenon. Despite the new technologies in the field of contemporary artistic movement and the new approaches such as video-dance or animation, dance movement primarily refers to bodily movement. In this light the examination of theatrical dance as a field and a market of artistic production cannot omit an examination of the forms of capital based upon which the former operates, namely the body. Bourdieu (1993a, 1996a) drawing heavily on Weber and Durkheim speaks of fields of social activity as set in motion by means of a specific forms of capital, for instance the field of economy operates on economic capital. Accordingly, the field of theatrical dance is determined by the production of dance and dancing bodies by means of the body, in other words it operates with bodily capital, an embodied consciousness as argued below.

Before we examine the particular relationship of the body as a form of capital to the production of dance, we need to look at the body as a social phenomenon. In the history of sociological discipline a series of approaches on the body discussed the relationship of the individual, the self or the consciousness to the body drawing on the problem of Cartesian dualism between body and mind. Descartes saw the body as a material volume in space and consciousness as an immaterial substance that presides over it and is located within it (Ferguson, 2000: 5). The relationship between the two emerged as a distinction and a hierarchy between two forms of existence, the "higher" mental conscious grasp of the surrounding world and the "lower" bodily experience of the latter. In similar manner the distinctions between subject and object, namely between consciousness and the "external to it" worldly forms, as well as the separation between the self and the other, philosophically constitute themselves as principles of knowing and understanding the natural and social world.

However, the significance of this lived bodily experience was to become the gnostic turn in understanding reality and one's position in it. Phenomenology as a strand of philosophical thought considered embodied human experience as the point of departure for both one's perception of the surrounding social world as well as for social action (ibid: 23; Judovitz 2001). Moreover movement is the manifestation of unity between one's consciousness and action, an action that stems from and returns to the physical body (Merleau-Ponty, 1994; Judovitz, 2001). Embodiment as the means and locus of social experience, however, has been historically formed and transformed by the social orders that correspond to particular power relations; power relations that concern not solely the structure of social life but also the means and sources of knowledge (Foucault, 1977). As a result the unity of perception and action that materializes via the corporeal presence and movement has been steered, structured and restricted by the very same processes that generate embodiment.

In that sense, the physical body is not just a natural given, a biological unit being in the world but rather a socially constructed form of biology. Freud's work including Civilization and its Discontents (2004) and Norbert Elias's The Civilizing Process (2000) are clear demonstrations of the fierce interference of the social organization of relations to the natural-bodily biology, appearance and action. Processes of regulation transformed into self-regulation, as described by Elias and later on by Michel Foucault in his Discipline and Punish (1977), prescribe the shape, placement and movement of bodies in social space, in other words the way in which they perceive and tune into social reality. The body is an unfinished entity that is generated and constantly reconstituted through systems of social relations and their institutions. Moreover they become bearers of these relations as well as their symbolic constructions. In that sense they are sites of struggles as historically performed on and by means of the body.

The emergence of such bodies as dancing bodies intended for the aesthetic (affective), as Fraleigh (1987) defines the act and purpose of theatrical dance, will be the focus of our examination. The first point of this exploration will be those bodies that become dancing bodies not on occasion but on intention of some kind thus becoming

professional bodies of dance. As explained earlier in the thesis certain bodies appear to become dancing bodies. They are thus bodies of a certain social and emotional status, or better of certain dispositions, as expressed physically and aesthetically. The engagement of a relative variety of social bodies in a physical activity, which produces symbolic value, is highly significant. In order to establish a relationship between ideas associated with particular usages of the body and the symbolic load of dance production we need to examine the conditions under which the social body transforms into a dancing body. The relationship between "a given artistic/bodily endeavour and general cultural values relating to the body" (Gottschild, 1997:168) explains the network of bodies that constitute the field of theatrical dance.

The inclination towards or the engagement with the one or the other bodily activity is amenable to the specific bodily dispositions formed under specific circumstances. *Bodily hexis* as Bourdieu (1984; 1993c) argues constitutes the specific relationship one forms through the body with the world as a result of a continuous and long-term incorporation of structures (values, representations of the body and particular conceptualizations and uses of the former). Habitus is the embodiment in the mental schemata and bodily structure of a certain relationship with the world and life conditions to which individuals are subjected. It is these conditions that generate and sustain the value of physicality as well as that of physical engagement of some form.

As we have shown, introduction to a bodily artistic activity such as ballet is associated with a cluster of values regarding the healthy moving body and the importance of the latter in shaping early childhood and adolescence. A great number of this sample (sixteen dancers) was introduced to dance as a result of their families' appreciation of physical exercise and their consideration of the latter as legitimate leisure activity. This is evident in dancers' accounts of the rationale under which they commenced dancing. The balancing of the logo-centric educative system with a physical bodily oriented leisure constitutes a common practice amongst social groups that employ a specific strategy for their children's education and development. Often introduction to bodily engagements, such as athletics and sports, prior to dance, is an indication of such strategy. In many of these cases parents engaged in some form of physical

activity themselves such as exercise classes, folk dancing and modern dance. In other words there appeared an obvious and appreciated position of the body in everyday life, which was systematically acknowledged through physical practices.

According to Bourdieu (1984) bodily values are more or less class significant, namely that a relative distance from necessity signifies a perception of the body as an end itself and not as a means. However, a conception of the body as a means is not averse to artistically engaging with the body. On the contrary the prominence of bodily use and skill for those working class groupings where the body constitutes the main means of sustenance can be a powerful starting point. In this sample, those who originate from families where manual labour was predominantly the means of social reproduction, bodily activities appear as an extension of the role of the body in everyday life[92]. Nevertheless, the significance of physicality in all the above cases is very often expressed through a general disposition to move and dance during childhood. Several dancers comment on their being very active and energetic as children, which instigated their introduction into bodily activities and eventually dance.

The body as the central vehicle of existence and locus of experience is formed through practice patterns, which actors perform in order to sustain themselves. As a result everyday practices and treatments of the potential dancing bodies reveal the dispositions that allow or restrict such potential. Most dancers report their early awareness of the need to maintain a healthy body through appropriate diet and exercise, in order to sustain their chosen trajectory; awareness that increased as they moved towards their professional engagement with dance. However, a number of dance practitioners reported relative abuse of their bodies in early years such as bad eating habits with fatty foods, alcohol consumption and smoking (although the latter may be a habit that a number of dancers and choreographers still insist upon). According to Bourdieu (1984) particular nutrition habits and qualities of food, such as

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[92] However, introduction to dance is a result of very specific circumstances in the cases of working class, such as geographical location and the legitimacy of dance as a practice (although this may be not solely theatrical but also folk or other forms).

fat and alcohol are associated with lower classes while lighter meals and healthy nutrition are fostered in middle and upper class eating patterns. Indeed the dancers from more privileged backgrounds reported that they were always "around good food". Eating patterns, thus, emerge out of the particular lifestyles, products of the specific circumstances in which individuals are generated- suggesting distance from or adherence to necessity. A few cases of eating disorders and serious illness have emerged in these trajectories, two of which of related to the practice of dance.

The compatibility of various social bodies as emerging out of multiple corporeal universes of social conditions and values with the practice of theatrical dance as a highly codified and historically prestigious form is in question. As we have seen, the history of bodily accessibility to theatrical dance has been the object of social and symbolic struggles. Social struggles to the extent that dance and its practitioners strove for autonomy from political power and its prescriptions and symbolic, in order to establish the material and aesthetic means to build a definition of theatrical dance. In the history of theatrical dance we witnessed a series of political and aesthetic tensions linked to the production of dance. We witnessed the persisting struggle between the dominant social relations and the new productive relations - such as the court against the new aristocracy and later between the latter and the bourgeoisie - for the control of dance production as a means of ideological legitimacy or hegemony. Secondly we witnessed the conflicts between the different and often antagonistic aesthetic dispositions of these social classes, in line with their material conditions of existence over the legitimate forms of theatrical dance.

As a result, ballet and later, contemporary dance gradually became compatible with diverse clusters of values and attitudes towards the body deriving from different relationships with the hegemonic social class, which were very often reflected in dance production per se. The changes in the accessibility of dance as a result of social struggles explains the different possible combinations of bodily values and uses that are linked to the art of dance as the latter is transformed through the symbolic negotiations of those bodies accessing and occupying the field of dance. As Bourdieu indicated for sports (1993c: 126) the structural modifications in the field (of dance),

namely the attribution of diverse functions (to dance) by its practitioners, a result of a new distribution of power in the field consequent upon changes in the wider field of social power, led to "a transformation of the very logic of [dance] practices. [This] runs parallel to the transformation of the expectations and demands of an audience which now extends far beyond its former practitioners"[93].

For example demands of control and discipline of the body, which are often associated with the particular choice of bodily activity, acquire a different meaning according to one's values. The regulation of the body for the working classes was always associated with the direction of ones energy towards productive labour. Even more so the physical activities associated with such social strata such as football or boxing may require skill and technique but signify a different relationship with the body when compared to the practices of the middle classes. Very often the former refer to the externalization of power and the outlet of energy (see Eksteins, 1990). Conversely, physical activity for the middle classes returns to the body in the sense that the latter constitutes the end and not the means of such engagement.

Indeed, with the institutionalization of physical activity bodily values are transformed and systematized; and it is this systematization that renders the clustering of such divergent understandings and uses of the body possible under one physical activity. As Mauss (1973) showed in his techniques of the body, every body is a bearer of the social and cultural conditions in which it was generated and as such every technique of the body (such as walking or running) reflects those conditions. As a result the particular ways of moving and applying the body that individuals incorporate mark them out as such but at the same time render them capable of performing particular types of movement.

Indeed, the introduction of bodies into the practice of theatrical dance, including ballet, requires the classification of bodies, and the selection of those able to perform

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[93] This actually refers to the representation of theatrical dance being an activity for the upper classes, which was valid in the beginning of the 19th century.

in this particular system of movement. The first step of this process commences with training. However, dance training can often be the result of such classification. It is a common experience amongst several dancers to have been spotted by the eye of the expert at an early age under various circumstances. The size and the shape of their body as well as other corporeal features and facilities such as arched feet, or a long neck can qualify them for ballet; and it is such features, having been traced prior to training, that were responsible for the introduction of many young children to ballet. Such facilities are theorized by Wainwright et. al (2006a) as individual habitus. The consideration of bodily appearance and facilities by a dance connoisseur adheres to a standardised/ideal body as shaped by the historic practice of ballet as a field of ever-transcending excellence.

The individual dancing body, as we have seen earlier, is constantly compared to a bodily construction, an ideal type defined by certain aesthetic and technical features imposed on the physical body. This ideal and indeed idealized type underlies individual bodily perceptions, constituting a point of reference and comparison for one's bodily appearance and capacity irrespective of gender. The ideal dancing body has a specific size[94] and shape as well as specific capacities[95], which each individual should possess or aim for. The ideal type refers to what Turner and Wainwright (2006: 3) and Wainwright et.al, (2007) conceptualize as the globalization of the balletic body. This ideal bodily figure is a product of the specific relations prevalent in the field of dance, which secure the domination of classical ballet over other forms of dance and globalize/legitimize the balletic figure as the appropriate one for a dancer, often regardless of the style they will practice in the future.

As a result, the process of training is an ongoing comparison of the appearance and responsiveness of various social bodies to the ideal dancing body as established through the engagement of a historically shaped network of bodies in dance. Such comparison aims at the transformation of qualified bodies into dancing bodies via the

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[94] (slim and stretched without curves and breasts for the female and strong and well built but not fat for the male)
[95] (like the rotation of hips and joints)

incorporation of the standardized body and its projection on the image of the physical body. As Bull (1997:272) confirms and as we shall see later on, the dancing body moves according to "a mental picture of the perfect performance of each step", thus creating the body as a mirror - image of an original dancing form. The construction of the dancing body, namely the submission of one's corporeal features to the conditions of highly systematized and codified movement constitutes the essence of dance training. Depending on the quality of the bodily/physical capital one possesses, the age and the system of training introduced to, the experience of dance training acquires a specific corporeal character.

However, the experience of bodily effort to achieve the 'dance' at every level of training is universal; it is common amongst dancers regardless of the style and system of training they pursue, the institution they are located in and finally the level of their response to that training. Dancers speak about the bodily struggles and the physical exhaustion of training and performing. Although a great numbers of bodies are able to - and do - respond to the requirements of ballet or contemporary dance training with relative ease, as confirmed by the encouraging comments they receive from teachers, there is always room for improvement. As the mastery of movement is always reconstituted by the different performances and is reset as a goal in a more improved version the bodies strive to incorporate such versions. As Fraleigh (1987:40) argues achievement in dance is superseded by the next technical challenge, which the dancing body must achieve in order to unite with the dance. It is these achieving bodies that mirror the perfection of the ideal body.

The process through which bodies reach this ideal state is a process of objectification; namely a scrutiny of their capacities, deficiencies and flaws which may range from the particular ways in which a movement is executed to the overall appearance of the body. One common factor in the experience of dancers under training – not exclusive in the ballet world- is the criticism over the bodily form. Criticism over the size and weight of one's body either directed to a specific individual or to the class as a whole is reported in my interviews as a frequent phenomenon in the process of dance

training.[96] This experience is also intensified by practices like everyday weighing and measuring the volume of muscles. Similarly the persistence in and repetition of movement in order to perform it in the correct way constitutes the core principle of training. However the incorporation of such standards may transform the body not into the ideal but into a real unhealthy body. The cases of anorexia, injury, illness and distortion of bodily image indicate the extent to which dancers interfere with the bodies during their formal education. Gvion (2008) in her study of Israeli ballet dancers discusses thoroughly the problem of anorexia and the meaning assigned to a thin body as the ultimate balletic means.

Female dancers especially - but not exclusively - suffer the consequences of the tension between the real and ideal body. More specifically the transition from childhood to adolescence is often marked by body image struggles, as biological changes may not comply with the prototype embodied by leading students and promoted by teachers. Sue, a ballet dancer reports:

> When I was younger I was naturally very slim, but when you are a teenager your body starts to grow and at that age is very stressful it is about how you are.

Reportedly the physical changes may intensify anorexic tendencies and establish a false relationship with the appearance and operation of the body. This is especially the case of ballet dancers or at least the case of those dancers who initially took the classical path in dance. Practices of starvation, excess exercise and scrutiny of every part of the body manifest themselves as the new regime that regulates the dancing body. The perception of the body as somehow deficient is very often the result of a dance training that focuses on what bodies cannot rather than can do. As a result, students become aware of their bodies not as what they are but as they ought to have been.

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[96] This is also confirmed by male dancers.

Such perceptions follow dancers and choreographers to their professional lives, as the may see their shape or parts of their body as "not quite right'' (Sylvie) and "never able enough" (Rosie) or not suitable for some types of movement as one dancer reports:

> When we say classical ballet let's say balancé [a type of balletic waltzing], that's not my thing it wouldn't be clever to cast me doing balancé, it just wouldn't be correct

In general choreographers and dancers especially objectify their own image and bodily usage often by the use of mirrors, as they are specifically aware of what they count as insufficiently developed, ugly or sensitive. The size of specific areas such as the pelvis, thighs and legs are often a big concern for female dancers. As Nicky, a ballet dancer reports: "I have always thought that my legs were too big" or as Rea comments: "I believe that my pelvis is quite wide". However, male dancers may share similar anxieties with their female colleagues, Luke, for example, states that:

> When I walk by a window and see my reflection I'll check it […] it's not vanity it's more checking that it's still ok […] I don't try to check like "Don't I look good?" it's more like I hope I don't look terrible.

This type of concern is often indirectly expressed through bodily comparisons between real dancing bodies. Dancers report that especially ballet training cultivates a comparative understanding of one's shape and bodily function which persists in later years. It appears that the use of mirror in training and later on in rehearsing as a means of verification of bodily adherence to a standard allows the observation of other bodies and their response to that standard. Ballet dancers especially tend to compare their bodies with those of their colleagues both in terms of appearance and technical efficiency. Modern dancers are less keen on comparisons, as they tend not to use mirrors in rehearsals. However, they do at certain stages evaluate their bodies

and admire another well worked-out and agile body. Nevertheless, most dancers tend to come into terms with their own corporeal abilities despite their awareness of more able bodies. This, however, does not stop their concerns over particular parts or issues with their bodies.

They may have concerns over their agility, flexibility and strength regardless of gender or style practiced. Ballet dancers especially are constantly under pressure, as their bodily performance must live up to an objectified standard of movement realisation, which requires the ongoing maintenance of the body at a certain physical condition. As a result they tend to focus more on the difficulties they encounter in movement execution. According to Foster (1997:237) the dancing body can diverge from the directions that the specific mastery imposes, demonstrating a relative incapacity to abide by the technical demands of the activity. As a result dancers appear to experience the unreliability of their body in the prospect of movement execution. In that sense the reality of the material nature of the body and its physical limits is not totally constructed but rather constituted against the endless potential of the dominant version of the dancing body.

The limits of the physical body are evident to all dancers as fatigue and pain is one common experience in the world of dance. The level of physical engagement required especially for large-scale performance often results in high levels of bodily tiredness, which is reportedly one of the major problems of institutionalized performance in the UK (see also Anderson and Hanrahan, 2008). Conversely, large-scale balletic production in Greece is not as extensive which entails somehow less fatigue in the short run[97]. Similarly, small–scale and free-lance dance practitioners in both samples, due to their interrupted patterns of work, may allow their bodies more rest and perhaps a less appropriate appearance on occasion, which is however balanced by a longer professional practice in the field. The long term engagement of the body in dance challenges corporeal potential through the years. Therefore, the agony over the

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[97] Given that the performing seasons are very short and the dance productions equally less in number Greek National opera dancers may perform less than their colleagues in the UK. However, their prolonged professional life and their late retirement counter- balances their restricted yearly performing span.

bodily performance does not stop at technical efficiency or corporeal shape. It rather extends to the actual health and resilience of the body.

Pain is one manifestation of the physical strain on the dancing body mostly related to fatigue or injury. Pain constitutes a signal for dancers, a way through which they communicate their physical status. Most dancers distinguish between kinds and levels of pain, which relate to the type of engagement and its effect on the body. Dance practitioners acknowledge the difference between the qualities of pain such as good and bad pain. Good pain is considered the pain that results from a fruitful workout and serves as a sign that the body has exceeded its previous abilities. Such experience is not perceived as discomfort but rather as a relatively pleasant physical confirmation of bodily progress. This is also confirmed Anderson's and Hanrahan (2008) study on ballet dancers' experience of pain. Contrastingly, bad pain is a sign/outcome of bodily abuse or inappropriate technique. However, bad pain is mostly an injury-related phenomenon, which surfaces mainly when injured parts of the body are placed under strain. Sarah reports:

> I guess physical pain can be included in the cons, that can be quite depressing when you know you have injuries and you have to carry them and some have chronic injuries some are accidental injuries, that are general aches in the body and it's not going to be any easier and these situations can be quite difficult.

For some dancers pain is an everyday experience, which they may overlook. Dancers' response to pain may differ according to the circumstances. If pain occurs during their everyday class they most likely stop exercising. Nikolas explains:

> If you feel a bit of pain you have to plan it as you go along in the week even if that is your class, for example if I do a company class and I have a really tough day ahead of me, I might not do the whole of the class or I would do the class but I won't really push myself

In addition their stance varies depending on the stage to which the rehearsal has reached. Hence, dancers may or may not cease dancing if pain occurs when rehearsing, as the rehearsal serves as the stage where they secure the technical and qualitative aspects of movement. However, they may avoid certain movements or perform them conservatively, in order to ease the pressure on the body. This account partly challenges Anderson and Hanrahan's (2008:14) study, as they argue that specifically ballet dancers' appraisal of pain presents no distinctive qualities as they are not in a position to distinguish the difference between what we labelled good and bad pain (performance and injury pain in their terminology).

However, we believe that their outcome refers to the next level of dance practice: the stage performance. There pain becomes obsolete; it is not solely purposively ignored as the "show must go on", but as dancers report it is hardly experienced. The body is emotionally and biologically at such a state where there is no experience of pain, or rather, the latter surfaces after the performance. The relationship of dancing bodies to pain is completely different from the average person's; as Luke reports "dancers have a high threshold of pain". It is exactly this threshold that allows them to judge whether the pain experienced is worth their attention. It is very often the case that dancers ignore pain in order to perform. This concerns especially the Greek dancers, due to a series of operational issues of dance production.

Pain and injury instances are often overlooked in the prospect of performance. Greek ballet dancers in this sample report that due to the short performing period and the distribution of roles amongst the principal dancers especially, there is not much opportunity to perform. A male dancer reports: "I had lumbago, I took drugs and I went on stage. Later on I though to myself, how did I even do this?" As a result some dancers do attempt to perform injured and in pain. Similarly in the smaller-scale production in both Britain and Greece the lack of substitutes and the urgency of actually putting on the performance (especially for financial reasons) can result in injured dancers going on stage.

Injury again is that state of the body, which reveals the sensitivity of it. Injury ranging from minor to severe is a common bodily experience that clashes with the often seemingly unrestricted dance movement. The experience of injury extends further than its physical implications; on the one hand because depending on its extent it may result in a shorter or longer period of abstinence from dance practice and on the other because of its effects on dance production itself. As far as the specific bodies are concerned the injury entails the prohibition of certain types of movement or movement as a whole, a very frustrating experience for dancing bodies, which persistently excel their potential. On top of the feelings of pain and frustration the idea of abstinence from dance can be very distressing for a dancer, even though the latter comprehend the need for rest and healing.

Similarly, an injured dancer means a readjustment of a performance on the basis of a company's means. For most small–scale companies the injury of a dancer entails changes in choreography in order to avoid injury agitation – should a dancer consider that they are able to perform – or other readjustments such as reduction of a role. This is what dance practitioners call "working around things". In large-scale production there is the option of substitution, which can offer an injured dancer immediate relief. However, very often dancers in Greece and elsewhere (Anderson and Hanrahan, 2008) prefer to receive medication and dance, although injured. Artistic directors report that an injured dancer creates a very frustrating situation for a company. Nevertheless all consider that both medical and psychological support is crucial for the injured body. In general dance practitioners believe that appropriate treatment, medication and rest are to some extent the remedy for an injury. However, through the years the accumulation of the latter may bring an end to their careers. The physical limitation of the body materializes in the form of injury. Diana confirmed:

> I stopped dancing last year due to injuries: I could not dance or teach anymore. Now I am an artistic director at a dance school and at my company.

To what extent, though, is the dancing body a fragile component? In general dancers and choreographers consider the dancing body to be a powerful means. The body is a physically remarkable entity, a site of excellence and even unimaginable potential. Dancers are physically very strong and resilient, whilst they subject their bodies to all types of exhausting movement. In that sense the dancing body is considered far from fragile or susceptible to its immanent materiality. On the contrary, it is seen and experienced as impervious to danger. However, dance practitioners admit that the dancing body is exposed to dangerous or in some sense unconventional movement, which can make it prone to injury. Nevertheless, everyday training and other methods of care can serve as a means of prevention of and recovery from injury. Hence, the ability to adapt and recover from injury adds to the experience of resilience. However, all dance practitioners, whether injured more or less seriously, see injury as a possible danger of dance practice.

However, the accumulation of injuries during the trajectory of the body in demanding movement, surfaces as dancers get older. Aging proves to be a reality for all those who engage in strenuous activities. As Turner and Wainwright (2006) argue ageing in dance entails the experience of a decline in the physical potential of dancers who gradually cannot perform in the same level. Unlike an ultra-constructionist view on aging (see Phillipson, 1998), which sees the age as social construct with no reference to the materiality of the body, Turner and Wainwright (2006) stress that the body is limited by physical decay. Indeed dancers and choreographers of a certain age reported that they observed their bodies' slower response to what was earlier a given routine.

Moreover old injuries tend to manifest adding more to the experience of "wearing out". Ballet dancers especially, as opposed to contemporary ones, stress the limited performance span they enjoy and the noticeable mark of time on their bodies. Rea, as a ballet dancer explained "I now need a longer warm up to perform, when I was younger I could just jump straight into doing feats". Contemporary practitioners may perform until the age of fifty or more however with less frequency and with movement adjusted to their bodily capacity. In general dance practitioners point out

that their corporeal response to dance has been or will be an indication of the time for retirement.

Thus, the body is considered as one material condition of the possibility of dance. The application of the former in dance movement requires a physical state that serves as a standard of dance performance. The consolidation of such performing standard however depends on the care dedicated to the body. Artists become increasingly aware of the need to protect and treat the body in order for it to achieve at its highest level. Through the years dance practitioners become able to "listen to their bodies", namely understand their operation and needs. Past practices such as lack of rest or insufficient diets improve in consideration of the practical application of ones body. The importance of rest, helpful exercise, and a healthy diet are considered as necessary for the preservation of the dancing body. However, younger artists adhere less to such health regimes compared to their older colleagues. In that sense they may take advantage of their youth without, however, being unaware of the need to respect and take care of the body. In general changes in dancers' lifestyle take place to the extent that they are not conducive of strenuous bodily engagement, as bodies signal their limitations. Older dancers confirm that lack of care has future consequences and stress the importance of responsible treatment as a part of the everyday routine.

Hence, the dancing body is formed through a great process of objectification and control, which is not limited within the dance studio and the stage. It rather expands in everyday life. In that sense the dancing body is the social body as established through a very specific relationship with the world and physical movement in order to construct a representation of the world and movement itself through dance. The relationship of the dancing body to theatrical dance in particular is under constant negotiation through training, rehearsing and performing, through the discourses taking place amongst dance practitioners and in the final analysis by the specific histories of dancing bodies. However, the particular conceptions of the body in dance as stemming from dance-making and practice illuminates the constructive process of the dancing body as the site of dance.

Most dancers are aware of themselves as bodies, as Fraleigh (1987) argues they are bodies rather than being in possession of a body. Evidently "everybody is born with a body" and "a body is all you have to work with" as Rosie and Sylvie report. These bodies enter the world of dance as bearers of the conditions that generated them, namely, a set of socio-biological conditions inscribed on the shape and operation of the body. They are formed and transformed through the training and become able to produce meaning by use of codified rhythmic movement. They produce dance within a network of interrelated bodies, applying their bodies in an effort to define, transform and present theatrical dance.

As such they subject their bodies to different dance techniques and training systems and as a result fulfil themselves in different genres and styles of theatrical dance. Even though the historical precedence and domination of the balletic body still determines the construction of the dancing body the different types of training and performing produce a variety of bodies. As dancers and choreographers report, different genres treat bodies differently and as a result produce different bodies with regards to shape and style of movement as well as technical capacities. Artists draw a contrast between the balletic body and the one produced from the different modern dance techniques. Dance practitioners spot various differences drawing on their experience in different styles. For example, the vertical placement of the body in ballet, the rotation of the legs, and the energy required to resist gravity are only a few elements that specify the operation of the body.

As shown so far the specificity of the balletic body that is the distinctive facilities such as the arched feet, are not solely a prerequisite for the genre but also the result of balletic performance. In contrast the modern dance body does not require pointed feet or resist gravity but rather makes different use of the foot as well as placing the body on the floor. Even more so modern dance opposes verticality with curve and contraction of the body serving thus a different aesthetic in the form.

317

As a result, in order to satisfy the different aesthetic purposes and demands of such genres, the bodies in question need to adhere to those distinct properties, which make these aesthetic goals possible. The different training systems and techniques play precisely that role. Here, besides the constructive role of training we can discern the antagonistic images of the dancing body as a reflection of specific symbolic forms. Once again the dancing body becomes a site of struggle between opposing images of the latter (Wolff, 1997). However, such bodies coexist as bearers of the symbolic forms, which generated them. Nevertheless, these opposing bodies converge in their ultimate role to express emotions, ideas or stories.

The body in dance reportedly serves as an active medium of expression. Dancers "emanate through the bodies" whilst they actively constitute the dance. The (dancing) body is not seen as instrument detached from the self. It is an entity, which is constituted through dance while enacting it (Howson and Inglis, 2001). In that sense the body becomes the dance offering a transcendental experience. Dancers especially report that the state of performance is a completely different experience from any other phase of preparation (class or rehearsal). Nicky comments: "The Performance is the explosion, everything comes from the body, you don't think anymore". Or Leona:

> During training I don't think anything else or anyone else other than these muscles but when I go on stage I am a completely different person […] I don't think that you can be the way you are in performance in the rehearsals because what the point in having a performance is. There is not a level change if you know what I mean. There's a kind of step up, so I am a completely different person on stage

What these dancers describe is the body-subject the unified experience of the body in dance. The internalization of a sequence of movements has become naturalized and in that sense is being reproduced as an act of free will (see also Inglis, 2004)

However, processes of objectification at different stages of dance production may allow an instrumental view of the body. The daily classes or the early stages of

318

rehearsal serve for dancers as sites of objectification. These are the phases during which dancers draw their attention to the technicalities of movement, the enhancement of bodily capacities and the embodiment of steps. At those stages dancers isolate their bodies and place them under close inspection. In the rehearsal especially there is a progressive enhancement of the body from an instrument for the execution of movement combinations to a unified means of dance where personal attributes (the self) unite with the dance and the intention of the choreographer. In other words the purpose of the rehearsal is to gradually produce the unified experience of performance. The performance is that state of dance where bodies transcend their earlier status into becoming the dance. Here the body absorbs effort and technique whilst it identifies with the form and becomes art.

Nevertheless, performance per se can be another state of objectification. This time the body is exposed before an audience whilst it realizes the dance. The body becomes the centre of attention; as for the spectator the body is the dance. Moreover, the body in motion is observed and the particular ways in which it does so become objective qualities of the dancing body. In that sense the body becomes an art object, a work of art. However, the interviews show that dancers and choreographers accept neither the instrumental nor the artwork definitions of the body fully. They consider the latter as potentially both, as the body serves as a vehicle of dance and a means of execution of movement but has also content; it is a bearer of meaningful material and in that sense it is an artistic source and an art object. Choreographers especially see bodies as micro-worlds, elements of personality, which bring meaning into the dance whilst being able to use intricate skilful movement. The body on stage takes specific forms characteristic of the genre and the style of movement intended by the dance-maker, which however becomes an experiential site both for the dancer and the spectator.

As we have seen, whether the body is an instrument detached and alienated from its own driving force and product or objectified and seen as a piece of art itself, constitutes a dualism which was usually transcended by a more enhanced view of the body. Dancers may understand and deploy their body as instruments, which they use in order to execute movement but at the same time they are aware of them as

mediums of expression and release of emotion. Hence they perceive and experience their body as both while sensing it as an undistinguishable part of oneself. The body is always present, thus it cannot be viewed as something separate from ones perception and action (the incorporated self) (Merleau-Ponty, 1994). This enhanced view and experience of the body constitutes a transcendence of the mind-body dualism. Nevertheless, dualistic conceptions of the latter are still reproduced in dance practice. For example Rose stated:

> I would say what you emanate through your body [...] is really coming from your brain, [which] is really more important than any trick that your body can do.

Or Elisabeth commented:

> I certainly don't perform just through my body so that I have no personality or history or presence as a human being.

Such discourses around the dancing/performing body may indicate an effort to explain and describe non-dualistic conceptions and experiences of dance, which nevertheless reproduces the fragmentation of consciousness and physical practice through language. The surfacing of dualisms in dance as Fraleigh (1987) argues can also be explained by a generalized symbolic opposition between formalistic and expressionistic aesthetics in theatrical dance. Abstraction as a style of theatrical dance movement, whether applied in ballet (such as in courtly forms or in modern times Balanchine's work) or modern dance (for instance in Cunningham's work) has been associated with the negotiation of the form. That is to say, a focus on the way in which movement is constructed in dance as an end itself.

Throughout the history of the form the aesthetic principles that characterized the development of ballet and theatrical dance in general could be clustered under the

opposing premises of abstraction and expression. As a result the body as the creative element in the making of either abstract or expressive movement (as defined by characteristics of particular historical phases of such aesthetic practice) was defined with reference to the former. Abstract dance with reference to the technique and formulation of the dancing body encouraged a view of the latter as equally abstracted and divided from the self. Similarly, expressive dance has been considered as the form of higher consciousness and in that respect the opposite of a formalistic practice. In other words such oppositions are homologous to the dualism of intellect versus body.

Generally, the practice of dance as a product of the social relations, which generate it, is informed by a series of polar oppositions (Thomas, 2003:93). The logo-centric and dualistic character of everyday interaction reinforces dualistic perceptions and discourses on the body, which also translate into the world of dance. On the one hand, an enhanced embodied experience as resulting from ongoing processes of physical transformation becomes a qualification for the bodies of dancers in their everyday interaction. The dancing bodies constitute sites of intelligence and means of comprehension of everyday life and dancers are aware of them as such. Their bodies are means of communication besides verbal expression whilst they are able to sense and present themselves in social space; in that sense dancing bodies are points of view and experience (Merlau-Ponty, 1994.) On the other hand, the same enhanced experience is fragmented by the representation of dance as a bodily non - intellectual practice and by dualistic discourses. This is especially evident by the linguistic forms the same dancers use to speak about their physical everyday lives. In that sense their bodies are sites of contradiction, as they speak of them as social assets rather than speaking of bodily experiences of reality.

More specifically, dancing bodies bring confidence in social interaction as their physical presence is used to the gaze of the other. Dancers draw positive energy from a comparison to other social bodies. They consider their own physicality more able and operative and sometimes better looking. However, female dancers may experience body-image contradictions due to the practice of dance. The ideal body

321

image in social life may not correspond to the ideal body in dance. Although, some female dancers struggle to come into terms with their appearance in dance, wishing perhaps a slimmer figure as dancers, they simultaneously acknowledge the lack of femininity that such body entails. A number of female dancers more or less happy with their bodies as dancing bodies acknowledge their need to look more feminine, having more curves or visible breasts. Such paradox, especially common amongst female dancers indicates the tension between different ideals of beauty as resulting from different uses of the body.

Male dancers are not victims of such contradictions. Masculine body ideals are in line in both social and symbolic fields. As a result, a thin male dancer wishing to acquire more muscles adheres to the same masculine prototype. Despite such contradictions, however, dance practitioners see the benefits of dance practice on their bodies; from the sense of euphoria produced by physical activity, the enhanced sense of physical capacity and strength, to the young-looking presence. Dancers feel healthy and fit in their everyday life and see physical exercise as an extension of their bodies. This is why a number of them report continuation of dance classes after the end of their professional lives.

Although dancers experience the paradox of both the physical exaltation and decline while ageing they consider dance and movement the defining element of their existence. The time span of their careers as such may be short but their bodily hexis and knowledge constitute a capital that can lead them to perform in different ways and by means of different occupations. Despite a relative incapacitation that comes with injury and ageing, choreography, teaching as well as managerial work in dance re-establishes their relationship with dance. Even more, such professional orientations reinstate their corporeal sense although they may not actively engage in movement at least in the way they used to. The future of the dancing body is prescribed to a great extent from the physical state of the latter without however restricting the definition of it to its physical potential. Dancers and choreographers of all ages predict and experience the end of their performing peak but also see that they are transforming themselves further and in this way preserving their agency in dance.

In an overview, the dancing body constitutes a form of capital in the field of theatrical dance; a capital that consists of the social construction of the body in its materiality as transformed through a long process of physical mastery and control. The dancing body is a *bodily hexis* produced by a second level of symbolic negotiation always dependent upon socially determined conditions of possibility. The dancing body is the outcome of the institutionalized stages of dance production by formalizing its movement and sculpting its form for the purposes of such formalization. However, the process of institutionalization of bodily expression results in relatively unrestricted forms of expression. The formality of dance production is superseded by the bodily performance providing an aesthetic experience both to the dancers and their spectators. The dancing body is a microcosm of material, discursive and symbolic constructions produced by the interplay of social agents arrange in the systems of positions consisting the field.

Chapter 14

Deconstructing Talent in Theatrical Dance.

> I had an interesting conversation with a friend of mine with whom we went to the same school and we both did dance, and we talked about it and she said she never really quite understood how to translate what she sees in the body, when somehow my brain made that relation possible, it made it happen and it was there and then I didn't have to work on it. I was able to physically tell what I have been told, whereas other people don't. (Sarah)

Bourdieu's (1984; 1993a; 1996b; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) major contribution to the discussion of academic attainment, professional success and artistic disposition is the deconstruction of the ideology of "gifted" inherent talent as an explanatory schema for distinction. He attacks such ideological constructions as concealing social privileges linked to the conditions in which individuals emerge and operate. The specific meaning attached to the term talent in dance implies a series of attributes linked to the systems of relations in which it is assessed. Talent is ''an extensive palette'' according to Georgia, who in an effort to provide an explanation to the term recognizes the multiplicity of properties that underlie the concept. In an overview, talent was described on three levels, namely as a set of physical facilities or even assets that allow the body to respond with ease to dance manoeuvres; as the responsiveness of the body to rhythm and music; and thirdly as a creative ability Which allow the bearer to convey a message by means of bodily movement and facial expression. This section will critically reflect on the concept of talent as discussed by my participants.

Firstly, we should look at talent with reference to physicality, namely talent understood as bodily attributes and technical skills. Although the two do not necessarily overlap they fit under the broader category of physicality. Especially for those involved in ballet talent translates into properties such as great flexibility,

arched feet, long x shaped legs, long necks etc, which constitute both requirements and means of balletic movement. As a result talent is a referent to those corporeal attributes that enable the body to perform ballet in particular. According to Rea, a ballet dancer ''one cannot be a ballet dancer without the right body or the technique''. What is implied here is that the balletic body is a specific kind of body with specific properties and abilities that take value in dance practice.

However, that specificity is less than universal and eternal[98]. Historically, as we have seen the balletic body is constituted through movement as the site of the symbolic struggle about the means and purpose of theatrical dance. In different historical phases dance took different meanings and hence employed bodies in different ways. In that sense, the dancing body is at the centre of a set of forces, namely particular actors anchored in specific positions (Bourdieu, 1993a), who negotiate the definition of ballet. For instance, during Romanticism there appear two competing forms of ballet, one that adheres to narrative and one that promotes abstract dance, correspondingly there appear two types of balletic movement, one that is academic and controlled and one that draws on what we would now call folk dance based on voluptuous movement. Subsequently, there emerged two competing balletic bodies, the sylph (slim, almost dematerialized) and the voluptuous or sensual. These two forms were exemplified, were literally embodied, in two prominent dancers of the period: Marie Taglioni (as the sylph and a strongly technical dancer) and Fanny Elsller as the sensual dancer (Garafola, 1997). Their performances constructed two competing ideal types against which subsequent dancing bodies also competed and which they often superseded and reconstructed.

The attainment of a particular bodily ideal type is often the result of the particular process that constructed the former, namely training and performing. For example, Taglioni was considered to have a very deficient physicality. She was very thin and rather underdeveloped with no visible curves. However, she became the symbol of

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[98] Although Wainwright et. al. (2007) argue that the circulation of dancers across dance companies as a manifestation of the economic globalization results in the globalization of the balletic body, namely the domination of a particular body type as the ideal balletic body.

Romantic ballet. Her father subjected her to really harsh training, which enabled her to be the first dancer on point shoes, characteristic of the genre, whilst promoting her skinniness and lightness through supernatural roles (Homans, 2010). Similarly, every balletic body contributes to or reconstitutes the ideal type. In similar manner the anti-balletic vision of modern dance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century cemented changes in the bodily application and posture that resulted in a different definition of the dancing body. This is why contemporary dance practitioners speak about bodily facilities such as speed, agility or muscular strength as assets but do not embrace the contrasting balletic definitions.

In their own explanations of talent dance practitioners thus stress the important role of hard work and training. There is great consensus amongst both dancers and choreographers in this sample that training is the core element in the production of the dancer. In other words, there is consensus that the dancing body is constructed under specific training conditions. However, some artists argue that some properties/abilities manifest long before one's full immersion in such training conditions; properties such as the ability for hip rotation, or speed, that make specific bodies particularly efficient. Such properties can be biologically determined and in that sense attributed to nature. It is, however, the particular uses of the body in light of the principles of ballet or modern dance that constitute such physical properties assets. In other words, physical talent is as much of a construct as the dancing body and any physical properties can only be of value when one's body is subjected to a specific style of training. As Smith argues for sport (2010:128), physical ability or excellence is measured against the particular categories or sets of values established for the activity in question and which have been historically shaped.

In that sense, what Wainwright et. al. (2006; 2007) theorize as individual habitus, namely the specific bodily assets which make some dancing bodies stand out, is rather problematic. In their study of Royal Ballet dancers, thus, they outline the particular expressions of habitus as institutional (referring to the style and school of training), the individual (namely the particular assets of a dancer such as speed) and the choreographic (that is the style developed after having worked with a particular

choreographer). Even though they distinguish *varieties of habitus* for analytical purposes, they contradict the concept of habitus as a structuring structure (Bourdieu, 1992: 18-19). *Habitus* in Bourdieu's account is the set of dispositions resulting from the active engagement with the world and in that sense it cannot be broken down to varieties. Moreover, their theorization of individual habitus, which cannot be explained from the institutional, tacitly leaves space for explanations premised on the basis of assumptions about natural gifts.

The intricate issue of embodiment is discussed by Lahire (2003: 345-346), who argues that Bourdieu and subsequently other authors never clarified the ways in which individuals incorporate the conditions to which they are subjected. Indeed, Bourdieu does not explain the more subtle manifestations of bodily hexis, such as the ones discussed by Wainwright, et. al. (2006). Lahire explains that participation in the world and in various contexts results in the incorporation of multiple qualities that are reproduced in action again in the variety of situations in which individuals are situated. In that sense bodily hexis is the result of such multiplicity, which in our case equates familial or other social practices and most importantly dancing which in itself constitutes a means of incorporating and enacting the world. In that sense, abilities such as speed or even hip rotation in this respect could be the result other social practices which take place prior to training and are transformed through it. For example, Stephen reports:

> I think I was like - you know - school's monster doing back spins [after] watching disco videos […] but I think I started training properly when I was fifteen.

The body is the subject of perception Merleau-Ponty (1994) argues, as it constitutes both the point of departure and return of all social activity. As a result the level of our (bodily) receptivity depends on those social conditions that render the body a legitimate means of expression but also on the space and time dedicated to those social activities that give primacy to physicality. In other words, the exposure of a body to other working bodies as well as the involvement of the body in evidently

327

corporeal phenomena, serve as the conditioning of physicality. In that sense training does not only operate as a process of constructing the body but also as a site of bodily interaction that legitimizes the body and enhances its receptivity. This is evidently the result of comparisons as I outlined them earlier.

Another intricate aspect of "talent", as defined by dancers and choreographers, is the sense of rhythm and musicality, namely the ability to recognize rhythmical sequences in music and respond physically. Musicality and rhythm is something that Emile Dalcroze (1923) systematically studied in late 1800s on the principle that it was a transferable skill both for musicians and dancers. Evidently, this can also be an ability cultivated during training. However, reportedly rhythmic sense can manifest at very early stages even before training. This is very often the result of dancers' exposure to sounds and music at an early age through their families. A great number of dancers in this sample have been exposed to arts and music in particular in various ways, such as attending concerts, and listening to music as a result of familial interest. In some cases a parent may have been a musician, whether professional or amateur.

As implied earlier, talent may also refer to expression or creativity in dance. For both dancers and choreographers "talent" may thus refer to the ability to convey emotions, ideas and images through patterns of movement (symmetrical for ballet), bodily lines and technical execution of movement. Talent is not reduced to extraordinary physical feats; on the contrary, the latter are the means by which content is expressed. Nicolas states:

> What makes a dancer is the ability to communicate something […] Overall it is important for a dancer to have a facial expression that suits the dance. It is not good when dancers are not expressive even when they have amazing legs and technique, dancers have to get through to you and when you leave a performance you have to have got something out of it. If all there is to it is the ability to do triplets (triple pirouettes) and amazing feats and jumps; there is no point, people can go to the circus to see such things.

Similarly, in the modern dance field, talent is perceived as the ability to creatively stand out and inform the technique with personal expressive elements: ''[Being] imaginative and expressive and having that craze for dance''. Imagination is tied into the idea of creativity, especially in modern dance, where the contribution of dancers to the making is expected. Whether that means active participation in choreographing or just an openness/adjustability to the choreographers' dictation, creativity is a significant component in the construction of talent. Even more so, the potential to express oneself in dance through moving and inventing movement and, in turn, attracting an audience, is considered talent.

Such potential is often attributed to inherent, inner qualities by artists themselves in that it steers individuals towards dance but also informs the enactment of dance. However, bodies – as bearers of the social conditions, which generate them – bring into dance their own stories. Dance training and performing transforms these bodies into active inventive agents whilst giving them some means to translate their stories to movement. This, indeed, may not be as straightforward as such statement implies, as particular approaches to dance may not work for all bodies as we have seen. In that sense, bodily expressivity is amenable to the conditions in which the body operates and the extent to which such conditions are conducive of the particular version of the dancing body. However, inventiveness in dance is a result of a disposition towards movement as generated and cultivated through bodily participation in dance. Furthermore, dance training does not just solely construct the technical proficiency of the body but rather passes on style and very often structures that relate to the embodiment of the teacher.

However, these bodies would not have been talented or even a dancing bodies if they were never introduced to theatrical dance movement. In fact, the prerequisite for the construction of the talented dancing body is dancing itself. In that sense initiation to theatrical dance determines to a great extent the nomination and transformation of the body to a dancing body. Introduction to dance is the result of a complex relationship between a socially determined disposition towards engagement with arts and physical activities and a combination of economic and social capital, which secures and

consolidates participation in professional dance training. This relational structure renders dancing and making dance possible. The majority of my participants were, as we have seen, introduced to (predominantly) ballet or other forms of dance – such as folk – during their childhood by their immediate or extensive families. This in itself exposed their socialization through the body.

Furthermore, such practices revealed a relationship with arts or more generally, an artistic conception of physical exercise. A large number of dancers and choreographers in this sample have inherited/embodied some form of cultural capital in this respect - very often secured by economic capital; capitals which enabled them to either enhance a disposition for movement or discover and cultivate such a disposition. The routes by means of which such disposition was socialized are multiple and amenable to different sets of social and aesthetic values. However, some forms of specific knowledge and aesthetic judgement informed the particular family/individual practices/strategies that led to their introduction to dance

There is, thus an evident relationship between one's introduction to corporeal activities and parental attitudes and practices of physicality that sets the context for a socio-cultural explanation of dance practice. This way dance becomes an integral part of one's living conditions (Bourdieu, 1984), conditions in which dispositions are cultivated, observed and encouraged legitimizing thus bodily phenomena in a generally logo-centric conception of social life. If everyday bodily movement is restricted and broken by social convention and behavioural rules, the dedication of space and time to the body as a primary mode of being in the world is absent, let alone the dedication of specialized time to the former, which serves as a form of encouragement towards movement and physicality. As reflected in this particular sample[99] the centrality of the body and bodily movement in everyday life validated and legitimized movement itself. A number of dance practitioners reported their physical tendency to move, be active and even dance as children, which signalled their orientation to the form to the extent that their disposition had been evaluated as

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[99] There were a significant number of artists whose parents engaged in physical activities themselves along with an evidently high number who considered bodily engagement significant and therefore encouraged their children to practice.

such. On the other hand, artistic values and introduction to dance can often open a new pathway for young children as they discover their interest and responsiveness in dance through taking classes. In that sense cultural capital is responsible for both the conditioning and formation of certain bodily dispositions.

There may be a relative consensus on a definition of talent as the ability to express or convey meanings by means of the body. However, the way in which the body is expressed is under constant symbolic and practical negotiation through styles, techniques, and ways of training. The production of dance, dancers and choreographers are tied to the set of relations that constitute the field of dance and the ideas, practices and performances of the occupiers of the positions within the field. The extent to which these can be labelled "talented" depends on the definition of talent, which is constantly negotiated amongst actors and institutions (dancers, choreographers, teachers, academies and companies) who practice and define dance in particular ways whilst they struggle to make their definition of dance legitimate or even dominant. As shown above, the dimensions of "talent" are multiple, an indication of the possible forms and attributes that dance practitioners can possess and which are then characterized as such.

Conclusion

This piece of work sought to demonstrate the logic and structure of dance making in relation to the social, political and aesthetic context in which it is produced. Theatrical dance as a form and as a practice is a product of collaborative action, historically mediated by institutions, structures and bodies, contributing to the making of movement, which is socially, recognized as meaningful in particular ways. The various social systems in which ballet and thereafter modern dance was accommodated evidently affected the conventions, themes and bodies of dance enactment whilst constituting dance as a more or less autonomous form, apart from political and economic interest. In practice, of course, this autonomy has not been as clear-cut as such an account might imply. Aesthetic and political interests have been interwoven, either because socially dominant groups imposed their aesthetic views upon dance production or because artists themselves allied with emerging powers – as in the case of Wigman – to support their endeavours. In that sense, a constant struggle against authoritative prescriptions or necessities is what characterizes the production of theatrical dance.

Hence, this thesis attempted to go beyond existing sociology of dance/ballet (Thomas, 1995; 2003, Wulff, 1998; 2005, Wainwright and Turner, 2004, Wainwright et. al, 2005; 2006; 2007) by employing a holistic approach, namely one that incorporates the history of the genesis of the field of dance into the study of the contemporary state of dance production in particular countries based on the experience of working artists. Indeed, the history of dance has hitherto analyzed historical phases of dance and particular world-historical figures without any extensive reference to the social context in which they formed and operated, a situation rather like that of the mainstream study of literature or art in the 1950s and 1960s, At the same time the dominant tradition in historical sociology has ignored the contemporary reality of dance artists (Thomas, 1995; 2003).

Similarly, some empirical studies are restricted to the organizational and structural aspects of dance production (Wulff, 1998; 2005) with no in-depth investigation of the experience of embodying and practicing dance. Lastly, studies of the dancing body (Wainwright and Turner, 2004, Wainwright et. al, 2005; 2006; 2007) are not adequately historically grounded and for this reason cannot fully grasp the symbolic negotiations in which the body is the ultimate stake. In that sense they fail to theorise the interplay between the symbolic, the social and the physical aspects of embodiment and the effect of symbolic negotiations on the dancing body. Therefore, the thesis attempted *a historical and relational analysis* of a symbolic universe materialized in and through dancing bodies, with *an emphasis on the social, political and aesthetic* developments affecting dance but also *the subjective embodied experience* of dance making and dancing.

As we have seen, the inception of the field of dance, namely a sphere of activity which operates under a specific rationale and set of principles, coincides with the establishment of the Academy and thereupon with the professionalization of the dancing body, which is constituted on the grounds of appropriate placement intended to produce a specific effect. The rationalisation and classification of dance movement and the emergence of dance experts transformed this physical activity into a sphere of encoded interest which is produced and consumed by particular social categories such as initially the court. As I have shown in my historical section, theatrical dance emerged and developed as a field with a remarkably similar logic in different national contexts, although local idioms or structures have also shaped differences in style. Balletic forms were negotiated in different phases by different but nevertheless (relatively) privileged and competing social groups, namely the court, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and reflected the social concerns of these groups at each phase.

What I have sought to make clear in this historical sociology of dance is the logic of artistic change as a reconfiguration of social tensions into competing aesthetic approaches. The new conventions and new moving bodies which result from this competition become institutionalised. Institutions in turn guarantee the legitimacy of these kinds of corporeal engagement. These systems of engagement constitute the

field of dance, which is regulated by the practices of dancers, choreographers, teachers and around them a series of other professionals who control some part of dance production organized in institutions.

As I have shown the field operates on the basis of key symbolic oppositions such as narrative versus abstract dance. These oppositions are materialized in bodily movement and constitute the symbolic mechanisms that sustain or alter the dynamics between the set of interrelations through which bodies become dance. In that sense, the historical mechanism that sets the field in motion is the symbolic struggle for the definition and practice of theatrical dance as inscribed and enacted through the dancing bodies which, identify with the act of dance itself. This struggle results in various shifts including, most notably, the rupture of theatrical dance into classical ballet and modern dance, discussed especially in chapters five and six.

This principal division, which in fact cemented further breaks within the two forms in the twentieth century, reintroduced symbolic oppositions in the practice of dance. Indeed, as is clear from my empirical work, the dancers and choreographers considered in this thesis adhere - one way or another - to either pole regardless of whether they engage in a polemical contradistinction. However, the particular structures of the field in which they are situated may enforce or soften the tension between genres and sub-genres. As I have shown through the particular sample different artists give different definitions to theatrical dance depending on their positions in relation to the dichotomy between ballet and modern dance and their role in dance production (dancer, choreographer etc.).

These artists demarcate their practice both within the continuum of theatrical dance (e.g. dramatic versus pure dance) as well as within the wider set of dance styles such as social dances, which they consider as different to their own. Indeed, as was shown in chapter nine Greek artists are more polemical in this respect, evident in the sharper distinctions which they tend to draw between ballet and modern dance, as cultivated through training and reproduced in professional practice and discourse.

Moreover, I hope to have shown that dancers and choreographers are not a homogenous set of actors; on the contrary they pursue individual interests and employ certain strategies in order to consolidate their position within the world of dance nationally and internationally. Tensions between them often emerge as a result of their uneven standing in dance production and their positioning within certain structures such as operatic forms or small-scale companies. Thus, as I have demonstrated both in chapters eleven and twelve artists in these fields operate within power relations that on occasion take the form of very dominating control over them.

It follows from this that these artists make dance through roles corresponding to positions of power (e.g. dancers versus choreographers, teachers versus students). I also hope to have shown that dancers and choreographers often exist in rather uncertain working conditions and precarious material context especially the ones who specialize in modern dance and work in small-scale companies or are free-lancers. I have demonstrated the implications of economic uncertainty in their lives, their family plans and overall social relations. Ballet dancers appeared to be more secure economically but they suffer more from the extent of dedication that ballet requires.

However, as I have shown in chapters nine and twelve the relatively common experience of work does not entail the rigid classification of these artists in a singular class fraction. It follows from this that dancers and choreographers are not all allocated in the same cluster of positions in either the field of dance or in the wider field of power. Given their relatively diverse social origins, dancers are armed with dissimilar – and often disproportionately distributed – types of capitals, which shape the potential positions they occupy in the field of dance. Such positions are not the straightforward reflection of their original social status, although there is often an affinity with the particular social properties of individuals. It might be better said to be a refraction of class position. Dancers and choreographers in this sample belong to relatively privileged social categories, although, some space for an upward mobility of some students emerged as a pattern. These artists' field and social trajectories are interwoven as they accumulate capitals (through institutions, namely educational and

professional), and through which individuals pursue strategies simultaneously in and outwith the field. As I have shown, Greek dancers and choreographers in this sample tend to accumulate more institutional capital by investing both in higher education and dance training, as a result of the structural limits of the Greek field. On the other hand, their counterparts in the British field tend to invest in dance training mainly and may pursue further studies in dance at a post-graduate level.

Importantly, I hope to have specifically addressed the fact (and the consequences of the fact that) these investments include *the body* as the central material through which the field of dance operates. Regardless of whether it refers to the particular features of the body or to the ability for rhythmic movement, the most prevalent form of capital in the field is an embodied one. The body as a product of social experience bears connotations, which are linked to individual status and are thus reconfigured into dance representations. The dancing body is the particular product of a prolonged exposure to training but one, which retains the residual effects of the class ethos of its occupant. However, the objectified dancing body, that is to say its representation as an artistic medium, is one that relatively transgresses the body/mind dualism.

Dancers, especially, are bodily subjects at least at the level of performance, despite processes of objectification that tend to fragment their perceptions of the body. As I have shown in chapter thirteen the dancing body constitutes a point of view for these artists, as they perceive themselves primarily through the latter. They, however, objectify it through scrutiny, often encouraged by institutional prescriptions about the proper bodily attributes. This often influences the perception of their bodies in social space. I have thus shown in chapter eleven how training experience, as the process of constructing the dancing body, is often characterized by tensions, conflicts and contradictions, especially in the Greek case. Generally, contrary to popular belief about the perfection of the athletic body, dancers and choreographers critically assess their physical appearance and engagement against strict criteria. Furthermore, experiences of fatigue, injury or pain may characterize their sense of physicality, which challenges the common representation of the dancing body as a site of perfection.

The bodily types that dancers develop as a result of training and performing correspond to particular styles and structures in which such styles are practiced. As a result training in ballet is likely to result in the practice of the style appropriate to a particular ballet company, although such a trajectory could be interrupted by material conflicts. These are linked to wider social and political issues such as the space given to performing arts through appropriate structures (i.e. number of companies) or funding in each field. Indeed although the specific cases under investigation, namely the Greek and British fields, developed in tandem, they present differences in their structure.

The British field thus appears more expansive, highly internationalized and specialized in terms of its training institutions and companies. Furthermore, it is more inclusive in terms of dance styles, as it offers space for more collaborative work. In contrast, Greek dance production is more limited, is less internationalized and is characterized by a disproportionate production of modern dance over ballet. Greek dance production receives less economic support compared to the British. Furthermore, as I have discussed in chapter eleven the Greek field exists in a state of relative dependence on British dance production evident in the movement of dance students and professionals to the British institutions and the introduction of British dance curricula in the Greek schools.

However, the recent global economic crisis and the austerity imposed in both countries in question will have an effect on dance production. In the UK the restrictions imposed on funding are already apparent. For, instance the National English Ballet has seen reductions in its budget, which immediately affects the structure and quality of production as well as the number of salaried workers, including particularly the numbers of dancers of the lower rank (a reduction of seasonal or contract corps de ballet dancers is possible in this case). Generally speaking, a decrease in public/private investment during periods of austerity in arts and ballet in particular tends to directly increase competition between large-scale companies. It can thus transform the working structures of companies in ways that impact directly on working bodies. Art Councils may equally implement cuts in the

budget aimed at small-scale contemporary dance work. Once again this will in the first instance increase competition, reduce the amount of work produced and require consequent adjustments in lifestyle for its practitioners.

For Greece, similarly, the austerity period affects the conditions of dance production. The National Opera debt is schedule for elimination, preparing the structure in the process for its full privatization. The funding received had already been reduced and wages have also been affected, as throughout the public sector. The privatization of the National Opera will entail new and uncharted working conditions for dancers and choreographers as well as for other staff. However it is unclear whether the company itself will be dismantled, and whether, if so the former staff will be compensated and whether pensions will be guaranteed. In the contemporary dance camp similar developments to those in Britain and elsewhere have taken place but at a greater level of intensity.

However, what is ultimately at stake in the austerity period is whether artistic creativity will suffer following the material restrictions imposed on dance production. The relationship between financial support and dance making for public exhibition on the one hand and how these are connected to ideas and practices in dance making on the other are not fully established. In Greece, for example, both National Opera and smaller modern dance companies engage in open-air performances free of charge or with minimal contribution in collaboration with diverse artists and intellectuals. A good example was the touring bus of the National Opera, which travelled to different parts of Athens and gave twenty-minute dance or operatic performances to the public. Other examples of contemporary dance performances negotiating the financial crisis or the austerity have also appeared. Similar phenomena we encounter in Britain too, in open-air festivals or other public spectacles. In that sense, in the short run issues of productivity and accessibility of dance can be tackled by artists themselves.

However, in the long run the maintenance of companies and artists as well as their level of engagement in dance can become a very serious matter during prolonged

austerity. Adherence to necessity and everyday survival may not be conducive of productivity in dance. In reality, the social struggle for survival is embedded in artistic production; therefore artists may be reflexive about the social conditions of austerity and negotiate these within their work, which often takes a form of resistance to the former. They are, nevertheless, also bound by material concerns, which can severely affect the state of the field of arts as a field of restricted production. A potential effect can be the commoditization of theatrical dance but most likely at the level of theatrical entrepreneurship the reduction of work is a possible outcome.

However, the longstanding art of dance performance is the product of a corporeal negotiation of meaning through movement organized and controlled by bodies as viewpoints in dance. The institutionalization of the latter operates as a locus of artistic and professional identity, which guarantees the sustenance of theatrical dance as a practice and as a form. Even though dancing is negotiated through practice and, in that sense, every performance is a new definition of dance, performance takes place on the principle of certain techniques and style, which redefines and simultaneously maintains the particular form as legitimate. In other words, dance per se is an active negotiation of the world through bodies, the bearers of social material, which engage in it as a symbolic practice.

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Appendix

Greek Sample (Participant Tables with pseudonyms)

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Specialization	Degrees
Nikolas	Male	40	Eastern European	Ballet dancer	Dance Academy
Rea	Female	38	Greek	Ballet Dancer	Proff. Dance School Philosophy degree/RAD
Nicky	Female	36	Greek	Ballet dancer	Proff. Dance School/ RAD
Fred	Male	66	Belgian	Choreographer/ artistic director/ teacher, neoclassical/modern ballet	Dance Academy/ Academy of Fine Arts
Diana	Female	48	Greek	Choreographer/ artistic director /teacher/ examination board member, modern ballet/modern dance	State School of Dance/ Dance therapy/Laban Centre
Christine	Female	31	Greek	Dancer/choreographer artistic director/ teacher modern ballet/modern dance	Proff. Dance School
Georgia	Female	38	Greek	Choreographer/artistic director, modern dance	State School of Dance/ Masters in Contemporary dance performance Laban Centre/
Renia	Female	31	Greek	Choreographer/artistic director, school teacher	Proff, Dance School, Theatre Studies, Masters in dance Middlessex University/ RAD
Elena	Female	40	Greek	Free-lance choreographer, teacher,	Music Composition,

				modern/therapeutic dance	Masters in Contemporary dance performance Middlessex University
Anna	Female	37	Greek	Free-lance dancer/choreographer, dance teacher, modern dance	Degree in Education/ Proff. Dance School
Joanna	Female	28	Greek	Modern Dancer	State School of Dance/RAD
Phillip	Male	32	Greek	Free-lance modern dancer, dance teacher	State School of dance/RAD
George	Male	31	Greek	Free-lance modern dancer, dance teacher	Proff. Dance School, Technological Institute for Medical Units Management

British Sample (participant tables with pseudonyms)

Sylvie	Female	22	French	Neoclassical/modern ballet/ballet dancer	Paris Conservatory
Josephine	Female	23	French	Modern ballet dancer	Paris Opera, Paris Conservatory
Shawn	Male	23	British	Modern Ballet dancer	Dance School of Scotland/Millenium 2000
Luke	Male	23	British	Modern ballet/Neoclassical Dancer	Tring College
Anthony	Male	52	British	Choreographer/artistic director, ballet/ modern ballet	Royal Ballet School
Stephen	Male	32	Finnsh	Modern/Modern ballet Dancer	Millenium 2000
Lynn	Female	23	British-Polish	Ballet Dancer	Royal Ballet School
Sue	Female	33	Chinese	Ballet Dancer	Ballet Academy, Masters in Dance Performance Birmingham University
Jacob	Male	29	British	Modern/Modern ballet dancer	Rambert School
Sarah	Female	27	British	Modern/Modern ballet dancer	Tring College
Ross	Male	46	British	Modern Dancer/choreographer/ artistic director	English National Ballet School/ London Contemporary Dance School/ Laban Centre (masters in dance performance techniques)
Elisabeth	Female	39	British	Free-lance modern dancer/choreographer	Laban Centre
Rose	Female	42	British	Modern dancer/choreographer/artistic director	English National Ballet School/ Theatre Studies Degree
Emma	Female	22	British	Free-lance modern dancer	London Contemporary School
Julie	Female	29	American	Free-lance modern dancer/choreographer	Degree in Dance Performance/ Masters in dance Laban Centre, Phd in Dance

					Studies
Rebecca	Female	33	British	Modern/modern ballet, Dancer/Choreographer artistic director/teacher	London Contemporary Dance School
Salvatore	Male	43	Italian	Modern Dance choreographer/artistic director	Theatre Studies, Modern Dance Laban Centre
Leona	Female	22	British Jamaican	Modern Dancer	Northern Contemporary Dance School
Alana	Female	24	British	Free-lance Modern dancer/choreographer/dance teacher	World Irish Dance Academy. Linguistics and Speech Pathology degree

Overall Sample

Gender distribution

Gender	Male	Female
	11	21

Nationalities

British	Greek	French	Other
13	11	3	4

Occupations

Ballet Dancers/Neoclassical	Neoclassical/ Ballet Choreographers	Modern Dancers	Modern Dance Choreographers	Modern dance Choreographers/Dancers
10	2	7	7	6