enacted. Weaving prevailing attitudes toward gender before our eyes, dance also challenges us with alternative life-styles: unisexuality, homosexuality, asexuality. Insecurity about one’s own sexual identity may galvanize derogatory parody through a monstrously exaggerated dance of another’s sense of self. Dancers cut images in space of vain narcissism as well as of selfless loving. Choreographer Alwin Nikolais speaks of “masturbatory tendencies in motion” in which “the parasitic attachment to the dance act overpowers the intended expression, leaving in its stead the communication of the parasitic and/or narcissistic act rather than the art idea” (1967, 322).

I illustrate later how dance can be explicit or ambiguous in its conjointing of mind and body to sexual imagery. How we respond to a sexual stimulus depends on our attitudes, beliefs (sometimes referred to as a cognitive map, schematic, or frame of reference), and experience. Subject to old clichés, fetters of past assumptions, and viewers’ cognitive maps, dance may also go beyond the known or acceptable and permit futuristic explorations and otherwise dangerous unclothing. Distanced from the everyday, the performance is an arena in which we can safely challenge the status quo. After all, dance is illusion and pretend, close yet far.

Theater, from prosenium stage to street space or village compound, is “a mode of discovery,” said philosopher Bruce Wilshire, “that explores the threads of what is implicit and buried in the world, and pulls them into a compressed and acknowledgeable pattern before us in its ‘world.’ Theatre discovers meaning, and its peculiar detachment reveals our involvement. . . . The whole point of art [including dance] is to put us in touch with things that are too far or too close for us to see in our ordinary offstage life” (1982, xiv).

Be a Man, Be a Woman: Nature and Nurture

In humans, sex refers to biological distinctions of anatomy, hormones, and erotic behavior. Most notable of the anatomic markers are the genitals and reproductive function. Female genitals are inside the body, whereas male genitals are external to it. With the onset of puberty, girls develop the secondary sex characteristics of breasts; upper torso broadening occurs for boys. Both sexes develop body hair in the genital area and armpit. Facial hair and increased body size become prominent for males. Females’ hips become broader. The sexes experience hormonal dissimilarities. Men produce more testosterone. The female hormones estrogen and progesterone affect menstruation, gestation, and lactation functions. During the menstrual cycle it is common for a woman’s body to swell due to increased fluid retention and for her breasts to be sore. Pregnancy involves changes that alter her sense of balance: increased weight, enlarged, tender breasts, tiredness, and sometimes nausea and back pain. Differences in male and female body size and composition affect physiological processes and have implications for differences in motor potential, which I discuss in chapter 7.

Biological sex differences are not necessarily universal, nor do they obtain between any male/female pair chosen at random. Members of each sex may have some characteristics of the opposite one (Lambert 1978). For example, female athletes and dancers often diverge from the typical female in having more testosterone, muscle, and angularity, narrower hips, and no menstrual cycle.

Whereas sex refers to biological phenomena, sex role or gender denotes their cultural, psychological, and social correlates: the rules, expectations, and behavior appropriate to being male or female within a particular society. One of the first and key social roles in a child’s repertory, sex role, is ascribed, that is, one need do nothing to be assigned it. Its public and private expressions are “scripted.”

Cultures add to nature’s distinctions and systematically attempt to teach one set of behavior to females and another (usually opposite) set to males. Societies have specific ways—including dance—of sending messages of sexual identity, and showing us ways to discriminate ourselves as male or female. Thus in the United States visual markers are pink for female and blue for male babies. Later follow skirts and curls for girls and pants, ties, and short hair for boys. The clothing industry broadcasts gender by a full code of design details: round collar for a girl; pointed, never scalloped, edges on a boy. For appliqués, trains and soldiers for boys, no flowers or butterflies. And the bottom line is, “Never Put Fruit on a Boy’s Garment” (Hoffman 1984). Sometimes there are rites of passage such as initiation, schools, or débutante balls. Signs of sex become embellished. Anthropologist Ray Birdwhistell calls the nonverbal behavior that accentuates gender differences “tertiary sexual characteristics (1970, 42). Note, however, that male and female cultural, as well as biological, ranges overlap.

People have several identities (Weigert, Teitge, and Teitge 1986, 68). Perhaps as an extension of our animal nature to reproduce the species, sex and gender tend to be the foremost way humans categorize themselves and one another. Sexual identity depends on biological criteria of genetic, anatomical, and physiological characteristics. Dichotomized into male and female types of persons, gender identity
includes the internalization of a sex role typical of the society in which one lives (Taylor et al., 1978). During the second year of life, gender identity begins to form. By three years old, children know how to classify themselves and others. Self-recognition develops into self-concept, while youngsters' rapidly growing bodies send them, as well as others, messages. Adolescence is especially telling. Belief in the absolute nature of men's sexual drive stems from evidence of involuntary erection and nocturnal emission, and the encouragement of men's greater voluntary sexual expression; there are no obvious parallels for women. Sexual identity refers to sexual interaction: heterosexual, homosexual (gay lesbian), or bisexual.

Identity evolves through realizing others' perceptions of the self as well as by contrasting and comparing others with oneself in real or make-believe life. Recall Wilshire's comment on the reflexivity of theater performance in showing us to ourselves and presenting alternatives.

There have been several influential theories of gender identification (see Fleck 1981). Sigmund Freud broke through the conventions of the Victorian age by elucidating the role of sexuality in human development. His psychosexual theory states that the penis becomes the center of the libido or sexual energy and erotic pleasure for the male. The clitoris is the female counterpart of the penis, yet for Freud the penis is the valued organ for both sexes; boys are subject to castration anxiety, girls, to penis envy. Furthermore, domineering mothers are blamed for a son's homosexuality and poor mother-daughter relations for a daughter's lesbianism. However, learning theory and women's studies have challenged these views.

Lawrence Kohlberg (1966), a cognitive learning theorist influenced by the Swiss psychologist Jean Flaget, argued that sexuality, a significant domain of interaction between biological givens and cultural values, is in large measure patterned by thought. Through same-sex gender models, boys and girls perceive the behavior appropriate for their sex and strive to be self-consistent.

Sexual identity and role are not fixed, and relationships are environmentally conditioned and changeable over the life cycle. G. Mitchell explained: "The commonsense notion that the sex of the individual is determined at conception is . . . only a half-truth at best. Sexual differentiation, whether structural or behavioral . . . is a process. We begin life primarily as females. Something (Y chromosome, testosterone) must be added for the differentiation of a male. In the absence of a Y chromosome the embryo will develop into a female. The crucial genetic determinant is the Y chromosome, the crucial hormonal determinant is androgen. . . . Moreover, the interaction between hormones and experience continues after the animals have learned various roles. Androgens, for example, undoubtedly affect neural circuits that are involved in experience as well as those more directly involved in sex differences" (1981, 13). Peggy Sanday (1981) documented how scripted gender behavior, especially through religious charters and symbols, changes in societies as they respond to social stresses and competition for scarce resources. (Chap. 5 explicates this pattern in India.)

Learning conditions can even account for differences in sexual responsiveness to erotic visual stimuli. For example, Alfred Kinsey, in the late 1940s and 1950s, found that fewer women than men reported being aroused by erotic images. He attributed this finding to inferred differences in the central nervous system. But sociologist John H. Gagnon demurred: "Most women in the 1940s seldom saw such materials . . . largely prepared for men (that is, they did not connect with women's sexual scripts, though romantic movies did), and finally women had learned to talk about these materials in a negative manner" (1979, 241). However, since the late 1960s, greater flexibility in women's roles and more openness in sexual behavior have led to fewer differences between men and women.

The concept of androgyny, the presence of feminine and masculine dispositions in the same individual, has begun to supplant older either/or notions of bipolar opposites. (Andro means male; gyné, female). Sandra Bern's (1974) concept of psychological androgyny states that persons whose sense of self incorporates both typically feminine and masculine characteristics have behavioral flexibility and adaptability; advantages accrue to both sexes in the separation of gender from sex. Emancipation from inflexible sex role demands could free men to enjoy the emotional rewards conventionally found women's domain and free women to enter men's competitive public arenas.

Margaret Mead was a pioneer in looking at the way traits are assigned to gender in societies around the world. In her words, "If those temperamental attitudes which we have traditionally regarded as feminine—such as passivity, responsiveness, and a willingness to cherish children—can so easily be set up as the masculine pattern in one tribe, and in another, be outlawed for the majority of women as for the majority of men, we no longer have any basis for regarding aspects of such behavior as sex linked" (1935, 279–80). She found that among the New Guinea Arapesh, neither sex shows much aggression or assertiveness. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere extended the argu-
ment: "The same sort of variability attaches to almost every kind of behavior one can think of: there are societies in which men trade or garden, and those in which women do; societies where women are queens and those in which they must always defer to a man; in parts of New Guinea, men are (like Victorian women) at once prudish and flirtatious, fearful of sex yet preoccupied with love magic and cosmetics that will lead the maidens—who take the initiative in courtship—to be interested in them" (1974, 18).

Notwithstanding the new knowledge and the changes that have occurred in the United States, sexism persists, and sex role stereotyping oppresses both sexes. Table 1.1 summarizes the stereotypic sex-contingent characteristics—notions of masculinity and femininity growing out of the realities of sex and gender. Among many ethnic and social-class groups, masculinity is more demanding than femininity. If a boy does not display sufficient masculinity, he is thought likely to become homosexual or hypermasculine, even a misogynist, hating women for not making him man enough (Fein, in Sargent 1977, 188). Efferinacy in boys is a source of derision. It is more acceptable for girls to be masculine; they are accepted as tomboys and later admired for "having balls." Stereotypes developed in an earlier time, when technology and society were less advanced than today, make contemporary discrimination against women, who now constitute a large percentage of the labor force, seem legitimate. When women violate these outmoded concepts, they often experience stress, a shaky self-concept, and hostility from men and other women. The sexes continue to be brought up viewing each other antagonistically on the assumption that the male is always superior to the female.

What are the strategies for combating sexism? The mechanisms are similar to those that support it (Sargent 1977). Promoting a feminist political agenda and electing its spokespersons is one route. Another is consciousness-raising through didacticism and subliminal seduction. The arts are often part of this tactic of eroding rigid sex roles.

Danced Sexual Imagery: Modeling

How does dance convey concepts of sex and gender? Modeling theory provides an explanation. According to Albert Bandura (1972), following Kohlberg's social learning theory, an individual tends to reproduce attitudes, acts, and emotions exhibited by an observed model (live or symbolic film or television). A model may be cognitively registered and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>emotionally expressive</td>
<td>emotionally sparse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reactive</td>
<td>rational, problem solving, instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent, passive</td>
<td>independent, active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooperative</td>
<td>competitive, ambitious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-abnegating</td>
<td>self-aggrandizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hearth, home, school, church</td>
<td>market place, bureaucracy, military fields, mines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurturer</td>
<td>supporter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex and intimacy linked</td>
<td>sex apart from close relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex is done to, sex object (kitten)</td>
<td>sex is done by, sex subject or possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women compete with each other for male</td>
<td>men compete with each other for male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approval</td>
<td>approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft, weak</td>
<td>hard, strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet, doll, sparrow</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prostitute, monetarily motivated sex</td>
<td>worker, naturally driven sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stress on beautiful, marketable body</td>
<td>body as source of pleasure and strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumpept and reserved</td>
<td>direct and relaxed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>use of polite language</td>
<td>use of profanity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>childlike</td>
<td>grown-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgin and pure/sireen</td>
<td>naturally sexual and worldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responds to others</td>
<td>dominates others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moral</td>
<td>pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

used or remain in subconscious memory until a relevant situation activates it.

A key premise of this theory of vicarious learning is that first the model must attract attention. The observer's sensory capacity, arousal level, and past experiences affect receptivity. Second, retention of what is seen depends upon the viewer's ability to remember and rehearse through symbolic coding in images, words, or actual behavior. Third, there is evidence of learning through motor reproduction of the model, and fourth, learning must make a difference to the learner. More than
simply imitation, modeling includes an individual acting in a way that the model would be inclined to behave under similar circumstances, even though the observer had never witnessed the model's behavior in such circumstances. That is, modeling influences can lead to generative and innovative behavior.

There is evidence that images do influence attitudes and behavior. Through images, manufacturers and service providers sell their own notions of smell, taste, and touch to consumers. Psychologists report that exposure to even a few minutes of sexually violent pornography can lead to antisocial attitudes and behavior (Donnerstein and Linz 1984). The arts, too, offer models.

As one of the arts that offers models of gender attitudes and behavior, dancing realistically or symbolically presents courtship, climax, male chauvinism, feminist thought, interpersonal exchanges, group interaction, casual relations, and stable associations. Choreographies derive from and contribute to evolving culture. In much the same way as nonhuman animal ritualized displays and human religious ritual, dance frames messages and thereby bestows power upon them. The optical array of dance messages of sexuality and gender may lead to reinforcing ongoing models, acquiring new responses, weakening or strengthening inhibitions over fully elaborated patterns in a person's repertoire, and facilitating performance of previously learned behavior that was unencumbered by restraints.

Note that the dancing of sexuality and gender may be detached from professional dancers, who do not always embrace the roles they perform. Their bodies are at once the instrument of dance, tool of the choreographer, object of perception, and subject who perceives. Gender involves private experience and public display, both everyday and theatrical, which may not conflated.

Paradigms of our sex roles, we sometimes suppress dreams or visions of alternatives. Since from childhood we fight to establish our identities, even imaginarily crossing stereotypic gender roles may scruple deep nerves and invoke anxiety for the insecure. Lincoln Kirstein, scholar and founder of the New York City Ballet, has said, "Ballet dancing is always a paradigm of potential, a frame that presents facts of the extreme possible" (1973, 303). Sex role expectations inhibit dance less than many other social actions—after all, as noted earlier, dance onstage is only art, recreation, entertainment, or a job for the performer.

What makes dance a potentially potent form of gender modeling? There are at least six factors.

CAPTIVATING

Because the instrument of dance and of sexuality is one—the human body—dancing motion attracts attention. Human survival depends upon alertness to moving objects and reproduction. Peoples' intimate experience with their bodies influence their responses to dance. The body is the first form of power with which all persons can identify. Ontogenetically they discover and master their bodies in time, space, and effort patterns. Through sight and movement they enter relationships. The lived-in body symbolically sustains people's power as they groom and adorn themselves, exercise, watch what they eat, and otherwise try to control their bodies. Humans have an instinctual sexual drive constrained by society and culture. Yet the imagination is free, and dance, an activity that depends on flaunting the body, focuses awareness on the body and its associations. Dance, both expressive and communicative, can mediate between sexual stimulus and response. A dance performance embodies the dancer—a human sexual being—choreographic design, and dancer and audience perceptions influenced by their knowledge of the past and present history of the body, sex, gender, and dance in society.

Theorists in gender studies separate sex and gender. Using the concept of sex in discussions of discrimination reinforces the idea that foremost and always the female or male represents a romantic possibility. In contemporary Western society the separation of sex and gender becomes significant when we attempt to make political and economic opportunity relevant to qualifications for positions instead of physical markers with which an individual is born.

However, because a gender role for most people is sexual reproduction, a perceived body in dance, especially when performers appear nude, in anatomically revealing dress, or in stereotypic male or female costume, conflates biological thought and behavior (arousal and sexual identity), gender, and the historical relationship of dance and sex. Of course, people express gender signs in situations unrelated to sexual activity, but in adolescent and adult interaction the manifestation that refers to everyday stereotypes and violations of them is most dramatic.

LANGUAGELIKE

Dance is potentially potent because it is languagelike. We recognize the power of verbal language in teaching and persuading. As I elaborate in To Dance Is Human, dance is a nonverbal language—a form of
communication that requires the same underlying cortical faculty for conceptualization, creativity, and memory as verbal language (1987d). Both forms have vocabulary (steps and gestures in dance), grammar (rules for putting the vocabulary together), and semantics (meaning). Dance, however, assembles these elements in a manner that more often resembles poetry rather than prose. Choreographer Martha Graham (1985) believes that dance is "like poetic lyricism, sometimes like the rawness of dramatic poetry, it's like the terror or it can be a terrible revelation of meaning." In critic Clive Barnes's view (1967), "There is a poetic opacity of dance, a lack of definition in statement, an insistence upon the audience interpreting rather than merely watching. In this, dance does share something with poetry itself—the poet throws a phrase into the air to fall like a seed into our imagination. The dance does much the same thing." Of course in dance, motor/visual/kinesthetic channels of communication predominate rather than vocal/auditory channels as in spoken poetry or prose. Whereas language exists in a temporal dimension, dance involves the temporal as well as the three dimensions in space. Both verbal and dance forms of communication have various devices for encoding meaning, and expressions may have multiple meanings.

I have discovered that at least six symbolic devices may be utilized for conveying meaning in dance. They are listed below, but are illustrated more fully in the following chapters. Each way of forming messages may be part of a group's shared legacy or the choreographer's idiosyncratic expression (Hanna 1979b, 1987d; Sebeck 1987). (1) A concretization movement that produces the outward aspect of something. Courtship dances, for example, imitate or replicate potential lovers' advances and retreat tactics. (2) The icon represents most properties of a divinity, and viewers respond to it as if were what it represents. A case discussed in chapter 3 concerns a Haitian possessed by Ghede, god of love and death, who manifests his presence through dancing and is treated with genuine awe and gender-appropriate behavior as if he were the god. (3) A stylization encompasses gestures or movements that are the result of convention. For example, a male ballet dancer points to the heart as a sign of love and gazes directly at a woman, who shows her interest with a stereotypic indirect and shy glance. (4) A metonym is a metonym conceptualization of one thing representing another of which it is a part or with which it is associated in the same frame of experience. A romantic duet to indicate a more encompassing relationship such as a marriage between two individuals is an illustration. (5) A metaphor expresses one thought, experience, or phenomenon in place of another that it resembles, suggesting an analogy between the two: for example, a fairy-tale love story between animals denoting the relationship between human lovers. (6) An actualization is a portrayal by the dancer of roles that blur the boundary between "real" and "theatrical" life. Dancers can express their own sexual preferences through dance and be treated accordingly by an observer, especially in theatrical settings where a rigid boundary does not exist between performer and spectator.

The devices for encapsulating meaning in dance seem to operate within one or more of eight spheres: the dance event, as when people go to the ballet to be seen socially or to find sexual partners, dance viewing being incidental; the total human body in action, as in girl or boy watching; the whole pattern of the performance, which may emphasize form, style, feeling, or drama; the sequence of unfolding movement, including who does what to whom in dramatic episodes; specific movements and how they are performed, for example, a male dancer parodying a woman on pointe; the intermeshing of movements with other communication modes such as speech or costume; the emotional turn-on through projected sensuality or raw animality; and dance as a vehicle for another medium, for example, serving as a backdrop for a performer's poetry recitation.

Just as speakers use a language, dancers can embed symbols within one another, use opposites and inversions, situational qualifiers, synonyms, and neutralization. A symbol may have a patent meaning, while its latent meaning may be contained in a constellation of symbols that reveal themselves as the dance unfolds.

Besides being a sign of sexuality and gender, dance may be an instrument of sexuality, a stimulant and direct enactment. In this case dance develops erotic love or lust as the sense of sight mediates the sense of touch.

OPEN-ENDED

Dance is replete with meaning for the audience to discover or create. "Dancing is just discovery, discovery, discovery—what it all means," said Graham (1985; in agreement with Wilshire, mentioned earlier). A way of seeing is also a way of not seeing. Critic Walter Terry noted an evolution in American dance that has required choreographers and dancers to go below the surface attraction of the human body in movement and probe the meanings of movement. "It follows that audiences are going to have to look beyond the outer layers of dance.
action if they are to savor, to the fullest, the inherent richness of dance itself" (1982, 82).

From years of dance viewing Terry concluded that "meaning is present in every movement from the flutter of an eyelid to a space-splitting leap."
In order to see and savor all that is present in a performance, the viewer must look for the choreographer's meanings, respond to the dancers' interpretations, and bring his or her own personal experiences or reactions to bear upon what happens onstage. Terry found apt the French expression assister, "to go to the theatre to attend a performance," "to assist" (1982, 165).

Actively participating in the creation of meaning, a viewer may gain power by seizing and pinning down the performer as an object in his or her own world, according to Jean-Paul Sartre (1956, pt. 3; Inoue 1980). He believed that the look or regard of the other also dogs persons in their social lives.

Jill Johnston, radical, innovative critic, wrote of mutual exchange in theatrical performance. "When the actor [read dancer] and spectator embrace in the ritual copulation of theatre, nobody is satisfied unless there is mutual ejaculation." Since this "catharsis" is rare and "in fact impossible in any total sense, the antagonism between actor and spectator is an acute unresolved tension. Who's going to get whom? It becomes a sadomasochistic dilemma. . . . The actor, the hero, is the sadist screwing the passive spectator. Yet the actor sacrifices himself in the fiery outstretched arms of a greedy audience which desperately wants what it has for centuries denied itself—the right to act itself. The actor is that part of the organism (audience) projected outside itself to unfold the misery of its own self-alienation. . . . We are all actors and spectators simultaneously upon the stage of the world" (1971, 188-89).

MULTISENSORY

The potency of dance as a resource for promoting gender continuity and change lies in its going beyond language in involving all the senses and seducing us through a multisensory impact. Education specialists have found that experiential learning changes opinions and attitudes. Dance gives us the feeling of kinesthetic activity or empathy; the sight of performers, and sometimes the audience, moving in time and space with effort; the touch of body to performing area, to the performer's own body, or to another's body; the sound of physical movement, the impact of the feet or other body supports on the stage, heavy breathing in high-energy presentations; and the smell of physical exertion and perhaps food and drink on participants' breath.

Sex, Learning, and Dance Images

Sometimes the realism of dance camouflages an appropriation of a dreamlike symbolic language. The dance transforms complex inner experiences, desires, and feelings, and it coaxes people into acceptance, tranquility, or arousal. Qualities such as surprise, innovation, and ambiguity, which psychologists have found to evoke multisensory arousal (Berlyne 1971) are often part of dance. It can lead to some degree of altered state of consciousness wherein the individual clearly feels a lesser or greater intensity and shift in mental state.

PERSUASIVE

A performance may have the composite of variables that psychologists have documented are likely to change attitudes and opinions (Karlins and Abelson 1970). For example, strong appeals are superior to mild ones when communicated by highly credible sources, and pleasant forms of distraction can increase the effectiveness of persuasive appeals. Critic Marcia Siegel said that we hardly notice how much dance trades in popular traditional stereotypes of the virile man and the feminine woman and "how this reinforces sexism because it's so attractive and entertaining" (1977, 106). Repetition helps ward off the diminution of a persuasive communication over time. Some efforts in dance to force a new vision upon us fail if the imagery is not compelling enough to pull us away from accustomed ways of seeing the world (see Yinger 1982, 31).

The power of dance to move and persuade is well recognized in Western theater theory and history (Carlson 1984). Aristotle, whose Poetics is a central reference point, recognized the potential of the arts (Greek theater included dance) to arouse, and feared they could subvert state and religion. In the Middle Ages the Christian church used the arts to instruct and delight. Many governments have harnessed the arts in service of the state. George Bernard Shaw believed that the aim of the arts should be didactic—telling truths society would rather not hear. Conceiving the goal of theater to be educative, Bertolt Brecht argued that it could intervene in history by explaining that the world can be other than it is and by altering spectators' consciousness. Somewhat in agreement, Antonin Artaud viewed theater as an instrument of revolution that can reorder human existence. In a similar vein, Sartre considered dramatic creation a process of commitment to personal rights or free choice to define oneself and one's existence in the face of the world's absurdity. Herbert Blau stated that theater should be a forum pitted against the outrages humanity commits upon itself.

One may ask, Is not the contemporary Western theater dance audience
atypical of opinion leaders who shape attitudes about sex roles? The ticket-purchasing dance audience does share some characteristics of opinion leaders, especially those who control the worlds of print and moving images. The performing arts audience is, for the most part, middle class, white, well educated, with higher-status jobs and incomes than the general public. Some spectators are opinion leaders. The culture-consuming public as a whole differs from the general public in having a higher female-to-male ratio; this is particularly true of the dance audience (DiMaggio, Useem, and Brown 1978; Wyszomirski and Balfe 1985).

Dance performance is immediate, emotionally charging the performer and audience in sporadic or continuous interchange if both are receptive. However, dancing often generates electricity and reflection about the performance that linger long afterward. As a consequence, images of dancing surge forth in our thoughts to comment upon other aspects of life. We draw upon dance as metaphor in our language. In replaying the affecting dance experience from stage to page, metaphors gain power as they clarify and enliven nondance human activity. In The Performer-Audience Connection: Emotion to Metaphor in Dance and Society (1983b), I give myriad illustrations of the metaphorical use of dance in vernacular language and literature to suggest the impact of a performance, especially with sexual imagery, on the public at large.

For example, over the years many proverbs have acknowledged dance as a courtship behavior that may or may not include a serious pursuit of a marriage partner. Now we use the phrase "boy meets girl" when members of the same sex approach each other, or elderly divorced or widowed come together. Thus the metaphor of the "Legal Mating Dance" is an apt description of the fall ritual of platoons of corporate lawyers visiting prestigious law schools to woo top students. In the hiring halls, connections are made in a stylized manner comparable to the decorum of many social dance occasions (Newsweek 1980, 111).

It is said, "Dancing is the child of Music and of Love." And, "In dance the hand hath liberty to touch." Saying "My dancing days are done" refers to feelings of remorse or resignation about settling down or getting old. The adage "An old man dancing is a child in mind" describes an elderly person's rousing youthful attitude and behavior.

The dangers of heterosexual dancing were well known: "When you go to dance, take heed whom you take by the hand," it was said. Sixteenth-century moralist John Northbrooke (Against Dicing, 1577), remarked, "Through dancing many maidens have been unmaidened, whereby I may say it is the storehouse and nursery of bastardy." Dangers for men appear in the sayings "Twas surely the devil that taught women to dance," and "Refrain from dancing which was the means that lost John Baptist's head."

In the Renaissance, one gloss for dance was copulation. There was a ribald association between dancing and copulation in such songs as the "Irish Jig": "Then nothing but Dancing our Fancy could please./ We lay on the Grass and dance at our ease/I don't with my Breeches and off with my Whigg./And we fell a Dancing the Irish Jigg." The bawdy metaphor follows in the tradition of Aristophanes (Henke 1979, 63-64).

ACCESSIBLE

The power of dance to convey sexual imagery is also related to its popularity and accessibility. In the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century, with dance companies touring the country, there was talk of being on the threshold or even within the portal of a second renaissance. During the 1960s there was another boom. And in the 1970s dance came into full blossom coincident with the adoption of government subsidies for cultural organizations and the dissolution of the puritanist denial of bodily pleasure. American culture's preening hedonism, terror of aging, adulation of youth, and fixation on slimness paved the way for increased dance performance and appreciation. Onstage performers are young, strong, slim, and sometimes defiant of everyday limitations. About twenty-five years ago there were 6 professional dance companies in the United States, the majority of them based in New York City. Now there are more than 120 professional companies and nearly 700 amateur groups reaching out for audiences. The Indianapolis Ballet Theatre educates its public by performing at shopping malls, festivals, fairs, parades, schools, and churches. Dance participation has expanded as has the number of writers, musicians, and artists it has enamored. Dance concerts; television programs, Broadway shows, and films about dancers; and news publications, articles, and books are a bazaar that has captured the American imagination. Complementing this bounty are dance agents, professional associations, connoisseurs, critics, researchers, memorabilia collectors, therapists, studios, university programs, libraries, and curators. And the dance explosion in the United States reverberates elsewhere in the world.

Even sports enthusiasts give dance its due. Critic Anna Kisselgoff (1982d), with obvious elation, wrote, "We know that dance has really
made it when Peter Pocklington, owner of the Canadian hockey team, the Edmonton Oilers, called his ... center player, Wayne Gretzky, the Nureyev of sport, the superstar's superstar." An entire article on news of ballet has even appeared on the front page of a major newspaper's sports section (Kornheiser 1984). A decade earlier Nureyev had been called the Joe Namath of dance.

Television dance won applause in 1937. "The ballet has a bright future in television!" "It is winning a prominent place on the telecast programs" (New York Times 1937). No longer the province solely of elite ticket-buying theatergoers and critic-reading audiences, today a melange of dance can reach nearly the entire nation through television. There are special programs and series such as "Dance in America" and "Live from the White House," and performances are broadcast from major theater centers. In addition, old movies and live shows with dancing are broadcast. Televised performances are now seen in parts of the country that cannot accommodate live productions because of sparse population, antidance attitudes, or cultural traditions favoring narrow dance genre (categories of dance characterized by particular styles). Having been a New York City dance-omnir who only watched live performances about twice a week, I had no choice when I moved to Dallas but to watch dance on television if I wanted to see a range of genres and excellent performance.

Whereas in 1948 there were about fifteen commercial stations, which were received in 200,000 American homes with television sets, by 1970 there were thousands of stations and 100 million sets. In 1977, 98 percent of homes owned one or more sets. Cable television, video recorders, and video cassettes are increasingly available. Visual imagery is especially important in a generation for which 7.2 hours of television watching per day is average.¹ Current expansion of numbers of television stations, especially MTV, is accompanied by the dance visualization of rock and pop music, eliminating visual slack and creating movement where there is none (Levy 1983). Offbeat dance programs are now available through cable.

Drawing upon the Syndicated Data Service which uses the Nielsen Television Index, researchers at Public Broadcasting System reported that their nationwide dance audience from September 1984 to May 1985 was about 3.5 percent of television households, or 2.93 million households. (Note that an average dance program has approximately three million viewing households, but more than one person may be watching a dance program in the home.) The past eight years have seen similar ratings. Dance viewing has increased from the previous decade and appears to be growing. The programs vary in numbers of viewers. For example, The Nutcracker is a certain "sellout," whereas it is difficult to determine which other programs will attract a large audience (Dale Rhodes, pers. com. 1984; Sue Bomzer, pers. com. 1985). The commercial networks have their own ratings.

Television as the media of information for most people appears to validate dance and to promote live performances. The television appearances of ten dance companies in "Dance in America," between 1976 and 1978, led to increases in attendance at live performances, according to a telephone survey with company administrators and managers. Four companies saw immediate effects on box-office receipts after their shows aired. Some companies added new cities and larger theaters to their tours and received increased financial patronage and contributions. The box-office take improved when returns of the shows were aired near performance dates. All of the companies' directors expressed the desire to participate in other dance/TV projects, except for Paul Taylor, who at the time considered dance a form he wished to present live (Research and Programming Services 1978).

Dance came to television in 1931 with a performance by Maria Gambarelli. In the inaugural years, dance was used as spectacle and diversion. Collapsing life-size three-dimensional dancers to a small flat surface distorted depth, scale, and spatial proportion. There were blurred images, electronically decapitated dancers, and incomplete choreographic patterns. During the 1940s and 1950s, variety shows continued to present dance; however, choreographers began to work with the electronic staff to integrate dance with all aspects of the show and its production. The TV camera was soon freed from its stationary position (Barrett 1968; Penney 1981).

Eventually there evolved dance series in which the producer, director, and crew realized the concept of the choreographer. Phyllis Annette Penney avers: "The dance telecasts of the 1970s consciously aimed to make the viewing audience look at dance through the all-seeing eye of the camera, not merely through human eyes. A review of the content of the comprehensive descriptive [1970s] chronology constructed for ... [my] study reveals a definite attempt, however subtle, by the networks to portray the worthiness of dance to be a vital part of the social fabric of American life" (1981, 94; Coe 1985). Cable TV's Arts and Entertainment Network, Hearst/ABC-RCTV, airs dance programs and productions filmed abroad.
The growth and popularity of dance in the 1980s, as well as awareness of its sexual and gender signification, are reflected in expensive advertisements placed in major newspapers, news magazines, and other widely distributed periodicals, for a remarkable range of products and services. Sometimes the images speak for themselves. At other times it is unclear if the image of a beautiful ballerina is a sex object, idealization of femininity, artist, or worker. A written text may pin down one of many possible interpretations. The economic world knows well that images affect how we select our banks, business supplies, home furnishings, clothing, grooming goods, and leisure commodities, services, and activities, as well as how we react to our environment. Approximately a two-year casual reading netted a survey of these images.\(^4\)

While such advertising images illustrate the accessibility and esteem of dance, they also tend to emphasize the conservative traditions of classical ballet, a repository of cultural history in which women are sex objects or workers directed by men.

There is yet another reason for the growth of the dance audience. Although the human figure was prominent in the history of Western visual art, during the mid-twentieth century attention centered on abstraction and anonymity. If humans appeared at all, they were disembodied and rootless. Therefore, I submit, dance may have met the need for the aesthetic presence of the whole human body, and especially the female body, which has occupied a central place in the Western cultural imagination (Suleiman 1985).

In sum, the body language of dance may carry a more immediate wallop than verbal communication in commenting on sexuality and in modeling gender because of its motion-attracting attention, language-like qualities, replete multilayered meanings, multisensory assault, composite of variables that change attitudes and opinions, and accessibility and humanity.

The sexuality of dance and its potential to excite has long been recognized. Dancing can lead to altered states of consciousness (with changed physiological patterns in brain wave frequency, adrenalin, and blood sugar) and hence to altered social action (Hanna 1987d, 1988). Dance spectators may have vicarious, empathic experiences. The Greeks linked dance, bacchanals, and political unrest; Plato feared the subversive impact of the arts—mimesis aroused the feeling being imitated. The Bible alludes to the corrupting dance of Salome; clerics speak of abuses of dance, which was an accepted liturgical art form (Davies 1984); and totalitarian governments demand dance in the service of the state. Even the denial of sexuality through, for example, costume, which hides sexual identity, may paradoxically make the spectator contemplate the essence of that which is absent. Dance can be understood as a medium through which choreographers/directors/producers interpret, legitimate, reproduce, and challenge gender and associated patterns of cooperation and conflict that order their social world (see Ortner and Whitehead 1981).
Notes

Chapter 1

1. Margaret Wyzsomierki, pers. com. 1984. I appreciate her comments on an early draft of this chapter.

2. Thomas Hobbes distinguished between two forms of personation. Mimicry is sustaining a feigned person, whereas self-manipulation is emphatically maintaining one's own person to the extent of crossing the border into exhibitionism (Oakeshott 1946, 105).

3. Smith 1984. Even lawyers now find words alone are insufficient to make a good case. Increasingly they are supplementing their verbal renditions with visual aids, from multicolored charts to computer-generated video animation (Murphy 1986).

4. Bankers Trust Company advertised its philosophy as "Excellence is achieved only through consistency and innovation. And subtlety." Adjacent to this declaration was a picture from Swann Lake, a classical ballet that has been staged and restaged through the years. Five women in tutus in a line on the left, three on the right, frame a man supporting a ballerina on points in an arabesque (her weight is on one leg, the other extending backward to form a right angle) (New York Times, Aug. 16, 1983, p. D3).

Inside the front cover of the October 1984 Performing Arts: California's Theatre and Music Magazine is a picture of a pair of toe shoes. Beneath is Imperial Savings Association's text: "To all Those who Strive for Excellence. When the artist is also the art form, it is dance./Mind and body giving meaning to movement./Stretching the limits of time and space./Defying even gravity, it would seem, to celebrate the human spirit./To do so and to do it well is an art which Imperial Savings is proud to support. It is, after all, an inspiration to value our customer's dreams and goals most highly./By providing all the crucial
steps and choreography for financial well-being.” Beneath a picture of the Dance Theatre of Harlem, Chase’s ad includes, “Just as a working partnership is the basis of doing business within Chase and with our customers, it is also the basis of our relationship with the community” (Village Voice, Aug. 7, 1984, p. 8). Another bank, Riggs, associates itself with a picture of a ballerina on pointe in arabesque above this quote: “It is an art that makes life and I know of no substitute whatever for the force and beauty of its process—Henry James” (Stagebill 13[1984]:43, 1984).

The National Corporate Fund’s full-page advertisement proclaims, “Dance has a new partner,” written over the skirt of the tutu-attired ballerina standing on pointe, one foot crossed in front of the other. A man in a business suit holds her, and their hands interwine in front of her waist. Beneath the image we read: “Business. 200 corporations know that dance is important to the people important to them. That’s why they are investing in seven of America’s greatest dance companies... Don’t let your corporation sit this one out” (Newsweek, Aug. 26, 1981, p. 89).

The 3M company analogized its light tape product with the airy quality of a female dancer. The image shows two legs below the knee. A toe shoe fits one foot; the other is adorned with a wing made of tape (Smithsonian Magazine, Sept. 1983, p. 109). In the Harvard Business Review (84[4]:11, 1984), QVT Terminals advertised its products with a ballerina leaping into her partner’s arms. The caption reads, “When you need a dependable partner, we’ll be there.” Polaroid sells its product this way: a picture of a ballet student lying her shoe has the caption, “To bring out the artist in you” (Newsweek, Nov. 12, 1984, p. 105a).

Calibre condomsinium appealed to young professionals with an image of a ballet dancer’s leg seen below the knee, with ballet-slippered foot and pointed toes. The accompanying text says, “In my ballet troupe we push each other hard. It’s not competitive though. We all have high pressure jobs, so a hard work-out clears out minds plus keeps us in shape and looking good. Usually when we finish, everyone comes over to my new Calibre horn to relax over a cup of cappuccino. It’s great” (Washington Magazine, Jan. 1984, p. 63). Encore of McLean, Virginia, announces its luxury high-rise condominium with the phrase “Grand Premiere,” adjacent to the image of a ballerina on pointe, her left leg lifted chest high and bent at the knee (Washington Post, June 6, 1985, p. 4).

For inside the home, Levolor likens its Rivera Blind to “a true classic.” A toe-shoed, ballerina in tutu, on one knee, the other leg extended forward as the pointed toe touches the ground, is shown about to lift the blind (New York Times, Apr. 15, 1984, p. 13). JVC company proclaims its superior Network TV with a large picture of a male dancer in a leap across the stage, an image replicated in four TV screens. The text read, “I saw the dancer leap across the stage. He seemed to remain suspended, defying gravity. When he landed, I remembered to start breathing again, and I realized I was in my own house, watching TV” (New York Times Magazine, Aug. 7, 1983, p. 9).


Sellers of leisure items associate them with dance. The statement “I could go for something Gordon” and “the possibilities are endless” appeared to the left of a bottle and glass of gin. Both quotes are beneath a dance studio scene of a black ballerina and male piano accompanist seated next to each other on the piano bench. Note that ballet, as well as ails, are no longer the province of whites only. Resting on the bench edge, the woman’s legs are extended outward as a ballet-slippered foot point to the alcohol. She touches the accompanist’s shoulder; he returns her flirtatious glance” (Newsweek, Dec. 5, 1983, p. 97). Vantage cigarettes heralds “The Taste of Success” with the image of a female ballet dancer in the studio taking a break. Seated at the barre, shoes off, she holds a cigarette (New York Times, Jan. 5, 1984, p. A22).

Phillip Morris Incorporated (makers of cigarettes, beer, and soft drinks) took out two full dance-illustrated pages to announce its sponsorship of the Joffrey Ballet. A warrior and a ballerina in a split leap were the top separate images. Below were a pas de deux in which a man bent forward, with one arm thrust backward to hold a leotard-clad woman standing on one toe, her back greatly arched over his; a row of black men above a row of white men in jazz shoes, jumping with arms stretched upright; and a ballerina on pointe in an attitude (standing on one leg, her other is lifted behind her and bent at the knee). After two paragraphs singing the company’s praises, the final includes the statement, “In our business as in yours, we need to be reminded that there is always fresh life in old forms and that the only way we can discover it is through individual imagination, individual innovativeness, individual creativity” (Newsweek, May 17, 1982, pp. 4–5).

American Express charge card features a man in trousers and a woman in stockings, both in top hats and performing high kicks, with a caption, “Pick Your Favorite Number.” “There’s that moment when the perfect song and dance come together on stage. It’s yours when you use the American Express Card,” reads the smaller point (Stagebill, November 1983). Elsewhere a man holds a ballerina wearing a tutu; her back is arched, with one leg extended high above her head. One hand claps the back of her waist, the other grasps her ankle. The caption: “Give Yourself a Lift.” The smaller print: “Give yourself that moment when something perfect happens on stage” (Washington Magazine, Sept. 1983, p. 84). Another advertisement shows Cynthia Gregory in a
rehearsal and the caption, "When you're a prima ballerina only the best is for you" (TV, Aug. 2, 1984). Not to be outdone, the Visa credit charge company spotlights a female dancer on pointe in arabesque. Above the image are Robert Louis Stevenson's words: "To be what we are, and to become what we are capable of becoming, is the only end of life" (Smithsonian Magazine, Mar. 1984, p. 95).


Sunoco touts its energy development, responsibility to the American people, and contribution to the American arts with eight small photographs of its various activities; in the foreground is a female ballet dancer about six times the size of the other pictures. She appears from the thigh up, dressed in a leotard, facing front, with a pork pie in front of her head (Newsweek, Apr. 4, 1983, p. 26). Phillips 66 associated itself with Ballet West. Beside a painting of a ballerina in arabesque wearing a vividly colored tutu is the caption, "They lift the spirits of us all" (Smithsonian Magazine, May 1983, p. 15). Exxon proclaimed its support of the Dance in America series with images of two men performing low leaps from Paul Taylor's Arden Court (Newsweek, Sept. 28, 1981, p. 83).

Cities and states, too, rely on dance images to promote themselves. Los Angeles, Montreal, and the state of Florida tried to magnetize visitors with the picture of a ballerina in New York Times advertisements.

The concept of excellence in a nondance arena was usually shown with the traditional dance pose of a man holding the woman (2 advertisements), a ballerina alone (3), a male dancer alone (1), a nonhuman symbol of dance (1), and a human symbol (1). The idea of recreation is illustrated by images of a man holding a woman (2), a female dancer alone (4), and a male group of dancers (1). Cooperation and dependability are conceptualized by dance images of a man holding a woman (1), a female alone (4), a male group (1), and a nonhuman symbol (1). The importance of dance is associated with pictures of a male holding a woman (1) and a female alone (1). The value of the arts is depicted by an image of a woman alone (4), a man alone (1), and two men (1).

Chapter 2. Odyssey toward Understanding

1. Some of Mead's work, in the tradition of significant scholarship, has been subjected to scrutiny. Derek Freeman, especially, created a hubbub with the charges in his 1983 book, Margaret Mead and Samoa (Harvard University Press). Mead detractors and defenders made the national news. Some scholars did not appreciate a man's attempt to demolish a pioneering woman's authority after she died and could not defend herself. Part of the conflict centered on the debate between evolutionary biologists and cultural anthropologists, a manifestation of the nature/nurture controversy.

2. I draw upon several traditions in anthropology: the study of (1) the transmission of culture (Mead 1942, 1964, 1970; Wolcott 1982; Spindler and Spindler 1982, 1983), (2) maleness and femaleness (Mead 1935, 1949), and (3) nonverbal communication and the meaning of expressive culture. The Bateson and Mead 1942 work on Balinese dance is a landmark. Geertz (1973) and Peacock (1968) are among those whose ethnographies show how expressive culture intertwines with continuity and change. Birdwhistell documented gender differences in gesture and posture (1970); M. Douglas called attention to the body as a symbol of the powers and dangers in society (1966, 1970).


4. New York has long had pride of place for disciples of terpsichore. In the realm of social dance, the New York Times, October 22, 1899, p. 25, reported, "New York people dance very well, much better than most of the foreigners who come here...New York is the headquarters to which out-of-town teachers come, not only from small, but often from large places to learn new cotillion features."

Chapter 3. Sexuality

1. This chapter is not comparative in the technical sense of considering rigorously equivalent units and ultimately asking why A is B and not C. Such a quest is beyond the scope of this book. The overview of cases of sex, gender, and dance herein illustrate the variety and affinities of human experience in addition to the pool of resources that the theatrical arts use for their own creations. Although other scholars have attempted word histories or surveys of selected aspects of the dance, I disavow their theories and methods. Ideally I would present all the examples in a substantial way. However, the data are limited and my purpose is to show the range of human behavior.

2. Quoted in Mason 1975, 649; Abdullah Yusuf Ali's translation, Lois Ibsen al Faruqi (pers. com. 1985) believes, is preferable. She says that "to stand" means to stand up for another in a protective and benevolent way.

3. Thus a woman had some say in birth control measures such as coitus interruptus and could use intravaginal suppositories and tampoons. Masturbation was permitted to men and also to a woman alone without a husband to satisfy her needs. Under Shira law, there was also a "temporary marriage" or mut'a, "marriage of pleasure," which involved a legal contract of sexual relationship for a specified financial recompense and set time ranging from a day to seven years. This partnership could be one of the most binding forms of marriage available in Islam (Musallam 1983).

4. Lois Ibsen al Faruqi (pers. com. 1985) says that Koran chanters and poetry recites do this all throughout the Muslim world.