Choreographing Duets: Gender Differences in Dance Rehearsals

DAFNE MUNTANYOLA SAURA
University of California, San Diego (UCSD)

1. Introduction

Macro sociological analysis has shown the singular characteristics of the dance professional field (Bourdieu, 1979; 1998). As an artistic profession, it is shaped by a physical vocational attitude: dancing is a Von Beruf in classical Weber’s (1968) terms. Dance is impregnated by an ethos linked to the physical body. The vocational attitude ignores the physical problems and the health risks involved in intense dancing, as shown in Sorignet’s (2006) PhD dissertation. Labor uncertainty shows in the high percentage of dancers that have a temporary contract with a company at any given time (90% of French professionals dancers, numbers from Buscatto, 2008). Dance is overall a feminized field, reversing other artistic professions such as Theater or Film. Recent French surveys on the situation of dance in Europe (Rannou and Roharik, 2006) determine the proportion of professional dancers in France and the UK to be 70% female and 30% male.

From Becker (1982) and on (Buscatto, 2008; Glon, 2007; Ravet, 2005) the focus of analysis has moved down to the deep micro sociological level where everyday gender stereotypes arise. The final creative choice is the choreographer’s, but the dancers must have the feeling of participating in the creation process, as interpreters. This paper studies gender at the level of relationships of production. Through the observation of a dance rehearsal process, we can see how choreography is a collective piece where dancers and choreographer have their own role. After a brief overlook of the dance field, we will describe the different types of directive instructions given by the choreographer, looking both at the dancers’ body and at the modalities of communication that are used towards both genders in a duet balletic phrase. The data will show a correspondence between the types of directive interactions from the observed modern dance company (degree of verbalization, time spent interacting with the dancer), and the dancer’s gender. Such differences may seem less
relevant in dance, where other means for expression are paramount, such as gesture. Still, while dancers think with the body, verbal thought and expression is the choreographer’s main communicative tool and so it shapes legitimate creative behavior.

Conclusions will draw on the statistical results extracted from this situation, which is one of gendered production of artistic forms, namely, a new contemporary dance phrase. We will see how gender stereotypes that come from the general organization of dance knowledge play a role in choreographic rehearsals.

2. The Dance Field

Heterogeneity is an important attribute of any professional dance market. A high degree of individualization in skills and artistic qualities shows through strong vertical divisions that divide central from peripheral companies. There is no clear consensus on the rights of the workers (the dancers) and the quality of their product (their dancing). Pierre Bourdieu explains the relation between the process of creation and its public recognition beautifully: “Seul le facultatif peut donner lieu à des effets de distinction”¹ (Bourdieu, 2001, p.84). Originality, following Marcel Duchamp’s Dadaist claim, is arbitrary and at the same time strictly social. Some concepts from the French sociologist, such as that of field, embed the observed relationships in a more general framework. A dance field is an open historical concept: in analytical terms, it corresponds to a group of diverse and coexistent positions, different from each other, defined one in relation to the other, based on their mutual externality, and on relations of proximity, distance and order (Bourdieu, 1994, p.20).

Dance training implies learning cultural elements that define beauty, originality and perfection in dance. In consequence, to understand the dancers’ regard, their perspective on the quality of movement and the production process, we need to reconstruct the institution that makes that possible. Through the judgments that professionals make in everyday dance production, from the selective audition to the final representation, and all along the different phases of the rehearsal process, we can come to understand the social legitimacy of some artistic skills over others. This paper focuses on rehearsals because it is in the making that we can see the correspondences between the production relations – among the dancers and the choreographer – and the gender roles defined as such in the dance field.

¹ “Only the optional can give way to the effects of distinction” (My translation).
The processes of professional recognition are feeble and make the field permeable to temporary social trends. The choreographers fight for recognition from both peers and the public following, in Bourdieu's words (1998), the principle of heteronomy. As Sorignet (2004) explains in exploring the choreographers' professional strategies for recognition, investment in a personal and easily identifiable style is a way of conquering a social position in the field. Style is based on specific body techniques, from ballet to martial arts, passing through the modern release techniques, and also on alternative uses of the mise en scène, using video or props such as a public physical space. Heterogeneity is more apparent in the borders of the field. Auditions and professional conversions at the end of the dancers' professional career reveal the most valued professional qualities. In auditions, dance has followed the same rationalization process than other artistic professions: a CV is a precondition for anyone, men and women alike. Moreover, artistic reputation, as explained by Menger (2002), is the product of rationalized creative skills, so the artist becomes a professional expert:

L'artiste reçoit l'identité professionnelle d'un praticien, détenteur de compétences et d'une expertise qu'il peut faire valoir dans la négociation et valorisation de ses actes de travail.2


The jump from the workshop to the factory, as some choreographers describe this direction towards professionalization, has affected men and women differently. Women are overqualified and are more likely of falling into the work reserve. The overrepresentation of women in auditions causes, in mixed gender auditions, a more rapid individualization. Female dancers, as found in Sorignet's (2004) ethnography of French auditions, are judged for their technical qualities. In a second phase of selection charisma takes over the technical attributes. The fight for keeping the artistic identity of choreographers makes them resist to the new organization of the job market: "L'identité artistique des chorégraphes-employeurs et des danseurs candidats requiert un déni de la logique du marché"3 (Sorignet, 2004, p.64) In a second phase of the selection, the evaluator (normally the choreographer) tends to undervalue the technical competences and formal training in favor of more individual

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2 "The artist receives a professional identity of a practitioner that has some competences and expertise that he can out put forward in the negotiation and appreciation of his acts at work" (My translation).

3 "The employers and the candidate dancers require a denial of the market's logic" (My translation).
characteristics of the dancer such as beauty, grace and mystery. Such subjective attributes distribute differently depending on gender: women are expected to be beautiful, and men are chosen for their energy or passion. Such form of symbolic résistance goes against female dancers that are often perceived as overqualified and “too technical”, in opposition to males that are said to be more “spontaneous and fresh”. Evaluation is worded by choreographers as a search for an individual that can stimulate their imagination, with improvisation skills and susceptible to embody the choreographer’s personal “style”.

A dance performance is by definition ephemeral and short lived: it is a product that cannot have the same permanence as a music score or a play. Still, in modern and contemporary dance, the star is not the danseur étoile from ballet anymore. The choreographer, far from the aura that embraces an orchestra conductor or a theatre director, is the author of the dance piece, often times giving his or her name to the dance company. This is a specialization scheme that only applies to central companies, such as our case study. The choreographer we chose is a world-class choreographer, male, an example of what is being considered currently, from experts and dancers alike, the best contemporary dance in Europe. His position as the resident choreographer in a London theater and as the main choreographer of the London Royal Ballet raises him to the top of the dominant field.

3. Body Techniques as Pedagogical Methods

The cooperation between actors is based in pre-established agreements among the dancers and the choreographer, and also on the audience’s expectations. As Becker (1999) puts forward, the artists, dancers and choreographers alike, use the esthetic systems of judgments as guides for the multiple choices that they make in a dance piece. A long and bumpy road goes from the ballet body, noble, graceful and classical, to the modern body, individual and heterogeneous. Modern schools and choreographers give name to the different body techniques: Graham’s contract-release, Cunningham’s synthesis of the classic and the modern, Limon’s fall recovery. The body technique is the dancers’ main resource, as well as the backbone of the choreographers’ expertise. Together with the process of individualization and non-conformity to the norm, the modern body has also become a part of a collective subject, as Paxton’s contact improvisation technique from the 1960s puts forward (Carter, 1998). Such evolution attains its maximum expression in contemporary dance, starting in the 1980s, where the dancers’ bodies became one absolute, only and univocal body, with multiple
authorships. Current trends accentuate the heterogeneity of labor conditions, with a certain spread of diverse techniques across companies and national traditions. The choreographer has the choice of applying one technique or the other to build up its own style and hopefully a stable position in the dance field. The British company that constitutes our case study inscribes itself in the contemporary dance tradition, with a strong ballet technical base.

In the transmission ballet model, the dancer copies exactly the steps that the choreographer or teacher performs. The modern choreographer does not necessarily show or marks the phrase at hand. From the dancers’ point of view, the choreographer is a reference to the best dancers in the company, inside a model than can be called of impregnation, borrowing a term that dancer and choreographer Peter Goss (2007) used in a recent interview. During the creative process, the reference becomes some of the dancers in the company, those with more experience, or chosen by the choreographer at a given time. The choreographer proposes tasks verbally, giving the dancer some space for creative thinking and imagination. Directive interactions are given based on the type of structure, limb or direction of movement to be displayed. The words can be precise and technical, or loose and related to shape, duration or expression. Onomatopoeic sounds can be used, as well as gesture, like clapping or finger snapping, signing, small marking and riffing.

4. Verbalization and Creative Legitimacy

Going back for a moment to the field level of analysis, an artist is defined socially by a superior creative ability that separates its geniality from the rest of its members.

In a society that attaches particular value to ‘abstract knowledge’, the details of practice have come to be seen as nonessential unimportant, and easily developed once the relevant abstractions have been grasped.

(Brown and Duguid, 1991, p.11)

Verbal description of the task is a tool for increasing the dancers’ body awareness, and thus their level of creative choice. The dominance of abstraction over material details appears on the dancers’ discourse, which justifies the choreographers’ decisions with reference to taste and symbolic knowledge. Furthermore, the shared need for social recognition and validation of taste as knowledge explains the historical need in dance for methods of notation, such as the Labanotation, paramount in ballet in the XVIII and XIXth century,
as Glon (2007) explains in her PhD dissertation. Dance treatises appeared simultaneously to other guilds and professions, such as architects, painters, sculptors, who were all writing theory on their own skills and methods.

Moreover, as Ferrand, Imbert, and Marry (1999) point out in describing the academic life of the normaliennes at the prestigious École Normale Supérieure, students associate verbalization with masculinity and rationality. Both female and male students, while showing good academic results at school, reproduce in their discourse the stereotype that males are better in talking and communicating new ideas, while females are better in listening and caring. In the case study we are working with the choreographer is a male artist part of a community of experts in dance. In a dance rehearsal, the choreographer, as we will present briefly, shows and gestures, but most of all, talks and communicates qualities, intentions and detail.

5. A Cognitive Ethnography of a Contemporary Dance Rehearsal

Instead of focusing on the artists and their discourse, sociological attention is given to the meaningful process of dancing. A cognitive ethnography, of a modern dance rehearsal is proposed, following Williams’ (2006) definition of the term:

> Whereas traditional ethnography is concerned with the meanings that members of a cultural group create, cognitive ethnography is concerned with how members create those meanings.

(Williams, 2006, p.1)

Observation of the actum, in rehearsal time, allows us to understand the gender effects on task sharing and resolution. In order to study possible gender effects a long and intense period of observation was needed. A description in the form of a natural history, a term introduced by Cicourel (1974) gives a general situation for the research conclusions. It allows the reader to follow in a simple and clear manner the empirical events and the “proofs” that the researcher gathered from the data. Such structured history does not require an exhaustive (and exhausting) exposition of every datum, but calls for general data types from every research step.

5.1 Entrance and Methodology

Our critical reading was based on audiovisual observation, biographical interviews and video elicitation, an interview that involves
commenting video, as defined in Banks (2005). The first observation period lasted 3 weeks, from the 26th January 2008 to the 15th February 2009, at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD). A second observation period opened last August in London and will last until the end of October 2009 (see figure 1 for a fieldnotes sample). The initial contact took place between professor David Kirsh, director of the Interactive Cognition Lab (ICL) at the department of Cognitive Science, and a choreographer of a dance company in London. The company was composed of 4 female dancers and 7 male dancers, plus the male choreographer. Mutual interest in cognitive processes and creativity were assessed and the project of providing an open rehearsal for the ICL lab was decided. Seven high-resolution cameras (HD) were placed on the ceiling and the walls of the theater, and the whole rehearsing process, 11AM to 5PM six days a week, was captured audiovisually. Field notes by 15 students were taken at all times. Dancers and choreographer were interviewed for 2 hours everyday.

Figure 1. Fieldnotes from the dance field. August 2009, London.
The audiovisual documentation has been coded and analyzed with ELAN, a free software developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, for gesture and small-scale interactions. Audiovisual analysis needs a strong model or codification to start with, in order not to get lost with the data. Through the classification of Activity Recurrent Episodes (or ARE), we traced directive interactions between the choreographer and the dancers, and organized them by the type of modality of instruction. ARE are "activity occurrences that are judged to be significant happening in the learning context and that are delimited by a change in theme" (Barab, Hay and Yamagata-Lynch, 2001, p.66). Relevant episodes were coded as annotations with the ELAN audiovisual annotation tool. Observed directive Interactions were divided into five groups as shown in Table 1: Tasks, Showing, Making on, Rehearsing and Proto-structuring. Such labels were inductively extracted from the audiovisual data, as well as from the field notes taken during the whole process.

Tasks – 8 in total – were proposed by the choreographer to the dancers, and provided cognitive problems to be solved through visualization, rhythm, sound, or touch. Showing and Making consisted in imposing previously selected movements by the choreographer on one or more dancers, considered as references for the rest of the company (see figure 2 for an illustration from the field). The difference between Showing and Making comes from the degree of authorship of the movement: in the first, is it choreographer-made movement; while in Making the movement is extracted from a previous dancer move, and so it preserves some of the dancers’ authorship. Rehearsing was a natural continuation of the three previous exercises, and consisted in the time were the dancers practiced their new movements in order to fully embody them. Finally, Proto-

![Figure 2. The choreographer making on dancers for a duet phrase](Source: David Kirsh)
structuring, as the name self-explains, was a first level of structure that the choreographer impressed only on some of the more developed phrases. From the rehearsals, 16 phrases could be extracted, shown in table 1. Each phrase was made of a combination of directive interactions.

5.2 The Choreography of a Duet: a Relevant Dance Form

As noted by dance theory and professionals themselves (Faure, 2003; Carter, 1998) gender stereotypes are powerful topoi for the production of chorographical meaning. Some figures from classical ballet have been transmitted to modern dance. Such is the case with the ballet duet or trio. Audiences project almost universally and with no further thought an erotic relationship onto a classical duet, independently of the actual gender of the dancer. The erotic charge comes from the relative positions of the dancers, the role that each dancer has in the duet as a small-scale social institution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHRASE</th>
<th>DAYS OF REHEARSAL/TYPE OF DIRECTIVE INSTRUCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ONE</td>
<td>01/26/09 make on W 26' 2/3/09 make on W 36'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. TRIPLET</td>
<td>01/26/09 2/3/09 show 42' show 3' 2/5/09 Make on W 28'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. COUNTERPOINT</td>
<td>01/28/09 show 54' 2/3/09 make on W 11' 2/5/09 make on W 33'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. MOVEMENT PHRASE</td>
<td>01/26/09 task 51' 01/28/09 task 6' 2/3/09 make on D 54' 02/13/09 proto-struct 18'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. INSTRUCTION PHRASE</td>
<td>01/27/09 2/3/09 02/13/09 show 31' proto-struct 18'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ANNA/PAOLO DUET</td>
<td>01/26/09 01/27/09 2/11/09 show 26' make on W 69' make on W 66'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. REFERENCE QUARTET</td>
<td>01/26/09 task 9', task 63', make on D 7' 2/4/09 02/13/09 task 55' proto-struct 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ANNOTATE (impro)</td>
<td>01/27/09 task 40', make on D 46' 01/28/09 task 49' task 31' rehearse 35'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. BALLET RUSSE</td>
<td>01/28/09 task 60' 2/4/09 task 55' 02/13/09 make on D 34' rehearse 4'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. LAMP PHRASE (parameter)</td>
<td>2/2/09 2/4/09 task 169', make on D 33' task 37' task 84' rehearse 85'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. TRIO Agnes, Neil, Angel</td>
<td>2/3/09 02/13/09 show 68' rehearsal 34'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Hannes and Cat DUET</td>
<td>2/4/09 2/9/09 show 69' rehearsal 87'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. RYTHM PHRASE</td>
<td>2/4/09 2/5/09 task 58', make on D 124' 2/11/09 02/13/09 make on D 37' proto-struct 23'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. BODY STATE</td>
<td>2/6/09 task 110' 2/9/09 02/13/09 proto-struct 8'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. ACCOUTIC</td>
<td>2/10/09 02/13/09 task 102', make on D 41' task 13'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Manufactured Quartet Arms</td>
<td>2/5/09 13/02/09 make on D 51' make on D 5'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Dance Phrases Per Day And Type Of Directive Interaction
Source: Self-elaboration on videotaped data, Jan-Feb 2009, UCSD
The choreographer from the case study used this figure of movement frequently. The dance phrases (see table 1) were mainly composed of duets, trios or quartets, and only some (5 out of 16 phrases) produced solos. The important presence of classical forms such as duets shows that his pedagogical model is closer to the transmission ballet model than other contemporary choreographers. Gender analysis of the distribution of tasks was effectuated on four phrases: two duets, one trio, and one solo to compare the distribution of directive interactions. Phrases in table 2 were chosen following a random selection process, with a handpicked solo as a comparison element for the data obtained from the duet-like structures. They were divided into relevant episodes of activity, from an average of 59 to 85 divisions by phrase. The episodes had a variable duration, with a minimum average of 38 minutes for the trio, to 45,41 minutes for the solo.

Table 2. Selected and Coded Dance Phrases, Mandeville Theater, UCSD

| Source: Self-elaboration on videotaped data, Jan-Feb 2009, UCSD |

5.3. Data Analysis: Frequency, Duration and Modality of Directive Instructions

Codification of multimodal interactions and communications show in detail the differentiation between the masculine and the feminine in the choreographer’s micro choices. Specific gestures and onomatopoeic sounds can be traced to draw the lines of gender stereotypes during the rehearsal setting. A sexualized body image guides the choreographer’s making not only at the audition process, but also during the process of creating a new piece, as shown in the following graphs. Recalling Sorignet’s (2004), account of the audition process, the choreographer seems to look for different body skills in both genders: female dancers are asked to be more technical, to
master specific ballet positions such as *le coup de pied tendu*, certain physical qualities such as long legs (simply *jambes* in the French jargon), or qualities of movement such as flexibility (*souplesse*). Male dancers are judged more loosely, with less normative criteria, following their strength, creativity or energy.

In a secondary coding, as seen in graph 1, the directive interactions were classified following their communication modality in relation to the dancers’ body. First, with Words and Gesture the choreographer directs the dancer or dancers towards verbalization and gestures, often accompanied by sounds and other signs. It implies a face-to-face interaction, since the choreographer explains what he wants, in a descriptive manner, waiting for the dancer to respond and perform what he has imagined. The second group of interactions, Touch, implies further contact between the choreographer and the dancer. In explaining specific moves the former touched a limb or spinne d a dancer, in order to obtain the exact movement that he had in mind. This type of interaction moves away from verbal instruction and is closer to the transmission model from ballet dancing. Finally, in Embodied, the choreographer takes the place of the dancer in order to show him or her what had to be done, usually manipulating another dancer.

![Graph 1. Modalities of Directive Interactions from Selected Phrases](image)

The graph above shows how 75% of the overall Directive Interactions in the four analyzed phrases are of the first modality, based on Words and Gestures. The rest split into a 15% of episodes of Touching and manipulating the dancers’ body, and a 10% of Embodying where the choreographer performed a move taking the place of the dancer. We
can go a step further, and look at this same data, distributed for gender and type of phrase (duets and trios as duets, solos as solos).

Table 3. Modalities of Directive Interactions by phrase (duets/ solos) and dancer’s gender (duration and frequencies)

Source: Self-elaboration on videotaped data, Jan-Feb 2009, UCSD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODALITIES</th>
<th>DUETS</th>
<th>SOLOS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>duration (s)</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words/gesture</td>
<td>1820.17</td>
<td>75.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touch</td>
<td>1485</td>
<td>21.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embodied</td>
<td>174.42</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6784.76</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at table 3 and graph 2, we can point out two interesting phenomena. First, *Words* and *Gesture* is the first communicative modality for both genders. Nevertheless, while in male duets it represents 81% of the total instructions received, in female dancers it drops to 75%. While the second type of interactions in males falls down behind with 18% of *Embodied* interactions, in females the second option is *Touch*, with 22% of all interactions. One the one hand, the clear dominance of *Words* and *Gesture* among the choreographer and the male dancers in duets seem to reinforce the link between verbal expression with the attributes of masculinity (Ferrand, Imbert, and Marry, 1999) On the other hand, the similar volume of the second group of frequencies indicates that *Touch* plays with female dancers a similar function to *Embodiment* in male interactions. The dominance of *Touch* with female dancers seems to correspond to Sorignet’s (2004) analysis of gender differences in auditions. The female dancer is attributed with superior attributes of technical skill and body virtuosity. The choreographer needs *Touch* to guide the female body in a specific, detailed way, obtaining from the dancer often difficult and extreme moves. The female physical capital, grace and flexibility, is at the center of the duet, continuing the ballet tradition in romantic duets. As for the male dancer, his role is that of being a supportive element, like a column or a pillow, for the female moves. The choreographer takes the place of the male dancer to show exactly how to hold, follow or help the female dancer. Being a male, it seems easy to suppose that the choreographer identifies more easily with a male dancer than a female dancer. Most probably, because of age and training, the choreographer lacks the physical capital that is required from female dancers. Male dancers are attributed with specific gendered elements such as energy, strength
and initiative that are closer to the elements of intentionality and creativity that the choreographer displays.

![Graph 2. Modalities of Directive Interactions by phrase and gender (accumulated percentages)](image)

The important volume of interactions with Words and Gesture, especially with male dancers, indicates that the choreographers’ pedagogical model is part of the impregnation model. Still, the important position of the other types of interactions reinforces the continuity with classical dance and the transmission model. Precisely, we need to make clear if the correspondences come from the dancers’ gender, or simply from their relative position in the duet structure. For that, we can look at table 3, and compare the male and female dancers solos. We see that the choreographer’s Directive Interactions with male solos are 100% based on Words and Gesture, so that creativity and some degree of body awareness are allowed. Nevertheless, in female solos the frequency drops to 87%. The rest, 12.4%, corresponds to Touching Directive Interactions, continuing the gap that we see in the duets. Moreover, it can be claimed that the differences in interactions do not only come from the specific structure of the phrase (duets or solos), as *topos* for gender stereotypes, but also from the different body-skills claimed for both genders.
6. Conclusions

The dance field is defined by a high degree of uncertainty, paired up with a high vocational attitude from all the professionals, independently of their actual position in the field. Such attitude tends to hide the conflictive dimensions of any process of decision-making, as well as the collective strategies that take place in the creative process. Ethnographic fieldwork allows us to understand and document social practices that are necessary for the collective production of dance. Material details are usually hidden by the abstraction of dance discourse. The choreographer's micro choices translate the movements of production, reproduction and transformation of social relations.

The analyzed data from a modern dance rehearsal shows that gender stereotypes permeate the creative work process. The choreographer's chain of technical choices includes stereotypes that reproduce the mainstream gendering of knowledge. Those gender stereotypes have practical consequences on the specific phrase that is being rehearsed, and on the dancers' body awareness. Differences in communicative and decisional processes show the existence of gendered artistic dance roles that expand beyond the representation of the romantic ballet figure. Most importantly, this brief comment on observed interactive patterns shows how differences in symbolic capital in the dance field do not only apply in regulated and official settings such as in dance auditions. Selective attributes and body skills are demanded both from female and male dancers. Male dancers are instructed more frequently than females in verbal and gesture communication patterns. Female dancers are directed towards acrobatic reproductions of previously performed steps, while male are more loosely counted upon.

Altogether, the differences in gender arise from the specificity of the romantic duet, and most importantly from the specific symbolic resources attributed differently to male and female dancers. Further work must be done in explaining in detail de distribution of tasks and the distribution patterns of communicative interactions during rehearsals. Attention could be also paid the dancers meaningful practices and corresponding stereotypes, since this paper focuses on the choreographer's actions and words. The choreographer's charisma and artistic reputation provokes "a central metanoia in the spirits of the dominated" (Weber, 2005, p.130, quoted in Sorignet, 2006, p.54). The existing doxa in the dance field makes invisible the arrangements of power that arise from the process of artistic production. As previously noted in gender studies on science, gender
roles are not only apparent in the reception dimension of dance, but are constantly part of its everyday production.

Works Cited


