DIVERSITY EN POINTE:

MINIMIZING DISCRIMINATORY HIRING PRACTICES TO INCREASE BALLET'S CULTURAL RELEVANCE IN AMERICA

Nicolle Mitchell Greenhood

Major paper submitted to the faculty of Goucher College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

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Ballet was established as a performing art form in fifteenth century French and Italian courts. Current American ballet stems from the vision of choreographer George Balanchine, who set ballet standards through his educational institution, School of American Ballet, and dance company, New York City Ballet. These organizations are currently the largest-budget performing company and training facility in the United States, and, along with other major US ballet companies, have adopted Balanchine's preference for ultra thin, light skinned, young, heteronormative dancers. Due to their financial stability and power, these dance companies set the standard for ballet in America, making it difficult for dancers who do not fit these narrow characteristics to succeed and thrive in the field.

The ballet field must adapt to an increasingly diverse society while upholding artistic integrity to the art form's values. Those who live in America make up a heterogeneous community with a blend of worldwide cultures, but ballet has been slow to focus on diversity in company rosters. By instituting hiring practices that prioritize a range of ages, races, genders, and body types, the field could experience positive outcomes such as increased audience engagement, additional funding sources, and diverse artistic contributions from dancers who may normally be excluded from performing opportunities. External catalysts will be needed to create this change, and this paper explores a few possible sources: anti-discrimination law, pressure from new societal norms, and funding sources could all play a part in increasing ballet's cultural relevance through a more diverse cast of dancers.

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This paper is dedicated to the MAAAsters of the Universe. Thank you for three years of laughs, encouragement, daily text messages, and unforgettable camaraderie.

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Introduction

The majority of ballet companies in the United States follow strict, aesthetically motivated physical standards when employing dancers. A professional ballet dancer is typically young, light skinned, ultra thin, and follows traditional male or female gender identities. These characteristics stem from ballet's roots in European courts and requirements set by George Balanchine, the founder of the New York City Ballet (*A Ballerina's Tale*). It is a traditional, conventional, and codified art form. The physical attributes upheld by the top American ballet companies embed these characteristics as the norm by influencing mid- and small-size ballet companies and training organizations, systematically standardizing the ideal ballet body. Few major ballet companies in the United States are actively working to change these stereotypes, which results in hiring discrimination and unhealthy practices by dancers hoping to achieve the current standard ballet physique.

Major ballet companies could benefit from a more diverse range of performers. A shift in stringent physical standards to allow a broader scope of age, gender, race, and body type will not negatively impact the artistic integrity of the discipline. Instead, it could bring greater contributions to the field with broader movement styles and underrepresented personal stories and ideas. As a result, ballet has the potential to become more culturally relevant by connecting with a wider audience and providing expanded possibilities to a larger pool of hopeful dancers.

The rigid aesthetics of ballet lead to hiring practices that exclude potential dancers based on age, gender, race, and body type; however, external forces such as antidiscrimination law, societal pressure, and funding sources could minimize discrimination and increase ballet's cultural relevance. Due to ballet's time-honored traditions, competitiveness inherent in the discipline, and fear of declining funding or ticket sales, an organic shift from inside the field is not possible. Therefore, external forces must demand this change. Government regulations should not dictate hiring procedures for ballet companies, as the right to freedom of expression protects these decisions; however, when dance companies accept public funding, they are left vulnerable to compliance with city, state, and federal law. The enforcement of anti-discrimination law on major ballet companies who accept public funding could institutionalize better hiring practices. While a conflict between government regulation of aesthetic-based hiring and freedom of expression is present, a peaceful coexistence between these two laws is possible. American societal norms have undergone a recent shift: the average body type has changed, non-binary gender identities are common, and the percentage of non-Caucasian races and ethnicities is growing in the United States population. The ballet field must look to the current population makeup in the United States to stay culturally relevant, and American society must apply pressure to make this so. Successful ballet companies rely on multiple funding sources, such as public, corporate, foundation, and individual contributions. Funders can help shape the course of an art form through financial and non-monetary contributions. By imposing requirements attached to contributions, donors can encourage diversity in hiring practices.

Ballet is an ethnic form of dance derived from European and Russian culture and traditions. Anthropologists, writers, and historians often label cultural forms that are non-white, non-western, folk, or primitive as ethnic dance. However, all dance originates from a culture or a group of people; therefore, all styles or types of dance can be labeled ethnic (Keali'inohomoku). While the purpose of this paper is to argue for adaptability in ballet to promote greater diversity, it is acknowledged that ballet is rooted in a Caucasian and heteronormative culture and is a highly physical and codified art form. The purpose of this paper is not to ignore the source of ballet's fundamental values, but to consider if, and how, adjustments could be made to better represent and acknowledge the makeup of the American people without compromising the integrity of the art form and its ethnic and cultural heritage.

Throughout the course of this paper, the implications of changing physical standards ingrained in a codified art form to create greater diversity are explored by using ballet's history and the company rosters and mission statements of the ten largest ballet companies in the United States. Ballet's values are considered against the consequences indicated in the proposed shifts of greater inclusivity in ballet company hiring.

Conclusions include the benefits of diversity and determine what takes precedence when the promotion of diversity and the protection of freedom of speech are at odds. By understanding the benefits of a diverse cast of dancers in ballet companies, leaders in the arts will be empowered to create change and progress in the ballet field and beyond.

Chapter I BALLET'S STANDARDS AND VALUES

<u>History of Ballet</u>

Present-day ballet originated in late fifteenth and sixteenth century court dances and began codification in the seventeenth century ("Ballet," Core of Culture). The earliest documented ballet performance, directed by Bergonzio di Botta, took place in 1489 at a banquet in Italy and featured a dance introducing each course of the meal. Italian performances in the fifteenth century were simple and elegant, with rhythmic and graceful walking patterns based on current social dances ("History of Ballet"). These dances, called *Balli* and *Balletti*, were primarily presented at formal balls and ceremonies (Homans). These social events laid the foundation for large functions called *Spectaculi*, which featured equestrian performances, tournaments, mock combats, and aquatic shows. Spectaculi, along with more formally arranged dance performances, were embedded in Italian cultural activities. When the Italian heiress Catherine de Medici wedded the French royal Henri Duc d'Orléans, her support and promotion of *Spectaculi* and ballet created a bridge between Italian and French culture and further ingrained the events into the traditions and customs of their people ("Ballet," Core of Culture). In the late sixteenth century, French ballet evolved into performances called *ballet-comique*, which not only featured movement, but also incorporated elements of speech, drama, and plot.

The functions of sixteenth-century ballet grew beyond courtside entertainment.

This time period was plagued with many civil and religious conflicts and Catherine de

Medici hoped that the performances would act as a political tool to calm hostilities (Homans). Ballet also developed into an intellectual activity. On the website, *Core of Culture*, Elizabeth Cooper from the *Underground Stream* further describes the purpose of ballet in the sixteenth century:

In late Renaissance society, dance was not considered merely a source of light-hearted entertainment or physical recreation, but a profoundly intellectual experience for both participants and spectators. Sixteenth-century dance, like the arts of poetry, music and painting, was infused with new meaning and innovations as a direct result of the findings of humanist scholars as they poured over ancient Greek texts in an attempt to recreate the powerful effects of ancient Greek drama. The court ballets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were intended to enlighten and edify audiences. As the art of choreography developed it became increasingly informed by humanist ideals and imbibed with layers of meaning that were moral, philosophical, and political in nature. It was the task and the delight of the educated viewers of these court spectacles to decipher the "truths" underlying the dances.

France was further recognized as a hub for ballet during King Louis XIV's reign. King Louis was an accomplished dancer, and in 1661, he established the first school for ballet at the Louvre. In 1672 a dance academy was formed within the Académie Royale de Musique and then expanded into the ballet of the Paris Opera, the oldest ballet company currently in operation. The establishment of these and other institutions began the cultivation of the first professionally trained ballet dancers (Beales).

Ballet spread to Russia and England and shifted into a more codified art form in the eighteenth century. Prominent ballet masters began notating and publishing the core positions and movements that are commonly used in present-day ballet. The St.

Petersburg School in Russia was founded in 1738 and maintains a position as the world's second oldest ballet training facility. *Ballet-comique* was replaced with *ballet d'action*—a dance with no spoken words. Costumes evolved from large, heavy skirts and elaborate masks to simpler and lighter wear, including soft flexible shoes to allow fuller dancing with ease (Beales).

Ballet in Europe and Russia changed drastically during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The invention of pointe shoes and tutus revolutionized the art form. The thrill of skilled females dancing *en pointe*, or on the tips of their toes with wooden shoes, aided in the development of ballet performances, and female dancers became more celebrated than their male counterparts due to this newly developed talent. Pointe dancing created an illusion of weightlessness, and the female dancer had to adapt, both in strength and weight, to balance their entire bodies on the tips of their toes (Fischer). Ballet continued to advance in Russia, France, Italy, and Great Britain with the creation of such notable works as Swan Lake, Giselle, La Sylphide, La Bayadère, The Nutcracker, Coppélia, and Rite of Spring; and the rise of ballet's famous dancers and choreographers such as Maria Danilov, Marius Petipa, Mikhail Folkine, Sergei Diaghilev, Enrico Checchetti, Vaslav Nijinsky, Anna Pavlova, Marie Taglioni, and George Balanchine. Russian ballet companies rose above their European counterparts and played a larger role in the evolution of present-day ballet by experimenting with new styles and themes in their performances. Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky was inspired to create scores for the "big

three" major Russian ballets: *Swan Lake*, *Sleeping Beauty*, and *The Nutcracker*—arguably still some of the most popular evening-length ballet works (Beales).

Russia had a large influence on the development of ballet in America in the early part of the twentieth century. When ballet was beginning to take root in the United States, Russia was dominating the scene on the European continent with popular and wellattended performances, star dancers, and promising choreographers. Russian ballet companies began touring the United States, exposing American audiences to this art form for the first time. Originally, ballet in America was referred to as two distinct styles: "Russian" or "modern" (Palmer 136). Russia also produced one of the field's most influential choreographers, George Balanchine. Balanchine began dancing in Russia and then performed with the famous French ballet company, Ballets Russes. After an injury, which ended his stage career, he focused on creating dances and proved to be an innovative and promising choreographer. Lincoln Kirsten, a dance enthusiast from Boston, had a vision to create the first American ballet company that would rival ballet troupes in Europe and Russia. Since Kirsten had no formal ballet training, he invited George Balanchine to establish the first American ballet company after seeing his choreography and company, Les Ballets, in Europe. Upon receiving this invitation, Balanchine famously replied, "... but first, a school" ("Lincoln Kirsten"; "George Balanchine").

Kirsten and Balanchine founded the School of American Ballet in 1934. In 1935, their dance company American Ballet was established, which also became the resident ballet company of The Metropolitan Opera. The touring company went through four different variations before settling as the New York City Ballet in 1948. These

institutions, as well as Balanchine's artistic influence and vision, are credited with shaping ballet in the United States. Balanchine's style is primarily described as neoclassic—a fusion of modern ideas with classical roots. This was an artistic approach that rebelled against the anti-classicism found in the early Romantic era and early twentieth century in Europe and Russia. His choreographic emphasis was movement over storyline. His ballets were not completely void of plot, but he preferred to let "dance be the star of the show." Balanchine credited the American dancer's body as inspiration for many aspects of his choreography—primarily, the "striking lines." He further explained this approach in one of his writings:

A ballet may contain a story, but the visual spectacle, not the story, is the essential element. The choreographer and the dancer must remember that they reach the audience through the eye — and the audience, in its turn, must train itself to see what is performed upon the stage. It is the illusion created which convinces the audience, much as it is with the work of a magician. If the illusion fails, the ballet fails, no matter how well a program note tells the audience that it has succeeded ("George Balanchine.")

The shape and look of dancer's bodies were of utmost importance to Balanchine. As the success of the School of American Ballet and the New York City Ballet grew, so did their influence on the evolving field of ballet. Dance critic for the *Financial Times*, Clement Crisp, summed up the choreographer's impact on the ballet field with this description: "...his school and the training system that has tuned American bodies as the

ideal classic medium for his ideal classic vision... he is so central to the danse d'ecole in our century, so surely its guiding force..." (qtd. in "George Balanchine")

Many other important ballet companies were established during the 1900s in addition to the New York City Ballet. In 1933, The San Francisco Opera Ballet was formed to train dancers in opera productions, then separated from the opera in 1942 and was renamed the San Francisco Ballet ("History"). Lucia Chase and Oliver Smith established The American Ballet Theatre (ABT) in 1939 and directed the company until Mikhail Baryshnikov took over in 1980. In contrast to the New York City Ballet, which focused on presenting new ballet works or reconstructing classic works, ABT emphasized star leading dancers, often importing principal dancers from abroad (Greskovic). The New York City Ballet, San Francisco Ballet, and American Ballet Theatre are currently the largest ballet companies in the United States by budget, and each has a school attached to its institution. In addition, hundreds of large, mid-size, and small ballet companies have been founded all over the United States since the early part of the twentieth century. The national dance organization, Dance/USA, lists approximately one hundred and seventy ballet companies in their published National Company Roster (NCR). The NCR only contains companies currently in existence with a registered 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status and does not include past companies that have closed ("National Company Roster").

While ballet was growing in the United States with influence from Europe and Russia, an indigenous art form was concurrently being developed: modern dance. Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, and other pioneers of modern dance were rebelling against classical ballet to create dances that featured bare feet, floor work, loose

torso movements, less constricting costumes, and themes that were more psychological and related to the human experience ("History of Ballet"). The ideas and innovations of modern dance influenced a new style of ballet. Contemporary ballet uses classical ballet as a foundation but draws on modern dance concepts and movements, especially the use of floor work, flexed hands, and turned in feet and legs. Balanchine is credited for the emergence of contemporary ballet with his neoclassic style, and choreographers in the United States and abroad, such as Twyla Tharp, William Forsythe, Alonzo King, Matthew Borne, and Jirí Kilián further planted this genre in the ballet field.

Today, the lines that separate classical and contemporary ballet are blurry. Many classical ballet companies have added contemporary works into their repertoire, and vice versa. More recently, companies and choreographers present reconstructed classic works, such as *The Nutcracker*, with contemporary elements. There are a few characteristics of both classical and contemporary ballet that overlap: both forms primarily use pointe shoes, have strong relationships to music, utilize the traditional codified French vocabulary, and require dancers to have trained in classical ballet. However, classical ballet often uses a storyline, uses symmetrical floor patterns, and movements are accomplished with a straight spine. Contemporary ballet often portrays abstract themes with little to no plot, deviates from traditional floor patterns, and modifies classical movements and positions of the body (Finch). Since current contemporary and classical ballet is intermeshed, for the purposes of this paper the definition of ballet will include both classical and contemporary.

Power and Influence of Ten Largest-Budget American Ballet Companies

While money does not necessarily equal the production of great art, the financial stability of the ten largest-budget American ballet companies creates some of the most ideal working environments for dancers, increased production quality for performances, competitive and attractive training facilities, and unmatched visibility in the field. Large budgets yield power and influence for these companies; therefore, they assume positions as role models for the rest of the American ballet field.

Table 1
Ten Largest-Budget American Ballet Companies

Company Name	Annual	Mission Statement
	Budget	
	("National	
	Company	
	Roster")	
New York City	\$66 million	"To preserve the ballets, dance aesthetic, and
Ballet (New		standards of excellence created and established by
York, NY)		its founders; and to develop new work that draws on
		the creative talents of contemporary choreographers
		and composers, and speaks to the time in which it is
		made" ("Mission Statement").
San Francisco	\$47 million	"To share our joy of dance with the widest possible
Ballet (San		audience in our community and around the globe
Francisco, CA)		and to provide the highest caliber of dance training
		in our School" ("Overview").
American Ballet	\$40 million	"To create, to present, to preserve, and to extend the
Theatre (New		great repertoire of classical dancing, through
York, NY)		performances and educational programming of the
		highest quality, presented to the widest possible
		audience" ("American Ballet Theatre").
Boston Ballet	\$28 million	"To bring new levels of excellence to ballet both
(Boston, MA)		on and off stage" ("Our Mission").
Houston Ballet	\$22 million	"To inspire a lasting love and appreciation for dance
(Houston, TX)		through artistic excellence, exhilarating
		performances, innovative choreography and superb
		educational programs" ("Houston Ballet Mission
		Statement").

Pacific Northwest Ballet (Seattle, WA) Miami City Ballet (Miami, FL)	\$20 million \$15 million	"Enriching lives in the Pacific Northwest, considered a national treasure and acclaimed worldwide, PNB epitomizes excellence in the performing arts" ("Vision/Mission"). "To play a leadership role in the arts ecology of South Florida by bringing the best of dance and dance education to the region" ("The Company"
Joffrey Ballet (Chicago, IL)	\$14 million	Miami City Ballet). "The Joffrey is a world-class, Chicago-based ballet company and dance education organization committed to artistic excellence and innovation, presenting a unique repertoire encompassing masterpieces of the past and cutting-edge works. The Joffrey is committed to providing arts education and accessible dance training through its Joffrey Academy of Dance and Community Engagement programs" ("About").
Pennsylvania Ballet (Philadelphia, PA)	\$10 million	"To maintain and nurture a financially sound, Philadelphia-based ballet company that presents the finest in artistry and performance to the widest possible audience, expands and diversifies its classical and contemporary repertoire, and provides the highest caliber of instruction for aspiring professional dancers" ("History and Mission").
Atlanta Ballet (Atlanta, GA)	\$9 million	"To share and educate audiences on the empowering joy of dance" ("About us").

All of these companies have permanent facilities, studios, and sometimes theaters attached to their organization. Many of these dance studios are the largest and finest in the country. These companies are able to offer their dancers competitive employment packages with longer annual contracts, higher pay scales, and benefits. For example, the Pacific Northwest Ballet offers its dancers health insurance, staff physical therapists and masseuses, a stipend for body care and wellness, and a Pilates and work out room on site (Chiarelli). Similarly, Miami City Ballet offers their dancers health insurance, in-house physical therapy and massage, and an in-house medical provider (Garcia), and the Houston Ballet provides their dancers with health insurance, in-house massage therapy, and a physical and athletic trainer (Lam).

Due to their budget size, many of the top companies are able to bring in well-known collaborators and artists to work with the company. Notable choreographers, lighting designers, composers, set designers, costume designers, and other artists are attracted to working with these companies because of pay scale and visibility. This provides exciting opportunities for dancers to work with highly esteemed artists, which is an attractive benefit for current and prospective company members. Consequently, the production quality for many of these company's performances is far superior to most ballets, which results in higher ticket sales, positive press, and gratifying artistic accomplishment for dancers and executive staff.

One of the most rewarding aspects of working with a large-budget company is visibility and fame. Based upon a search of calendars on the leading company's websites versus those of smaller companies, those with the largest budgets also have the longest seasons of any ballet companies in the United States; therefore, dancers are performing more often and for longer periods each year. Major news publications will write reviews of the company's performances, often mentioning specific dancers. Marketing resources for these companies correspond with their budget size; therefore, materials frequently have a wide reach. Company dancers are typically featured in marketing materials, which are usually displayed in public transportation areas, billboards, and other public places. Performances are held in large theaters and are attended by a significant number of audience members.

While most of these companies do not maintain robust touring schedules, they are all located in the most visited and tourist-centric cities in the United States. According to a 2010 report from *Forbes Magazine*, New York City, Chicago, Miami, Atlanta,

Houston, and Philadelphia are included in the ten most visited cities in the United States (Murray). This provides many of these companies with an international reach without the burden of touring. Most of these companies have multiple long performance seasons in their home cities, offering ballet experiences for residents and tourists throughout the year. All of the companies present The *Nutcracker* performances in December, which has become an annual tradition for many Americans as a way to celebrate the holiday season. Beyond *The Nutcracker*, these ten companies offer performance seasons that range from five to nineteen weeks per year. For example, in the 2015-2016 season, independent of touring, the New York City Ballet offers nineteen weeks of performances between September and May, the Boston Ballet offers fourteen weeks of performances between October and May, and the Atlanta Ballet offers five weeks of performances in their season from December through May. All of these seasons include two to five weeks of *Nutcracker* performances.

Each of the top ballet companies has educational institutions attached to their organization. These schools are some of the largest in the country. For example, in the 2014-2015 academic year, the Pacific Northwest Ballet School had 1,035 students enrolled ("2014-2015 Annual Report"), the Miami City Ballet School had 1,177 students enrolled ("Annual Report 2014-2015 Season"), and the Houston Ballet School had 617 students enrolled ("Annual Report 2014-2015"). Based on the biographies listed on each company's website, it is clear that all of these companies cull many of their dancers from their attached educational institution. Therefore, many aspiring ballet dancers will likely pursue dance education at one of these facilities with the hopes of gaining future employment within the organization's company.

Power and influence are by-products of sizable budgets. A company's location, visibility, notoriety, competitive contracts, pay, and benefits attract some of the top dancers in the world. Large budgets produce extravagant performances and yield aggressive marketing materials, which result in a wider audience reach. Because of this, these companies influence small and mid-size companies, as well as aspiring, pre-professional, and professional dancers around the country. The ballet field looks to these companies for inspiration, standards, progress, and innovation that stems from their financial power. Therefore, these companies play the largest roles in dictating and standardizing norms, models, and guidelines in the ballet field.

Lack of Diversity in Large American Ballet Companies

The largest American ballet companies lack racial, gender, age, and body type diversity within their company rosters. Based on email and telephone interviews with staff from the ten largest ballet companies, as well as company lists and headshots available on company websites, each of these companies employ between forty-one and ninety-two dancers. However, there are only between six and eighteen dancers in each company that identify as a racial or ethnic minority (Appendix II). Internet searches seeking information about the lack of racial diversity yields numerous articles with titles such as, "Finding Solutions to Ballet's Diversity Problem," "Push for Diversity in Ballet Turns to Training the Next Generation," "Where are the Black Ballet Dancers?" "En Pointe: Black Ballet Dancers Face Discrimination," "Where are all the Black Swans?" "Does One Black Superstar Mean Real Change?" and "Behind Ballet's Diversity Problem." Misty Copeland's recent appointment as the first African American principal dancer in the American Ballet Theatre produced a frenzy of public conversations about

the lack of racial diversity in the professional ballet field. Articles, blogs, news reports, and interviews prove that Caucasian dancers overwhelmingly dominate professional ballet, and while diversity has become a publicly discussed priority, actual results are still few and far between in the largest American professional companies. Ironically, many talented dancers of color travel abroad, specifically to Europe, to seek professional ballet opportunities not available in the United States (Kourlas, "Push for Diversity"; Dunkel).

Classical ballet relies heavily on storied plots with traditional male and female roles, cemented further with the use of traditional male and female partnering. While the identification and public acceptance of genders outside of strict male and female identities, also known as nonbinary genders, has currently become more widespread, ballet companies have yet to create space for these dancers. Seven out of the ten largest-budget ballet companies do not currently employ dancers who identify as a gender other than male or female. The additional three companies did not provide information about the gender identities of their dancers. (Appendix II)

The lifespan of a professional ballet dancer's stage career is widely known to be short. A lack of diversity in the ages of dancers was publicly highlighted when New York City Ballet principal, Wendy Whelan, retired at the age of forty-seven in the fall of 2014. Whelan was cited by numerous sources as being a rare older dancer, having sustained a career with the most successful American ballet company for over thirty years. A common understanding and truth is that most professional ballet dancers retire in their early to mid-thirties, often due to injuries (Schaefer). In a *New York Times* article highlighting her retirement, Whelan stated, "In ballet, if you're over 40, you're a dinosaur." By age forty, many dancers, primarily female, are unable to keep up with the

physical demands of the art form on their joints and muscles and are forced into retirement (Sulcas).

Body type diversity is a controversial topic in the ballet field. It can be argued that the stereotypical ultra-thin, willowy, lithe female body is necessary to complete many of ballet's standard positions as well as aid in the ease of partnering, specifically when male dancers lift female dancers ("A Ballerina Body"). However, many sources, especially those working in the field, dispute this argument ("Black Swan"). While most of the ten largest-budget ballet companies state that there are no body type restrictions or requirements in their hiring of company members, online marketing materials primarily present ultra-thin bodies in photos and depictions of their dancers (Appendix III). Balanchine is largely credited with systemizing the current ballet body-type standard in America, often telling his dancers that he wanted to, "see their bones." The Balanchine body is known to be "one with narrow hips, little or no fat deposits, long, lean legs, a short slim torso, small breasts and delicate arms" ("Black Swan").

Current Ballet Values in America

Oxford Dictionary defines ballet as "an artistic dance form performed to music using precise and highly formalized set steps and gestures. Classical ballet, which originated in Renaissance Italy and established its present form during the 19th century, is characterized by light, graceful, fluid movements and the use of pointe shoes ("Ballet" *Oxford Dictionaries*)." Classical and contemporary ballet in America has become widely standardized based on Balanchine's vision. While there are many choreographers and artistic directors who have styles and preferences that vary, the underlying values of ballet stay consistent throughout the ballet field in the United States.

The codified positions of ballet create the foundation of a ballet dance. Ballet in the twenty-first century has a strong emphasis on extreme flexibility within standard movements and positions. Dancers are asked to attain drastic flexibility in their backs, hips, legs, ankles, and feet to achieve the lines in current ballet standards. For example, an arabesque, or a position where one straight leg is supporting the body and the opposite leg is stretched behind the body, is often expected to be at a ninety-degree angle or higher. (Appendix IV)

Ballet movements and positions did not always emphasize extreme flexibility. Historically, ballet movements prioritized gracefulness, pantomime, and ease in movements. Ballet in the twentieth and twenty-first century spotlights ballet "tricks," which are often centered around leg and back flexibility. While there are many other important aspects of a ballet dance, flexibility and extreme lines in ballet positions have become standardized as a primary value of ballet (Alberge).

To provide excitement in choreography and interesting transitions between positions, ballet dancers use jumps, turns, lifts, and fast footwork. These types of movements vary between male and female dancers. For example, male dancers are often expected to complete a series of very high, sustained jumps and multiple turns during classical ballet solos. Females emphasize fast footwork, often interlacing pointe work and high leg extensions with small, quick jumps and turns. In partner work, male dancers often lift females above their heads while the female dancer holds a pose. The *jeté*, or a jump with the legs split in the air, is a popular movement for both males and females in all ballet dances.

A dancer's strength is a primary value in ballet. While the power of a dancer is showcased in all ballet movements, dancers are expected to appear as if the movements and positions are effortless—if achieved, this proves a dancer's true strength. The endurance required to dance for extended periods of time, perform the extreme positions and movements, accomplish partner work, and complete these actions with grace and ease requires incredible physical strength and stamina. This provides excitement, thrill, and wonder for many audience members, especially those who do not have dance or athletic backgrounds.

Body standards in ballet currently require that dancers are thin, muscular, flexible, and can achieve the positions and movements of the codified art form. While adaptability in the ideal ballet body is argued in this paper, it is important to acknowledge some of the reasons why the current body standards are important to uphold. Dancers must be in peak athletic shape to sustain long rehearsals and performances. Thin bodies often execute the flexible lines required in current ballet dances more easily. Men must have upper body strength to lift females above their heads, and females must be strong and light enough to assist their partners in executing these moves. Many positions in ballet require turnout from the hips, and this flexibility is not natural to all body types. While these characteristics are important to fulfill current standards and values in ballet, they also impede ballet's growth and progress as an art form by limiting the types of dancers able to succeed in the field. A more inclusive approach to hiring ballet dancers will not compromise the integrity or values of the art form, rather, small, but significant, adjustments in body type, racial background, gender, and age will allow for greater cultural relevance in an increasingly diverse country.

Chapter II NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF CURRENT PHYSICAL STANDARDS

Body Type

Professional ballet dancers were not always expected to be ultra-thin. As shown in Appendix I, some of the most famous ballet dancers prior to the twentieth century were curvy and muscular. The ballet body aesthetic began to shift in the 1920s when the societal trends for women's bodies shifted. The "flapper" style dictated that women's bodies be thin and small, with flat breasts and boyish hips. This androgynous body type quickly became popular due to the rise of fashion, beauty, and advertising industries during this time. Aesthetic values in art changed as well, with abstract and minimalist art gaining popularity in the visual arts world, which influenced George Balanchine's vision for ballet (Mackrell). Balanchine, "the father of American Ballet," standardized the ultra-thin body in ballet due to his focus on shape and line rather than plot or story in his choreography. Body structure served as choreographic inspiration for Balanchine, and this shape was very specific:

[Balanchine's dancers were] young, tall and slender to the point of alarm. He liked to see bones. He liked to see ribs. He liked hyperextension and strength that was mechanical yet lithe. It is Balanchine's obsession with this impossible 'structure' that is often blamed for the destructive eating and body disorders that plague the dance world (Kiem).

Pointe shoes were also an important inspiration for Balanchine's vision for the female ballet body, as they extended the lines made by dancer's legs. This extreme lengthening further solidified the expectations of thin bodies and created a requirement for small frames to accommodate hours of dancing on the tips of the toes (Fischer).

Eating disorders, primarily anorexia nervosa, or the deliberate starvation of oneself, and bulimia nervosa, which is binge eating and then purging through vomiting, are prolific in the ballet field. Anorexia is three to six times more common in ballet dancers than in non-dancers, and female weight is typically ten to fifteen percent below ideal body mass in relation to height. It is common for dancers to experience negativity surrounding their body image; for example, discontent with body type is present in 37%-84% of ballet dancers. In addition, general disordered eating behaviors, aside from anorexia and bulimia, are 45% more common in ballet dancers than the general population (Ringham et al.; "Black Swan").

Internet searches reveal an abundance of articles, websites, resources, chat rooms, and blogs dedicated specifically to eating disorders in ballet, many sparked by a number of incidents in the ballet field that gained widespread media attention. For example, in 2000, eight-year old aspiring ballet dancer Fredrika Keefer was denied admission into the San Francisco Ballet School. Her mother claimed that the rejection was due to her body type rather than her talent. In 1997, the death of a Boston Ballet company member was attributed to anorexia, which was allegedly caused by the pressure applied by the company's artistic director to lose weight ("A Ballerina Body"). These and other situations covered by the media have produced a stereotype among the general population surrounding ballet dancers and eating disorders. The typical thin "Balanchine body," now

widespread in American ballet, has further institutionalized this standard in the ballet field.

Aspiring ballet dancers face many challenges. The rigors of training, discipline, short career, low compensation, unpredictable job security, and competition are a few of the struggles faced by these hopefuls. The pressure to maintain an ultra-thin body frame adds unhealthy eating practices and emotional problems to an already stressful career. In the documentary, A Ballerina's Tale, ABT principal dancer Misty Copeland recalled how she experienced severe anxiety and did not want to attend daily class when instructed by the artistic staff to lose weight. Situations like this could dissuade potential dancers from pursuing employment in the ballet field and jeopardize current dancer's careers. It is important for ballet dancers to be healthy, strong, and athletic; however, their artistry and talent should be a priority rather than a thin body with unrealistic standards that only a select few can meet. News stories about eating disorders and body type controversies in the ballet field create negative publicity. Some ballet patrons might delight in watching dancers who have bodies that look different from their own; however, for others who connect it with eating disorders, it could be a distraction and create animosity towards the field. While some may argue that the origins of a ballet company require that bodies all look the same, especially in the corps de ballet, to create the aesthetic look of uniformity, there are additional ways to produce visual consistency in an artistic form. Speaking about the approach of Angel Corella, artistic director of the Pennsylvania Ballet, to hiring members of the corps de ballet, Ellen Dunkel, staff writer for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, explained:

Corella is not looking for the traditional corps de ballet that's been standard for hundreds of years, in which everyone looks identical, "like robots." A corps can create cohesion other ways, he said. "I tell them they have to create an atmosphere. Almost all breathing together. At the end of the day, you want a company where everyone has a kind of energy."

Race

Based upon the current roster of their given company, between 12% to 44% of dancers in the ten American ballet companies identify as a race other than Caucasian, with the majority employing approximately 20% minority dancers (Appendix II). A glance at the dancer headshots online shows primarily light-skinned dancers. In addition, a 2012 study found that 80% of ballet's audiences are Caucasian (Deng). Although the United States is racially and ethnically diverse, ballet companies have had a difficult time deviating from ballet's ethnic and racial ties to Western Europe and Russia.

According to the 2010 United States Census, 63.7% of Americans identify as White, 12.2% identify as Black or African American, and 16.3% identify as Hispanic or Latino. The remaining 7.65% of Americans fall into categories of American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, two or more races, or another race ("Population"). The Pew Research Center has projected that The Latino population will make up 29% of the population by 2050. The white population is predicted to increase more slowly than other racial groups and will become a minority with only 47% of the population identifying as Caucasian by 2050 (Passel and Cohn).

There is a lack of diversity and racial variance in the ten largest American ballet companies, with the largest percentage of dancers being white. While it is acknowledged

that ballet was imported from Caucasian-based cultures, the United States has an ethnically diverse population and is predicted to become more racially heterogeneous in the near future. Competition in ballet is already extremely high with hundreds of dancers competing for a small number of jobs. Non-white dancers may experience discrimination, stress from racial imbalance in the workplace, and higher levels of competition.

Therefore, prospective non-white dancers may be discouraged from pursuing ballet as a profession.

The dearth of racial diversity can have many negative consequences on current and potential audience members. Patrons may find it difficult to connect emotionally or psychologically with the art form if they do not see themselves represented by the dancers. Some audience members may refrain from attending ballet performances if there is an assumed lack of respect for different ethnic and racial backgrounds. The art form limits its cultural relevance for a greater number of Americans by primarily showcasing light-skinned dancers, which could result in perceived racial discrimination, homogeneous audiences, and decreased ticket sales.

Age

The ages of company members in the ten largest ballet companies range from seventeen to forty years old. While exact statistics outlining the number of dancers in each age group is not readily available, one can deduce from marketing materials that the majority of dancers are under the age of thirty, with very few thirty-five and above.

Due to ballet's athletic requirements, professional dancers commonly begin training at a young age and launch professional careers in their late teens and early twenties. Ballet's current emphasis on extreme flexibility and ballet "tricks" places values

on younger dancers who can execute these movements. However, mature dancers bring a different, subtle skill set to their performances. Older dancers can tap into their years of education, performing experience, and personal background, which add additional emotional and physical qualities. Younger dancers tend to focus primarily on high leg extensions, multiple turns, high jumps, and other extreme movements. Movement transitions, grace, pantomime, and other subtle performance qualities may be lost or forgotten behind ballet tricks. Mature dancers can be a joy to watch and have the ability to bring qualities to a ballet performance that might otherwise be primarily movementbased. Mature dancers bring additional values to a company's work environment. Interviewed for the New York Times, Boston Ballet artistic director Mikko Nissinen spoke about the benefits of hiring Tai Jimenez, who was thirty-five years old at the time: "As an artistic director you seldom bring somebody in who is 35, but my reasoning was that she represented what a mature ballerina is with a really ideal work ethic. I have an up-and-coming generation of very talented ladies, and I wanted them to have an example of what it means to be professional" (Kourlas "Where Are All The Black Swans?).

Ballet's current artistic emphasis on extreme flexibility and movements potentially excludes talented dancers outside of the typical age range for performers. It creates pressure to begin training at a younger age, retire earlier, and generates potentially hostile work environments for older dancers experiencing age discrimination. Injuries may also become more commonplace for dancers who feel direct or unintentional coercion to solely focus their artistic contributions on extreme ballet movements.

Therefore, the art form may stagnate if patrons are only exposed to one element of ballet rather than the many artistic layers and depth that ballet dancers can provide.

Gender

All dancers in the ten largest American ballet companies currently publicly identify as only male or female (Appendix II). The term gender binary is defined as "1. A classification system consisting of two genders, male and female; 2. A concept or belief that there are only two genders, male and female ("Gender Binary")." Nonbinary gender is a general term that covers any gender identity that falls outside the male or female category ("Nonbinary Gender"). Currently, no evidence has been collected that provides detailed statistics about the number of nonbinary gendered people in the United States. The US Census Bureau or Center for Disease Control and Prevention does not gather this information.

The most cited statistic regarding the number of nonbinary gendered people in the United States is approximately 700,000. However, the researcher who provided this number, Gary Gates, admits that there is not yet a system in place to adequately collect this information correctly. In addition, there are many variables that could sway this evidence, primarily due to the fact that there are many theories about what it means to be nonbinary as well as flawed statistics based on the probability that there are many nonbinary gendered people who will not publicly identify due to fear of discrimination (Chalabi). Therefore, it can be assumed that there are people in the United States that fall into the nonbinary gender category but are not counted in the current published population number. Currently, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ) community makes up approximately 3.5% of the United States population, or nine million people, and this number is expected to grow in the future as a range of gender and sexual identities becomes more socially accepted (Gates).

The ballet field has an opportunity to be at the forefront of LGBTQ progress by creating space for nonbinary gendered dancers to be employed. Historically, ballet is a conventional and conservative art form, and many ballets, especially classical works, prioritize traditional male and female gender roles. While a dancer's gender may not always be visually apparent nor critical to the success of a dance piece, it is important that the ballet field acknowledge the underlying discrimination that exists against nonbinary gendered dancers, proven by the fact that none are employed by the top ten largest-budget ballet companies. Ballet companies must actively work to recruit and hire dancers who fall outside of traditional gender identities. This change would be more important internally in the field and for the progress of the nonbinary gender population with subtle, yet significant, effects on the actual performance experience. While it could be argued that the audience need not know the sex of dancers, gender is often obvious in this dance genre, especially in classic ballet works. By creating a more ambiguous space surrounding the gender identity of dancers, audience members might be forced to confront traditional notions of gender with an increased capacity for other creative imagination and exploration while watching a ballet work.

Some contemporary ballets play with nontraditional gender relationships; for example, a contemporary choreographer might have two females partnering, or feature a female dancer lifting a male dancer. While these small shifts help to expand dancer and audience notions of traditional genders and gender roles, the ballet field should strive to recruit and hire nonbinary gendered dancers. This would open up possibilities for aspiring dancers who fall outside of the traditional gender classification and give audiences a chance to experience performances with a diverse cast of dancers.

American ballet currently neglects to represent the present and future diversity of American people. A shift in stringent physical standards to allow a broader scope of age, gender, race, and body type could bring greater contributions to the field with broader movement styles and underrepresented personal stories and ideas. As a result, ballet has the potential to become more culturally relevant by connecting with a wider audience and providing expanded possibilities to a larger pool of hopeful dancers.

Chapter III EXTERNAL FORCES TO ENCOURAGE DIVERSITY IN BALLET

Anti-discrimination law

United States anti-discrimination laws protect citizens against specific discriminatory behavior in public and private areas. This includes services, politics, and employment. The US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was created in 1965 as part of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to eradicate the segregation and discrimination, primarily racial, but included other characteristics as well, that was rampant in the country at that time. The Civil Rights Act forbade discrimination in public places and in programs and activities supported by the United States government. Title VII and the EEOC grew out of the Civil Rights Act, which made it illegal for anyone in the United States to discriminate against applicants or employees based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin ("EEOC History"). A number of equal employment opportunity laws have been passed since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was established, some at the federal level and some that vary by state. Federal law protects against race, sex, and age discrimination in employment. Some states also have laws that additionally protect against gender, height, and weight discrimination.

Arts organizations in the United States are funded through five primary revenue streams: direct public funding, which includes federal, state, regional, and local agencies, indirect public funding, private sector contributions such as individual, foundation, and

corporate support, earned income, and interest and endowment income. As shown in Figure 1, local, state, and federal government funding make up approximately 6.7% of funding sources for nonprofit arts organizations in the United States. While this number is small compared to other sources of income, the ten largest American ballet companies receive substantial funding from government sources, as shown in Appendix V ("How the United States Funds the Arts").

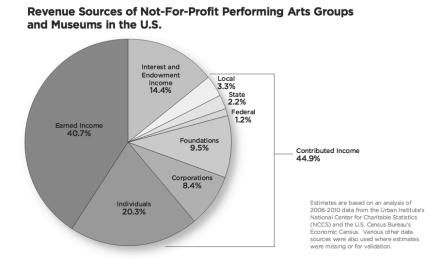


Fig. 1
("How the United States Funds the Arts")

Expectations or requirements are sometimes attached to government funding in the arts. Ballet dancers must meet so many specific requirements for appearance that the government appears to stay out of employment decisions, even if financial support is involved. Ballet companies are not immune to anti-discrimination laws; however, employment discrimination in the dance field would be difficult to prove. Since the human body is the primary artistic tool in ballet, government intervention in ballet's

hiring decisions through stricter anti-discrimination law enforcement would be a difficult challenge to navigate for government agencies and the arts organization staff. Building a company of dancers is akin to a painter choosing paint colors and paintbrushes—they are the primary medium by which the art is expressed. While the government can encourage companies to broaden their choices for dancers of diverse races, body types, genders, and ages, it would be difficult to enforce without encroaching on protected artistic rights.

Applying regulations or requirements on hiring practices could be viewed as censorship. From an aesthetic standpoint, these decisions should be left to the discretion of the artistic director.

However, a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ) provides a legal exception under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. BFOQ allows employers to make hiring decisions based on age, race, sex, or national origin if these characteristics are required to successfully complete job duties ("Bona Fide Occupational"). In the field of art, hiring with appearance requirements can be legal as a BFOQ due to artistic freedom and First Amendment rights ("Weight Bias Laws"). The freedom to express ideas through creative mediums is the foundation of art. The First Amendment of the United States Constitution protects against the government censorship of free speech. This amendment is one of the most important laws in the arts, as it ensures protection of artistic expression from possible government intervention (Paulson).

While the contradiction between government regulation of aesthetic-based hiring and freedom of expression is present, a peaceful coexistence between these two laws is possible. Government agencies should assume a moral responsibility to ensure that ballet organizations receiving funding are providing opportunities to a diverse range of

performers. Educational tools could be supplied to staff and dancers at ballet organizations. Suggested race, body type, age, and gender diversity guidelines could be applied when an organization receives funding from a government agency. Dancers should be educated on discriminatory practices and given practical information to help identify and handle prejudicial situations.

Some government agencies have already taken steps to eradicate possible discrimination and promote diversity in the cultural sector. For example, the New York City Cultural Affairs department conducted a survey in 2015 to better understand the demographic makeup of staff in the over one thousand arts and culture organizations that exist in the five boroughs of New York City. While the focus was on staff leadership, data was also collected for performers and artists as well. The findings from the survey proved that the staff makeup of arts organizations do not adequately reflect the demographic diversity found in the communities of New York City. As a result, New York City Mayor Bill De Blasio committed to promoting more diversity in the staff of the arts sector, primarily through funding avenues and a partnership with the City University of New York (Pogrebin). These suggested government interventions could protect potential dancers against ingrained discriminatory practices and ensure that more dancers are given equal opportunity for company employment.

Societal Pressure

In an interview published in *Philly.com*, PHILADANCO founder Joan Myers Brown stated, "I don't think the face of ballet is changing. It needs to change. It needs to look like America" (qtd. in Dunkel). The United States is made up of people with various races, ethnicities, cultures, genders, ages, religions, and sexual orientations. While this is

often a source of debate, especially with the recent influx of immigrants, it can also be a source of pride for American citizens. The United States was primarily founded on a merging of people from different parts of the world and American identity is often tied to diversity ("Diversity in America").

Thirty-seven percent of Americans currently identify as a race other than Caucasian, and this number is expected to grow to fifty-three percent by 2050 ("Population;" Passel and Cohn). Americans aged sixty-five and older currently represent approximately fourteen percent of the population, and this number is expected to increase to twenty-one percent by 2040 ("Aging Statistics"). The latest United States Census reported that the largest age group is currently between twenty-five and fifty-four years old, making up forty-three percent of the population ("Demographic Statistics").

The average height of a female in the United States is five feet, four inches; the average male stands at five feet, nine and a half inches. The average weight of a female is one hundred and sixty-four pounds, and the average male is one hundred and ninety-one pounds ("Average Weight"). These body type standards have changed drastically since the 1960s, with men and women taller and approximately twenty-four pounds heavier than they were fifty years ago. This increase was seen across all racial and ethnic groups, ages, and genders ("Average Weight for Americans Growing Heavier").

Advertising and entertainment industries currently promote an unrealistic and skewed perception of race, body type, age, and gender makeup of the American people, especially in the portrayal of women. Caucasian models still outnumber models of color by a large number; for example, a writer for *Jezebel.com* counted the number of black female models in a popular magazine, *Glamour*, and found that in ninety-one

advertisements, only six African American models were featured ("Race and Gender in Advertising"). Diversity is also severely lacking in the entertainment industry. When the 2016 Oscar nominations were announced in January 2016, non-white actors and films speaking to a non-white experience or audience received no nominations for awards. This is an accurate representation of the lack of racial diversity in the entertainment industry as well as a reflection of a discriminatory nominating process. In a *New York Times* article discussing the nominations, writer Cara Buckley stated, "Many of the 305 films eligible for Oscars did not, demographically speaking, reflect the lives and complexions of movie audiences" (Buckley).

Advertising and entertainment have a profound effect on body image ideals, especially for women. Models typically weigh approximately twenty-three percent less than the average woman and only five percent of women in America possess characteristics portrayed in the majority of advertising. These numbers starkly contrast with statistics from twenty years ago, when the average fashion model only weighed eight percent less than the average female. Half of women in the United States currently wear a size fourteen or larger; however, most clothing lines primarily serve sizes fourteen or less. In a recent survey, *Teen People* found that over twenty-five percent of young women "feel pressure to have a perfectly shaped body," and in another survey, sixty-nine percent of young women admitted that magazines influenced their idea of what an ideal body should look like. Since 1970, eating disorders have increased by over four hundred percent, and the diet business industry produces profits of thirty-three billion dollars a year (Miller; Lovett). While there have been companies and corporations that have recently addressed this problem through advertising campaigns, such as the "Dove

Campaign for Real Beauty", which features models with a range of body sizes, the majority of companies still promote atypical body frames through their use of ultra-thin models.

Ageism is prevalent in American mass media. News, television, film, and advertising paints an unfavorable view of the older population in America, emphasizing negative aspects of aging and consistently presenting images of youthful and thin models—even in advertising where older adults are the target audience. These images begin to make impressions during childhood, which means that as children mature, age discrimination is ingrained in their perception of older adults. "Repeated exposure to negative images and messages about ageing confirms beliefs and entrenches negative stereotypes more deeply, both consciously and subconsciously. Once people believe they know something, most will actively look for information consistent with that belief" (C. Milner, Van Norman, and J. Milner).

Nonbinary genders are also under represented in the media and entertainment.

While this is slowly changing as American society becomes more accepting of a range of gender identities, the media has an important role to play in helping spread tolerance and understanding of people who fall outside of traditional male and female genders (Gauntlett).

Media and entertainment are highly present in most American's day-to-day life, with approximately thirty percent of the waking day solely devoted to media activity—not including work time. Thirty percent of media use time is also spent exposed to more than one medium at a time ("Average person"). The media's portrayal of the human body

has an enormous effect on how the American people view race, body type, gender, and age.

"In a decaying society, art, if it is truthful, must also reflect decay. And unless it wants to break faith with its social function, art must show the world as changeable. And help to change it" ("Ernst Fischer"). Ballet, like all art, should be a reflection of society while also promoting positive change. Currently, the ballet field mirrors the inequality seen in the media. Instead, the art form should follow the social makeup of the United States, taking the average human body evolution over the past twenty years into consideration. Present-day ballet companies reflect the makeup of the American population of the 1960s, when Balanchine was first creating the New York City Ballet and the School of American Ballet. However, in the past fifty years, Americans have become more racially and ethnically diverse, nonbinary genders are more common, body type has changed, and the average age has increased. To stay relevant to future audience members and potential dancers, ballet must change the rigid standards in place and prioritize diversity in their companies.

Funding sources

A mix of individual, foundation, corporate, and government funds support the ten largest ballet companies in the United States. These sources of income make up forty-four percent of total income for arts organizations ("How the United States Funds the Arts"). While this percentage varies by each individual organization, arts nonprofits rely heavily on funding to fill the shortfall left by earned income.

Each type of funding carries sets of requirements to which recipients must adhere.

These requirements vary among general categories of funding, such as corporate and

foundation, as well as by each different funder. Individual donors generally do not have the ability to set requirements attached to their donation, although it can be assumed that larger major individual donor's opinions carry more weight and consideration.

The relationship between funder and recipient is a challenging yet rewarding connection to navigate. While funders must recognize their ability and responsibility to create important change in arts organizations, they should respect and acknowledge the role of the artistic staff's decision-making. Generally, funders should not dictate hiring practices for ballet companies, as these decisions are at the discretion of artistic staff. Artistic decisions made by funders opens doors to possible greater decision-making power, which could prove complicated for the organization's leadership.

In lieu of withholding funds, funding sources could play an integral role in encouraging diversity in ballet company members. Foundations and corporations have the greatest possible impact, since their monetary sources are private, not public. For example, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has an "Arts and Cultural Heritage" program that provides funding to arts organizations with the purpose of enhancing diversity ("Arts and Cultural Heritage"). Similar to the government's potential role in encouraging diversity in ballet companies, funding sources could provide educational materials to recipients or institute suggested standards in artistic staff employment. Funding sources have a responsibility to ensure that the arts organizations they support are helping society to progress through the art form. Ballet companies will likely be encouraged to create change in their rigid hiring standards if it is apparent that their funding sources prioritize diversity.

Chapter IV EXAMPLES OF DIVERSITY IN BALLET

While many large and well-known ballet companies lack age, race, body type, and gender diversity, there are dancers and companies that are breaking the standard ballet mold while upholding ballet's values and integrity of the art form. The following four examples—Dance Theatre of Harlem, Wendy Whelan, Charlottesville Ballet, and Ballez—provide snapshots of thriving ballet companies and dancers who have successfully negotiated the challenges of ballet's inherent discriminatory hiring practices.

Dance Theatre of Harlem

The mission of the Dance Theatre of Harlem (DTH) is "to present a ballet company of African-American and other racially diverse artists who perform the most demanding repertory at the highest level of quality." DTH was founded by Arthur Mitchell and Karel Shook in the late 1960s shortly after Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. Mitchell, the first African American principal dancer at the New York City Ballet, was inspired to establish an organization that would provide arts access, specifically dance, to the children in his community of Harlem, New York. Since then, DTH has grown to include a performing company, school, and outreach programs with a mission to show the world that ballet is no longer primarily a white art form ("Our Mission" Dance Theatre of Harlem; Kourlas, "Phoenix"). The company performs classical ballet works, choreography by George Balanchine, and "works that use the

language of ballet to celebrate African American culture" and "successfully challenge preconceived notions" ("Dance Theatre of Harlem Company"). The performing company closed in 2004 due to a \$2.3 million dollar debt, but reopened in 2012 (Kourlas, "Phoenix"). Currently, DTH employs fourteen dancers in the company, none of whom are Caucasian ("The DTH Company"). The 2015-2016 DTH performance season includes tours to twenty-one United States cities and four days of performances in New York City ("Calendar").

In a 2013 *New York Times* article celebrating the re-opening of DTH after its nine-year hiatus, former DTH prima ballerina and current artistic director Virginia

Johnson spoke about the continued rarity of finding racially diverse ballet dancers in the ballet field:

Schools want to turn out the very best dancers, so they only go for people they think already fit inside the mold instead of thinking, "Let's train people and see who rises to the top." I don't ever mean lowering your standards. Standards are what ballet's about. It's opening the entry points to a broader pool of people and helping them take the next steps.

DTH is viewed as a primarily African American company, but Ms. Johnson stated that even in DTH's early days, the company was not made up of only black dancers. Especially now, Ms. Johnson wants the purpose of the organization to allow ballet to belong to everyone, not just one racial or ethnic group (Kourlas, "Phoenix"). While none of the current company members are Caucasian, they come from diverse backgrounds: Brazil, Puerto Rico, Australia, and various United States cities ("The DTH Company").

DTH has been associated with prominent ballet artists throughout its history, including George Balanchine, Bronislava Nijinska, Frederic Franklin, Valerie Bettis, Geoffrey Holder, Jose Limón, Agnes de Mille, Jerome Robbins, Louis Johnson, Talley Beatty, and Alvin Ailey (Levine). DTH has performed for many important world figures, such as Queen Elizabeth, Princess Diana, Nelson Mandela, four United States Presidents, and First Lady Michelle Obama. Over the last two years, DTH performed in forty-nine US states and seven countries, and was the first foreign dance company to perform in post-apartheid South Africa ("DTH Info graphic"). DTH's tour to almost every state in North America is one of the most important ways that the company is paving the way for a new standard in ballet's racial diversity. By performing to geographically diverse audiences, DTH is exposing a large number of ballet patrons, some of whom might only experience the local or state ballet company's performances, to a professional ballet company with racially diverse performers; therefore, creating a new norm. The company has been reviewed extensively by the *New York Times* and many other major publications in the United States, gaining critical acclaim such as, "Dance Theatre of Harlem has risen from the dead with stunning aplomb and force," referring to the reemergence of the company after its nine-year hiatus (Molzahn).

Charlottesville Ballet

Founded in 2007, the Charlottesville Ballet is a performing company dedicated to dancer wellness and health. The only full-time professional ballet company in Charlottesville, Virginia, the company states that its mission is "to elevate the art of dance through wellness, performance, education, and community outreach" and its first core value is "lifelong physical health and mental wellness is achieved through safe and

effective training and support." The company is co-directed by Sara Clayborne and Emily Hartka, and also houses an educational facility and extensive outreach programs ("Mission").

The Charlottesville Ballet dancers are racially diverse and do not all fit the stereotypical ultra-thin ballet body type. Photos of the current 2015-2016 dancer roster on the company website (Appendix VI) show a range of body sizes, which all appear to be strong and healthy, but fall outside of the stereotypical standard structure ("Meet the Artists"). In an interview, Co-Director Emily Mott Hartka stated, "We have had dancers of all colors, body types, and sizes (from 5'1" to 6'7")." The inclusivity promoted by the company has positive effects on the dancers and their career pursuits. In the same interview, Ms. Hartka provided a statement from 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 company apprentice Nina Staeben:

Being part of an organization that lets you be who you are and look how you're supposed to is incredibly freeing. When you stop worrying so much about what your body type looks like, you're able to love your craft so much more and enjoy just the physical reach for the artistic and technical goals that you choose to push for. It wastes time trying to fit a stereotype of what someone else has arbitrarily chosen as 'beautiful,' and Charlottesville Ballet provides the freedom for dancers to focus their energies on what really matters: the art itself.

The Charlottesville Ballet went from humble beginnings to a successful Virginia-based professional ballet company with a \$500,000 annual budget. It currently employs twenty-two professional company and training artists, with dancers representing five

countries. The company will offer twenty-five performances during the 2015-2016 season and in past seasons toured productions within Virginia to Lynchburg and Culpeper (Hartka). Even though the company is young and relatively small, the Charlottesville Ballet serves as a role model for promoting health, wellness, and different body types while still maintaining excellent standards in the art form.

Wendy Whelan

Wendy Whelan is considered to be one of America's leading ballet dancers. She began her dance training in Louisville, Kentucky, and was accepted into the School of American Ballet at the age of fourteen. She began apprenticing at the New York City Ballet in 1984 and climbed the ranks quickly, joining the corps de ballet in 1985, was appointed as a soloist in 1989 and gained recognition as a principal dancer beginning in 1991. Ms. Whelan celebrated a rich and robust thirty-year career with the New York City Ballet, performing with the company into her early and mid-forties. While she felt a reduction of available roles towards the end of her career, she continued to be a celebrated member of the New York City Ballet even when her retirement from the company was approaching, receiving rave reviews and attracting audiences to see her performances ("About" Wendy Whelan).

Ms. Whelan received a number of awards when she was dancing with the New York City Ballet in her late thirties and forties, such as a Dance Magazine award in 2007, a doctorate of Arts from Bellarmine University in 2009, and a Jerome Robbins and Bessie Award in 2011 ("About" Wendy Whelan). In a *New York Times Magazine* article published in 2006, author Chip Brown stated:

Now 38 years old, in her 20th year at the New York City Ballet, Whelan has attained that rare high plane of soul-and-body synchrony where command of technique serves the spirit of a performer with something to say. Often in ballet the soul begins to wax only as the body starts to wane, and many dancers ready to converse with God find they are physically unable to keep from mumbling. But Whelan has mastered the archetypal ballet themes of Beauty, Time and Death while still in her prime. "She's the best," Mikhail Baryshnikov said recently. "There's a complexity, a sense of internal life, a woman on stage. You're always trying to decode this person when she moves."

Tickets to Ms. Whelan's final performance with the New York City Ballet sold out within minutes, proving that audiences were still devoted to her even in her late forties, which is twice the age of typical retirement from ballet. As one of America's most celebrated ballerinas, she is a role model to dancers who want to continue performing past their twenties, "mastering technical prowess and mature artistry," just as Ms. Whelan did in her last years with the New York City Ballet (Sulcas).

Ballez

Ballez, founded in 2011, is a company comprised of fifteen queer bodies reimagining classical ballets. As stated by artistic director Katy Pyle, "Ballez inserts the history, lineage, and bodies of female assigned [or] identified and gender-nonconforming queer people into the ballet cannon [sic]," specifically, dancers who are "lesbian, queer, and transgender feminist humans" ("Press"). The company was established by Katy Pyle and Jules Skloot to provide performing opportunities and dialoguing space for bodies that do not fit in the stereotypical ballet form. Ms. Pyle trained as a ballet dancer at the prestigious North Carolina School of the Arts, and found that, while she loved ballet, the pressure to maintain an unrealistic body type, with weighins three times a year and being graded on their bodies, forced her to concentrate her efforts on "becoming smaller" rather than enjoying the artistry and athleticism of the form. After shifting her focus to contemporary dance, moving to New York City, and performing with modern dance choreographers, Pyle decided to provide a space for dancers who have historically been excluded from professional ballet. Ballez's first full evening length presentation, *Firebird*, followed the classic storyline and used the original score of the classical ballet, but the characters were re-envisioned with different gender expressions and backgrounds. Firebird was well received by audiences and critics, and the company is currently working on a second full-length ballet, Sleeping Beauty and the Beast. Ballez has proven that dancers and patrons can appreciate ballet with nonbinary bodies and themes. In a recent interview for *Dance Magazine*, Pyle asserted, "I feel like the ballet world is missing out by not having us in it. Ballez is a gateway for these incredible performers to be seen" ("Press"; Cooper).

The company, while still in its infancy as an organization and performing company, has made a strong impression on the dance field in New York City. The company has performed in various facilities in New York City, including the Brooklyn Arts Exchange, Abrons Art Center, and the Brooklyn Museum. Audiences are diverse with a range of sexualities and gender identities present ("Press"). The press has also noticed Ballez. Prolific dance writer Eva Yaa Asantewaa wrote about a Ballez performance during the American Realness Festival in New York City:

It's classical ballet for contemporary people living in a real world, and it has got my full attention...This troupe could sell out—I'm not talking about seats—and part of me would be very happy for Pyle and her collaborators.

They have developed a thrilling sophistication in their teamwork and bring something a wider American audience needs to see.

Gia Kourlas, a prominent *New York Times* dance critic, wrote for the paper, "And within a landscape of sexual innuendo, Ms. Pyle manages to pay homage to more than Fokine's version. Her references to other ballets are even more illuminating in the bodies of her gender-bending cast." These are only a few of the many rave reviews for Ballez's work in their short five-year history (qtd. in "Press"). In a critical time for nonbinary gendered people, Ballez has created space and conversations around the gender discrimination inherent in the ballet field, and provides important opportunities for different bodies to embody, pursue, and present the art form.

Conclusion

A diverse cast of dancers in a ballet company can yield numerous benefits.

Exposure to varying races, genders, ages, and physical builds can alter one's way of thinking and increase creativity. People who come from diverse backgrounds and lifestyles bring distinctive information, opinions, and experiences, and this is typically a favorable contribution in creative and artistic collaborations. Multiplicity produces innovation because it organically spurs new ideas. Members of a diverse group will work harder than members of a homogeneous group because they anticipate differences of opinion and assume that a conclusion or consensus will be harder to achieve, which can lead to better outcomes (Phillips).

While choreographers and artistic directors typically bring the majority of ideas and themes to the creative process, it is the dancer's job to interpret and express them through movement and acting. This can be accomplished in a myriad of ways, and often relies on each dancer's personal background, training, opinion, and experience. Phil Chan of the *Huffington Post* describes this asset in the article, "Finding Solutions to Ballet's Diversity problem:"

One of the best parts about ballet is that it is not static. Whereas a painting like the Mona Lisa will still looks [sic] the same way it did 100 years ago, no two performances of "Swan Lake" [sic] will ever look the same. Every ballerina who has performed this work has brought a different

characterization to the role of the Swan Queen, bringing her own frailty, vulnerability, sensuality, and sexuality into the work. To assume that there is only one correct way to interpret this role, one body type to play this certain part, one "look" that is "right" is to ignore the individual artistry of the dancer. Most companies allow multiple dancers to interpret the same part: some tall, some short, some more willowy, some more athletic. And aren't we richer for it?

Referencing the recent appointment of African American dancer Misty Copeland and Filipino-American dancer Stella Abrera to principals for the American Ballet Theatre, *Washington Post* reporter Boer Deng adds, "Sultry, powerful dancers from Latin America or lithe artists from Asia also add elements of different qualities and style to their movements, so that the steps in ballets themselves have become more subtly nuanced with these influences, too" (Deng). A homogeneous cast of dancers will result in less variety of expressions, movement styles, and creative input. This will stagnate the art form and eliminate its chances of staying relevant in an increasingly diverse society.

Patrons of the ballet attend performances for many reasons. The majority of dance audiences are "active or serious dancers" and "social dancers." These are people who are currently dancing, danced earlier in their life, or want to try dancing at some point. In a study conducted by Dance/USA about the behavior of dance audiences, it was found that the top five motivations behind attending a performance are:

- 1. Stimulate the mind (intellectual/creative stimulation)
- 2. Nurturing (social/family fulfillment)
- 3. Repertoire-driven motivations (either to see "great works" or new work)

- 4. Emotional/spiritual motivations
- 5. Social bridging and bonding motivations (i.e., to grow closer to one's own culture, or to learn about cultures other than your own)

 ("How Dance Audiences Engage")

Some audience members find the experience of watching ballet intellectually or creatively stimulating; or find the athleticism thrilling. Other audience members enjoy the spectacle of the theater production elements: lights, costumes, set design, and music. In addition to these motivations, audience members will enjoy watching ballet and return to performances if a personal connection is created. It is crucial for American audiences to be exposed to ballet dancers who represent a wide variety of races, ages, gender identities, and body types. This will inspire the next generation of dancers—who make up the primary percentage of audience members—and create multiple points of entry for a more diverse audience. The correlation between a diverse cast of dancers and diverse audiences is present. For example, when Misty Copeland, African American principal dancer with the American Ballet Theatre, danced the lead role in Firebird, it was noted that on her opening night "the (racial) makeup of the crowd was completely different than you would see on any given day" (A Ballerina's Tale). Copeland also noted about the same performance: "That was the first night that I saw a huge shift in the ballet audience. It was so overwhelming and emotional to know that half of the Metropolitan Opera House was filled with African-American people there to support what I stood for" (Friedman). Three major ballet companies, San Francisco Ballet, American Ballet Theatre, and Pennsylvania Ballet, all refer to making ballet accessible "to the widest possible audience" in their mission statements ("Overview;" "American Ballet Theatre;"

"History and Mission"). To effectively achieve this goal, ballet companies must strive to create company rosters that reflect the diverse makeup of America. "When a company is diverse, the audience becomes more diverse, too, and for those faced with aging, dwindling audiences, that is priceless (Kourlas, "Push for Diversity")."

Other performing art forms have instituted various practices to combat inherent discrimination in their fields. "Blind" auditions behind curtains in symphonies and orchestras help discourage the gender discrimination that has plagued the music field for years. Colorblind casting has provided opportunities for more people of different races in theater productions. Contemporary dance loosened its grip on strict thin body standards and has allowed dancers of varying shapes and sizes to pursue professional opportunities. With its vast power and influence, the ballet field has a unique opportunity to take these anti-discrimination tactics and lead the performing arts field with a strong commitment to inclusivity while maintaining artistic integrity.

The potential encroachment on artistic freedom is the most complicated aspect of pushing diversity initiatives on a field that primarily relies on the human body as the principal aesthetic tool. As noted in earlier chapters, the First Amendment protects artists and provides a safe space to make creative decisions at one's own discretion. A push for greater diversity would not affect a painter's color choices in his or her next painting, and it is difficult to justify external influences on an artistic director's hiring decisions for ballet dancers without considering possible censorship. However, there are thousands of talented dancers in America; therefore, it is possible to place a priority on a wider range of races, ages, genders, and body types without losing ballet's important values and

vision. America is no longer a country that only values the type of ballets that were popular in early Russian culture, such as the ones described here:

The great classical ballets were choreographed on Russian companies that were exclusively white. One of great choreographic aesthetic "tricks" possible as a result of this homogeny can be seen in works like "Swan Lake," "La Bayadere," "Giselle," (sic) achieved when every dancer has her head positioned at the same angle, all in perfect rows, symmetrical, identical. Some productions include uniform wigs for all of their dancers. This aesthetic can still be seen on full display with the Russian companies today, and is one of their signature artistic strengths. Is racism therefore subconsciously built into the very structure of classical ballet? (Chan)

The question posed is important and can be answered with a resounding, yes. Ballet is inherently discriminatory. That is part of what makes it a unique art form, and in a way, some discriminatory practices have contributed to its success. However, America has changed and ballet must adapt to stay relevant. It is possible to place a priority on diversity, even in a stringent art form such as ballet, while maintaining original artistic integrity and values. Ballet must use its financial power and artistic influence to create progress and change within the field and beyond.

Cultural relevance is a key to ballet's success in America. One purpose of art is to touch and transform the lives of the people who practice and interact with it. Another objective of art is to hold up a mirror to reflect society and subsequently contribute to its growth and evolution. Ballet will restrict possibilities in potential dancers, audience members, and funding sources if companies continue to hire dancers with a narrow vision

of what constitutes an ideal performer. Ballet in America must strive to be culturally relevant by including a diverse range of races, ages, gender identities, and body types in its rosters to engage a wide variety of people in the art form, truly allowing the possibility of exposing it to the widest audience possible.

APPENDIX I: EVOLUTION OF FAMOUS BALLERINA'S BODIES IN PHOTOS



Pierina Legnani, 1891



Tamara Karsavina, 1915



Anna Pavlova, 1924



Margot Fonteyn, 1950



Maria Tallchief, 1960



Suzanne Farrell, 1964



Sylvie Guillem, 1992



Diana Vishneva, 2007



Misty Copeland, 2014

Source: Wagoner, Mackenzie. "The History of the Ballet Body: from Anna Pavlova to Misty Copeland." *Vogue*. Condé Nast, 21 Oct. 2015. Web. 20 Feb. 2016.

All photo credits: Getty Images

APPENDIX II: TEN LARGEST-BUDGET BALLET COMPANY DANCER RACE AND GENDER STATISTICS

Company Name	Number of employed dancers (includes apprentices if applicable)	Number of minority dancers	Number of non- binary dancers
New York City Ballet	92	11 (12%)	0
San Francisco Ballet	78	15 (19%)	0
American Ballet Theatre	92	18 (20%)	0
Boston Ballet	57	11 (19%)	0
Houston Ballet	59	17 (29%)	"n/a"
Pacific Northwest Ballet	46	9 (20%)	0
Miami City Ballet	51	17 (33%)	0
Joffrey Ballet	41	18 (44%)	0
Pennsylvania Ballet	43	6 (14%)	0
Atlanta Ballet	27	11 (41%)	0

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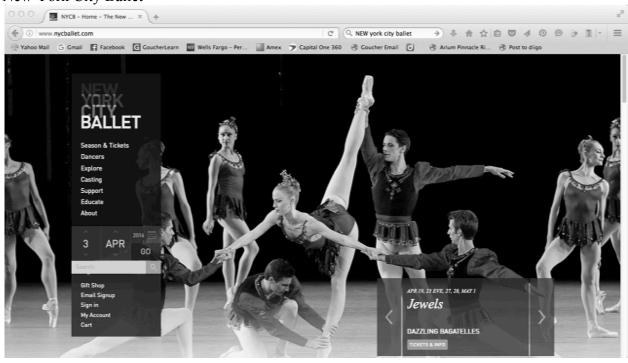
Lam, Sarah. Email Interview. 4 Feb. 2016.

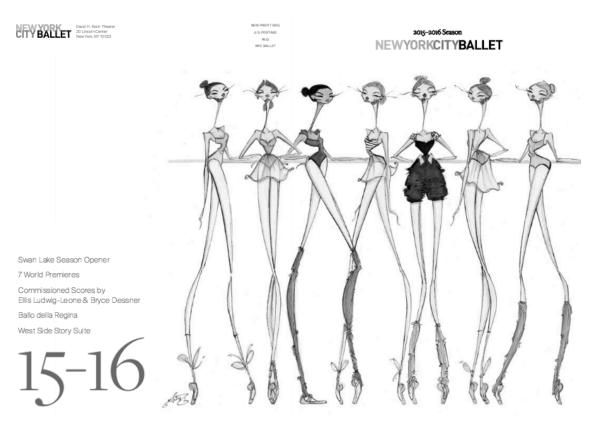
Stiles, Jonathan. Email Interview. 27 Jan. 2016.

Winbush, Sigele. Email Interview. 1 Feb. 2016.

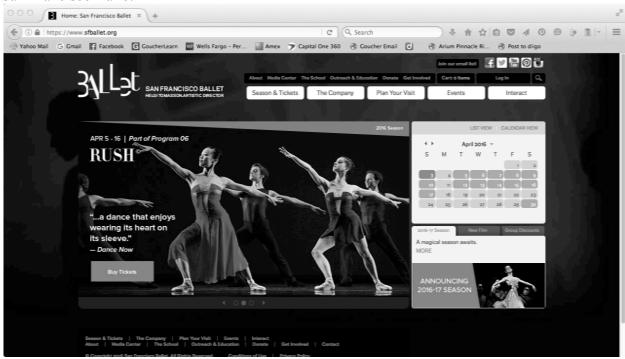
APPENDIX III: PHOTOS FROM WEBSITE HOMEPAGES AND ADVERTISEMENTS FOR TEN LARGEST-BUDGET BALLET COMPANIES

New York City Ballet

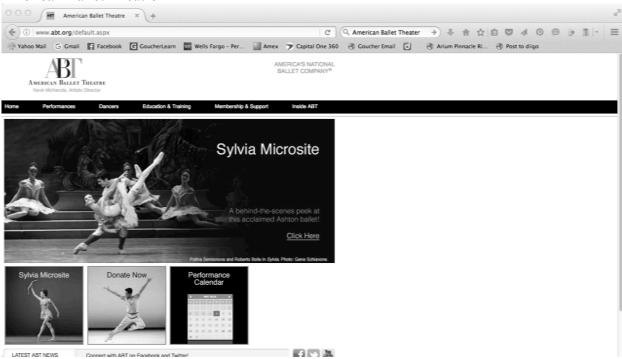




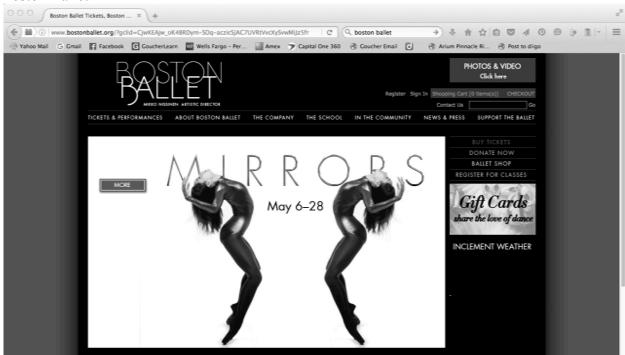
San Francisco Ballet



American Ballet Theatre



Boston Ballet



Houston Ballet



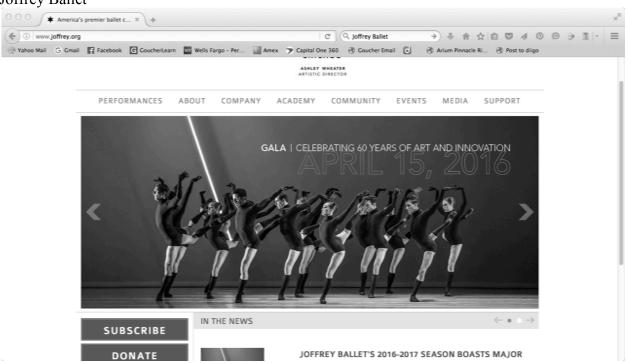
Pacific Northwest Ballet



Miami City Ballet



Joffrey Ballet



Pennsylvania Ballet



Atlanta Ballet



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APPENDIX IV: EXAMPLE OF TYPICAL ARABESQUE



APPENDIX V: FUNDING SOURCES FOR TEN LARGEST-BUDGET BALLET COMPANIES

Company	Government Support			
New York City Ballet	"Public support for Programming is Provided by:"			
	NY Culture, Department of Cultural Affairs			
	New York Council on the Arts			
	National Endowment for the Arts			
San Francisco Ballet	• \$250,000+: Grants for the Arts			
	• \$50,000-\$99,999: National Endowment for the Arts			
American Ballet Theater	"Public support is provided by:"			
	 NY Culture, Department of Cultural Affairs 			
	New York Council on the Arts			
	 National Endowment for the Arts 			
Boston Ballet	• \$50,000-\$99,999: Massachusetts Cultural Council			
	• \$25,000-\$49,999: National Endowment for the Arts			
	• \$2,500-\$4,999: Boston Cultural Council			
Houston Ballet	• \$25,000-\$49,999: Texas Commission on the Arts			
	• \$50,000-\$99,999: National Endowment for the Arts			
	• \$100,000+: City of Houston through the Miller			
	Theatre Advisory Board, Inc.			
	• \$100,000+: City of Houston and the Theater District			
	Improvement, Inc.			
Pacific Northwest Ballet	• \$100,000+: Office of Arts and Culture Seattle			
	• \$50,000-\$99,999: National Endowment for the Arts			
	• \$25,000-\$49,999: Arts WA The Pacific Northwest Ballet received a total of \$284,889 government funds in FY 2014/2015.			
Miami City Ballet	"Institutional Sponsors: \$50,000+"			
	 Miami Dade County 			
	Cultural Council of Palm Beach Florida			
	National Endowment for the Arts			
	 Broward County Cultural Division Miami City Ballet received a total of \$901,561 in 			
	government funds in FY 2014/2015.			
Joffrey Ballet	• \$10,000-\$24,999: Illinois Art Council			
	• \$10,000-\$24,999: National Endowment for the Arts			
Pennsylvania Ballet	• \$50,000 to \$99,999: Pennsylvania Council on the			
	Arts			
	• \$25,000 to \$49,999: National Endowment for the			
	Arts			
	• \$10,000 to \$24,999: The Philadelphia Cultural Fund			
Atlanta Ballet	• \$25,000-\$49,000: City of Atlanta Office of Cultural			
	Affairs			
	• \$25,000-\$49,000: Fulton County Arts Council			
	• \$25,000-\$49,000: National Endowment for the Arts			
	• \$10,000-\$24,999: Georgia Council for the Arts			

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APPENDIX VI: DIVERSITY EXAMPLES



Dance Theatre of Harlem Advertisement



Wendy Whelan's final performance in 2014 at age 47

Photo credit: Andrea Mohin/The New York Times



Charlottesville Ballet Company



Screenshot from Ballez performance

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