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Dance and Sexuality: Many Moves

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Dance and Sexuality: Many Moves

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This literature review of dance and sexual expression considers dance and religion, dance and sexuality as a source of power, manifestations of sexuality in Western theater art and social dance, plus ritual and non-Western social dance. Expressions of gender, sexual orientation, asexuality, ambiguity, and adult entertainment exotic dance are presented. Prominent concerns in the literature are the awareness, closeting, and denial of sexuality in dance; conflation of sexual expression and promiscuity of gender and sexuality, of nudity and sexuality, and of dancer intention and observer interpretation; and inspiration for infusing sexuality into dance. Numerous disciplines (American studies, anthropology, art history, comparative literature, criminology, cultural studies, communication, dance, drama, English, history, history of consciousness, journalism, law, performance studies, philosophy, planning, retail geography, psychology, social work, sociology, and theater arts) have explored dance and sexual expression, drawing upon the following concepts, which are not mutually exclusive: critical cultural theory, feminism, colonialism, Orientalism, postmodernism, poststructuralism, queer theory, and semiotics. Methods of inquiry include movement analysis, historical investigation, anthropological fieldwork, autoethnography, focus groups, surveys, and self-reflection or autobiographical narrative. Directions for future exploration are addressed.

This review of dance and sexuality explores the common substantive foci of dance and religion (especially the opposition to dance because of its ''immoral'' sexuality), dance and sexuality as a source of power, manifestations of sexuality in Western theater art dance and social dance, and ritual and non-Western social dance (Hanna, 1992a). Themes of gender, sexual orientation, asexuality, ambiguity, and adult entertainment exotic dance (strip-teases and gentlemen's clubs) are presented. The review further addresses issues of morality; awareness, closeting, and denial of sexuality; conflation of sexual expression and promiscuity of gender and sexuality, of nudity and sexuality, and of dancer intention and audience interpretation; symbolic ways of embodying sexuality; and inspiration for infusing sexuality into dance.

While at times having to sacrifice complexity and nuance in the interest of brevity, the review describes key aspects of theoretical concepts and study methodologies related to dance and sexuality as found in the disciplines of American studies, anthropology, art history, history, history of consciousness, journalism, law, performance studies, philosophy, planning, retail geography, psychology, social work, sociology, and theater arts. These concepts, not mutually exclusive, include colonialism, critical cultural theory, feminism, Orientalism, postmodernism, poststructuralism, queer theory, and semiotics. Moreover, some studies use multiple theories and methods and explore overlapping or intertwined themes and, consequently, could fit into several categories. Although most of the literature on the topic of sexuality and dance devotes only a few paragraphs or pages to it, a limited number of works have made it the key focus. [1]

Dance and sex both use the same instrument—namely, the human body—and both involve the language of the body's orientation toward pleasure. Thus, dance and sex may be conceived as inseparable even when sexual expression is unintended. The physicality of dance,

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Correspondence should be addressed to Judith Lynne Hanna, Departments of Dance and Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park, 8520 Thornden Terrace, Bethesda, MD 20817. E-mail: jlhanna@hotmail.comcomparative literature, criminology, cultural studies, communication, dance, drama, English,

[1] My cross-cultural work on dance, gender, and sexuality began in the 1960s (see all Hanna entries in the three reference categories). In an effort not to miss the burgeoning work on dance and sexuality, given that this topic cannot always be identified by title in databases, I asked some dance colleagues from an e-mail list of the interdisciplinary Congress on Research in Dance for their suggestions for relevant research, limitations of the research and study methodologies, and directions for future exploration. I am most appreciative of their contributions.

imbued with ''magical'' power to enchant performer and observer, threatens some people (Karayanni, 2004; Shay & Sellers-Young, 2005; Wagner, 1997). The dancing body is symbolic expression that may embody many notions. Among these are romance, desire, and sexual climax. Octavio Paz (1995) viewed dancers as erotic: a ''representation'' that diverts or denies sex in action. Eroticism ''is sexuality transfigured, a metaphor'' (Paz, 1995, p. 2). The French avant-garde poet, Philippe Soupault (1928), noted, ''There is no reason to deny the fact that dance, in many cases, exerts a sexual influence, if we dare to express it this way. Said differently, the art of dance is the most erotic of all the arts'' (pp. 93–94).

Dance is purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, culturally patterned, nonverbal body movement communication in time and space, with effort, and each genre having its own criteria for excellence. Dance conveys meaning through the use of space, touch, proximity to another dancer or to an observer, nudity, stillness, and specific body postures and movements. To use a ballet example, recall any number of versions of Romeo and Juliet where the dancers' bodies are barely draped, and love is shown by touching hands, stroking a face, arching backward, or falling into each other's arms. When Juliet's parents are urging her to marry Paris against her will, there is a moment when she stands near him, her eyes coolly surveying him from toe to head. Then her eyes turn away and, rising on pointe, she briskly travels away from him. Other dance genres may indicate a more explicitly sexual way in which love is expressed, equally recognizable and also choreographically creative.

Yet, the issue of sexuality in dance is a sensitive one for some members of the American dance community. They may not be conscious of the sexuality of dance or prefer to deny, closet, or ignore it. There are advocates for dance in academe and kindergarten through 12th grade who would prefer the association of dance and sexuality not be publicized. Foster (2001) pointed out, ''For one hundred years, modern dancers and choreographers have resisted all allegations that their art alluded, however discretely or remotely, to sex'' (p. 149). The body was cultivated as ''a musculoskeletal system that responded to emotional but never sexual impulses'' (p. 149). Modern dance is a genre that developed against the codified tenets and production of ballet and its male-dominated companies. In the effort to diminish the identification of dancer as a woman of questionable moral status who erotically displayed her body, a middle-class gender ideology became the foundation for conceptualizing modern dance as a serious art form. The symbolist aesthetic language of literary figures (Arthur Symons, Oscar Wilde, and W. B. Yeats) mitigated sexuality by describing the dancer as a translation of some spiritual state into visible form (Koritz, 1995, pp. 3–7). Nonetheless, when Anna Sokolow told her mother she was going to be a modern dancer, her mother did not approve of dancers andasked her, ''So you're going to be a kurve [whore]?'' (Jowitt, 1995). Her mother told her to leave the house. So she did, gaining acclaim in the United States, Mexico, and Israel (Jowitt, 1995). The creation of a movement activity as ''chaste dancing, ensured success and at the same time offered a haven for homosexuality'' (Foster, 2001, p. 150). Homosexuality was closeted but accepted in the arts, as discussed later (Hanna, 1988).

Notwithstanding the effort to make theater dance chaste, as early as the 1930s, modern dance choreographers were putting pelvic thrusts and grinds on-stage; and by the 1960s and 1970s, choreographers were routinely representing sex acts. Mutations, by Glen Tetley and Hans van Manen, premiering in 1970, revealed a nude couple performing an entwining duet that culminated in the woman in a prone table-top position with the man's body extended over hers. In Bugaku, an erotic ballet choreographed by George Balanchine for the New York City Ballet in 1977, a man and woman simulate the consummation of a marriage. The modern dance Paul Taylor Company sought to attract audience members by focusing on ''sexual excitement.'' The response was as follows:

> A frisson of dismay ran through the dance world... when the first advertisement appeared: ''Suddenly you'll understand sex. . . better than ever before.'' And the company general manager reported, ''Just about everything doubled. Window sales tripled. Overall, we were up 12 percent over last year, selling 84 percent of capacity for the season.'' (Dunning, 1982, p. C20)

The prominence and presentation of sexuality and dance depend on the form of dance, its context (historical period, culture, or situation), and the point of view of the participant or viewer (Hanna, 1983). Dance, like sports and modeling, lets us look at bodies for pleasure, to link them with sexual desire, elicitation, and culmination (McMains, 2006). Sexuality in dance in this review does not mean outright penetration of body orifices. On-stage dance takes from sexuality practices ''off-stage'' and imaginatively stylizes them and possibly reinforces or challenges these practices that include expressions of sexual identity and attraction, flirtatiousness, friendliness, exhibitionism, eroticism, and love-making. The spotlight might be on secondary sex characteristics—pelvis, breasts, and hips—a large phallus costume, disrobing within a dance, or lifting a skirt. Other erotic motifs are pole dances and dances associated with plant or animal fertility, circumcision, puberty, menarche, and marriage. Discussion of a dancer's sex refers to behavior off-stage, although dancing on-stage may be its showcase, audition, or advertisement to be a sexual partner.

Theoretical Approaches and Study Methodologies

In this review, a discussion of the multiple theoretical perspectives, methods, and intersecting fields of knowledge

related to the study of dance and sexuality precedes the presentation of findings. As becomes evident, a theoretical perspective may have various interpretations, uses, and degrees of explicitness.

In the 1960s, fields like psychology (e.g., Angier, 1976; Boles, 1973) and sociology (e.g., Cressey, 1982) began to explore aspects of dance sexuality. Other disciplines followed. A spate of writing challenging stereotypes and colonial and patriarchal dominance in dance burgeoned beginning in the 1980s. Enlightenment (rationalism and objectivity), the modernist attempt to describe the world in empirical terms, has been contested with postcolonial, postmodernism, poststructuralism, feminist, and queer theories (e.g., Albright, 1997; Desmond, 2001a, 2001b; Shay & Sellers-Young, 2005). They question the nature and status of knowledge, as well as how it is acquired, organized, interpreted, and received. Researchers are not neutral recorders of events or attitudes but active creators of them and therefore they often recognize bias in their work. Several studies center on personal self-concept and group identity marginalized in some way, as well as efforts of the marginalized to subvert the existing rules and to find new identities and spaces. Over the years, a progressive emergence of numerous interacting movements for social change that explore the production and reproduction of inequality and difference—especially the hegemonic discourse of White, heterosexual, capitalist partriarchy—has shaped the terrain of considerations of dance and sexuality.

While we have a rich diverse literature on the expression of sexuality through dance, there are limitations, as in any area of investigation. Paradigms shift as scholars turn to emerging concepts that sometimes are merely new labels for established knowledge. Driven by the marketplace, scholars may claim originality with so-called ''new'' approaches to dance and sexuality that purport to unmask power relations inscribed on the dancing body or reveal fusions of different dance traditions. Related buzzwords in the literature on dance include reflexivity, hegemony, globalization, multiple perspectives=truths, embodiment, and writing and rewriting the body. However, since the 1920s, numerous anthropologists and sociologists have contributed substantial literature on dance dealing with these issues. There are other problems: For example, scholars of one discipline sometimes borrow but misuse the theories and methods of other disciplines.

Most studies of dance and sexuality are qualitative, exploratory case studies with small non-random samples, or they capture the researcher's own experience. Studies are generally site- and historically time-specific. Representativeness is an issue. For example, given about 4,000 clubs nationwide, the research results of a single exotic dance entertainment club—or eight in-depth interviews from four clubs, each of which may have hundreds of different dancers, with day, evening, and night shiftsof 10 to 30 performers—gives a limited view. Clubs are diverse in type, from ''greasy spoon'' to ''four-star.'' Location, type of patron, and local ordinances contribute to diversity. Mestemacher and Roberti (2004) interviewed three dancers in a Northeast community of 30,000 who were very different. Furthermore, a researcher may sometimes generalize his or her own experience and sensual knowledge to that of others.

Now I will note some common theoretical concepts and research methods found in studies of dance and sexuality. Their uneven attention corresponds to their prominence in the studies of the expression of sexuality through dance.

Dance Theory

Dance theory is rooted in Laban Movement and Effort Shape analyses. These are systems for observing and describing movement in terms of how the body—through gesture, locomotion, and posture—uses time; space; effort; flow; aspects of solo, duet, and group interactions; music, costume, and set. Studies of dance and sexuality usually do not draw upon the tools of movement analysis because researchers lack training in them or their concern is with the dance participants and their social context.

Foster (1996a, 1996b) and Banes (1998) are among those who drew upon movement analysis to study modern dance and ballet. Movement discourse analysis is similar to analyzing language (ethnomethodology and linguistics): It views dance as a system of small units (movements) that combine to make words (vocabulary), that combine to make utterances (phrases), and which finally combine to make discourse (dance), shaped by social context (see Hanna, 1987a, 1987b, 1998a, 1998b, 2008a, 2008b). A researcher may look at artistic conventions that express sexuality in dance.

In textual analysis, focus is on one or several dances in order to tell the story from a particular perspective, for example, feminist, gay, or the critic whose writing is often presented through a personal creative, often poetic, lens. The choreographer's or dancer's intention may be irrelevant. Intertextuality is the shaping of texts' (dances') meanings by other texts. It can refer to a choreographer borrowing and transforming a prior dance or to an observer referencing one dance or other art form in reading another dance. Platt's (2009) analysis of William Forsythe's ''Heterotopia,'' a dance suggesting both affirmation and negation, placed the work within context of other theater pieces. He further pointed out the affinity between the box on-stage and sex—the box being a metaphor for sex. A female dancer huskily breathes into the microphone, ''Put your stuff in my box.'' The box denotes a state of isolation and objectification. The spoken word, ''cunt,'' said Platt, is the ''unspoken domain of dystopian desire whose sexual sequestration makes public speech possible'' (p. 6).

A male manipulates his crotch, desire's force crippling its subject. The dance invokes the specter of the rapes of female and male and is interlaced with an ineffable sensation of shame. Platt saw Forsythe's choreographic intentions as enigmatic; and Forsythe, himself, spoke of open-ended associations.

Dance history relies on newspapers, letters, diaries, literature, autobiographies or biographies of a dancer, audiovisual materials, and government documents to analyze the past. Critics' writing often provides historical records for understanding dance (Hanna, 1983; Koritz, 1995). Oral history methodology is used (as in other disciplines) and captures the voices of the interviewees, their memories, experiences, and subjectivity, regardless of whether it matches up to hard facts. Park (2008) pointed out that oral history has been employed widely in the fields of human rights in truth and reconciliation projects, as well as in the field of gender and sex studies.

Connoisseurship, an acquired ability to judge quality on the basis of having looked at many dances, is related to dance theory. ''Judgments rely on past experience, training, cultural biases, personal values, and idiosyncratic preferences'' (Csikszentmihalyi & Rich, 1997, p. 45). (For overviews of dance studies, see Martin, 1998, Dance Research Journal, 4[1], 2009.)

Anthropology, Semiotics, and Communication

Anthropologists, semioticians, and communications theorists are concerned with the way the body is shaped and comes to have meaning. Attention is on symbolic systems, deconstruction, social constructionism, unearthing underlying biases, and contesting canons. What constitutes cultural knowledge of dance and sexuality, its acquisition, ideology, and practice within the context of society and history (Hanna, 1992b)? Anthropologists examine the text (the dance) and the context (culture, society, history, environment, or politics). Although tools existed to analyze the physical movements of dance (e.g., the Laban, Benesh, and Eskhol notation systems), no tool existed for probing for meaning in the movements. In response to the need to understand how dancers convey (dancers encode and spectators decode) ideas and feelings, Hanna (1979=1987) developed a semantic grid through discussions with numerous dancers and researchers attempting to make sense of dances in different parts of the world. The grid represents a broad canvas of possible ways in which dancers embody the imagination.

Ethnography, a hallmark of anthropology, involves living in the community among informants being studied and using face-to-face, open-ended interviews that allow for probing respondents' answers, participant observations, recording what people do and say, and how these all fit together. Processual analysis shows how ideas and events and institutions interact and change through time(e.g., Malbon, 1999). Anthropologists may use the comparative method in the effort to find what is specific and what is ''universal'' and the reasons why. If a kind of sexual expression through dance is found in one group and not in another, what underlies the difference?

Autoethnography is participant observation that involves a focus on one's experience as a dancer or other participant. Some former exotic dancers

> employ autoethnography as a sex radical attempt to render our personal experiences political. Autoethnographic writing places individual experience in broader sociohistorical context. Far beyond the desire to confess our transgressions or capitalize on stripping's sensationalistic cachet, Flesh for Fantasy is devoted to destigmatizing the sex industry, illuminating the labor condition of strippers, and revising the cultural connotations of exotic dance. (Egan, Frank, & Johnson, 2006, p. 32; see also Bartlett, 2004; Sloan, Bell, & Strickling, 1998; Snowden, 1994; Wesely, 2002, 2003a, 2003b).

Some autoethnographers also use participant observation to explore other dance participants' motivations (Boden, 2007; Egan, 2006a, 2006b; Frank, 1998, 2002; Ronai, 1992).

Small-group interviews, often called focus groups, about dance permit the exploration of the range and depth of shared meanings about a topic (Rouhiainen, 2004). The aim is to get at the common knowledge that informs a group's understanding of the meanings, practices, and social structures that operate within their local setting. Sulkunen (1990) argued that group interviewing is especially useful for exploring the factual information about the social reality that the interviewees are engaged with, the norms and ideals related to the issues discussed and enacted by the group, the social relations of the group members, and the cultural distinctions they make.

Sociology

Deviance, behavior that violates social norms and is usually of sufficient severity to warrant disapproval from the majority of society, can be criminal or non-criminal. Sociologists, and also those in psychology and criminal justice studies, have explored the process of stigmatization, studying how norms are created, change over time, and are enforced. Deviance is caused by a person being negatively labeled, internalizing the label, and acting according to the label. Early studies of adult entertainment exotic dance and homosexuality centered on deviance: low self-esteem and stigma in sexualized constructions of the body. However, clubs in the 1950s to 1970s, at the time these studies were conducted, were not the upscale gentlemen's clubs that began in the 1980s. Gay studies turned from conceptions of homosexuality as deviance to normalcy, as more dancers and scholars ''came out.'' Structural functionalism and conflict theory are often related to studies of deviance and therefore have been applied to the study of dance and sexuality.

In another sociological approach, Goffman (1959) provided a dramaturgical and symbolic interactionist perspective. Herein, human action depends on time, place, and audience. A person has a dramatic effect emerging from the immediate scene being presented and seeks to manage the audience.

Psychology

Evolutionary psychologists note that humans need to attend to motion as a tool for survival—to distinguish prey and predator and to select a mate (Miller, 2000). Historical and cross-cultural evidence points to dance as contributing to sexual selection, for dance is captivating, sexually attractive, nonverbal communication that conspicuously displays a performer's physical fitness, health, endurance, youthfulness, and creativity (Hanna, 1987a, 2006). Yet, the literature on dance and sexuality rarely explicitly references evolution. Researchers such as David Buss and Randy Thornhill have gathered impressive evidence suggesting that we have evolved sexual preferences that favor pretty faces, fertile bodies, and high social status, which are all easy to display through dance. Dance is also a means to promote health through exercising mind and body and resisting, reducing, and conquering stress (Hanna, 2006) that enhances sexual selection, attracting, and entertaining potential sexual partners. On the other hand, Gazzaniga (2008, pp. 203–245) posited that humans alone among species have art experiences without obvious evolutionary payoff, because fictional thinking engages innate ''play'' brain modules that allow us to consider hypothetical situations so we can form plans in advance of difficulties. Nevertheless, this play through dance could also contribute to seduction strategies to select mates.

In a different psychological approach following earlier social learning theory, Bandura (1972) posited that an individual tends to produce attitudes, acts, and emotions exhibited by an observed model (live dance or dance on film, television, or the Internet). Specifically, a model may be cognitively registered and used or remain in subconscious memory until a relevant situation activates it. A key premise of this theory is that the model must attract attention. The observer's sensory capacity, arousal level, and past experiences affect receptivity. Then, retention of what is seen depends on the viewer's ability to remember and rehearse through symbolic encoding in images, words, or actual behavior. Hanna (1988, 1992c) applied this concept to the study of dance and sexuality: People may get models of what it is to be male and female and recognize the fluctuating gender boundaries through dance production and presentation within a historical and cross-cultural context. On-stage, there is often the expression and questioning of sexual identity and roles, eroticism, and patterns of dominance.

Spectatorship is another concept in psychological research on dance and sexuality (Burt, 2007). Bothperformers and audience members exercise the gaze and agency. Individuals may identify with performers through economic, cultural, and political networks of gazes. Spectators interpret aspects of dancing on-stage akin to their own embodied experience and gender ideology. Burt (2007) argued that in a duet, when the male dancer gazes at the ballerina, the spectator is drawn to the woman, and the male avoids the full glare of the spectator's gaze. However, irrespective of sex, a performer's gaze may direct a spectator's attention.

Finally, psychoanalytic theory has been invoked to explain how women's experience is constructed, foregrounding sexuality as the site of conflict and fantasy. Lacan's theory is used to explain concepts of desire as key to the construction of subjectivity (Elliott & Frosh, 1995).

Philosophy

Phenomenology, as explicated especially by Merleau-Ponty (1968), depends on the researcher's consciousness of the immediate experience to try subjectively to interpret and communicate. Time and motion influence the perspective. Scholars and critics who write about their perception tend to develop ''connoisseurship.'' For example, Jaeger (1997) analyzed the differential sexual presentation of the breast in ballet, flamenco, and African dance based on her own bodily perceptions and understanding gained through performing these dance forms. She concludes that the ballerina's breast is muted as the dancer appears transcendent, conveying unearthliness, delicacy, and mastery of bodily control. Her partner's hand on her breast most often is merely part of the mechanics of such movement as lifts. Flamenco, by contrast, is an earthy form of sensual dance in which the performer thrusts her breasts outward to the audience and at times caresses them with her hands to call further attention to this secondary sex characteristic. Jaeger (1997) reported that in African dance, the breast is exuberantly free, moving in response to torso and pelvic movements.

Phenomenology is implicit in the self-reflective, autobiographical narrative. These kinds of narratives about dance and sexuality are often written by college-educated women (e.g., Angier, 1976; Bruce, with Benenson, 1976; Burana, 2001; Cody, 2005; Dragu & Harrison, 1988; Eaves, 2002; Futterman, 1992; Schweitzer, 2001; Seymour, 1994). Some dancers have earned doctorates drawing upon their performing experiences (e.g., Brooks, 1997; Claid, 2006; Eaves, 2002; Egan, 2006a, 2006b; Frank, 2002, 2007; Johnson, 2006; Lewis, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). Feindel (1988) was a former dancer with the National Ballet. Beasley (2003), Dudash (1997), and Funari (1997) were peep-show dancers.

Foucault (1978) directed attention to the body as a subject that constitutes a discourse that has been socially, historically, and culturally constructed. His treatment of the relations between power, the body,

and sexuality contributed to the feminist critique of essentialism and to the notion of the gaze as a force of surveillance and control (Foucault, 1977). Albright (1997) noted the problematic emphasis on a passive reading of the body, in the Foucauldian sense of the body, as the site upon which forms of power impinge. Butler (1993) asserted that there is no natural body that would pre-exist cultural inscription. Sex and gender is gender—a process which has neither an origin nor an end; and fantasy—performance, style, and strategy. Feminists have been uncomfortable with how a woman's sensuality should be presented to the world so restrictive body movements were the accepted norm:

> Once ''sex'' itself is understood in its normativity, the materiality of the body will not be thinkable apart from the materialization of that regulatory norm. ''Sex'' is, thus, not simply what one has, or a static description of what one is: it will become one of the norms by which the ''one'' becomes viable at all, that which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility. (Butler, 1993, p. 2; see also Butler, 1988, 1990, 1998; Cusick, 1994; Fasick, 2007)

Cross-Disciplinary: Critical Cultural Theory

Critical cultural theory rejects the arbitrary boundaries of traditional academic disciplines and separations between aesthetics and ethics, as well as those between art and social issues, in order to explore how identities are embodied, constructed, and negotiated. People's practices are seen as products of power relationships and what these relationships accomplish in specific contexts. Interest is in the taken-for-granted reaches of social reality and how cultural agents utilize cultural resources to organize their everyday lives or the social world more broadly. The phrase ''critical dance studies'' applies to a concern with embodiment, identity, and representation (Desmond, 1997). In this regard, ''corporeality'' is a much used concept: Because the body has been dismissed as unmeaningful, it was studied as a passive entity onto which society inscribes political and social meaning, or as a natural phenomenon that precedes cultural patterning. Oddly, critical cultural theory, mostly ignoring studies in the anthropology of dance, directs attention to what anthropologists have been doing since the 1920s and what anthropologists with a dance background have worked on since the 1970s.

Cross-Disciplinary: Orientalism, Imperialism, Postmodernism, and Poststructuralism

Westerners have viewed the East as a site of sensuality, unlimited desire, and sexual promise (Karayanni, 2004; Shay & Sellers-Young, 2005). This Orientalism delineates a practice and ideology to contain the East as an extension of colonialism. Said (1978), who has criticized scholarship and public policy as suffused with racism and imperialist motives, spoke of the ''exotic other.'' He outlined the ways Western colonialists have produced a version of the East that they could dominate, ''a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences,'' as they mischaracterize, glorify or denigrate (p. 1).

Asante (1997), speaking of sensuality and sexuality in African dances as part of the cosmic order, criticized Westerners for having taken images out of context and made fetishes out of male and female bodies. Because Western colonialists deemed African dance as debauched, hypersexual, and lustful, some Africans have assimilated this judgment and their governments now support dance companies that ''sanitize'' sexual expression and link it to theater dance, thereby ''uplifting'' African culture. To be ''modern'' and officially sanctioned in Tanzania, for example, erotic movements are subdued (Edmondson, 2002). Desmond (1999) addressed this same issue, using the hula girls and the brown-bodied, sexualized, feminized, and nativized image of Hawaii as an example.

Theories, including deconstruction (Ronai, 1999) and some psychoanalytic perspectives, which deny the validity of structuralism's method of binary opposition and maintain that meanings and intellectual categories are shifting and unstable, fall into the category of postmodern or poststructural. These views direct attention to the indeterminacy of truth and relativism as they call into question the master narratives of our culture. Ambiguities abound in the meaning of dance (Claid, 2006). Some analytical interpretations do not deal with alternative ways of explaining the same phenomena. Postmodernism challenges ideas of original texts and hierarchical values while accepting ideas of individual originality and ownership.

Cross-Disciplinary: Feminism

Feminist concepts are quite prominent in research on dance and sexuality. Radical feminist theory centralizes gender in terms of a phallocentric culture in which the male is dominant and normative and the female is deviant. Because patriarchy and male dominance ignore the contributions of women and act to keep them marginalized, feminist theory criticizes sexism. The expressed need is to restore voices of forgotten or overlooked contributors to dance—heterosexual and lesbian women. Feminists argue that dance should be analyzed from the perspective of women, giving attention to their oppression, empowerment, and liberation (Brown, 1994), and an effort is made to thus disclose men's hidden ideology in their presentation of women. Jordan and Thomas (1994) reconsider formalism and semiotics.

Daly (1987, 1991) considered feminism a widely varying phenomenon that is part generational, part personal, and part theoretical. Egan et al. (2006) spoke of three waves of feminism: first, private and personal

discontent; second, how women could be a catalyst for organizing; and third, corporealizing the abstract and realizing the paradoxes of being subject to and subversive toward existing systems of power, as well as reinforcing and destabilizing male power.

MacKinnon (1987) argued that male sexual pleasure derived from viewing the female body or its image harms women. Concepts of gaze emanated from film, then migrated to theater and, from there, to the dance–spectator relationship. The female body publicly displayed is seen as objectified and commoditized and thus reinforces patriarchy (Manning, 1997). However, focus on the rubric of male gaze neglects aesthetic appreciation—reading drama; seeing form; who does what, when, where, how, and with whom; and dance as an emblem of nonsexual identity. Moreover, there are different readings of the same ''text'' (Hanna, 1988). When men appropriate women's sexuality (e.g., in drag), feminists see a need to re-appropriate women's sexuality.

Although some feminists single out adult entertainment exotic dance as sexual objectification that reinforces and reminds women of their inferior status, many exotic dancers disagree. They consider themselves feminists and reject the binary identity of good girl–bad girl, privilege–stigma, or heterosexual–lesbian and are concerned about how and when to be valued for their sexuality, a key instrument of their oppression. Sex-radical feminism ''proposes an economy of plenty—we do not 'use up' our sexuality by displaying it at the strip club. We do not render it cheap. We do not trade our self-respect for a sweaty dollar. There is always more where that came from'' (Johnson, 2006, p. 161). Dudash (1997) argued that adult entertainment dancing is living feminism that counters abstract discussions of censorship and dancer oppression. She notes that the bolstering of dancers' self-image and their expression of emotion while dancing in an erotic manner is a playful way of experiencing movement. Pendleton (1997) spoke of lesbian strippers performing the feminine role in order to exploit it to their own advantage. Cvetkovich (2001), a lesbian go-go dancer, seized the tradition of sexiness and spectacle: ''Bodily visibility makes its strongest bid for equivalence with political power'' (p. 318). Therefore, there was a mocking of butt-fucking, and go-go dancers in white boots and miniskirts danced on platforms or in cages suspended from the ceiling, providing an added theatrical dimension to drinking and socializing as part of the bar and disco culture during the 1960s.

Cross-Disciplinary: Queer Theory

Queer theory also provides a fluid conception of identity and desire rather than the assigned category of binary male–female, and explores issues of stigma and discrimination. It resists hegemony as a counterbalance to ''heternormativity'' and heterosexual privilege in mainstream society. What remains ''unthinkable'' and''unsayable'' within the terms of an existing cultural form is not necessarily what is excluded, but what is marginalized (Butler, 1993, p. 177). Queer means apparently unconnected things are related to each other in strange and unexpected ways. A key tenet of queer theory is ''difference.'' In academic discourses, queer has become a term that embraces various practices and identities that are counter to conventional heterosexual sexuality. ''Queer, in its primary signification, and in its radical promise, is that which not only eludes, but also subverts the 'proper'. And it defies propriety by subverting property, namely the appropriation and ownership of bodies and desires by heterosexual normativity'' (Lepecki, 2002, p. 272). Claid (2006) said, ''lesbian practice and theory contest the meaning and normality of being'' (p. 180; also see p. 183).

The interdisciplinary study of homosexuals gained momentum in the 1990s. Queer theory and research have presented a challenge to minimizing the gay male population and its profound contribution to theater dance. However, just as race, social class, or age do not necessarily shape dance as an art form or determine excellence in dance, neither does sexual orientation necessarily impact dance—the story being embodied may be what audiences attend to.

Burt (2001) referred to John Martin's theory of metakinesis to account for the pleasure of watching a queer male dancing body. Risner (2007), Lehikoinen (2006), and Gard (2003, 2006) explored the experiences of males in dance training and education to provide insights into hegemonic assumptions about dance, gender, masculinity, and sexuality, as well as dominant codes that govern the former (see also Green, 2001; Puttke, 2001). Risner (2007) proffered five themes that may illuminate a better understanding of social stigmatization: homophobic stereotypes, narrow definitions of masculinity, heterosexist justifications for male participation, the absence of positive male role models (straight and gay), and internalized homophobia among male dance students.

Summarizing Comment

Dance and sexuality as a theme has been studied in terms of the meaning of the elements of dance that describe the status quo in social, cultural, economic, and political realms. This provides the baseline to challenge common assumptions. Diverse disciplines draw upon movement discourse to explore deviance and normalcy, colonialism, Orientalism, imperialism, feminism, and queerness. Broadly speaking, equality of theoretical approaches and study methodologies is not an issue in the arts and humanities. The theories and study methodologies are varied and accepted, depending on the researcher's discipline, mentors, personal preference, and question being investigated. Now with graduate departments of dance, research since the turn of the century has progressed from primarily chronological

studies to embodying more theoretical perspectives. Yet, researchers on dance and sexuality come from numerous disciplines, with much cross-over, and with the same theoretical concepts and study methodologies influencing those disciplines. Current approaches that are attacking the status quo, and unveiling and dismantling basic assumptions, have had historical threads. Current researchers may use methodologies from diverse disciplines in a study that yields multiple readings of dance.

Substantive Areas of Focus

In this overview of the literature on dance and sexuality, I have chosen specific substantive foci that stand out in studies in the English language in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia. There is no hierarchy of ideas among these areas of study—that is, the organization of themes could essentially be presented in any order. Religion is discussed first since dance most likely began with regard to beliefs about the spiritual world. Early studies of dance were about association with religion and Western theater arts. Then, I turn to dance as a source of power, Western theater dance, gender, sexual orientation, asexuality, and ambiguity. Western social dance, ritual and non-Western social dance, and exotic dance follow. It is important to point out once again that the categories for reporting the relationship between dance and sexuality are not mutually exclusive. Studies of one form of dance may address several themes.

Religion and Dance

The sexuality of dance is in the mind of the observer. Seen as threatening, dance falls victim to censorship in some cultures. Adversaries seek to diminish dance and the environment in which dance expression exists (Hanna, 2001, 2002; Jackson & Shapiro-Phim, 2008). Social restrictions on the right to dance in the broader society exist at particular historical times to shape the dances that one can see. Nonetheless, the Western theater dance world, receptive to the unconventional, has been a comparatively tolerant refuge for creative expression. Let us look at two examples in Christianity and Islam.

Christianity. Opposition to dance is common in Christianity (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999; Nevile, 2008; Wagner, 1997) and Islam (Shay & Sellers-Young, 2005). On the one hand, from the second century, Christians (e.g., Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Clement of Alexandria) described dance as an imitation of the perpetual dance of angels, the blessed and righteous expressing physically their desire to enter heaven. Christianity built upon the Hebrew tradition of demonstrating through pious dance that no part of the individualwas unaffected by the love of God. The Talmud commands dancing at weddings, rejoicing with the whole being. A metaphor for the mysteries of faith, dance has been a part of Christian processionals and Biblical dramas. Liturgical or congregational dance is a means to rejoice, to dedicate oneself to the Lord, to repent, and to promote community. The language of movement is God-given within a Protestant view that considers performing a choreographed dance to be analogous to the self-expression of God as creator (Adams, 1980; Adams & Apostolos-Cappadona, 1990; Wolterstorff, 1980, p. 51).

On the other hand, some Christians believe dance encourages unchaste thoughts and leads to sinful behavior. In the 1890s, music hall ballet dancers in Europe and the United States were stigmatized and associated with prostitution, scarlet women soliciting from the stage rather than the street. Popular moral constraints led to views of a dance career as decadent. Although the music halls had canteens where dancers and admirers could mingle and make assignations, some dancers were straight-laced, especially the ballerinas who husbanded a chaste image (Carter, 2005).

Christian fundamentalists are expected to stay away from temptation, which often includes dance. Through an organizational network fueled by money, lawyers, and technology—an emboldened division of the Christian Right fights adult entertainment exotic dance as part of a political religious movement called Dominionism. Its goals are to supplant constitutional democracy with bible-based, Christian-governing, theocratic elite. Fights against dance and sexuality occur as merely one front in a broader culture war, with other battles concentrating on abortion and prayer in the schools, for instance. Composed of evangelical traditionalists, centrists, and modernists, Christian Right divisions fight to have their voice and ideology prevail (Hanna, 2005, 2008b, 2009).

Many organizations have leaders who speak out against sexuality and the arts—for example, American Decency Association, American Family Association, Americans United to Preserve Marriage & American Values (formerly Family Research Council), Child Welfare Foundation, Christian Broadcasting Network, Citizens for Community Values, Concerned Women for America, Concerned Women for America's Culture and Family Institute, Coral Ridge Ministries, Eagle Forum, Florida Family Association, Focus on the Family, Free Congress Foundation, National Association of Evangelicals, National Center for Law and Families, National Empowerment Television, Southern Baptist Convention, Traditional Values Coalition, and Wall Builders. Such groups attack the National Endowment for the Arts and some mainstream dances for their sexuality, whether intended by the choreographer or dancer.

Opponents of adult entertainment exotic dance would like the U.S. government to ban it, but exotic dance is

protected by the First Amendment as expression and ''speech.'' So, the adversaries work through government to enact laws against the clubs toward driving them out of business. The restrictions include banning what is seen on mainstream stages: nudity or partial nudity, ''simulated nudity,'' ''simulated sex,'' touching another person or self-touch, and ''obscene'' and ''lewd'' behavior—terms that are, of course, open to wide interpretation.

Coupled with religious objections to dance is negative criticism based on fears of the sexuality of African American dance. Prominent dancers, such as Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus, were targeted. Burt (2001) said there is ''the ambivalent white fear of and fascination with the black body. . .'' (p. 232). However, this pattern is not new, as noted later; successive dance styles in the United States were often scandalous in their time. Similarly, the danzon in Cuba, samba in Brazil, and tango in Argentina that originated among the lower classes, often in bordellos, were first condemned and then eventually accepted by the mainstream.

Islam. Conservative Muslim leaders fulminate against public performances of female dancers, commonly referred to as belly dancers, who were deemed low status, disgraceful, immoral, and associated with prostitution (Shay, 2008; Shay & Sellers-Young, 2005). In general, dancing has been a dishonorable profession, although male and female dancing is part of celebrations. Males danced in palaces and homes of the rich and even became concubines of kings. The male dancers were thought of as having passive homosexuality—their dancing was not a parody of women's dance. Some Western scholars note that Middle East dancing is considered sexually deviant, a fetishized sign of eroticism, passion, and unbridled sexuality, inviting Western imperial efforts to tame it (Karayanni, 2005). Indigenous Westernized elites often share the outsiders' views. Contemporary folk dance company performers are more respected than traditional dancers. Indeed, in Egypt, Iran, and Uzbekistan, state-sponsored dance companies have attempted to create what they deemed appropriate for male dancers, a hypermasculinity to emasculate the image of the male homosexual dancer (Shay, 2008).

Westerners have appropriated the Middle Eastern belly dance and attribute various meanings to its performance: spirituality, sensuality, femininity, and exercise. Studlar (1997) considered this dance from 1916 to 1926 as a feminist desire to escape the constraints of bourgeois domesticity. In publicly performing Salome in the Middle East belly dance style, scantily clad, Western, middle-class and elite women engaged in a transgressive act. Female freedoms were crystallized in the dancing figure of Salome, also associated with brutal sensuality. Salome wants John the Baptist's headin exchange for dancing for the King.[2] Western belly dancers commonly interpret Orientalist images of the harem dancer as a sensual woman and perform in celebration of alternatives to, and liberation from, Western patriarchy and materialism. During the 1960s and 1970s, belly dancing became an emblem of the female sexual revolution (Deagon, 2005; Shay, 2008, p. 67), popular as a way for women to resist alienation from their bodies and to claim and express their sexuality (Adra, 2005; Bentley, 2002; Dox, 1997).

Dance Sexuality as a Source of Power

Dancers in ballet, modern dance, exotic dance (discussed in a later section), the Middle East, and Far East have used sexuality in dance to further social and economic interests. In the 19th century, French courtesans drew upon their celebrity status as ballet dancers to enhance their artistic and economic well-being. It was common for them to have a lover for money, another for love, and a third to eventually marry. That modern dancer

> Isadora Duncan's sexuality was a source of power and a way to forge her connection to the intelligentsia is overlooked—she is seen for her ''free love'' and not what these connections brought to her table. Sexuality has allowed us to rip the mind of the dancer from the equation. (Victoria Geduld, personal communication, November 12, 2008)

Mata Hari is yet another example of using sexuality in dance to advance herself and her spy missions.

Many dancers feel empowered by the performance itself. Greek males dancing the rebetika could express ecstasy, sure of their manhood. Through flamenco and tango, a paradoxical state of abandonment and full control, of bodily awareness and mental disengagement, women express their passion and make themselves objects of desire and, thus, attain status (Washabaugh, 1998a, 1998b).

Sexuality in Western Theater Arts

This section attends to European court dances; dances on the proscenium stage for the bourgeoisie; music hall dances; and the sex, nudity, spirituality, and ballroom dances in contemporary theater.

Court. Ballet developed during the reign of Louis XIV (1685–1715) within the ambience of a pleasure-centered society. Ballets were imbued with love poetry extolling the power of Venus and were about love (e.g., Sappho, Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and Cupid;

[2]Brutality is also seen as a predatory, spider-like female who kills her mate in The Cage, choreographed by Jerome Robbins in 1951 and performed to this day.

Cowart, 2008). The minuet ''captured the blend of pastoral elegance and amorous desire that become synonymous with the ballet itself'' (p. 183). Sexual energy and intrigue often provided the substrate for many of the movements and scenarios of the developing ballet arts (Nadel & Katschall, 1994).

A political dimension also accrued to the ballet. Characters identified with the monarchy and served the interest of critics. Cowart (2008) maintained that a group of libertine artists vaunted the ballet and its dancers as the embodiment of a new utopia opposed to the oppressive, devout, and austere late reign of Louis XIV.

Proscenium stage. Moving to the theater stage, ballet became an avenue of social mobility for beautiful and talented working class women. Upper-class men frequented the Paris Opéra, an officially countenanced and abetted marketplace where backstage was a venue of sexual assignation, from foreplay to possession of dancers as mistresses (Guest, 1970, 1972, 1980). For men's pleasure, women reigned on-stage and, in the 1840s, even danced in travesty to partner the ballerinas (Astier, 2007; Elsom, 1974; Garafola, 2005; Guest, 1966; McCleave, 2007; Migel, 1972):

> Newspaper critics described and compared female dancers' body parts in excruciating and leering detail. An immense literature of gossipy pamphlets sprang up that recounted as a kind of biographical profile the amorous liaisons and sexual escapades of female dancers. The disdainful yet salacious tone, the suspicion of prurience in these publications, distinguishes them from the more modest literature summing up the glamour and power of eighteenth-century ballerinas. (Foster, 1996a, p. 6)

In this literature, ballet became the ''aestheticization of sexual desire'' (Foster, 1996b, p. 226). Furthermore, critics combined reporting of erotic intrigue and advertisement paid for by principal dancers.

By 1820, dance may not only have represented erotic encounters, but it may have stood in for sexual intercourse. Founded in 1910, the Ballet Russes featured choreography permeated with erotic fantasy and pervasive sensuality, especially homosexual. The gay artistic director Serge Diaghilev dethroned the ballerina, and ballet became a privileged arena for gay dancers and audience members (Garafola, 2005; see the following discussion).

Foster (1996a, p. 3) described how classical ballet emphasizes the female–male dyad and invests the encounter with sexual meaning through touching and gestures of love. Following codes of partnering, the man lifts and maneuvers the woman with sexual symbolism as she is highlighted. The ballerina with extended legs capped by standing on pointe is ''the phallus,'' and the male partner ''embodies the forces that pursue, guide, and manipulate it'' (p. 3). Even in its romantic ballets about an ethereal world of enchantment, ballet ''also proffered lovely ladies, scantily clad, engaged ina blatant metaphor for sensual and sexual actions'' (p. 6). Aspects of sexual arousal and gay eroticism appear in Michel Fokine's (1911) Spectre de la Rose and Vaslav Nijinsky's (1912) Afternoon of a Faun (see Kolb, 2009).

Music halls. In the 1890s and early 20th century, ballet thrived in music halls (Carter, 2005). At this time, the French cancan dance was also a venue of social mobility for working class women. This erotic, coquettish dance with cheeky gestures undermined Victorian values. The dance began with males and females dancing, but the women could not join in the athletic moves the men performed unless they lifted their long skirts. Consequently, they did so on-stage and aroused fantasy with battement (high kicks), rond de jambe (fast rotary movements with the lower leg from a raised knee), port d'arms (rapid jumps on one leg with the other raised vertically and held by the ankle with the hand, with the other arm and hand stretched to the side), roué (cartwheels), gran écart (jump splits), and with their backs to the audience, they bent over and tossed their skirts overhead to flaunt their fannies, revealing frilly knickers with lace and ribbons, stockings, and garters. Sometimes they would collapse in an audience member's lap. The bourgeoisie were attracted to and yet repelled by the culture of the working class. The cancan was a dance of freedom, and dancers felt that if they chose to exploit their sexuality, they should be free to do it (Price, 1998).

Contemporary theater dance. Foster (1996a) speculated:

> Today's audiences seem not to view the exposed crotch of the ballerina in arabesque promenade as genitals. They do not view the moment where her thighs slide over her partner's face as she descends from a high lift as fellatio. Nor do they see her gentle fall onto her partner's prone body as copulation. (pp. 7–8)

Yet, audience members viewing the same dance can have diametrically opposed perceptions. For example, viewing Douglas Dunn and Deborah Riley in a duet, half the audience said the dancers were robotic while the other half remarked on the eroticism, exemplified by an audience member who wrote on a survey form, ''It made me feel horney'' (Hanna, 1983).

Christopher Wheeldon, recognized in the dance world as a hot-shot choreographer for New York City Ballet, who started his own company in 2007, said, ''Dance, ballet, is sexy. Sex is so much a part of our culture, ballet is... about the sensuality of young bodies moving'' (Wakin, 2007, p. E1). The Washington Ballet held a cabaret called 7 *x* 7 in its school rehearsal hall: seven commissioned works in seven minutes—all on the theme of love. Some ballets, such as Prodigal Son (1929), explicitly simulate intercourse. In Robert Joffrey's (1967) Astarte, a male dancer strips on his way to the stage until he is in

nothing but briefs. Then, he engages in sexual gyrations with his partner, the goddess Astarte, until each one separately appears to reach a climax.

Dance Magazine anxiously asked, ''Is it sexist to be sexy?'' Looseleaf (2008) interviewed dancers about the issue, and most of them shared the view of Yeva Glover, who performs with the American dance theater group Company XIV. Glover insisted that if being sexy is an intrinsic part of the role she is performing, then she has no sense that ''it undermines my artistry'' (p. 46). It is only ''sexist,'' she said, ''if you're using [it] to sell dance—putting on a façade—and not exploring it as an art form'' (p. 46). Whether it is Adam Cooper dancing Matthew Bourne's Swan Lake, Altynai Asylmuratova dancing Odette, the cast of the American Ballet Theatre in Twyla Tharp's In the Upper Room, the great exponents of tango and flamenco, the sexiness of the material and the sensuality of the performers are inextricable, and writers usually celebrate this fact. Gener (2003) interviewed Debbie Allen, Martha Clarke, Graciela Daniele, Mercedes Ellington, and Lynne Taylor-Corbet on this topic of eroticism in dance (which they all used in their work), although they also acknowledged that dance is not always about sexuality. It may, for example, be about freedom or spirituality (see Kleinman, 1980).

Nudity, a type of costume, has become ''old hat'' in theater dance, and is not always sexual (Jaeger, 2009; see Sparshott, 1995). It may express a sense of shock, exhibitionism, vulnerablity, innocence, health, beauty of the body, God's gift, common humanity, and so forth. When Kenneth Tynan devised Oh! Calcutta! in 1969, it was meant to blast through the hypocrisy and shame that had kept sexuality, a crucial part of life, off the stage for so long (Gold, 1999). Hair and Last Supper at Uncle Tom's Cabin (with 50 nude dancers on-stage to show the common humanity) are similarly provocative.

Some Western dances reflect the meaning of sexuality in society and how sensuality and spirituality can be yoked (Banes, 1998). Commentators have noted the difference between admiring the line of an arabesque or the arch of a foot and rhapsodizing about the buttocks of a male dancer or the breasts of a female one, and a difference between judging bodies as part of the dancers' artistry and technique and judging them purely as physical objects. That may be why Dance Magazine still feels it has to ask the questions about dance and sex.

Another type of Western theatrical dance conveying sexuality is the ballroom dance competition, Dance Sport. It is essentially stylized heterosexual courtship. Participants in professional ballroom dance are mostly working class, situated in a sexually charged space. Sexual harassment is unremarkable, women project desirability, and male dominance manifests itself in choice of moves. Gays portray interest in their female partners, and they portray heterosexual romance as protector and backdrop for female beauty. For Latin dance, ''sex is the main attraction, their gyrating hip actions notmerely referencing but actually reenacting movements from sexual intercourse'' (McMains, 2006, p. 142). Rumba is a sensuous dance of love. By contrast, European couple dancing projects an image of eternal bliss.

Sexuality and Gender

Issues of gender manifest themselves in all kinds of dance. Gender is the focus of discussion by many authors, including Hanna, Foster, Banes, and Frank. This section turns to dance and gender in Western theater, Western film, Muslim culture, classical Indian dance, Caribbean, and South African performance.

As mentioned earlier, 19th-century theater audiences had a distaste for male dancers. The descent from male French royalty performing dance was in part due to the French and Industrial revolutions in the 18th and 19th centuries. Among the sociopolitical elite, activities of the body became associated with moral laxity and impediments to industrial and factory economic productivity (Kern, 1975). Although the female ballet dancer was forefront, men dominated the production behind the scenes. A general claim had been that ballet is oppressive to women (Adair, 1992). Modern dance, founded by women in the 20th century, reversed this pattern: women became choreographers, dancers, and producers (see Franko, 2002). Park (2008) discussed contemporary b-girls in New York City who appropriate the b-boy dance form.

Rudolf Nureyev, who defected from the Russian Kirov Ballet in 1961, marked the re-ascendance of the male dancer. His outstanding technical and dramatic prowess, good looks, and international recognition and stature that accrues to a person with a six-digit income in the 1960s improved the status of the male dancer.

Narratives of love and understanding between a man and woman are depicted in films featuring, for example, the dancing of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. Dyer (1993) examined the heterosexual ideal of their danced courtship in musical films of the 1930s and MGM musicals of the 1940s and 1950s. The arrangement of the two bodies in relation to each other is cheek to cheek, male dominant leader, and female dependency on the male. The later period sees the woman using her male partner as a support as she twines herself around the man. There are ecstatic lifts and supine surrender of the woman as she strokes the man's face and leans her head against his shoulder suggesting her desire for him. Dyer observed that ''the nearer you get to sex the less sameness and equality can be tolerated.... Once the dark secret world of 'laying' is clearly on the agenda, then the woman has to know her place, her difference and her subordination'' (p. 63). This holds true in ''the rock-oriented dance films of the seventies and eighties, such as Saturday Night Fever, Staying Alive, and Dirty Dancing, where the sexuality of the dance is infinitely more explicit, the sexual subordination of the woman in dance is even more insisted upon'' (p. 63).

Among Muslims in Egypt where the arts, in general, are frowned upon as a distraction from devotion to God, as noted earlier, ghawaˆzıˆ (gypsies) were dancers and prostitutes. Their dancing became stripping for some European travelers (van Nieuwkerk, 1995, p. 35). Bewitching viewers with their enticing bodies, dancers arouse male excitement, and temptation is feared. Although female dancers have low status, some among the urban lower and middle class whose identities are as mothers view themselves as workers and their bodies as neutral productive instruments, like male bodies. Working in a male space in which women usually are not present, the dancers become ''men among men.'' So as to not compromise their reputations as respectable women, they are tough, strong, and ready to beat up a drunk or aggressive male with abusive language or physical assault. If they are men, how can they be suspected of having affairs with other men (van Nieuwkerk, 1995, p. 178)?

In classical Indian dance, men teach females to embody myths that perpetuate male dominance. Some contemporary dancers are challenging this by altering endings of myths so that female goddesses best the male gods in contests (Hanna, 1993, 1998a). Music and dance are modes of worship and

> the devotee, regardless of her=his sex, is always in a feminine positionality in relation to divinity, worshipping god through performance of love and adoration. Dancers embodied poems that articulated spiritual longing through sexual union, physical intimacy, and pleasure, often initiated by the woman. (Chatterjee, 2004, pp. 148–149; see also Banerji, 1983)

Movement is grounded and curvaceous with an extended hip. Eyes are flirtatious, and body and fingers communicate specific meanings. However, Mitra (2006) pointed out that the 20th-century Indian nationalist movement supported the reinvention of the Hindu devadasi temple dance with its erotic practice that had fallen into disfavor through colonialist Christian sensibilities. The dance became a desexualized high art form, codified, and secular. Audience members of the upper echelons of society were hostile to a modern performance in which females subverted the trope of the chaste female and expressed sexuality, including through physical contact with other dancers.

While some people argue that the lyrics in Jamaican dancehall music are used to enslave, subjugate, commodify, and denigrate women, Cooper (2004) countered that dancehalls serve as a liberating space for African and Jamaican women to claim

> a self-pleasuring sexual identity that may even be explicitly homoerotic, a female fertility rite. Dance allows people to reclaim their humanity in times of economic hardship. The dancehall is essentially a heterosexual space (heterosexist even) in which men and women play out eroticized gender roles in ritual dramas. . . the body of the woman. . . is invested with absolute authority as men pay homage to the female principle. (p. 17)

Acrobatic dancing (bending over backward and touching the ground) and a mobile bottom (the seat of pleasure) are pronounced and accentuated in the ''batty riders'' (shorts that ride high on the woman's buttocks). There is an association of food and sex, so ''the metaphor of woman's genitalia as meat doubles the pleasure of eating'' (p. 100). Craighead (2006) examined Black dance within the contested politics of race, class, gender, and sexuality in South Africa, referring to extreme racism and of masked sexism within a White, heterosexual, patriarchal, capitalist superstructure.

Sexual Orientation

Homosexuality in dance—ambiguous, implicit, and covert—was not usually discussed in mainstream and scholarly publications before the 1990s. Over time, the hidden became overt off-stage and on. Male dancers, homosexual and heterosexual alike, have faced prejudice and varied spectator perception. This section examines sexual orientation in theater dance and in social dance.

Homosexuality in theater dance. The ballet and modern dance arts have been receptive to gays, and the general Western public has assumed male dancers were gay because ballet, the most popular theater art dance, was associated with women, and male dancers represented corruption of the male code of self-presentation (see Burt, 1995, 1998, 2001; Carman, 2006). A survey of 136 professional dancers representing 36 companies (ballet, modern, jazz, and musical theater) estimated that one half of the males were gay, and a small number were lesbian (Bailey & Obserschneider, 1997; see Leask, 1998).

Margulies (2008) discussed his experience as a straight dancer. Interestingly, Rahm Emanuel, President Obama's chief of staff, and his brother, Dr. Ezekiel J. Emanuel (with a Ph.D. in political philosophy and an M.D. from Harvard), who built a leading center for bioethics at the National Institutes of Health and became special adviser to the budget director, Peter R. Orszag, studied ballet. Rahm danced professionally. Ezekiel said, ''It allowed us to endure ridicule and keep going'' (personal communication, April 23, 2009).

Helping gay students in the face of ridicule is a concern (Risner, 2004, 2005, 2007). Claims for athleticism and technique have been used to downplay the perceived risk and denigration of being identified as homosexual, as well as to justify dancers' virility and value. Male dancers in school may use playing sports to camouflage homosexuality. Gard (2003, 2006) interviewed 20 male ballet

and modern dancers in Australia about their occupational experiences. He discussed the cultural patterning of body movement and proposes that physical education is among the many sites where body and sexual conformity is pursued. Participation in sports is one means by which young males can ''prove'' their heterosexuality.

Choreography has also downplayed the presentation of homosexuality, although the imagery has changed over time. At the beginning of the 20th century, the male dancer (notably, the acclaimed Nijinsky of Diaghilev's Paris-based troupe Ballets Russe) portrayed implicit homoerotic imagery when homosexuality was criminal (Kolb, 2009). Dancers' and choreographers' queer codings, the subtext of their ballets, were often not easily decipherable. Kolb analyzed Fokine's Le Spectre de la Rose, Nijinsky's choreography of L'Après-Midi d'un Faune, and Fokine's Legend of Joseph against the backdrop of early 20th-century research in sexual science and German-speaking authors. However, Nijinsky's dancing challenged conventional masculinity with his jumps and also feminine gracefulness. Diaghilev's choreographers and dancers attempted to transform the art of ballet by emphasizing the erotic physicality of the male dancer and displacing the 19th-century primary focus on the ballerina.

Contrary to most Western European companies' avoidance of blatant sexual connotations in their dances, the Ballets Russe, which epitomized exoticism, explored unorthodox sexualities and subversive gender attachments in keeping with the image of Russia as non-Western and vaguely associated with a more liberated sexuality, including same-sex love, by locating on-stage protagonists in non-earthly, or mythical, spheres.

More commonly, patriarchal codes produced aspects of gender and sexual identity in dance (Roebuck, 2004). Men articulated ''accepted'' masculine attributes such as strength, gallantry, virility, rationality, and love of women. During the same period, an openly gay world existed in New York City from 1890 until 1930, when new legislation after the depression forced gays into the closet. They ''choreographed against the closet while choreographing in the closet'' (Manning, 1998, p. 34). For example, modern dancer, Ted Shawn, double-coded his choreography. On one hand, his men performed dance movements drawn from masculine activities such as manual labor, war, and sport. On the other hand, the dancers' ''He-Man'' physiques represented the Greek ideal, which is an identifying code for gay men.

Claid (2006) investigated ''how seductiveness in dance performance could be re-figured on=in a performer's body through an oscillation between embodied attributes of masculinity and femininity, power and pleasure, as an ambiguity of gender identity'' (p. 7). During the 1970s, a number of ballets had homoerotic pas de deux (or trois) for men that pretended to be something else. For example, Gerald Arpino's (1974) The Relativity of Icarus featured two men as the mythicfigures of Daedalus and Icarus, supposedly father and son. However, about the same age and nearly naked, they touch each other erotically in slow motion. While the ballet occasioned critical outrage, it packed in audiences. Gay, African American, modern dancer–choreographer, B. T. Jones (see Jones & Gillespie, 1995), said:

> Sometimes when I step onstage, I carry in front of me an invisible phallus. And this phallus is to me what the spear was to the Watusis. It is my virility, my right to be, and the assurance that I will always be. I am in search of the dance in which the phallus is forgiving for being a thing that must penetrate, deflower. This dance will be selfish and self-interested, and yet, fulfilled by filling. (p. 131; see Morris, 2001)

Explicit discussion and staging of what was once implicit eventually occurred. Rudi van Dantzig's Monument for a Dead Boy, first performed in Amsterdam in 1965, startled audiences with the portrayal of the making, life, and death of a gay youth who is ultimately destroyed by his desires. In 2009, renowned modern dancer, Paul Taylor's ''Beloved Renegade'' poet is bisexual, coupling sportively with one woman in a fleeting early incident, but more pointedly planting a kiss on a man's face later (Macaulay, 2009). Gere (2001) discusses a male appropriation of female gestures.

The erotics of looking in Matthew Bourne's gay male Swan Lake has male swans as desiring subject and desired object (Drummond, 2003). This is different than parody, such as when an exotic dancer makes fun of the pretext of clothing by wearing, for example, a police uniform or a cowboy outfit, or when she parodies female stereotypes by exaggerating secondary sex characteristics. Les Ballets Trokadero de Monte Carlo illustrates the burlesque and physical comedy of men taking on female persona and going on pointe while also keeping the male roles (Juhasz, 2008). Most critics describe the company as lovingly parodying specific ballets and particular styles through informed in-jokes (Hanna, 1988, pp. 239–240). Female impersonators may mimic ballerinas, flamenco, or acrobatic dancers. In drag shows, the goal may be parody, but also to beat women at the glamour game. The drag queen, a visible stigmata of homosexuality, embodies and symbolizes the male who places himself as a woman in relation to other men (see Claid, 2006, p. 165; Franko, 1995, p. 95).

Manning (2001) raised the issue of gay spectatorship. Stoneley (2007) ascribed queerness as a way of looking, imputation, and an altering of a narrative to make it fit with a particular desire (see also Midgelow, 2007, on challenges to the traditional ballet representations of race, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity). Stoneley proposed the male attraction to a male body as this: the dancer has his heels together and toes out to the sides, seemingly ''to make a display of the genitals, when the muscular roundness and 'pulled-up' look of the male dancer's buttocks

might seem to have made its own invitation'' (p. 11). Gays are attracted to parodic performance of femininity, a denaturalized femininity. The ballerina is a narrative of reinvention, not a normal woman. Stoneley quoted English (1980), who argued that the male dancer enjoys handling the ballerina as he would enjoy handling his own penis:

> Fondly he holds the phallus in his arms, longingly he looks into his princess's eyes, ecstatically he lifts her, his hands around her long, stiff tube of a body.... Her death, the point at which she at last goes limp [is] the orgasm of the phallus that she represents in the fantasy of the hero. (Stoneley, 2007, p. 13)

Lepecki (2002) probed how certain modern dance is causing Portuguese spectators to examine the country's cultural history and self-image. He links queer with the choreographic work of Francisco Comacho, ''a publicly imagining, problematizing, and politicizing that which remains a ghostly lack in Portuguese cultural production: the bluntly physical body—desiring, sexualized, visceral'' (p. 259).

Yet, despite these perspectives on spectatorship, as postmodern choreographer–dancer Douglas Dunn emphasized, each viewer brings his or her own background, values, and so forth with which to read the meaning of a dance (Hanna, 1983). In my own capacity as a critic, I have attended performances and chatted with audience members, who seldom talk about dancer sexual orientation. They might speak about homosexuality if it is portrayed on-stage, but the main fascination is with dancers applying their skills and artistry in performance, irrespective of race, gender, or sexual orientation.

Homosexuality in social dance. Although gays have experienced hostility in social venues, social dance clubs are a space to experience freedom from homophobia, a utopian safe haven, a sense of communalism, and liberation (Bollen, 1996; Buckland, 2002; Carrington, 2007; Rivera-Servera, 2004; Siegel, 2001). Ethnicity may merge with queer identity so that the geography of the dance floor becomes a double alternative to structures of oppression and a place to be in communion with those who share similar customs (Rivera-Servera, 2004). The dance also is disciplinary through the imposition of the structure of music and stylistic norms.

Clubs may have go-go dancers and strippers to encourage people to sexually express themselves on the dance floor. Dance can be used to signal and demonstrate sexual desire.

Describing clubbing for lesbians, Wray (2000) said the floor reverberates with culturally coded visual performance of desire as women meet to consolidate lesbian identity and form a large communal body. At the dance club, with its rock music and oppressive stereotypes of femininity and masculinity enacted, women embody resistance. They tap into their sexuality on the dance floor, experiencing pleasure in its own right. They feel desire and desired, as well as a benign sense of mischief: dancing is thought to be dangerous to virtue. As the women dance for themselves and with each other, they control space on the dance floor, interrupting the dominant practices of heterosexual couples and male dominance (Gotfrit, 1988). Buckland (2002) asked what people are performing when they dance, and a respondent said:

> Half the time they're performing sex. Half the time they are performing how good they are in bed. I think it's very conscious. Especially when you get the butcher dykes—you can see that strut.... They'd come up from behind, put their hands on the woman's hips and start grinding into her. The more flexible women will manage to find a way to let her know that they would go down on her. (p. 120)

Another illustration of a safe space for gay expression comes from Sidney, Australia. The Sleaze Ball tradition is a sexy guerrilla form of disco capitalism with spaces intended for homoerotic and same-sex use, including for sex. The balls have shows displaying transgressive homoeroticization (Bollen, 1996).

Circuit parties were first developed in connection with the early tea dances attended by a subset of gay men and theme parties held on Fire Island, New York, in the days after police abuse and before the beginning of the health crisis of HIV and AIDS. An annual series of social dances extending through the night and into the following day, almost always with a number of affiliated events in the days leading up to and following the main event, defines circuit parties. They came to resemble underground rave parties in some respects, but differ in that circuit parties were highly publicized and professionally produced, and tended to attract people from a wider age range and a broader geographic area. As many as 10,000 White men, with an average age of 33, and with masculine gym-toned buff bodies, might show up and gain immense positive validation for themselves (Carrington, 2007; Nimmons, 2002). The dances become virtual communities of men gathered in rapture and comradery seeking bliss and transcendence. As healing rites celebrating life, the dances diffuse shame, disempower stigma, and reclaim eros. Emphasizing gay male desire, dance was under the influence of recreational drugs (ecstasy, ketamine, crystal, and cannabis). Carrington noted:

> Squeezed onto the dance floor, bodies entangled closely together.. . many of the rules governing everyday social interaction between autonomous individuals no longer prevail.. . the boundaries between self and other seem to evaporate with every passing beat and every new eye contact. (p. 124)

Carrington emphasized that although many social interactions on the dance floor might have immediate

or potential sexual possibilities, most of the interactions, while intensely physical, intimate, and emotional, would not have this dimension. Gay men may dance together for hours on end without the dance moving in an overtly sexual direction. This often happens within friendship groups. Circuit boys are icons of gay identity as are the drag queen and leather daddy.

Asexuality and Ambiguity

As mentioned earlier, some modern dancers sought to focus on the aesthetic of the whole and to diminish the sexuality component of dance. Illustratively, in the early 20th century, Loie Fuller experimented with lighting and ballooning fabric under which she used bamboo extensions for her arms. Thus, when she raised them, the fabric reached far overhead. Lighting from various angles emphasized parts of her costume and played with shadow and reflection.

Choreographers of the 1950s and 1960s, such as Alwin Nikolais, eschewed male and female polarized stereotypes in favor of unisex movements and androgynous dancers. About sexuality and gender, Nikolais explained, ''I've always abhorred the idea of male and female as opposed, as if we were all walking around in heat. Modern society forces you to be a sexual object rather than a person'' (as cited in Dunning, 1985, p. C33). Nikolais associated dance movement externalizing inner feeling with sexual matters. He viewed the environment and the relation of humans to nature in a broader sense. He coached his dancers to think of themselves as abstract qualities rather than people. Kowal (2007) writes, ''Nikolais' objectivity was not unlike the approaches of other gay male artists within and outside the dance world, whose investigation of the impersonal took many guises and relished the defiance of critical interpretation'' (pp. 88–89). Merce Cunningham, a gay dancer–choreographer, evolved an aesthetic based on chance and discarded the gendered, sexual movements he experienced dancing with Martha Graham and George Balanchine.

The dance genre called ''contact improvisation'' establishes realms of physical contact other than sexual. Dancers merge their weight and develop mutual trust and support as they attend to each other's movement. The body is, to a degree, desexualized and considered first and foremost as an entity comprising touch, weight, mass, and levers. This freed dancers to move without necessarily experiencing sexual feelings and to engage in movement uncharacteristic of gender roles (Bovim, 2007; Kehoe, 2003; Novak, 1990).

Sexuality in Western Mainstream Social Dance

Theater dances have been discussed within the frames of gender, sexual orientation, and asexuality. Now the focus turns to the expression of sexuality in social dance in mainstream society.

Much social dancing is a purveyor of fantasy that permits sexual expression, an area ''which cannot be totally colonized'' (McRobbie, 1984, p. 134). Dance is inscribed within the realms of feeling and emotion

> associated with being temporarily out of control, or out of the reaches of controlling forces. Thus we have the experience of dance being linked, linguistically, with the onomatopoeia of the letter F: Saturday Night Fever, Fame, Flashdance—as though, with a quick slip of the tongue, to move rapidly to fever, frenzy, feeling. (McRobbie, 1984, p. 134).

Dancing is often part of courtship and marriage celebrations. The opportunity for erotic play through social dance is seen as desirous, as in the circuit dances described earlier, or disgusting.

Each generation faults the succeeding one with creating sexually immoral dance. In the 18th century, the waltz—the first time a couple danced in embrace—was considered scandalous. Here is a 1799 account of the waltz at its loosest: A man grasped the long dress of his partner so that it would not drag, and lifted it high, covering both bodies closely as they whirled on the dance floor. His supporting hand lay firmly on her breasts, at each movement pressing lustfully (see Katz, 1973).

Since the 1910s, America has been known as the land of a thousand sexy social dances, including the fox trot, turkey trot, bunny hug, duck waddle, camel walk, kangaroo hop, grizzly bear, monkey glide, chicken scratch, kangaroo dip, bull frog hop, buzz, Texas Tommy, Charleston, Lindy hop twist, frug, skate, pony, swim, monkey, mashed potato, pony, hully gully, line dances, and dances with instructions such as ''ballin' the jack'' (Stearns & Stearns, 1968). Blacks created most of these social dances that were then later co-opted, ''sanitized'' (made less sexy), and stylized by Whites. Some Whites deemed the Black dance vocabulary of hip swinging, pelvic rotations and thrusts, torso undulations, and shoulder shimmying as immoral. However, many Whites frequented Harlem nightclubs, thrilled to partake of a sense of illicit sexuality. Whites deemed Blacks and Latinos to have sexy social dances (Bosse, 2008). Consequently, performing their dances was seen as engaging in the transgressive and sexualizing themselves through dance (Desmond, 1997; Hanna, 2004a).

Later came taxi dancing, disco, raves, and booty dancing. Between 1920 and 1940, taxi dancing primarily attracted European immigrants (Cressey, 1982; McBee, 2000). Taxi dancers were so named because, like taxis, their services were hired by customers for short periods and metered by a time clock. Paying the ''dime-a-dance,'' men could dance with a woman in a taxi-dance hall or palace. Grinding bodies tightly together without moving from a spot was ''to dance on a dime.'' To urge the taxi dancer to keep the customer moving, the floor manager would say, ''Git off dat dime!''

A taxi-dance hall in Chicago had, at one time, 600 men and 68 girls. In 1930, New York City had 37 dime-a-dance palaces; 35,000 to 50,000 male customers per week; and 2,500 to 3,000 employed female dancers. Women initially danced in same-sex pairs, some performing a twisting of the hips to showcase their attributes in order to sell dances to the men. When dancing with customers, the women rubbed their bodies against the men and wriggled. Some dancers allowed customers to take them around the floor with the men dancing behind them and fondling their breasts. Women eager to dance more sensually moved to the center of the hall where they could not be clearly observed by the other patrons who were on the sidelines. If a ''cop'' arrived unannounced, common on Saturday nights, the orchestra started playing the waltz, ''Margie,'' to alert the dancers to dance ''respectably.''

Females almost always captured more denunciation than their male partners because the middle-class reformers were obsessed with instilling the virtues of ''true womanhood.'' Burns (2008) said the Filipino racialized immigrant community at taxi dances was identified with sexuality in the 1930s. Although moralists linked all taxi-dance halls with prostitution, patrons reported it was hard ''to make these girls.'' Police cannot arrest a man for what occurs in the privacy of his own pants. Taxi dances more than half a century ago caused public outcry about touching, privacy, prostitution, morality, and government regulation—issues on the table today concerning the $10 to $20 lap dance in adult cabarets.

Taxi dancing has existed in clubs in Latino barrios for the past 30 years (Hong & Duff, 1976). In California, the dancers attract mainly undocumented immigrants from Mexico who enjoy the music, female companionship, and courtesy denied at other places where women treat them ''like dirt.'' In New York City, Dominican American women from Manhattan go on the weekends to Queens to dance the bachata and cumbia in bars and nightclubs frequented by lonely Ecuadorian and Mexican men. The women earn from $50 to $150 a night. The large $2-a-dance halls attract young men and women, while the smaller clubs and bars attract workers after their restaurant work shift ends about midnight; the dancers tend to be slightly older, friendlier, and maternal (Kilgannon, 2006; Salazar, 2008).

Disco dancing became rooted in the 1960s. Many youth enjoy disco dancing that has the prospect of romance. Dance has been associated with the feminine (e.g., little girls take ballet), but the social dance scene allows liberation from strictures of gender (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999, p. 19).

Clubbing or raving is an opportunity to sensually engage the entire body on the dance floor. Women reported feeling sexual liberation with a relative absence from male predation—finding a partner was not the goal. The women could flirt in ''safe sex''—remaining in control and losing themselves as they experiencedheightened sexuality or sexual display (Malbon, 1999). Clubbing in Britain is about having fun with other people, experiencing ''the fluid sensuous friendships that are forged in the night when you find people determined to live at their best'' (Jackson, 2004, p. 6). Dancing ''unleashes the Dionysian body from the Apollonian constraints imposed upon it in the everyday world'' (Jackson, 2004, p. 15). Jackson said, ''There is no wrong way to dance as long as you're getting off on it. The only bad dancer is a miserable one'' (p. 18). An informant put it this way: Dance is ''the next best thing to sex; the feeling of your whole body being completely connected together and fluid and moving and you can just feel energy flowing right through your body'' (Jackson, 2004, p. 21). Another informant said he liked catching someone's eye on the floor and dancing with the person: ''When it ends you've just got to hug them or thank them because it felt so good to share that thing with them'' (Jackson, 2004, p. 22).

Spike Lee's 1988 film, School Daze, showed mainstream the African American dance, da butt, also called freaking, booty dancing, doggy dancing, front piggy-backing, or dirty dancing, which spread widely in the United States among young adult and junior and high school student male–female social dance partnering. Couples twine thighs, pelvises touch and rotate, and upper torsos tilt away from each other. Or females dance with their backs to their partners, sometimes bending over with hands on the floor as they press and grind their butts against the male's crotch. Some females hike their skirts above their thong underwear. When White students nationwide picked up booty dancing, their parents became outraged. In 2009, a school principal in Ohio wanted to enforce a ban on ''dirty dancing'' at a forthcoming winter formal by requiring students to sign a pledge that they will not ''grind,'' ''rub,'' or ''simulate'' sex on the dance floor. How are students to tell the difference between permissible moving and grooving and an impermissible bump and grind? In the end, it might not matter, given that students opposed to the policy were (predictably) planning to boycott the dance (Bergin, 2009).

Dancing back to front, el perreo, doggy style, and cheek to crotch, was part of the social dance scene in Cuba at least as early as 1989 (Fairley, 2006). Cubans attribute this female-led style as coming from the ''Caribbean.'' The female just walks away if she disapproves of the male behavior. The dance speaks loudly of sexual desire, and men are known to ejaculate from the sensualized buttock rubbing on their genitals or to engage in actual sex. The quebrar or requebrar in Latin America, rooted in historical Spanish and Portuguese sources, also included pelvic thrusting from front to back in swiveling movements of hips and pelvis, transgressive dance movements associated with sexual intercourse.

Carnival or mardi gras in Rio, Buenos Aires, Havana, and New Orleans allows for greater dance displays of

sexuality than usual. The reboleio, female rolling movement of their buttocks, ''seems intended to express an unleashed, uninhibited sexuality—unleashed because of the movement's explosive energy and uninhibited because of the dancers' near total nudity'' (Chasteen, 2004, p. 9). The Cuban rumba's yambü and guancuanco´ involve a man chasing a woman. In guancuancó, the man makes pelvic thrusts toward his partner while she covers her genitals with her hands or skirt to protect herself from being possessed or ''vaccinated'' by the man (Daniels, 2002, p. 49). Baile funk from Rio's favelas is often intensely violent and aggressively sexual (Sneed, 2008). Community dances are sponsored by gangsters, and song lyrics exalt the strength of the drug traffickers and praise thievery beyond the community.

In the tango, legs and feet often intertwine, and a foot or leg may penetrate the space between the other dancer's legs. The Argentine tango is filled with latent and ambiguous sexuality. Controversy exists about male-male partners: a lack of women, women not wanting to engage in a dance performed in brothels, or practice to know how to partner a woman (Castro, 1998; Tobin, 1998). Usually Argentine men refer to dancing together not as dancing but as practicing. As Tobin said, ''the primary relation in tango is not between the heterosexual dance partners, but is between the man who dances with a woman and the other men who watch'' (p. 90). ''In Lacanian terms, the male lead in the tango has the phallus while the female follower is the phallus'' (Tobin, 1998, p. 91). The tango dancers ''step on a highly competitive stage ruled by the laws of naked seduction'' (Savigliano, 1998, p. 105), as the men struggle to tame their women. Tango dancing has been described as similar to knife fighting and representative of sexual intercourse.

Flamenco dancers often express intense sexuality. The male dancers exhibit the qualities of the bull fighter (i.e., ferocity and serenity) in interacting with a female, a metonym for Nature with her alluring ways and seductive powers. Men subdue the women but yet reaffirm the orderliness of Culture that men represent in reaffirming patriarchy (Washabaugh, 1998b).

Sexuality in Ritual and Non-Western Social Dance

In many cultures, religious and secular dances may precede, intertwine, or follow the other. They are often not separate as they tend to be in the West. In ritual dances, as in other dance forms, sexuality may be implicit, like a dance to encourage or celebrate fertility or an opportunity for courtship. The dances may be for the purpose of alluring a pre- or extramarital affair. Dance also belongs to the repertoire of resources for sex role scripting, which educates young and old alike about what it means to be a man or woman (Hanna, 1988). Some African groups teach dances during initiation as part of learning sexual technique. Dance is also a meansof sexual sublimation. Dance illustrations of the spiritual come from India and Korea; of fertility from Haiti, Tanzania, New Zealand, and Nigeria; of celebration from Senegal and Libya; of sublimation from Malawi and Italy; and of heterosexual entertainment from China, Japan, Turkey, Egypt, Greece, Morocco, Argentina, Spain, and Niger.

Dance may intermesh with sexuality to convey messages of spiritual love that finds its analogy in the bliss of sexual congress as in the narratives of Hindu classical dance (Banerji, 1983). Korean religious sexually seductive dancing may be believed efficacious to cope with supernatural and natural forces (Kendall, 1987). In Haiti's voodun religion, priests summon a divinity who possesses an individual by displacing the soul, spirit, and psyche of the self. As lord of eroticism and death, Ghede's dance movements remind people of the compulsive drive to life and the inevitability of death. Baron Samedi is his special emissary, who expresses himself in foul language and lascivious movements (Deren, 1970).

Sandawe men and women in Tanzania dance by moonlight in the erotic phek'umo rites, simulating intercourse to promote fertility. The cycle of the moon coincides with the cycle of women's menstruation, so Sandawe believe the moon is the source of women's fertility, as well as general fertility. Their dance both metaphorically and magically conducts supernatural beneficence. Women select male partners. Some women lift their skirts to expose their buttocks to the men. Finally, the men embrace the women while emitting hoarse grunts, which sound like those of animals in heat and mimic the sexual act (Ten Raa, 1969).

On the first day of the circumcision rite among the Wanyaturu of Tanzania

> the woman stands with her left foot planted firmly on the ground (her left side being the side on which she is supposed to lie during intercourse) with her left leg flexed, toes of the left foot touching the ground. Her male partner stands between her legs, and while she has her hands on his shoulders or waist, his hands are held out from the body or down near her vagina. In this position the two twist their hips in unison in imitation of coitus, while the others sing suggestive songs making references to vagina, penis, and the act of coitus. (Schneider, 1979, pp. 63–64)

Among the Cook Islanders in Auckland, New Zealand, the metaphors of the dance songs translate as joining together, moving about, crushing together as in bananas to make pudding. Women move their hips from side to side, lifting them with each step while men, in a semi-crouched position on the balls of their feet, move their thighs in and out to the music. The man, smiling, looks at his partner's hips; she gazes coyly into space. He thrusts and tries to ''capture'' the woman. But, she also crushes with her hips, bumping his genitals if he gets close enough (Loomis, 1981).

Another expression of dance and sexuality is controlling the excessive enactment of one sex role to the detriment of the opposite. Males may dance as women to honor women. Among the Yoruba of Nigeria, a hierarchical, polygamous, patriarchal society where men dominate women, the men dance the female masquerade Gelede, a vehicle for men to pay homage to women and attract their good will—and assuage fears of impotency and infertility attributed to women. A man may tie a fish basket covered by a large wrapper at his waist to exaggerate the female hips and buttocks and wear wood assertive breasts. The dancers may satirize and criticize inappropriate sexual behavior. The top of one mask bears a sculpted copulating couple (Drewal & Drewal, 1983).

Another example of the expression of sexuality integral to many kinds of celebrations comes from the Woloff tradition of sabar in Senegal. Sabar has become part of the repertoire of the Dakar city folk to celebrate births, marriages, political and sporting events, and gatherings of friends (Castaldi, 2006, pp. 70–101). In sabar, women display their power of seduction in a public setting, questioning the primacy of a bounded, domestic heterosexual norm of sexuality. The spectacular kinetic stunts tease. Dramatic shifts between carefully choreographed stillness allow viewers to apprehend with leisure the dancer's body and extraordinary kinetic motility that establishes ideals of beauty and attractiveness, independent of body shape and size. ''Eroticism is expressed through the sabar dancing idiom, and dance competence defines and constrains eroticism itself. The dancers' skills correlate with risque´ bodily exposure: the more skilled a dancer, the more she will undress and expose in the dancing circle'' (p. 82).

By contrast, a strict code of modesty for women among Muslims prevails due to men's belief that women possess animalistic sexual appetites. A seven-day Libyan wedding rite highlighted ambivalence, contradiction, and accommodation between the sexes through dance (Mason, 1975). Women dance among themselves to honor the bride. Men mock the erotic dance women perform. The women, too, dance like men. A veiled female representative dances for the men.

Rather than being a precursor to sexual intimacy, dance may be physical and psychological sexual sublimation. Orgasmic gratification may come from actual or empathic dance involvement, given its excitement, release, and exhaustion characteristic of sexual climax. Among the Ngoni of Malawi, the ingoma dances were the main recreation for everyone. The older Ngoni men asserted that this dancing made a young man self-restrained—sitting about with no fixed activity tended to make a man sexually uncontrolled (Read, 1938).

Tarantism, in which dancing for days on end plays a key role in expurgating the venom and curing the bite (real or imaginary) of the tarantula spider, is a hysterical phenomenon related to dancing mania of the late 19thcentury. It had essentially disappeared only to reemerge revitalized in the 1990s. There are various interpretations of tarantism (de Martino, 1966; Hanna, 2006; Lüdtke, 2009; Rouget, 1985). As in other forms of possession, it involves entrancement during which the dancer indulges in extravagant, often erotic behavior. The tarantism provided a woman with a way to release tension from inner misfortune and relief from hard work, childbearing, an overbearing husband, and restrained sexuality. Cases of tarantism were often linked to forbidden or lost love or homosexuality; sexual taboos and conventions were transgressed. The pizzica music accompanying the tarantella dance begins slowly, increases, and reaches the ''orgasmic,'' followed by a cooling-off period, thus mirroring coital activity. The spasmic contractions in the dance are analogous to the vibrations of a spider in its web at times of crisis or death. A spider bite, sometimes in response to socioeconomic or natural calamities, snaps the relational threads that link a healthy individual to her or his body, community, and environment. The healing ritual with its music and dance fulfills a need for attention and social support. Usually, the afflicted lies prostrate on a white sheet placed on the ground surrounded by a circle of a small group of musicians and dancers until a musical note moves her into action.

Dancing to entertain men is found worldwide—for example, in the Chinese chi-nu, Japanese geisha, Indian devadasi and nautch, Arabic guina, Korean kisaeng, Persian motreb, Turkish cengi, Egyptian ghawazee, Greek hertaere, and Morocan shikhat (Hanna, 1988). Tango from Argentina and flamenco from Spain also attract male attention. By contrast, among the Wodaabe nomads of Niger, the men dance to attract women who judge them on their charm, dancing, and beauty (Beckwith, 1983). When a man's wink is met by a woman's gaze, romance is born.

Striptease Exotic Dance

Women dance for men in adult exotic dance, although women are increasingly going to men's clubs. Although there is a substantial literature on exotic dance, the dance itself has been mostly neglected because researchers come from disciplines where movement analysis is not an element (Hanna analyzed dance movement and also compares exotic dance with other forms of theater and popular dance within their social and historical contexts: 1998b, 2009, 2010a, 2010b). Dance scholars tend to dismiss exotic dance.

The history of exotic dance dates to the 1920s (Allen, 1991; Jarrett, 1997; Misty, 1973; Shteir, 2004; Urish, 2004; Zeidman, 1967). Times change: Burlesque, the forerunner of contemporary exotic dance, was popular from the 1920s to 1950s, then came a slump with the advent of television, and has-been strippers performed in strip joints known as varicose alley. Carnival stripping in the

1970s was abusive and degrading for dancers. In rowdy, rough, and smutty venues, the dancer–audience patter was crude and contemptuous (Meiselas, 1975). Women were objects with genitals to be touched. Dissertations reported dancers in the 1970s suffered low self-esteem in a devalued occupation (Angioli, 1982; Boles, 1973; Halperin, 1981). However, the 1980s heralded a revival, rather a reformation, with the advent of the ''upscale gentlemen's club.'' Some are topless, whereas others have full nudity. Nudity is often prohibited where alcohol is sold. After identifying what exotic dance is, we turn to a feminist critique of it, a counter argument, dancers' career experiences, and their interactions with patrons.

Identification. Exotic dance is a form of dance, art, and communication that is adult theatrical entertainment with play, fantasy, and acting (Hanna, 2008a, 2008b; also see Schweitzer, 2001). By definition, exotic dance is supposed to be risque´, disclosing more of the body and sexier movements than seen in public (Dee, 2002). The dancer creates a sexual poem—contours of the flesh confer power of attraction, pleasure to be admired and found beautiful (Hanna, 2004b, 2008a, 2008b; Liepe-Levinson, 1998). Beauty and sexuality are important currency in exotic dancers' work.

We see minimal breast coverings and thongs that expose much of the body in public swimming areas, and sexually suggestive movements on MTV and social dance floors. These forms of dress and behavior are not policed in the same way exotic dancing often is, nor are many stage performers in so-called legitimate theatre harassed the way adult entertainment participants are (Hanna, 2002; Klein, 2006).

Contemporary U.S. exotic dance usually has two sequential parts. First, a dancer performs on-stage for the audience as a whole to entertain and then to showcase herself for the second part of the dance. Generally, nudity climaxes the last of a three-song performance in which the dancer appears on-stage clothed for the first song, partially removes her clothes during the second, and strips to nudity at the climax. Like a costume, nudity does not reveal the dancer's being (Lewin, 1984). Nudity is to striptease as a punchline is to a joke. Evoking amorality, nudity contests dominant culture's neo-Puritan norms (Schiff, 1999). Especially abhorrent to Christians who follow the scripture mandate for modesty, the sight of a nude woman is believed to lead a man to rape the first woman he sees (e.g., testimony at public hearings in Shoreline, Lansing, Horry County, Tampa, Prince Georges Count, City of Oakland Park, Manatee County, and Hillsborough County: For a list of related court cases, see Hanna, 2005). The Christian Right believes that men cannot control themselves (LaHaye, 1963). In fact, some men are merely curious about female genitalia, as are women who usually do not see their own (Hanna, 2008a, 2008b).

Exotic dance attire and movement style depend on the dancer, club, and locality. Performed in six-toeight-inch heels, the movements derive from belly dance, burlesque, popular dance, Broadway theater, music videos, jazz, hip-hop, cheerleading, and gymnastics. The common pole on-stage serves as a phallic symbol and prop that permits embrace and athletic stunts. For example, dancers defy the rules of gravity and propriety as they shimmy up the pole and spin, hanging by their ankles and descending upside down into a split.

Demi Moore's dance in Striptease is illustrative of some of this type of dancing. Dancers commonly gyrate hips and torso, thrust hips back and forth and rotate them (''bump & grind''), rotate hips into a squat (like a screw), undulate the body or body parts, shimmy breasts, and bend the torso to peek through one's legs.

In the second part of exotic dance, a performer, requiring a fee from an individual patron, dances for the patron next to where he is seated (or in lap dancing a performer dances on, straddling, or between a patron's legs). The dancer ''says'' through body and facial movement, proximity, and touch, the fantasy of ''I am interested in you, I understand you, you're special and important to me.'' The patron's purchased ''commodity'' is a license to dream, although there is contact as in some taxi-dancing (Lewis, 2000).

However, the performer–patron connection is more—it is providing what is missing in society, namely, human interaction (Frank, 2003). Many patrons pay for a dance to have the performer sit and listen nonjudgmentally. Married men or those with significant others often go to exotic dance clubs to merely see diverse women, not to have sex, which is illegal in most places. A young, married man seated in the back of a club asked, ''I'm not cheating, am I?''

Different from exotic dance clubs, dancers perform behind a glass in peep shows and may do the same kinds of movements as seen in cabarets. A customer may request the dancer move in a particular way for a fee (Beasley, 2003; Berger, 2006; Dudash, 1997; Funari, 1997; Langley, 1997).

Strippers have been seen as sex deviants: prostitutes; nymphomaniacs; survivors of broken homes and sexual abuse; degraded victims of men's immoral lust; homewreckers; drug users; and dangers to the social order, the family, and the nation—notwithstanding the fame and fortune of Sally Rand and Gypsy Rose Lee (Lee, 1957; Reid, Epstein, & Benson, 1994). Exotic dance (strip joints and bars) was considered deviant, deviance being an attraction of the entertainment. But now, exotic dance is more mainstream, with college students and women with post-graduate degrees and full-time day jobs dancing and being spectators (e.g., Mattson, 1995). Today there are strip aerobics in the gym and exotic dance classes and videos for the everyday woman. Roach (2007) explained how the stripper is about everyday women and how stripping fits into American popular culture.

Although some scholars call exotic dancers sex workers (e.g., see Barton, 2002, 2006; Delacoste & Alexander,

1987; Egan, 2003, 2006; Fischer, 1996; Frank, 2002; and Johnson, 1999, who explore employee rights and the issue of employee or independent contractor), most dancers do not like to be on the continuum from prostitute to stripper. They prefer to be on the dance continuum from ballet to exotic dance and the play continuum from child to adult, engaging in theatrical fantasy. ''Dancer'' and ''entertainer'' are common self-identifiers. Dave Manack, publisher and editor of the industry's Exotic Dancer Bulletin, noted:

> It seems doubtful that anyone in our industry would willingly identify themselves as working in the ''sex industry.'' We've never referred to it that way in our magazines or at the Expo, ever. ''Sex worker'' is a damaging term; it refers to a prostitute, not a dancer. (personal communication, 2009)

In the hundred-plus clubs I (see Hanna, 2005) visited for my research as an expert court witness in First Amendment cases, I never heard a dancer refer to herself as a sex worker, nor have I heard patrons and club management use that label.

Feminist critique. Well-known feminists such as Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon claim that the exotic dance industry not only harms the performers but all women. A feminist line is that exotic dancers are victims of subordination, objectification, and other abuse by display of their anatomy (Lewis, 1998a, 1998b; Wesely, 2002). Power dimensions are at issue (Barton, 2006; Chapkis, 1997; Jeffreys, 2008; Murphy, 2003; Pasko, 2002; Pinney, 2005; Prewitt, 1988; Ronai, 1998; Scott, 1996). Barton (2006) said exotic dance exposes women to the worst of men's behavior and sexual degradation, which leads to self-loathing. Yet, Barton (2006, p. 50) noted that some dancers experience exotic dance as a peak experience that connects them with the divine. Barton (2006) found exotic dance had a negative effect on some dancers' non-dance relationships in that the women who become accustomed to pretending sexual interest in patrons may have difficulty being authentic toward their off-stage partners (p. 129).

Some dancers do have negative experiences working in clubs or bars that are not well-managed businesses. Lower–class, crude clientele are abusive (e.g., ''get out of my face, cunt''; Hanna, 2008a, 2008b). Jeffreys (2008) spoke of harms, but her sources were mainly media reports, which tend to sensationalize anything about strippers and to report charges and allegations, but not evidence and convictions. She cited the report of Kelly Holsopple (identified as Program Director, Freedom and Justice Center for Prostitution Resources) in ''Stripclubs According to Strippers: Exposing Workplace Sexual Violence,'' which described types of incidents that are reported to have occurred, especially in poorly managed ''strip joints,'' ''dives,'' and ''carnivalcircuits'' that were prevalent prior to the advent of the gentlemen's club with corporate style management and four-star restaurants. Holsopple's 41-dancer, non-random sample, what she called ''collective voice,'' offers no evidence of the representativeness of the incidents and if they are, in fact, disproportionate to the exotic dance industry, as no control measures were included. Holsopple also surveyed 18 other non-randomly selected dancers and offers descriptive statistics that say little because numerous clubs have as many as 120 dancers performing during a shift. Moreover, Holsopple groups together the experiences of women dancing in very different settings: bars, nightclubs, peep shows, and saunas.

Without substantial evidence, there have been other reports of harm to dancers, or perhaps the women had the problems prior to dancing. Using three measurement scales with a small sample, Downs, James, and Cowan (2006) found that exotic dancers have less satisfactory relations, greater prioritizing of body attractiveness, and preoccupation with body self-objectification. Body dissatisfaction was related to low self-esteem. Frenken and Sifaneck (1998) took the life histories of five heroin-using lap-dancers from drug-using families at one club. They report that heroin often facilitates physical and psychological sexual expression but then physical appearance and self-image eventually deteriorate. However, exotic dance performance may be irrelevant to the dancers' problems. Women who have been drug-users may well bring their habits when they cross the club threshold.

Researchers may assume that prostitution harms women. Oftentimes, prostitution is not defined, or it is defined to encompass more than genital–anal penetration or oral sex. Margolis (1994) described Brazilian immigrants in New York who perform go-go dancing; some, she said, become prostitutes. Kay (2000) reported on prostitution in a club in a city whose government is tolerant of prostitution. Salutin (1973) claimed prostitution is almost an inevitable consequence of stripping, but presents no evidence. Boles (1973) thought there was some prostitution, as did Skipper and McCaghy (1971; also see Lewis, 1998a, 1998b). Bott (2006) distinguished between prostitution and lap dancing. Out of about 4,000 clubs and 150,000 dancers, there are instances of prostitution, but certainly not disproportionate to such incidents in other occupations.

Other critiques. In the United Kingdom, concern is with clubs causing ''disamenity,'' not contributing to the quality of life of the community, whatever that means (Jones, Shears, & Hillier, 2003). The American Planning Association supported a report by planners Kelly and Cooper (2000) that is misleading. These planners make policy recommendations to regulate exotic dance clubs in the United States, relying on their uninformed minimal observations, lack of understanding of dance, use of undefined terms, misreading of law, and citation of one article about Canadian lap dancing. Kelly and

Cooper reached conclusions that the clubs cause the adverse secondary effects of crime and property depreciation, conclusions that do not follow from the ''evidence'' reported in the ''studies'' and court cases they present (see Hanna, 2003a, 2003b).

Counter arguments. Scientific research on the exotic dance industry challenges allegations that the sexuality of this form of dance leads to crime, property depreciation, and disease (e.g., Enriquez, Cancino, & Varano, 2006; Land, Williams, Ezell, Paul, & Linz, 2004; Linz, Paul, & Yao, 2006; Paul, Linz, & Shafer, 2001). Clubs have no more problems than other places of public assembly (Hanna, 2009, 2010b, 2010c).

Contrary to some feminists who oppose exotic dance on the grounds that it reduces the female body to a commodity, other feminists distinguish between the agency of a female willfully using her body and a male acting upon her body. Women's bodies are mobile, and subjectivities are multiple. Through exotic dance, a woman can assert agency and escape restraints (Demovic, 1993; Egan & Frank, 2005; Johnson, 1999; Wesley, 2006). ''The dimension of masquerade inherent in the strip club proves a trap door through which to escape reality.. . it is possible to be a different person each day'' (p. 153):

> My stage show often demonstrates the hologram, of the beautiful and abused body, of the orgasmic and pained moment. Through various arching, stretches, and constrictions, one slides right through what is graceful and what is awkward.... The continuous motion of this show, the body rolls and writhing, marks the transitory nature of beauty and the potential for change. (p. 156)

In response to feminists who claim dancers are sex objects treated as if devoid of humanity, Reed (1997) said ''a man isn't denying a woman's humanity if he admires her breasts and not her intellect in the appropriate context'' (p. 182); and this does not preclude other possibilities. A number of exotic dance supporters consider that the dancer's choice to place her body within a financial transaction does not reduce her to a commodity any more than a model, actor, or athlete would in their respective professions. Conversations with dancers and audience members alike have revealed an awareness that exotic dance merely taps into contemporary attitudes toward the body as something to be cultivated, used, and presented (Hanna, 2008a).

A major problem with an unrelenting focus on negotiations of power between men and women in the clubs and the question of empowerment versus exploitation is that the experience of dancers is not compared to the experience of women in other occupations. Service industries have mutual ''exploitation'' as claimed for exotic dance (Boles & Garbin, 1974; Sloan et al., 1998). Men in other occupations may, for example, be verbally and physically disrespectful toward women, grope andharass them, demand sexual favors for benefits, cheat them out of money, or show favoritism among workers.

Lap dancing, often criticized, is not compared to contemporary social dancing—namely, booty dancing. Today, lap-dance moves are similar to young adult and junior and high school student male–female partnering in ''da butt.'' However, lap dancing differs from taxi dancing and social dancing in several ways: The female dancer has little or no clothing, the men usually keep their hands off the women, the dance takes place in a licensed adult entertainment club, the dancers earn $150 to $1,000 a night, and the customers pay more than a dime or two dollars a dance (Hanna, 2008a, 2008b).

Nudity in exotic dance (Schiff, 1999) is criticized, but not compared to nudity in mainstream dance (for a discussion on nudity in ballet, see Jaeger, 2009). Any dance conveys a multitude of meanings, from eroticism to health, nature, beauty of the body, and feminine power. The meanings conveyed in contemporary exotic dance may be erotic, but erotic expression certainly does not exclude artistry. Indeed, some outstanding exotic dancers have attended performing arts high schools and performed in ballet companies and on Broadway. The excellent pole dancers have often trained in gymnastics (Hanna, 2008a).

Career, culture, and class. A number of studies describe dancers' career paths and social identities in addition to the social organization of clubs (Benson, Epstein, & Reid, 1994; Boles & Garbin, 1974; McCaghy & Skipper, 1969; Skipper & McCaghy, 1971). As noted earlier, there are various types of clubs, dancer personalities, and experiences; and there are good places, bosses, and clientele—and bad ones—just as there are greasy spoons in rough neighborhoods and four-star gourmet restaurants catering to business people.

Dance as emotional labor (Bruckert, 2002), senses of self, and the effect dancing has on personal relationships have been explored by a number of authors (Boles & Garbin, 1974; Downs et al., 2006; Reed, 1997; Ronai, 1992). Fine (1991) compared exotic dance with ballet and explained the former's low status in the 1980s and why it is not taught in high school (ballet, certified as part of elite culture, has established critics, expansive venues, charitable events to support it, well-funded companies, international links, textbooks and theories, schools, professional organizations, etc.). Exotic dance is examined as cultural meanings (Calhoun, Cannon, & Fisher, 1996; Frank, 2005; Hanna, 1999), social class (Trautner, 2005), tourist attraction (Donlon, 1998), and amateur contest (Agustin, 2005; Calhoun et al., 1996).

Motivations to become an exotic dancer include income, flexible schedule, and opportunity to exercise. Career contingencies that are involved with the selection of the exotic dance occupation and the personal adaptations have been the focus of several studies (Forsyth & Deshotels, 1998; Frank, 2002; McCaghy & Skipper,

1969; Skipper & McCaghy, 1971). Exotic dance has its contradictions: It promises women more lucrative dividends than any other service work and adulation at the same time that it elicits contempt. Halperin (1981) suggested females are attracted to exotic dance because of narcissistic exhibitionism or the experience of a poor body image in youth. Thus, dancing is an attempt to confirm adequacy and self-worth through attracting positive audience acclaim. Yet, the negative stigma associated with dancing may paradoxically lower self-esteem.

Most scholars writing about exotic dance address the problem of stigma. A key issue is that American culture stigmatizes sexual pleasure for its own sake. Dancers are viewed as engaged in a devalued occupation at the legal and moral margins of mainstream thought (Angioli, 1982; Boles, 1973; Halperin, 1981; Peretti & O'Connor, 1989; Thompson & Harred, 1992; Thompson, Harred, & Burks, 2003). Consequently, dancers employ ''neutralization techniques'' in an attempt to distance themselves from the stigmatizing components of the role (Peretti & O'Connor, 1989).

Considerations of race, social class, gender, and sexuality in strip club interactions have been explored in a number of studies (Barton, 2001; Frank, 2002; McCaghy & Skipper, 1969; Pendleton, 1997; Trautner, 2005; Wood, 2000). For example, in Vancouver

> White striptease dancers, including those who donned blackface or manipulated other non-white tropes, could take on the symbols and signifiers of the racial Other as erotic spectacle or play up the pageantry of white glamour. Indeed, they were not indelibly stigmatized by their skin color as Black dancers and Asian dancers were. (Ross & Greenwell, 2005, p. 157)

Egan (2004) discussed surveillance cameras in a club in terms of controlling the behavior of dancers and how they break the rules outside of the len's focus. Although she recognized that the cameras can protect the dancer against unruly patrons, she overlooked the need for the club to follow the law, including absurd regulations designed to drive the club out of business. Violations can lead to the club losing its license and paying other penalties. Owners and managers can be sent to jail for violating the law.

Dancer–patron interaction. Interaction patterns between exotic dancers and patrons, especially focusing on the normative patterns within the strip club setting and their consequences, have been studied (Boles & Garbin, 1974; Dressel & Peterson, 1982; Liepe-Levinson, 1998, 2002; Schiff, 1999; Schweitzer, 2001; Tewksbury, 1994), with controversy over who holds the power. Dancer–patron exchanges that are essential to the work experience reflect widespread patterns of male dominance (Wood, 2000). The dancer tries to seduce a patron to spend money, but he holds the power of the purse. Enckand Preston (1988) looked at stereotypical role relationships from 1994 to 1996: men as providers, women as supporters, men as objects of desire whom women cannot resist. Theatricalism, interactionist, and dramaturgical perspectives pay attention to social processes through which dancers seduce patrons (Boden, 2007; Dodds, 1996; Hanna, 2010a; Liepe-Levinson, 1998; Massey & Hope, 2005; Ronai & Cross, 1998; Ronai & Ellis, 1989; Spivey, 2003; Wood, 2000). The dancers' power feeds into male-dominated commercial sex systems, but in ways unanticipated by some purely feminist arguments.

On the other hand, some studies report exotic dance's challenges to patriarchy, male dominance, and social control (Egan, 2004; Hanna, 2009; Montemurro, 2001). The female sex is power and the unknown, and the male fears castration in Manderson's (1992) view. Liepe-Levinson (1998, 2002) referred to male degradation; when women take control of their sexuality, males need fantasy to maintain their dominance (Wood, 2000). Frank (2007) argued that contradictions about power are contested and negotiated. Dancers negotiate gender relations as women do in other service occupations (Ronai & Ellis, 1989). Ross and Greenwell (2005) pointed out that the dancers negotiate the male-dominated business with ''courage and savvy, balancing moral condemnation of their overtly sexual behavior with their love of dance, music, applause, and (varying degrees of) notoriety'' (p. 141). The dancers play the role of conscientious objector by bravely testing and defying society's sexual limits.

Strategic flirting allows the dancer to have the upper hand, according to Deshotels and Forsythe (2006; also see Hanna, 2009). Eroticism is discussed in terms of attention given to patrons, what Enck and Preston (1988) referred to as counterfeit intimacy in their dramaturgical analysis. Erikson and Tewksbury (2000) argued that their findings ''contradict the notion that. . . men who patronize the clubs exploit strippers. Rather, the women. . . hold the power to establish and enforce the norms of micro aspects of their interactions with patrons'' (p. 292). Dancer income makes it difficult to leave the industry (Sweet & Tweksbury, 2000). Schweitzer (2001) wrote: ''With men the suckers, and women pocketing the cash, the striptease becomes a reversal of society's conventional male=female roles. . . one of the few outlets in which women exercise unchallenged command over their bodies'' (p. 72). Perhaps they work harder to sell lap dances during estrus changes. Women earn more during their peak period of fertility; they dress more provocatively, and men find them prettier (Miller, Tybur, & Jordan, 2007). Johnson's (1999) perspective was that the patrons provide a backdrop for women's battles with their bodies to look good.

Exotic dance patron characteristics are quite diverse (Brewster, 2003; Egan, 2003, 2006a; Erickson & Tewksbury, 2000; Frank, 2002; Hanna, 1998, 2008a; Liepe-Levinson, 2002; Montemurro, Bloom, & Madell,

2003; Prewitt, 1989). Regulars are men who frequently patronize a particular dancer and develop a fantasy relationship with her (Brewster, 2003; Egan, 2006a; Frank, 2002). A regular will request many dances and paid time for conversation from her and give her presents.

Women perform exotic dance for other women (Wosick-Correa, 2008). Black women in Washington, DC dance at same-sex desiring parties (Carnes, 2009; Frank & Carnes, 2009). Frank and Carnes compared strip clubs for heterosexually identified White male patrons with clubs for same-sex desiring women. The latter had parties with purpose. Black women avoided unwelcome male advances, engaged in group dancing (stepping) for communal bonding, and provided lesbian-relevant health services. The parties lack a specific location, and locations change to operate under the radar of strip club regulations.

Males also dance for women and for men (Arnold & Margolis, 1985). It is common for a club generally catering to male patrons interested in female dancers to set aside a night once per week or month for ladies' night (Montemurro, 2001; Montemurro et al., 2003; Smith, 2002) to see men dance (Ronai & Ellis, 1989; Tewksbury, 1994). Chippendales, opened in 1978 in the United Kingdom, not only eroticized the male body but also spawned imitators. The show was a fantasy land—a good night out for the girls. Women acquired access to what men have had. Male stripping implies women's social and sexual freedom to watch male dancers as men watch female dancers. Women experience a dimension of liberation, albeit commercialism—impersonal male–female relationships, not role reversal as much as aberration. The performances are opportunities for women patrons to express themselves as sexual without the usual social constraints (for discussions on the study of gender relations and social control in a male strip club, see Barham, 1985; Montemurro, 2001; Wood, 2000). Dragu and Harrison (1988) referred to the ''Cock's Dance.''

Male dancers strip for gays and others (Seymour, 1994, 2008). Boden (2007) spoke of emotional labor and the dance reflecting the sexual desires of patrons, not dancers, although dancers perform for male desire. Patrons were permitted to touch the dancers at Arena, a club in Washington, DC—a safe way to have physical contact with other bodies. The nude dancers perform in socks and sneakers for about 20 minutes, physically and verbally relating to the patrons seated at the bar. A patron folds a dollar bill into one of the dancer's socks. Then, the dancer squats down facing the customer, who may stroke the dancer's cock or rub and squeeze his ass.

New Directions

This overview of studies in different historical periods and cultures explores expressions of dance and sexuality, and reveals the interest from multiple disciplines thatdraw upon some diverse and some shared theoretical concepts and research methods. The accumulation of a wide range of case studies and discussions about dance and sexuality suggest more than idiosyncratic illustration. There is not a single narrative, but various examples that coalesce into a nuanced picture. The expression of sexuality in dance worldwide is certainly impacted by religious beliefs and actions. Dances are performed for many, often overlapping, reasons—for example, selecting a mate, a livelihood, recreation, mimetic movements to ''cause'' reality, and celebration. The sexuality of dance is shown to be a source of power in itself but also a means to social, economic, and political benefits. Western theater arts—from European court to proscenium stage, music hall dance to contemporary theater art performance and social dances—reveal innovation. Part of the Western aesthetic is for the ''new.'' Changes have occurred in what can be presented in public, from implicit, coded sex and sexual orientation, to more explicit kinetic images and themes. Colonialist, patriarchal, feminist, and heterosexual beliefs that have framed the study of dance and sexuality have been challenged.

Although there is a wide body of knowledge about expression of sexuality in dance, there is also much to learn. How does it affect the interplay of cognition and emotion in the brain? How do sexual emotions trigger aesthetic value? How do various cultures define what is sexual in their dance—that is, what are their signifiers?

We have much to learn about the kinesthetic detail, the embodied social practice, semantics, syntactics, and pragmatics of specific sexual works. What is the point of view of a dancer–choreographer thinking and creating a work about sexuality?

Discovering how sexual identities and expressions in dance vary geographically in the United States and in other places warrants research. How widespread are Black clubs and White clubs where women dance for women? What is the relevance of U.S.-centric queer theory to international identities and dancing bodies? Should there be a transcultural framework for reconciling ''othered'' bodies with ''othered'' sexualities within the context of dance?

We know that dance has been open to persons with marginal sexual orientations. But, what is the role of sex and sexual orientation in joining and attaining roles in dance companies? What difference does one's sexual orientation make to one's performance? Is there a universal gay aesthetic? Do gay and lesbian viewers experience theatrical dance in distinctly different ways from straight viewers?

We know that dance practices reflect what exists in a society and culture and often suggest what might be, and there are generational changes in how sexuality in dance can be expressed on-stage. But, how will a dancer convey sexuality on-stage in sexual and nonsexual roles

in new dance forms? How will the dancer's sexuality then be a source of power and means to non-dance venues and materials? What is the evidence that people in the 21st century automatically think female concert dancers are sexually promiscuous and that male dancers are gay and promiscuous?

Methodologically, there is a need for replication, comparison, and longitudinal studies. Replication sheds light on a degree of representativeness and change over time. How do the working conditions of the body in, for example, ballet, hip hop, Broadway, performance art, exotic dance, martial arts, massage, and yoga compare with body use in other industries? How do different groups organize, mobilize, and fight censorship of their sexual expression in dance? How is sexuality a political football in government sponsorship of dance in different countries?

In interviewing, there is a need to ask the same questions in different ways to understand what an informant really means. Much of the literature on dance and the expression of sexuality is filled with interpretations and assertions that beg confirmation from dance makers, performers, and audiences. Multidisciplinary teams, for example, pairing a dance specialist with a social or behavioral scientist, might best be able to address some of these questions.

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