UNIVERSITE DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

FROM TIGHTS TO TANKS:

TWO STORIES OF THE ONGOING SEARCH

FOR PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

THESIS

PRESENTED IN

PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR MASTERS IN DANCE

BY

ANDREA PALMER

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DEDICATION

To my jazz dance teacher and dear friend
Philip Harrison Cole Junior who passed away
during the course of this research project;
your enthusiasm and passion for dance
encouraged me to continue my studies.

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RÉSUMÉ

Le parcours en vue de devenir un danseur de ballet professionnel est particulièrement exigeant. Il est rempli d'obstacles et de sacrifices personnels dès ses débuts (Aalten, 2007; Aitchison, 2012, Alexias & Dimitopoulou, 2011; DeMille, 1952; Foster, 1995, Grau, 2005, Green, 2002; Khudaverdian, 2006). De ces centaines de jeunes pleins d'espoir qui passent des auditions chaque année en vue de suivre une formation en ballet classique, seulement un petit nombre d'entre eux remplissent les exigences d'admission, tant physiques que mentales (Greenaway, 2014). Bien que les programmes d'études en ballet visent à former des danseurs professionnels, qu'arrivent-ils aux étudiants qui prennent la décision de ne pas poursuivre leur formation ?

Cette recherche s'inspire de l'expérience vécue de deux anciens étudiants d'une école professionnelle de ballet de haut niveau dans les années 1980 qui ont décidé d'abandonner leur formation artistique pour éventuellement se réorienter vers une carrière militaire. Ces inhabituels changements d'orientation professionnelle nous amènent à formuler les questions de recherche suivantes : Quelle est la perception des motivations et conditions ayant pu influencer d'anciens étudiants, engagés dans une formation professionnelle en danse à temps plein, à abandonner leur entrainement pour ensuite se réorienter vers une carrière militaire? Cette question soulève plusieurs sous-questions en lien avec la construction de l'identité professionnelle.

Afin de répondre à ces questions, nous avons mené une recherche qualitative privilégiant une approche compréhensive, mobilisé une méthodologie basée sur la technique du storytelling (Berger & Quinney, 2005), et conduit des entrevues approfondies (Boyce & Neale, 2006) avec les deux ex-étudiants. Les éléments marquants de l'histoire de vie de ces deux individus, qui ont choisi de quitter leurs études en ballet et entreprendre ultérieurement une carrière militaire, ont été enregistrés.

Essentiellement, les résultats de la recherche suggèrent: une relation qualitative entre l'implication de la famille et la décision du participant de débuter ou d'interrompre sa formation en ballet classique; l'influence de l'environnement social dans le milieu de la formation professionnelle sur la prise de décision; et,

pour ces deux individus, un engagement intensif et à un jeune âge dans un programme de formation professionnelle en danse classique qui peut contribuer à une altération du processus de développement identitaire et émotionnel.

Compte tenu de ces facteurs, les écoles professionnelles de ballet peuvent prendre en considération l'importance d'apporter un soutien psychologique et émotionnel individuel répondant aux besoins des jeunes.

Considérant que l'étude n'a porté que sur deux participants, il est nécessaire de poursuivre la recherche avec un plus grand échantillon et des sujets dont l'expérience est plus récente, ceci afin de documenter le phénomène de l'abandon des études professionnelles en ballet à l'adolescence, de manière à mieux comprendre les conditions et motivations qui agissent sur ces individus lorsqu'ils prennent de la maturité.

Mots clés : formation professionnelle en danse, ballet classique, entraînement militaire, développement identitaire, choix de carrière, adolescence, abandon scolaire

ABSTRACT

The journey toward becoming a professional ballet dancer is particularly demanding. It is filled with personal sacrifice and obstacles from the very onset (Aalten, 2007; Aitchison, 2012; Alexias & Dimitopoulou, 2011; DeMille, 1952; Foster, 1995; Grau, 2005; Green, 2002; Khudaverdian, 2006). Of the hundreds of hopefuls who audition each year to study at professional ballet schools, only a handful are able to meet the physical and mental requirements necessary for admittance (Greenaway, 2014). Although professional ballet training aims to form career dancers, what happens to the professional ballet students who decide that they do not want to continue their formations in dance?

This study is inspired by the real life experiences of two former students of an elite professional ballet training institution during the 1980's who chose to abandon their artistic formation in order to eventually reorient their career aspirations toward the armed forces. These unusual career orientation trajectories lead us to address the following research question: What are the perceptions of the motivations and conditions that could influence two former ballet students involved in full-time professional training to abandon such training and later reorient toward a military career? Underlying this question are sub-questions regarding identity construction.

To respond to these questions, according to a comprehensive approach, and using storytelling methodology (Berger & Quinney, 2005), in-depth interviews (Boyce & Neale, 2006) with the two subjects were conducted. The relevant personal life story accounts of the two individuals who chose to leave their studies in professional ballet and pursue careers in the military were recorded.

Principally, the results of the study suggest: a qualitative relationship between family involvement and the participant's decision to enter or discontinue their training in professional ballet; the influence of the social environment relative to professional ballet training on the decision-making process; and, for these subjects, that an early intense commitment to professional ballet training may have contributed to an alteration of their process of identity development.

In the discussion of the results considerations are raised: early intense involvement in professional training may have had negative emotional repercussions on these cases;

commitment to a singular specialized activity may have impeded their professional identity development. Considering these factors, professional ballet schools could consider the importance of providing support for children's individual psychological and emotional needs.

Having based this study on two subjects, future research on a larger more contemporary population is needed to investigate the phenomenon of abandoning professional ballet training during adolescence, with the view to understanding the conditions and motivations of this phenomenon on the individuals as they mature.

INTRODUCTION

This study stems from my personal experiences and professional trajectory in the ballet milieu. Precisely, its origins are rooted in the lived experiences of two of my peers during my early years of training at a professional ballet school. Their stories raise questions, which have persisted over some thirty years until my master's degree studies.

In this chapter, I describe my involvement and training in professional ballet studies that led to a multifaceted career both as a dancer and as a teacher. With this experience, I encountered a phenomenon that led me to conduct research on the central issue of my study: the problem and associated process of quitting professional ballet training and reorientation into military training. I conclude this chapter by presenting the plan of the study.

After attending a performance of Swan Lake by the National Ballet of Canada in 1975, I like so many other impressionable young girls, fell in love with the glamorous image of professional ballet. I began my studies with a local teacher in a private recreational dance school located in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan at the age of six. Several years and dance schools later, I found myself encouraged by a former teacher to consider ballet as a career. My bedroom walls were adorned with the images of my ballet heroes; Karen Kain, Evelyn Hart and Mikhail Baryshnikov. I lived the fantasy of ballet every day and was determined to bring my dreams to fruition.

Before attending the training program, I had been regarded as somewhat of a budding talent at my hometown dance studio. I had participated in several provincial dance festivals and had won awards and scholarships to further my training.

Once I arrived in the high pressured and serious atmosphere indicative of a professional training program, my slightly inflated ego was about to be crushed. I had studied ballet for several years prior to my acceptance to the ballet school. Yet, many mannerisms in my dancing reflected my ardent fondness for self-expression. It was necessary therefore, to cleanse my dancing. I was placed in a retraining class.

In this mixed group of boys and girls ranging in ages twelve through to seventeen, I was obliged to wipe the slate clean and return to the very basics of ballet technique, free from mannerisms and bad habits. I recollect vividly our ballet teacher mimicking with great comedic flourish, the difference between a ballet student from "Miss Suzy's School of Dance" and our school. My relationship to ballet as I knew it was broken, only to be restored years later.

The first year in school was an excruciatingly painful one for me. I remember openly breaking into tears during the classes on numerous occasions. Though I respected my teacher immensely, her teaching methods seemed uncompromisingly brutal not only towards me but also towards other dancers who were brought to tears.

The training I received during my first year at the ballet school bore little resemblance to my idealized, romantic notions of pink ribbons and satin shoes. The transformative journey towards the place of beauty and glamour (which in retrospect I think, existed only in my imagination), required extreme discipline, sacrifice and humility. Pain became a familiar friend, and I began to qualify my training experience in terms of pain endured. It was an unsaid rule that admitting to pain during class was not acceptable. I remember the humiliation I felt during one particular point class

when I was obliged to ask my teacher if I could remove my shoes. My toes were bleeding so profusely that the blood was staining my tights above the box of my shoe. It was not only my feet that hurt; it was the mental degradation I felt in admitting that I was not strong enough to endure the pain.

Separated from the emotional support of my family, my personal attitude began to shift. My body became my enemy. I had to conquer the limitations of my adolescent body and triumph over physical pain. I experienced little to no enjoyment in these early ballet classes that were extremely technical and tedious, and offered no room for self-expression, which I had previously adored. I felt as though I had become a robot, devoid of feelings and emotions. There were times during the exercises in ballet class that I felt separated from my body and imagined watching myself dispassionately from above. These experiences helped me cope with the boredom and endure the physical pain of the exercises.

The tough atmosphere of discipline experienced during ballet classes extended into our everyday lives in the residence. Our movements inside the ballet studio, as well as outside, were scrutinized and surveyed. Video cameras placed in our common living areas monitored our activities for the house matrons. These cameras offered opportunities for adolescent rebellion in the residence. Sometimes we threw towels over the camera and erupted into frenzied pillow or food fighting for fun!

The making of our beds followed a specific procedure that was highly regimented and subject to inspection once a week. Each crease and fold of blanket was prescribed, leaving no room for individuality or error. Every morning after breakfast, we lined up in alphabetical order with our classmates to receive our uniform check. Each moment in our lives was to be accounted for: snack time, study time, academics and ballet classes, each had their scheduled time and place; each had its expected protocol.

Through the daily activities of ballet training as well as residential life, my behavior and sense of identity were transformed to fit the model that was prescribed by my ballet teacher and residence house matrons. I became aware that I was no longer a normal child, but a privileged student of a recognized professional ballet program. I conducted myself accordingly. Although my connection to ballet had changed, my love for dance remained and I was determined to become a dancer.

During my first year of training in 1984, two of my classmates decided to leave the elite professional ballet training institution. I was saddened but also perplexed by their decision to leave the school as it was considered an honour to be there and as students, we were aware that many other children would have gladly taken our place.

Many years later, I received word that these same two former classmates had abandoned dance completely and embarked upon careers with the Canadian Armed Forces. I was surprised to learn of such a departure since my friends had undergone the same artistic training as myself. As a result of this knowledge, I began to question my former classmate's decisions to abandon professional ballet training and also re-examine the methods and techniques that formed us at the ballet school. Several questions began to circle in my mind, questions that were still in my thoughts when I began my master's studies. What were the motivations that led to their decision to discontinue professional ballet training? What were the incentives behind the reorientation towards military training? What skills acquired during our formation as ballet dancers could cross over into the military world, if any? I questioned whether my colleagues harboured any regrets at their career reorientation, leaving the art world behind.

After the initial training at the school, I chose to enrich my dance education with modern dance and jazz that I felt offered more freedom of movement and expression. I worked closely with Linda Rubin (a former company dancer with Martha Graham)

and spent two summers studying various forms of dance at the George Randolph Academy in Toronto. As a result, I was able to integrate my classical training from the professional ballet school with modern vocabularies of dance. I was grateful for the strong classical technique, which my time at the ballet school had afforded me. As a performer, I was able to transfer my love of self- expression to the world of film, working as an actress as well as a dancer. I spent a year training in New York City at the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theatre and the José Limon Institute. My love of music and rhythm brought me to Spain where I studied flamenco and immersed myself in the gypsy culture of Jerez de la Frontera. In 2001, I was able to see one of my childhood dreams come true when I was asked to perform with Mikhail Baryshnikov and the White Oak Dance Theatre. Although I had left the professional ballet world, I was still dancing. However, the career choices of my former ballet school classmates continued to perplex and intrigue me.

My personal connection and shared history with the participants has afforded me a unique opportunity to observe patterns in the participant's career trajectories and consequent identity development over a span of three decades. The story which emerges from this investigation concerns much less the orientation transition from leaving professional ballet training and reorientation toward the military as it does the conditions inherent to professional ballet training which led to this exceptional trajectory.

In the first chapter of this study, I will investigate the phenomenon of abandoning professional ballet training during adolescence, and how it led toward choosing a military formation. This problem will be placed into context by examining previous studies that focus on:

1. Career orientation- Starting professional training at a young age and the influence of peers and parents in career choice and motivations.

2. Particularities inherent to professional dance training.

3. Identity development during adolescence and ballet dancer's professional identity.

4. Understanding the process of retirement from ballet.

5. Factors of dropping out and reorientation.

I will then present my research question and sub-questions, followed by the state of the question. Methodology and limits of the study conclude the chapter.

The second chapter is structured around the main theoretical concepts relating to this study: self-efficacy (Bandura) and identity development (Erikson). The first two chapters provide the relevant theoretical and background information that the reader requires in order to position this study's concerns within the culture of professional ballet training. Storytelling methodology is presented in the third chapter as well as the methods used to obtain and analyze data. The fourth chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, the participants' stories are introduced. The results of the study are presented in the second part of chapter four and are organized to respond to my research questions. The fifth chapter presents the results and discussion of this study that are organized to respond to my research questions. The analysis of the findings illustrates how interactions between the participants and their teachers, family and peers helped shape the course of their actions and contributed towards defining a sense of identity within the context of professional ballet training. Chapter six concludes this study by providing a review of the insights that the data contributes to the central problematic. The Annex presents supplementary information to the main study such as the interview guide, ethics certificate (CERPE), participant consent form and sample data analysis legend.

CHAPTER I

PROBLEMATIC AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The journey toward becoming a professional ballet dancer is particularly demanding. It is filled with personal sacrifice and obstacles from the very onset (Aalten, 2007; Aitchison, 2012; Alexias & Dimitropoulou, 2011; DeMille, 1952; Foster, 1995; Grau, 2005; Green, 2002; Khudaverdian, 2006). Of the hundreds of hopefuls who audition at a young age each year to study at professional ballet schools, only a handful are able to meet the physical and mental requirements necessary for admittance (Greenaway, 2014). The initial criterion for selection is often beyond the student's control. Body proportions are scrutinized and must prescribe to the specific demands of the profession. Once admitted into a professional institution, the young dancer may expect years of arduous training and personal sacrifice in order to achieve their dreams (Ericsson & Lehmann, 1996). Only an exceptional few will survive the years of lengthy training and continued selection process in order to become professional ballet dancers (Ureña, 2004).

Although professional ballet training aims to form career dancers, what happens to the professional ballet students who decide that they do not want to continue their formation in dance? How is their sense of professional identity affected by this decision? We began to ask ourselves those questions when two of our colleagues from a professional ballet school decided to quit their formation in ballet at the age of fifteen.

This study is inspired by the life experiences of two professional ballet students who during the 1980's chose to abandon their artistic formations in ballet, in order to eventually reorient their career aspirations toward the armed forces.

With a perspective of thirty years and a professional career in dance both as a performer and a teacher, pursuing a Master's degree has afforded us the opportunity to address the difficulties which may occur as a result of quitting a professional ballet formation and investigate possible factors surrounding the phenomenon which we witnessed in our cohort.

1.1 The problem exposed and literature review

Professional ballet training programs usually admit students starting at the young age of ten (Chua, 2015; Khudaverdian, 2006; Mason, 1993). In order to be admitted, the student must successfully pass an audition. In a school with a company, students may be funneled into the company after completion of the training program (Phillips, 2014). In a school without a company, other avenues of student performance are sought (Phillips, 2014). Students often have opportunities to apprentice with professional dancers; instructors are former dancers with well-known companies who may have completed instructor training in the method the school uses to teach (Phillips, 2014). Students may train for upwards of 25 hours per week, or in a full-day program that includes academic subjects (Phillips, 2014). The question emerges: how do you keep students motivated during the course of this long engagement to the practice? Why do students drop out?

A study by Walker, Nordin-Bates & Redding (2012) provides some answers. The authors relate:

> The most frequently cited reasons for dropping out were conflicting demands, change in aspirations, course content, difficulty making friends, and lost passion. Injury, financial factors, low perceived competence, and teacher behavior emerged as minor reasons. Intervention strategies that focus on changes in course content may be the easiest to implement and most effective means to enhance student retention (p.65).

Understanding the factors which could lead to dropout is one part of the problem, but adding to it is understanding what happens during and after that process. The nature of ballet training requires steadfast commitment which consumes a majority of the students' time. The activity of ballet training becomes a significant source of their identity (Aalten, 2007; Alexias & Dimitropoulou, 2011; Khudaverdian, 2006; Pickard, 2012; Mason, 1993; Wainwright & Turner, 2004). Having invested most of their energy and commitment to ballet from an early age, how will a student acquire the skills necessary in order to reorientate if he or she decides to discontinue their training? How will this decision affect their developing sense of identity? What are the competencies acquired from ballet training which could be transferred into another orientation?

This information could inform and contribute towards valorization of this phenomenon. It may provide useful resources for researchers or individuals going through the process of abandoning a professional formation.

The various aspects of this phenomenon such as career choice and early-specialized intense training leading toward dropout have led us to a literary inquiry. The inquiry will anchor this research project as well as provide direction for further research.

Principally, a review of literature was conducted on five issues related to the heart of this study. These issues include: entering a professional training program at a young age; the influence of parents and peers, inherent factors influencing professional

dance training; identity formation during adolescence and during professional dance training; and factors contributing to dropout and reorientation.

1.1.1 Commencing professional training at a young age; parental and peer influence on career choice and motivations

Theories on a child's vocational development suggest that when children first begin to conceptualize career aspirations, their ideas are characterized by fantasy and imagination (Howard & Walsh, 2011, West & Newton, 1983). The preference a child expresses has no regard for the skills and qualifications necessary. Instead, children focus their attention on the pleasing, beneficial features of an occupation rather than realistic concerns such as conditions and prospects (Ginzberg *et al.*, 1951).

The ballet profession stands apart from other occupations in that professional training usually commences during childhood (Wulff, 1998). This ensures the desired physical and mental development of the aspirant (Aalten, 2007; De Mille, 1952; Khudaverdian, 1998, Wulff, 1998).

Many individuals begin occupational studies upon completion of general academic studies. Therefore, their sense of identity as well as knowledge of their strengths and talents, goals and career objectives may already have direction. In contrast to the vast majority, ballet hopefuls must embark upon professional training before their identities and sense of self are fully developed.

Not yet having achieved the age of majority, it is ultimately, in this case, up to the parents of the ballet student to decide the career orientation of the child. Parents finance the training and most often it is the parents who must accept the inevitability of sending their child to grow up within a professional training establishment rather than at home (Nelson, 2001; Mason, 1993).

For some parents, providing ballet lessons for their children becomes a means to share their own unfulfilled dreams of becoming a dancer (Mason 1993). More often, the initial reasons for enrolling a child in ballet classes include: pressure from other parents; building a child's self-confidence; a parent wanting their child to follow in their footsteps; peer pressure; and even a form of babysitting (Nelson 2001).

Very little academic attention has been given to the impact of parental involvement on the vocational development of children involved in professional ballet training. However, studies that investigate parental involvement and athletes' careers in youth sport provide some interesting and relevant results.

A study by Wuerth, Lee and Alfermann (2004), examines the patterns of involvement in youth sports across career phases and transitions. Their study concludes that both parents play an important although different role in youth athletic career development. Their study (2004) revealed that fathers of young athletes were more implicated in directed behavior with their children, meaning that they gave sport-specific advice (for example pointing out what they did wrong or providing ways for the child to improve his or her performance). Mothers were found to exhibit more praise and understanding, offering expressive behavior towards their athletic children.

Wuerth, Lee and Alfermann, (2004) present a 3-phase model of career development which is based on the observations of (Salmela, 1994) and his study of highly talented athletic teenagers.

The initiation phase occurs as the child begins to be involved in the athletic activity; the main goal is to have fun. Parents are the main supporters and often initiate the sporting activity of their children (Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004). They direct their children and therefore have a fundamental influence on how children perceive their sports activity. In the second phase or developmental phase, there is an increased

commitment to the sport as the children focus on the improvement of skills and technique with more competition at higher levels. Parents' directive role decreases, yet they remain important figures providing both financial and social support. In the third phase referred to as the mastery phase, young athletes are considered to be obsessed by their sport. They exhibit responsibility and independence. Parental involvement decreases as they increasingly withdraw from their children's activity.

Wuerth, Lee and Alfermann (2004) surmise:

> What is essential in this model of career development is the transition from one phase to another. Whenever young athletes are about to progress from, for example, the initiation to the developmental phase, they must meet special demands. Due to increased demands, the athletes have to cope with more stress and time constraints. Hence we would expect that career termination is more likely to happen during phases of transitions (p. 23).

Wuerth, Lee and Alfermann (2004) conclude their investigation of parental involvement and athletic career in youth sport stating:

> It appears that in order for parents to maximize the likelihood of youth athletes making successful transitions to higher levels of performance, they should seek to understand their children's needs for social and emotional support. Furthermore, parents can take steps to meet those needs without leading to such an extent that they are considered to be controlling in the process (p.30).

Studies on parental involvement in career youth sports suggest that parental support is fundamental to a child's participation and success in athletic activities (Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004 ; Wylleman, *et al.*, 2000). The quality of parent/child relationship during adolescence may influence youth career exploration and aspirations (Keller & Whiston, 2008). Although parental support and encouragement are associated with a child's initial enrollment in extracurricular activities (Anderson *et al.*, 2003), parental pressure is a significant negative predictor of sports/activity enjoyment (Anderson *et al.*, 2003). Parental over-involvement has been linked to heightened anxiety and

burnout among young athletes in training (Gould, Tuffey, Udry & Loehr, 1997; Holt *et al.*, 2008).

Since young dancers are typically exposed to ballet through their parents' direction, investigating the role of the family in the career development of professional ballet students is warranted.

A study by Patrick *et al.*, (1999), used in-depth interviews with talented adolescents involved in athletics or the arts and their parents, in order to examine the role of peer relationships with respect to adolescents' commitment to their talent. The authors relate:

> In summary, peer relationships are expected to be associated with adolescents' commitment to developing their talent, because they have been found to be related to adolescents' use of time, perceived social support, and identity development. Further, forming and maintaining satisfying social relationships is a significant motivational goal that is likely to be particularly important to adolescents. [...] With respect to talent development, peers may encourage and support commitment through such means as enhancing adolescents' enjoyment of the activity and bolstering their talent-related self-concept, but peers may also detract from commitment by distracting their focus (p.745).

The results of their study indicate that adolescents' peer relationships appeared to serve as an important motivational factor with respect to their continued commitment. Motivation for social engagement among the adolescents studied and their desire to spend time with their peers was a significant factor influencing their talent development.

Through his theory of social identity, Tajfel (1979) suggests that social groups are an important source of pride and self-esteem. Groups provide a sense of social identity; a sense of belonging to the social world (Bar Tal, 2000; Dru, 2007). Group identity informs the process of identity formation (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002; Phinney, 2006).

Katharine Lee (1996) presents a brief overview of the sense of community which is developed through the bodily experience of the dance class. Lee describes community as, "[…] the discourse through which common reality of a group of people is defined, expressed and reinterpreted" (p.123). This sense of community involves the structure of the group and the established roles within it, as well as, "[…] the patterns of interaction demanded, encouraged and forbidden by cultural norms and ethics shared by the members" (Lee, 1996, p.123). The feeling of community or lack thereof in the dance class may be one of the motivating factors behind the decision to abandon professional ballet training.

A study by Joey Chua (2015) examined the role of social support among elite professional ballet students in Finland and Singapore. The results of his study suggest that parental support is crucial during students' early development in ballet, however during adolescence, teachers and peers take on the role of support providers as students spend more time and energy in training. Chua's study (2015) provides valuable insight into how talented dance students thrive on social support in specific cultural contexts throughout developmental phases of talent development.

In her review of studies of dance students, Judith Alter (1997) examines the influences and factors related to students' commitment to dance training. Her review found that students consistently expressed similar positive attitudes about their devotion and commitment to dance in all the studies. She shares:

> The students shared a deep love of dancing and even described their passion in similar words. Dancing gave them freedom and joy; it gave them a chance to express themselves, and a feeling of being unified. Performing was exciting, risky, lifted them to another plane, gave them a natural "high," and thus, provided its own reward. Studying dance allowed the students to use all their muscles in a unified way, to develop discipline, to see themselves make progress, and to get things right. Though 56% of the ballet apprentices described their technique classes as pure drudgery, a similar 56%, like dance

students in the other studies, were motivated to keep taking class because they loved performing (p.72).

The social context of the students' dance experience such as friendships, competition, and the impact of community contributed toward or detracted from the students' enjoyment of dance. Alter refers to a study by Stinson, Blumenfield-Jones and Van Dyke (1990) in which the students described, "[...] an overwhelming sense of competition from unknown outside forces in the larger world which they felt would prevent them from ever realizing their dreams of becoming successful professional dancers" (p.73).

In the majority of studies reviewed, the students' dance peers and teachers contributed to the sense of community, or lack thereof. Referring to Stinson, Blumenfield-Jones and Van Dyke's study (1990), students saw teachers and choreographers as "gatekeepers" (p.74) who could prevent them from progressing into the professional dance world.

Alter's review of studies (1997) spanning forty years provides instructive information and reveals some challenging problems faced by dance educators today yet it does not address the challenges which dance students face when they decide to quit their chosen training fields.

1.1.2 Particularities inherent to professional dance training

In the past twenty years, several studies have emerged by dance researchers that have addressed the need for reform in the approach to the training of professional ballet dancers (Aitchison, 2012; Critien & Ollis, 2006; Dryburgh, 2008; Jackson, 2005; Lakes, 2005; Morris, 2003; Ritenburg, 2010).

In her article, Lakes (2005) advises a reform of pedagogical methods in dance. She favours a less authoritative approach to teaching. Ritenburg (2010) uses Foucault's concepts of discipline and power in order to illustrate the construction of the ideal body in ballet. According to her study, this ideal has a negative impact on a female dancer's sense of self. Likewise, in their study, Dryburgh and Fortin (2010) examine how the use of surveillance in the Foucauldian sense has led to low self-esteem, body image and eating disorders among female professional ballet students. In her article, Jackson (2005) argues for a change in thinking about the ideal body in ballet training. Jackson makes the case for a more somatic approach toward ballet training in order to allow for artistic as well as technical growth.

Likewise, Van Staden, Myburgh and Poggenpoel (2009) address several issues connected to the ballet-training milieu. They observe that ballet dancers' sense of self is primarily formed because of how they are perceived by others within their milieu. Furthermore, they note that the behavior and attitudes of ballet dancers tend to be regimented to such an extent that they dominate the personality and overall self-concept, at the expense of balanced functioning. The results of their study indicate that dancers are strongly influenced by their environment, which has a potentially negative influence on identity formation causing physical, psychological, and social problems. They propose that in order to avoid these potential problems, early training in self-development for pre-professional dancers should be made available.

Duda and Quested (2011) investigate how a lack of autonomy in dance teaching practices relates to burnout among dancers in training. Their findings suggest dancers' burnout risk is intensified when teachers do not foster and sustain an autonomy supportive learning environment. When instructors are autonomy supportive, dancers are more likely to feel as though they are the initiators of their own actions and have a sense of personal autonomy.

According to Critien and Ollis (2006), ballet training has become too focused on the technical aspect of the dance. Artistic elements of style and interpretation have been forfeited as a result. The authors contend that ballet teachers must try to provide an atmosphere in the studio in which artistic talent may emerge. In their study, the multi-dimensional qualities and functions of the self are investigated. The authors cite Warburton (2002), "Dance has historically relied upon tradition bound methods of preparing dancers for peak performance. These traditional methods favor technical training and a kind of, 'drill and skill' method" (Warburton, 2002 in Critien & Ollis, 2006, p.182). Their investigation concluded that more attention to artistic development is needed in ballet training.

Chua (2015) suggests that in order for talent to be realized, dance students require certain types of support from family and teachers at each phase of development. Chua offers suggestions to dance teachers in order to support dance students' development:

> [...] teachers should (a) counsel and empathize with students who are injured; (b) strive to use psychological skills to effectively reassure and restore self-confidence of young students who progress to a more advanced class; (c) hold a growth mindset, even during the third phase, to impress upon students that sustained effort, in addition to malleable dance abilities, are crucial in dance talent development; (d) praise students with immediate, explicit feedback; and (e) facilitate reflection, such as using explicit criteria, peers' feedback, and video recordings, and focusing on students' strengths to deepen students' learning during the second and third phases, so that students are not overly reliant on teachers' feedback and focus only on weaknesses (p.188).

In their study, Subotnik *et al.*, (2011) propose that psychosocial variables are determining influences in the successful development of talent. They propose that teachers involved in talent development need to offer psychological support in order to ensure the success of their students:

> It is also our view that psychosocial awareness and skills should be taught in all domains by parents, teachers, coaches, and mentors explicitly and deliberately,

not left to chance. We suggest that this psychological strength training is as important as content and skill instruction and practice in a talent area. It should not be assumed that students who possess developed ability also have these psychosocial skills, nor that such skills can be generated without direct guidance and teaching. Students should be helped to prepare for coping with the stresses, strains, and rewards of each stage of talent development, from potential to eminence (p. 40).

These studies present a critical view on the training practices that have been involved in the formation of dancers and offer recommendations for improvement. The following section presents factors that contribute towards student commitment to ballet training.

1.1.3 Commitment to ballet training

What is it that inspires a ballet student to withstand years of physical and mental challenges in order to become a professional ballet dancer?

In their study, *A qualitative investigation of commitment to dance: findings from the UK Centres for Advanced Training*, (Aujla, Nordin-Bates & Redding, 2014) the authors attempt to discover and investigate elements which influence a students' commitment to selective dance training programs.

The results of the study demonstrated that enjoyment of the dance was the primary motivational factor among participants. Students enjoyed the self-expressive aspect, the physical sensation of movement as well as the performative element in their training. The participants described feelings of satisfaction that stemmed from mastery of technical challenges in class. Social relationships formed during the training process strengthened the students' identification with their role as dancers. As satisfaction with task mastery was listed as a source of motivation for the students, positive feedback and encouragement from teachers enhanced commitment to training (2014). Self-expression was the most frequently cited source of enjoyment.

This finding suggests that, "Personal or emotional connection to the talent activity can have an impact on an individual's desire to continue to pursue his or her art" (Aujla, Nordin-Bates & Redding, 2014, p.153). We agree with their findings but are compelled to ask; What if self-expression is not encouraged in the dance class setting? These findings convey the motivations of students attending high quality dance training centers in the U.K. in 2014. The participants pursued their dance training part-time, after school. What about students enrolled in full-time professional training? What motivates them? During our time in professional training, self-expression was not encouraged in ballet classes therefore the motivations for commitment to training appear to be more complex than those found in this study.

Pickard and Bailey (2009) offer substantial clues with their study, *Crystallising experiences among young elite dancers*. Findings were drawn from individual semi-structured interviews with students ranging in ages from nine to fifteen years who were attending one of two elite dance/ballet schools in England. They suggest that memorable moments and significant experiences occur frequently during the formation of elite dancers. These moments, which the authors call "crystallising experiences," can have a powerful impact on the dancers' identification with the practice and their development within it. Pickard and Bailey (2009) describe crystallising experiences as, "[…] a sudden moment of insight, realization, self-awareness or belief that sets the person on his or her career path; a sudden illumination that dramatically affects that person's view of his or her ability within a given domain (p.169).

The participants revealed that crystallising experiences had occurred while watching performances of professional dance or while performing themselves. In the latter case, emotional response to the experience as well as encouragement from family and peers were determining motivational factors. The authors relate that for students, watching a performance of ballet can be a key determining factor for pursuing formal training.

Attainment of technical goals during ballet training was also listed as a crystallising experience. The mastery of physical challenges, as noted by Aujla, Nordin-Bates and Redding (2014) in training was cited as a significant experience and contributed toward strengthening the students' identity as a dancer. As their identification to the art form is deepened, the students' commitment to practice is increased.

On the other hand, Pickard and Bailey's research (2009) offers insight into the possible motivations, which may have influenced our former colleagues to abandon their artistic formations. They hypothesize:

> Perhaps those who move away from dance may have experienced a greater number of negative encouragements rather than positive ones, which consequently leads them to lack self-belief and confidence, perhaps leading them to suddenly or eventually avoiding dance (p.178).

A study by Aujla, Bates and Redding (2015), investigates the predictors of adherence to training programs of contemporary dance students in England, indicated that psychological factors are more important than physical competence and maturation in the participation behavior of young talented dancers.

1.1.4 Identity development during adolescence and ballet dancers professional identity

Adolescence may be described as a pivotal period in identity development when children begin to disengage from the expectations of the adult world (Crysdale, King & Mandell, 1999). Researchers have produced a substantial body of work on the process of identity development during adolescence, as well as the family, peer, and cultural influences that shape adolescents' lives in important ways.

Early adolescence is a pinnacle time for numerous areas of development including career development (Crysdale, King & Mandell, 1999; Keller & Whiston, 2008, West & Newton, 1983). During this period, young emerging adults begin to explore

occupations and develop occupational aspirations and expectations (Keller & Whiston, 2008). Adolescents begin to form self-efficacy expectations and solidify interests (Keller & Whiston, 2008).

In their study, Fredricks *et al.*, (2002) seek to enhance, through qualitative methods, an understanding of the factors that influence adolescents' commitments to extracurricular activities over time. Semi structured interviews were conducted with 41 adolescents who had been highly involved in athletics or the arts since middle childhood in order to examine their interpretations of the factors that supported or hindered their continued involvement in these activities through time.

The results of their study show that the beginning of high school marked a major turning point in the adolescents' commitments to their extracurricular activities. Although participants had been comparable in their level of activity involvement during late childhood, by adolescence, differing trajectories of involvement emerged. The authors describe that many adolescents began to define themselves in terms of being an athlete, a musician, or an artist. For these individuals, the activity had become so much a part of their sense of self and values that they could not envision not participating. However, for other adolescents, an identity as an athlete or artist did not fit with who they thought they wanted to be. This realization sparks a process of reassessment of needs. They may re-evaluate whether participation in their chosen activity or field fits with their new and emerging sense of identity and values (Fredricks *et al.*, 2002). Frequently during this complex stage of identity development, many adolescents decide to abandon their training programs (Chua, 2014; Fredricks *et al.*, 2002; Jayanthi *et al.*, 2013; Walker, Nordin-Bates & Redding, 2012).

Psychologist Varda Konstam (2015) offers a valuable resource for understanding the many developmental challenges characteristic of adolescence. Konstam examines the effects of unemployment and an unsteady economic reality on emerging and young

adults. She relays that since the 1980's adolescents have reported feeling overwhelmed by the perception of infinite choice and career options available to them along with the need to find purpose and meaning in their chosen career paths (Konstam, 2015). Konstam (2015) also asserts that in the current economic context, career selection can be non-linear compared to that of prior generations. Hence, emerging adults frequently find their way toward career consolidation by a haphazard route (Konstam, 2015). Although some adolescents seem to find career identity effortlessly, many face a longer struggle marked by false starts and periods of indecision. Attaining career commitment and consolidation in the current work context requires consistent support from those in the emerging young adults' social network of parents, friends and professionals (Konstam, 2015).

A study conducted by psychologists Kroger, Martinussen and Marcia (2010), examines developmental patterns of identity status change during adolescence. The authors adopt the views of Waterman (1999) that movement from adolescence to adulthood involves a preponderance of progressive developmental shifts. The results of the study indicate that a large majority of participants had not achieved identity status by early adulthood. Kroger (2007) proposes that this may be due in part to both individual and or situational factors. Kroger (2007) suggests that in order to attain identity achievement, one's contexts must provide some optimal level of accommodative challenge as well as environmental supports. The researchers build upon the theoretical ideas of Marcia (1976) and Valde (1996) that identified an "open" versus a "closed" form of identity achievement among adolescents based on a self-actualization measure. "Open" identity achieved individuals remained flexible in their identity commitments following initial identity explorations, and they scored high on self-actualization whereas "closed" identity achieved individuals actually ''reclosed'', retreating to earlier commitments, or became extremely rigid in their identity choices following earlier explorations (Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia, 2010). The authors suggest that the experience of severe trauma following identity exploration and

commitment may lead to a general identity regression of disorganization (Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia, 2010).

The above studies offer valuable tools for increasing our understanding of the process of identity development during adolescence and provide some possible explanations for the decisions made by this study's participants during that period. But the question emerges; how does identity develop in ballet dancers?

Previous studies have suggested that professional identity development begins concurrently with training in ballet (Khudaverdian, 1998, 2006; Mason, 1993).

In her thesis, Mason (1993) describes:

> [...] for children who become very attached to ballet it is not uncommon to find a personal commitment and therefore evidence for a strong identity formation with dance, to begin at approximately seven years of age. It is a complex process, which involves inner motivation and personal values, family and the nature of the ballet environment (p.7).

Assuming the identity of a ballet dancer is a social process (Khudaverdian, 1998; Wulff, 1998), the process of socialization into ballet culture occurs simultaneously with physical training as the students gradually master the vocabulary of classical ballet (Wulff, 1998).

Not only do ballet students acquire the technical proficiencies of the domain, but they also become inducted as members of a social culture embedded with it's own set of unique values and protocols for behavior (Wulff, 1998). Khudaverdian (2006) describes the aesthetics of ballet, which stem from a long and respected tradition. She shares:

It [ballet] has long been associated with the social and ideological processes that have been at work within a white bourgeois culture; its unprecedented longevity has been cultivated and well supported by its audiences and by the state. Its institutionalized system of training, which is highly technical and rigorous in nature, contributes to an image of ballet as an art that transcends all cultural boundaries; it is an art form which exists across all Western borders yet owns it's own language and cultural practices. It has a professional ideology of exclusivity and is deeply entrenched by an unmitigated desire to reign. It is often portrayed as a self-contained world of absolute perfection where all of its parts fit and run like a well-oiled machine (p.47).

In her book, *Ballet Across Borders: Career and Culture in the World of Dancers* (1998) Wulff refers to the findings of Graeme Salaman, who in 1974 recognized that members of occupational communities are predisposed towards internalizing the particular value systems of the field. In professional ballet training programs, these value systems are inherited from teachers and fellow students during the course of the training process.

Wulff's (1998) book illustrates the social nature of learning within ballet culture. She draws from the 1995 study conducted by Lave and Wenger, which found that the process of learning transpires from within a framework of participation rather than the individual mind. Wulff explains that knowledge in the formation of ballet dancers takes place from the outside at first, as students learn from watching ballet videos and performances, observing older students in class, and reading books. As more expertise is gained, ballet knowledge is integrated physically and the student's body becomes the center of the learning experience.

As time and commitment to training increases, the student begins to adopt an identification of self as a ballet dancer (Buckroyd, 1986, in Mason 1993). The combination of self- perception and evaluation with reinforcement from teachers and colleagues contributes to the student's perceived role within the training

establishment (Aujla, Nordin-Bates & Redding, 2014; Laillier, 2011; Mason, 1993; Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004).

Mason (1993) states that as the student progresses, experiences increasing success in his or her role as a ballet dancer, the student gains self-esteem, and begins to internalize the values and norms associated with the practice. These values are then bolstered by the authority figures (teachers and directors) of the school. The ballet dancer in training utilizes his or her working environment to construct a particular vision of his or her perceived role. Therefore young dancers look to their teachers not only for acknowledgment of their dancing skills, but also for individual affirmation of self. Talent development requires certain types of support from family and teachers at every stage of development (Chua, 2015).

The intense training involved in the formation of a professional ballet dancer allows little free time for outside endeavors (DeMille, 1952; Mason, 1993; Wulff 1998). Important social relationships are formed with fellow students who reinforce the students' identity as a ballet dancer. Often separated from their families, professional ballet students may perceive the ballet school as a surrogate family with their teachers taking on the role as parents (Chua, 2015; Mason, 1993).

In their study, Stinson, Blumenfield-Jones and Van Dyke (1990) develop the metaphor of a mother/daughter relationship in order to understand the process of identity development among ballet dancers. They explain:

> Because the child is connected with mother prior to a consciousness of self as a separate creature, child and parent are aware of the ways in which the parent influences the child, shaping and molding her, but both hardly aware at all of the child's corresponding influence on parent's development. Similarly, we see a picture of students beginning dance early age, and finding themselves embedded in it before a separate consciousness (p.19).

The authors propose that the choice to dance is not necessarily as freely made as one might think, because for dance students, their identity as a dancer dominates the other aspects of their self-definition (1990). Their sense of self and self-worth is deeply connected to their dancing ability (Stinson, Blumenfield-Jones & Van Dyke, 1990). Dance, which seems to exist outside of themselves, appears to measure their success and failure against external standards (Stinson, Blumenfield-Jones & Van Dyke, 1990).

Pickard (2012) traces the evolution of identity among ballet students in her article, *Schooling the dancer: the evolution of an identity as a ballet dancer*. Her study focuses on students ranging from ages ten to fifteen years old. Describing the embodiment of a ballet dancer, she writes, "Ballet has become engrained in my body. My body is ballet, on the surface of my body and at my core" (p.1). Her study identifies the strong relationship between the ballet dancer's body and their identity. The findings of Pickard (2012) reveal that at the time of the study, emotional and physical suffering were considered normal and accepted social practices in ballet training schools.

Thorough investigation and deeper understanding of the social nature of professional ballet training along with its subsequent effect on the development of self-identity in ballet students provides valuable insight into the factors, which contribute to our understanding identity development among dance students, but what happens to the identity development of a student who abandons their training?

1.1.5 Understanding the process of retirement from ballet

To date there is a lack of studies that focus on the problem of quitting ballet formation during adolescence. Therefore, an examination of studies, which focus on

the process of retirement from the professional ballet milieu, may deepen our understanding of the phenomenon.

A dancer must have a strong sense of professional identity if he or she is going to be successful in professional ballet (Aalten, 2007; Aitchison, 2012; De Mille, 1952; Khudaverdian, 1998, 2006; Pickard & Bailey, 2009; Wainwright & Turner, 2004). This sense of identity is developed through training and strengthened through social factors such as peers and feedback from teachers (Pickard & Bailey, 2009; Pickard, 2012, Wulff, 2008). Identity as a ballet dancer is reinforced through memorable or crystallising experiences such as performances or receiving professional accolades (Aalten, 2004; Pickard & Bailey, 2009).

A professional ballet dancer's identity is tied to their career; therefore, the decision to leave the professional ballet milieu is often accompanied by a considerable loss of identity (Mason, 1993; Wainwright & Turner, 2004; Wulff, 1998).

Wulff (1998) examines the previously unknown backstage practices of the ballet dancers' life and reveals the inner workings of this closed world. Her ethnographic investigation of four national ballet companies in Europe and America illustrates how the careers of ballet dancers start and finish. Her research provides important observations on the attitudes, fears, and personal transitions that are associated with the aging process and retirement among ballet dancers.

Wulff (1998) relates that ballet dancers can expect to retire between ages thirty or forty. Because of the ballet careers' relatively short time span, age and issues related to aging are treated with caution in the professional ballet world. Wulff recounts that many professional ballet dancers try to avoid facing their aging process and declining physical form for as long as possible. Her study brings understanding to the mental transition experienced by professional ballet dancers when faced with retirement.

Furthermore, in their study, *Narratives of Embodiment: Body, Aging, and Career in Royal Ballet Dancers* (Wainwright & Turner, 2004), like Wulff (1998), the authors develop a sociological framework for the study of ballet. Their study (2004) examines the career transitions of Royal Ballet dancers as they face retirement. The authors use Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* which can be described as the daily practises of the body that unconsciously perform the primary embodiment of social and cultural factors (Alexias and Dimitropoulou, 2011). Wainwright and Turner (2004), suggest that the habitus of classical ballet produces preferences toward the body, which emphasize beauty, youth and physicality. As a result, "[...] aging, injury and retirement are aspects of the ballet career that are deeply problematic within the field of classical ballet" (p.102). According to the study (2004), the physical decline of the body is perceived as a threat to the dancer's career and self-identity. Their study helps to illuminate the difficulties faced by professional ballet dancers during phases of career transition. Moreover, the process of aging and retirement can affect the construction process of professional identity in the professional ballet milieu.

In her thesis, Janet Mason (1993) describes that the degree to which the dancer relies upon the dance environment to reinforce their set of values, abilities, goals and self-worth may inhibit his or her ability to maintain a sense of identity without that environment. Masons' study offers in-depth information on the transformative experience that ballet dancers face upon retirement, yet it does not address the dilemma faced by professional ballet students who decide they no longer wish to continue their studies in ballet.

1.1.6 Factors of dropout and reorientation

There is a growing body of evidence from sports and dance research, which shows a correlation between early childhood specialization and athletic burnout leading to

dropout among adolescents (Grudic, 2016; Hensch, 2006; Jayanthi *et al.*, 2013; Walker, Nordin Bates & Redding, 2012).

In their article, Jayanthi *et al.* (2013), investigate whether intense practice time must begin during early childhood and to the exclusion of other sports to maximize the potential for success. The authors indicate a concern that sports specialization before adolescence may be deleterious to a young athlete. Although some degree of specialization is necessary, intense training in a single sport to the exclusion of others should be delayed until late adolescence. This is to optimize success and help minimize risks of injury and psychological stress.

According to the authors (2013), early sports specialization may contribute to burnout and dropout of sports. Their investigation with athletes revealed that swimmers who specialized early spent less time on the national team and retired earlier than athletes who specialized later. Minor league ice hockey players (boys) that dropped out of the sport had begun off-ice training earlier and spent more time in off-ice training than those who continued to compete. They suggest that early diversification followed by specialization may lead to more enjoyment, fewer injuries, and longer participation, contributing to the chances of success.

In their study (2012) Walker, Nordin-Bates and Redding refer to findings from sports research, which suggests a correlation between intense early childhood involvement in sport and adolescent dropout. They write:

> Research based on the developmental model of sports participation suggests that early specialization in one sport is associated with dropout. This finding may be particularly relevant in relation to talent development programs, which often involve intense activity from an early age (p.65).

Their study (2012) found that early intense training was associated with lost passion leading to dropout among adolescent dance students. The authors recommend that, "Intense training should only be undertaken when a young person is physically, psychologically and emotionally ready" (p.70)

A study from the field of psychology by Ryba *et al.*, (2016) offers recommendations and psychological insight for training gifted athletes in dual pathways. The concept of dual careers for athletes refers to the challenge of combining an athletic career with education or employment. The authors argue that the challenge of combining elite sport and education into a dual career pathway remains to be a source of concern for many high-performance athletes. Committed participation in both domains (academics and athletics) is highly demanding and success in one pursuit often comes at the expense of the other.

The authors report that in 2012, the European Commission[1] acknowledged the challenge of combining elite sport and education to create a dual career pathway in an effort to promote sports development in a socially responsible manner. Furthermore, there is an increasing expectation in economically developed countries that youth athletes should combine their athletic and academic pursuits to avoid restricting their future study opportunities and life options. Although student-athletes recognize the importance of education, because of the relatively short time span of athletic careers, student athletes tend to give priority to the training and competition demands of elite sport as they struggle with the requirements and restrictions in educational systems (Ryba *et al.*, 2016). Because of this, if athletic participation is threatened (due to

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[1] *EU Guidelines on Dual Careers of Athletes: Recommended Policy Actions in Support of Dual Careers in High-Performance Sport.* (2012). Retrieved October 25, 2016, from http://ec.europa.eu/sport/library/documents/ dual-career-guidelines-final_en.pdf

injuries or de-selection), the athletes' identity may be compromised causing psychological difficulties in adaptation to life outside of the athletic milieu (Ryba *et al.*, 2016). As adolescent athletes struggle with successfully combining an academic and athletic career, they may experience increased pressure making them vulnerable to anxiety, stress overload, overtraining, and burnout, as well as various transition difficulties across development (Ryba *et al.*, 2016).

In order to better understand the risk and resilience factors related to the construction of a dual career pathway during the critical transitions of adolescent athletes to upper secondary school, Ryba *et al.*, (2016) turn to a *Holistic Athletic Career* model, which was conceptualized by Wylleman, Reints, and De Knop in 2013. The *Holistic Athletic Career* model (2013) offers a developmental perspective on transitions faced by athletes over the span of their careers. Emphasized within the holistic lifespan perspective on athletic development is the challenge of successfully integrating sport and education during the adolescent years due to the major overlap between sport and school at this critical stage when athletic training and competition intensify.

In their study, Ryba *et al.*, (2016) express concerns on athletes' agency in making career choice. They propose that adolescence is a key developmental period for self-exploration within the social undercurrents of diverse cultural sites. For adolescents engaged in elite sport, this period of self-discovery coincides with the period of intense commitment and engagement in elite sport disciplinary practices. Hence, understanding the processes which are involved in narrowing down the social field in which elite athletes design their future life trajectories would seem imperative (Ryba *et al.*, 2016). The authors (2016) contend that athletes tend to lack life experiences and role experimentation outside the sporting contexts, and their social relationships are often limited to athletic events and people (Ryba *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, it's not surprising that athletes with strong athletic identities are more prone towards choosing a sport-related profession in the future (Ryba *et al.*, 2016).

The authors relate that the development of personal competencies and skills with which to achieve excellence in both academic and athletic domains plays an important role in an athletes' ability to cope with career and life transitions. Therefore it is essential to examine the processes producing differences in adolescent integration of sport and academic pursuits in specific social and cultural contexts. Their study (2016) offers supporting evidence to suggest that athletic and educational pursuits are not only compatible but also complementary.

A study by Ivan Pulinkala (2011) called, *Integration of a professional dancer into college*, evaluates the experience of integrating a professional dancer into a collegiate environment using a case study method of qualitative research. Pulinkala (2011) argues that the rigors of daily training involved in professional ballet often leaves little time for the study of the historical, philosophical, scientific and intellectual aspects of the art form (Pulinkala, 2011). Compounding this issue is the fact that during adolescence, most aspiring professionals are encouraged to enter a college environment in order develop the skills and knowledge necessary for success in the field. Ballet dancers on the other hand, are required to devote six to eight hours a day to physical training, which is critical for their success in the professional world (Pulinkala, 2011).

Like their athletic counterparts, ballet dancers work in a milieu, which celebrates youth (Pulinkala, 2011). The rigorous demands of ballet technique require physical virtuosity that can be more readily achieved with a younger physical body (Pulinkala, 2011). Therefore, pursuing a college degree in dance is not an ideal avenue for dancers who are focused on a performance career (Pulinkala, 2011). Attending a college dance program however, provides many advantages to professional dancers seeking successful careers within the field (for example, art administrators, entrepreneurs, dance researchers or teachers) past their relatively short span of their performance careers (Pulinkala, 2011).

The first customized higher education opportunity for professional ballet dancers was created in 1997 as a partnership between Birmingham Royal Ballet and the University of Birmingham (Pulinkala, 2011). This partnership aimed at overcoming the limitations, which prevent professional ballet dancers from pursuing a degree in higher education.

This study confirmed the hypothesis that collaborative education between a professional dance company and a college dance program provides wide-ranging benefits to the participants, organizations as well as the profession.

However, many dancers consciously avoid preparing for the post-performance career transition. A study conducted by Jeffri and Throsby (2006) noted that professional dancers do not fully explore career options for fear that it will jeopardize their career. Their findings indicate that the skills and experience acquired by professional dancers throughout their careers, such as self-discipline, teamwork and stamina, are transferable skills, which are at risk of being wasted with the termination of their dance careers (Jeffri & Throsby, 2006). They write:

> While dancers invest an enormous amount of time in their education, much of this training does not confer a formal degree, so that their future careers often require additional education. It should be noted that the general trend towards lifelong learning, particularly in the United States, bodes well for dancers seeking further education. Where once dancers retraining for an alternative career might have been seen as "betraying the cause," multiple careers are now the norm in many countries (p.6).

The studies we have included in this review establish a direct rapport with the experience of dropping out from a professional ballet-training program during adolescence and the process of reorientation that ensues. However, the phenomenon of dropping out from a professional ballet-training program and the challenges this action represents in terms of reorientation and its effects on identity development and

professional identity remains relatively uninvestigated. Establishing that the state of previous research supports this current study and determines possible developments in knowledge, we aim to deepen our comprehension of this phenomenon.

1.2 Research question and sub-questions

This study resolves to answer the following question;

What are the perceptions of the motivations and conditions that could influence two former ballet students involved in full-time professional training to abandon such training and later reorient toward a military career?

In order to gain a deeper knowledge of the subject and to guide our analysis, we have elaborated the following sub-questions:

1) How does one's individual sense of identity modify itself during the transitional career orientation process from professional ballet training to the military?

2) What skills acquired through ballet training could be applied to facilitate the transitional process of the career orientation shift from professional ballet training to the military?

1.3 Research goal and objectives

This study explores the perceived dynamics and motivations that led two adolescent students who were attending an elite professional ballet school during the 1980's to dropout and eventually reorient towards the military. Through their narratives, which were gathered in 2015, we aim to describe the principle effects of their quest for professional identity development.

The participants' trajectories may provide information pertaining to factors influencing the phenomenon of dropping out from professional ballet training, the process of identity development that occurs during this circumstance and the reorientation towards a military formation/career as they matured.

1.4 Definitions

1.4.1 Motivations

Motivations: Motivation is generally viewed as a process through which an individual's needs and desires are set in motion (Rakes, & Dunn, 2010, p.78). The force stimulates behavior, provides direction to behavior, and underlies the tendency to prevail (Bartol & Martin, 1998). To be motivated means to be stimulated to do something (Deci & Ryan, 1985). An unmotivated person is characterized as someone who lacks the impetus or inspiration to act, whereas someone who is energized or activated towards a goal is considered motivated (Deci & Ryan, 1985).

1.4.2 Conditions

Conditions: The term conditions, refers to the circumstances or situation under which people live, work, and conduct their activities. They are the circumstances that affect how a person exists. (Oxford Advanced American Dictionary, 2016; the Oxford English Dictionary Second Edition).

1.5 State of the question

Until recently, sociological inquiry into the factors that influence dance students to commit or to quit their training was relatively unheard of (Alter, 1997; Aujla, Nordin-Bates, Redding & Jobbins, 2014; Aujla, Nordin- Bates & Redding, 2015; Chua, 2015; Duda & Quested, 2011; Fredricks *et al.*, 2002; Walker, Nordin-Bates & Redding,

2012). Many studies have presented how identity in ballet dancers is developed through training and socialization (Critien & Ollis, 2006; Khudaverdian, 1998; Pickard, 2012; Stinson, Blumenfield-Jones & Van Dyke, 1990, Van Staden, Myburgh & Poggenpoel, 2009). Understanding the process of embodiment which occurs during the training process in ballet helps us to understand how dancers "become the dance" or in other words, how the process becomes a major part of how ballet students see themselves (Aalten, 2004; Pickard, 2012; Wulff, 1998). Others studies as well, have researched the psychological effects of retirement from a professional performing career (Jeffri & Throsby, 2006; Mason, 1993; Wainwright & Turner, 2004).

Unlike other professions, ballet dancers must decide to pursue professional training as children, before their identities are fully developed. However, there is a growing trend among researchers that questions the effectiveness and the repercussions of early intense specialization in athletics (Jayanthi *et al.*, 2013; Myer *et al.*, 2015).

These studies help us to understand the challenging process of becoming a professional ballet dancer and how ballet dancers' identity is formed within their milieu, yet there has been no investigation of which we are aware that investigates the challenges and repercussions on identity development of professional ballet students who decide to quit.

Having a shared personal history with the two participants in this study has provided a rich tool for understanding the long-term effects of quitting an intense training program on career and identity development. The present study seeks to fill a void in knowledge and provide information and resources for parents, teachers and students parents and teachers or students who may be dealing with the situation of quitting a specialized training program and the subsequent challenges of reintegration.

In the reviewed studies, diversified methodology was used to investigate the aspects of the problem. In this study, the storytelling of two cases reflecting the problem will be put into light. The main advantage of this methodology is its longitudinal aspect; treating a phenomenon in a life perspective.

1.6 Methodology

This study inquires into the complexities of the human experience. For this reason, the study is guided by qualitative research methods. Qualitative research can be defined as the inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, all-inclusive picture, shaped with words, recording detailed views of the subject, and conducted in a natural setting (Creswell,1994).

The present study is framed by the theoretical belief that reality is socially produced (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Wahyuni, 2012). Therefore, this investigation falls under the interpretive paradigm. The interpretivist researcher is inclined to favour the participant's views of the studied situation (Creswell, 2003) and recognizes the impact on the research of their personal background and experiences.

Using storytelling methodology brings understanding and clarity to the lived experience of the subjects.

Storytelling is a relatively new approach to sociological inquiry, which pulls away from personal detachment and encourages collaboration and vigorous connection with the research subject. It engages cross-fertilization among academic disciplines and may facilitate personal growth or transformation (Berger & Quinney, 2005).

Berger and Quinney (2005) explain that written description of past events is about stories and story structure. It is about, "[...] imbuing life events with a temporal and

logical order" and "establishing continuity between the past, present and yet unrealized future, about transforming human experience into meaning" (p.4). Evolving social conditions in today's society create cultural chasms, which offer space for the telling of stories, which then in turn, set the stage for new models of engagement with the world (Berger & Quinney, 2005).

The authors elaborate (2005, p.5), "Narrative scholars of various stripes seem to concur with the proposition that lived experiences can be understood through the stories people tell about it." Through storytelling, not only are we sharing personal history, but we are constructing our identities and therefore finding purpose and meaning in our lives (Berger & Quinney, 2005).

1.7 Limits of the Study

This study is based on the extraordinary circumstances that led two former students to abandon their professional artistic formations in ballet and eventually enter military service. We believe it to be a unique phenomenon restricted to a specific time and place. Therefore, this study is limited, yet also inspired by the lack of existing research on the subject.

The main source of findings is the story told by the subjects themselves. Central to this research is the reflexivity of the researcher, this being said, it is also its greatest liability. Our own personal interests and perspectives may drive the research design and interpretation.

The reliability of the source may also come into question; there may be social and political constraints, which influence the subjects' recollection and description of the event. These limitations address the ambiguity of truth as well as the metaphoric nature of language.

Kathryn Church (in Berger & Quinney, 2005, p.9) writes, "My subjectivity is filled with the voices of others. There is never one story being told."

Before entering more precisely into the methodology, and in order to investigate and answer the research questions, the second chapter will detail and define the concepts that are indispensable to understanding the two stories.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

In the introduction, we described our personal experience in the professional ballet-training milieu. Two of our colleagues who dropped out from an elite professional ballet school at age fifteen became one of the motivations that inspired the course of this research. The focus of the current study is to examine and illuminate the perceived motivations and conditions of professional ballet training which influenced two former ballet students during the 1980's to abandon their artistic formation and eventually reorient their career aspirations toward the armed forces. This occurrence inspired several questions that relate directly to the subject of study: What are the conditions and motivations that drive students involved in professional ballet training to quit or to commit?

To help find answers to our research questions, we will detail and define concepts that have been mobilized in prior studies on the problem of abandoning and reorientation of career formations. Our primary focus will be on the training and simultaneous construction of identity in ballet dancers. The phenomenon of early specialization and dropout will be investigated as well as motivations for commitment and dropout between two former dance students.

Concepts from the field of psychology will be used as leverage to find meaning in their trajectories. The theoretical concepts at the base of the study: Self-efficacy (Bandura,1977) and Identity development (Erikson, 1950) will be examined, defined and clarified in order to situate how they will support this study.

2.1 Self-efficacy

Psychologist Albert Bandura (1997) describes self-efficacy as, "The belief in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations" (p.2). In other words, self-efficacy is an individual's belief in his or her ability to succeed in any given situation. Self-efficacy beliefs determine how people think, behave, and feel. The concept of self-efficacy is central to Bandura's social cognitive theory (1989), which emphasizes the role of observational learning, social experience, and reciprocal determinism in developing a personality.

Bandura's social cognitive theory is based on an agentic perspective to human self-development adaptation and change (Bandura, 1989). The four core features of human agency as specified by Bandura are: 1) intentionality, 2) forethought, 3) self-reactiveness and 4) self-reflectiveness. This theory provides an agentic explanation for career choice and development (Bandura *et al.*, 2001) According to Bandura and Locke (2003) individuals form intentions that include plans and strategies for realizing them. They write:

> People are self-examiners of their own functioning. They reflect on their efficacy; the soundness of their thoughts and actions and the meaning of their pursuits and make corrective adjustments if necessary. They do things that give them satisfaction and a sense of self-worth and refrain from actions that bring self-censure (p.97).

In other words, people are constantly assessing their occupational roles. They question their choice of occupations and if they feel they are not satisfied within their occupations, they make personal changes, for example retraining or changing of occupation if necessary.

Perceived self-efficacy is positioned as a pivotal factor in career choice and development (Bandura *et al.*, 2001). Unless individuals believe that they are able to

produce desired outcomes from their actions, they have little incentive to act or persevere in the face of difficulties or challenges (Bandura *et al.*, 2001). The authors (2001) relate:

> Beliefs of personal efficacy affect the career choice process through several pathways. Self-beliefs of efficacy govern aspirations, self-appraisal of occupational capabilities, level of motivation, development of occupational interests and resilience to daunting impediments (p.190).

Psychological investigations by Alfred Bandura (1997, 2001) report the links between self-efficacy beliefs and performance or behavior. He suggests that efficacy beliefs contribute significantly to the level of motivation and performance (Bandura & Locke, 2003).

Self-efficacy beliefs affect the way individuals process and behave under stress (Bandura & Locke, 2003). Bandura and Locke (2003) refer to a study by Gear, Davidson and Gatchel (1970), stating, "People who are arbitrarily led to believe that they can control aversive events display lower autonomous arousal and less performance impairment than those who believe they lack personal control although they are subjected equally to painful events" (p.90).

Bandura's concept of self-efficacy will enhance our understanding of the inner motivations behind the participants' decision to drop out of the professional ballet program.

2.2 Identity development

This study mobilizes the concepts relative to identity development by developmental psychologists Erik Erikson and James Marcia in order to deepen our understanding of the process of identity development during adolescence.

Identity formation has been most extensively described by Erik Erikson in his theory of developmental stages (Erikson, 1950). These stages extend from birth through to adulthood. According to Erikson, identity formation begins during childhood and gains prominence during adolescence (Erikson, 1950). Adolescents, are confronted with physical growth, sexual maturation, and imminent career choices, and must undertake the task of integrating their previous experiences and characteristics into a stable identity (Erikson, 1968). Erikson describes this period of self-exploration as the core of the adolescent transition (1959). Erikson coined the phrase "identity crisis" (1968) to describe the temporary uncertainty and confusion adolescents experience as they struggle with options and choices during the formation of identity.

Erikson (1968) suggests that the successful resolution of this crisis is determined by one's progress through previous developmental stages, which rest upon fundamental issues of trust, autonomy, and initiative (1959). By the age of twenty-one, close to half of all adolescents are thought to have successfully resolved their identity crises (McLeod, 2013). Others, however, are unable to achieve an integrated adult identity, either because they have failed to resolve the identity crisis or because they have experienced no crisis at all (McLeod, 2013).

James Marcia (1966) elaborated Erikson's theories of identity development during adolescence. He identified four common ways that he calls *identity statuses* in which adolescents deal with the challenge of identity formation: *"Identity-achieved"* refers to those who experience, challenge, and resolve the identity crisis. *"Identity-foreclosed"* refers to those who make conventional commitments (often identical or similar to those of their parents) without questioning them or investigating alternatives. *"Identity-diffused"* refers to those who pull away from making defining choices about their futures and remain arrested, unable to fully engage in careers, values and social commitments. In contrast, those in the *"moratorium"* group, while unable to make such commitments, are actively engaged in an ongoing though

unresolved crisis as they struggle to crystallize their sense of self (Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia, 2010; Schwartz, Coté & Arnett, 2005).

The theoretical contributions towards identity development made by Erikson and Marcia help to clarify any modifications of identity produced during the career orientation from professional ballet training to the military.

2.3 Discipline, docility and obedience

It is necessary to present some of Foucault's literary concepts in order to answer questions of embodiment and skills inherent to both professional ballet training and the military.

Foucault (1979) defines discipline as, "[...] a relation of 'docility-utility' imposed on the body's forces" (p.137). In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) detailed the emergence from the Classical era of a large-scale disciplinary drive that became omnipresent during the modern era. He defined extensively this concept of discipline, which he viewed as a specific technique of power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise. Discipline becomes a method of domination, and the body an object and target of its power.

In his work, *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault examines the exercises of discipline; that is, controlling or correcting operations, which culminate in the production of "docile bodies." In his understanding, "docile bodies" are trained, obedient, and responsive to commands thereby becoming skillful and increasing in force (Aitchison, 2012). He uses a training manual for soldiers in order to illustrate the process of becoming "docile." In this manual, the prospective soldier is measured in terms of his physical qualities and is objectified as something that can be constructed through habitual physical exercises. Success in training is ultimately

achieved through the eventual internalization of the institutional norms and productive goals (Fortin, Viera & Tremblay, 2009).

Philosophers and researchers have observed that disciplinary regimes such as ballet are associated with different forms of embodied experiences (Bourdieu, 1977; Chaney, 2002; Foucault 1977, 1979). Foucault's work on the disciplined society provides an analysis of the connectedness of the body, self and society. Although his earlier work minimizes the role of agency and the 'self' (1977), he refers to the politico-anatomy of the body and the bio-politics of society as being integrated parts of the overall exercise of power.

In, *Ethereal expression; Paradoxes of ballet as a global physical culture*, Wulff (2008) refers to Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (1977) suggesting that through physical discipline, bodies become more docile and skilled, thus becoming more easily controlled. She applies Foucault's concepts of discipline and surveillance to ballet training (Wulff, 2008). She (2008) writes:

> Starting at about age 10, ballet dancers have spent most of their time being disciplined and trained to perform the precise movements of ballet. As they grow up, they internalize this physicality. Not only are they controlled by ballet physicality but their habitus drives them to maintain this discipline themselves (p.529).

The internalization of discipline in ballet training has also been acknowledged in several other studies (Aitchison, 2012; Dryburgh, 2008; Grau, 2005; Khudaverdian, 2006; Rip, Fortin & Vallerand, 2006; Ritenburg, 2010; Wainwright & Turner, 2004).

The physical training involved in both professional ballet and the military is centered on control. It prescribes to Foucault's theory of "technology of power" which regulates the behavior of individuals and submits them to certain ends or domination in order to achieve an improved state (Grau, 2005). The power of discipline creates

docile bodies that develop into more capable and skilled bodies, but become subordinated in the process (Wulff, 1998).

Khudaverdian (1998) describes how ballet dancers must first work on their bodies, "sculpting" and "controlling" them before they are able to move freely through space, using their bodies as instruments of artistic expression. Supervision of the training process that uses a codified system assures the maintenance of control (Aitchison, 2012). Ballet training is consistently authoritarian in its approach. It involves "[…] a complex set of rules and techniques which have been established for centuries" (Ritenburg, 2010, p.74). Examining the connection between bodies and power in a Foucauldian sense may broaden our understanding of physical cultures in both ballet and the military.

Body at Work: Michel Foucault and the Sociology of Sport (Harvey & Rail, 1995), investigates the theoretical concepts of Michel Foucault and their influence on a sociological understanding of sports. Drawing from *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977), as well as the first volume of his series, *The History of Sexuality* (1978), they present a review of significant studies from the field of sports sociology, which have been inspired by Foucault's approach. The authors apply Foucault's concept of discipline to sports training. They (1995) describe discipline as, "a conglomerate of modern formulas of domination and integration to the social order" (p.165) that are designed to "[…] disperse, mark and fix the population" (Dostie, 1998 in Harvey & Rail, 1995, p.165), and to train the bodies of individuals so that their movements afford maximum efficiency. The authors examine Foucault's concept of surveillance. They relate that, as opposed to societies under a monarchical rule where surveillance was used to control mass population, modern society utilizes a disciplinary power based on a system of internalized surveillance, and in so doing, each person becomes his or her own overseer. Self-subjectivation in the Foucauldian

sense is where individuals constitute and recognize themselves as subjects (Foucault 1984, 1986).

In, *Educating the leader and leading the educated: the defense learning, education and training handbook*, Stouffer and Horn (2012), inform us that discipline is an integral and unquestionable composite of military training. Discipline ensures the subjugation of personal willpower to the institution and the commanding officer (Jackson *et al.*, 2012).

Like its military counterpart, the formation of ballet dancers is based on the master/apprentice or power/domination model of transmission in which the student must subordinate their own personal agency (Aalten, 2007; Aitchison, 2012). Aitchison describes (2012), "Like soldiers, dancers are told what to do, how to do it and when to do it" (p.21). Furthermore, Wulff (1998) elaborates, stating that master/apprentice relationships are considered a valuable composite of a ballet dancers' professional reputation within the professional ballet milieu. Exceptional dancing is a reflection of training received by a master teacher.

Duda and Quested (2011) however, question the authoritative approach to teaching in ballet. They propose that the basic needs of vocational dancers must be nurtured via autonomy supportive approaches to teaching in order to forestall burnout among dance students in elite dance training settings.

2.4 Habitus

In order to illuminate the transformative journey and subsequent formation of identity of the professional ballet dancer in training, it is valuable to first understand his or her personal identification and connection to the craft. In the first chapter, we stated that habitus could be described as the daily practises of the body that unconsciously

perform the primary embodiment of social and cultural factors (Alexias and Dimitropoulou, 2011).

In this study, we adopt the understanding that ballet-training procedures are part of a unique and dynamic culture. The singular culture of professional ballet influences the perceptions and behavior of those involved (Aalten, 2007). Ballet culture has established its own distinct way of conceptualizing and using the body (Khudaverdian, 1998).

The world of a professional ballet school may be viewed as a unique and singular culture, which maintains its own non-verbal language, set of customs, rituals and practices (Khudaverdian, 1998). The traditional practices of professional ballet have been established for 400 years and as a result, ballet dancers have inherited a unique cultural conception of the body, which is intertwined with their identities (Khudaverdian, 1998). Values associated with the culture of ballet include verticality that was associated with the aristocratic classes, harmony, synchronicity and weightlessness (Kelly, 2012).

According to Khudaverdian (1998), a culture's specific conception of the body maintains one's particular way of using, seeing and experiencing it. Therefore, the boundaries that are assigned by a culture, delimit the parameters in which the body is experienced. The way a ballet student views his or her body is governed by the rigid demands and boundaries set by balletic culture (DeMille, 1952).

Because of years of training, ballet dancers become "one" with their bodies (Wulff, 1998). Weber in Wainwright and Turner (2004) writes, "Being a dancer is embodied. Being a ballet dancer is not just something you do, it is something you are" (p.108).

Wainwright and Turner's article (2003), *Reflections on Embodiment and Vulnerability*, reviews three studies on embodiment that deal with very different professions. They review the process of embodiment in the working class experience (Charlesworth, 2000), boxing (Wacquant, 1995) and ballet (Turner B.S, 2003; Wulff, 1998) in order to illuminate the broader relationships between the body, self and society. Their article relates the development of self-identity to the lived experience of professional embodiment. Their findings are useful for clarifying the transformative journey and reorientation from professional ballet to military training.

Scholars and researchers agree that as a result of daily training practices, ballet dancers develop unique views of their bodies, perceiving them as tools or vehicles that must be mastered in order to achieve the aesthetic ideal (Grau, 2005; Pickard, 2012; Ritenburg, 2010; Wainwright & Turner, 2003).

The world of ballet training can be described as a culture of embodiment (Wainwright & Turner, 2003). That is, a world in which the relationship between the body, identity and the social world are inextricably linked (Burkitt, 1999). Entering the culture of professional ballet training involves an internalization of its values. The process of acculturalisation within the hierarchal context of professional ballet training is an integral component of identity construction. Understanding of how identity evolves within social groups may offer insight into possible motivations for career changes.

2.5 Resilience

Identifying the mental skills cultivated through professional ballet training may help in understanding the transition from ballet to military training, particularly, the possibility of transference of skills from one practice to another.

In her autobiography, *Dance to the Piper*, Agnes De Mille (1952) recounts the grueling nature of professional ballet training. She admits that physical aptitude is not enough to become a ballet dancer. Determination and resolve are integral components in the formation of a professional ballet dancer. As the student learns to execute the technical exercises and movements of ballet, the internalization of the discipline requisite of training begins to transpire. De Mille (1952) states:

> [...] the students then must train their bodies every day in order for their muscles to develop properly and simultaneously must train their senses to feel the music every day until it becomes second nature. Finally, they must train and discipline their minds every day in order to withstand the pressures of being a dancer (p.59).

Resilience, tenacity and mental strength are some of the attributes that are required for students wishing to gain entrance to Canada's National Ballet School (Khudaverdian, 1998). In, *The Dancing Body* (1998) Khudaverdian interviews a teacher from the school (N.B.S.) who explains:

> Before the immediate entrance to the school, despite the fact that they have shown all the appropriate physical and artistic talent, they must pass one final test before they are admitted. This is the test of mental discipline and endurance, which is necessary in order to withstand the pressure of being an elite dancer (p.52).

Mental strength and enduring passion for dance are considered integral traits for a child to be successful in the culture of professional ballet (Khudaverdian, 1998).

2.6 Theoretical concepts within the context of military training

This study's two participant's reorientation from professional ballet training led them towards a military career path. Therefore, in order to respond to our research

questions, it becomes essential to investigate concepts inherent to military training. The concepts of embodiment, motivations and identity development relating to the formation of soldiers will be presented.

2.6.1 Identity development within the context of military training

As in professional ballet training, military training is a lengthy physical process which requires determination and mental stamina, but with radically different goals.

The physical requirements for becoming a soldier in Canada are challenging. The Canadian Armed Forces website advises prospective soldiers, "It may be the most demanding experience you have ever had and requires hard work and perseverance." The physical components of military training are not our primary interest, the evolution of a soldier's sense of self, which results as a course of training is more relevant to the current study.

The goal of training is to re-establish the sense of identity from civilian to military culture (Jackson *et al.*, 2012; Stouffer & Horn, 2012). The authors describe the transformative nature of military training:

> Basic military training starts the socialization process and begins with distancing recruits from current social networks and attempts to reorient an individual's established self-identity. Strategies to accomplish this tend to fall under the overarching concepts of power, control and custom. Recruits begin basic training as strangers and live in isolation from the influences of the broader civilian society. The rituals of the socialization experience are intended to create a strong normative bond. Removing any alternative sources of meaning, the military becomes the normative frame of reference with which the group identifies (p.369).

Stouffer and Horn (2012), suggest that military "ethos" or values are developed during the process of training and subsequent military service. These values include duty, loyalty, integrity and courage. They suggest (2012), "The military ethos

embodies the spirit that binds the profession together. It clarifies how members view their responsibilities, apply their expertise and express their unique military identity" (p.368).

In the study, *Military Training and Personality Trait Development* (Jackson *et al.*, 2012), the authors identify military experience as an important turning point in a person's life. The study investigates the socialization process inherent to military training in relation to personality traits in order to discover how these traits play a role in the transformative training process. They describe the socialization procedure involved in military training (2012, p.271):

1. Expectations for specific behaviors and norms are made explicit.

2. New recruits are immersed in an extensive boot camp program, civilian status is broken down and a new identity as a military recruit is forged.

3. An incentive structure is set up which rewards recruits who fulfill the expectations of military culture and punish those who do not.

These external circumstances lead to changes in daily behavior that over time are thought to promote changes in personality traits (Jackson *et al.*, 2012).

These findings offer insight into the formation of identity among military recruits and are consistent with the findings of dance studies that acknowledge the social nature of ballet training and the subsequent formation of identity among ballet dancers (Khudaverdian, 2006; Pickard, 2012; Wulff, 2008).

2.6.2 Motivations and socialization in military training

Sociological inquiry into the formation of soldiers is a recent phenomenon (Moskos, 1977). The research of Charles C. Moskos during the 1970 has made headway into a sociological understanding of military culture. His findings prompted critical debate among his contemporaries.

In his article, *The All-Volunteer Military: Calling, Profession or Occupation* (1977), Moskos created a conceptual model of "institutional" versus "occupational" military service. He presented three models of military social organization: *calling, profession* and *occupation*. He proposed that the American military was moving toward an organizational format resembling that of an *occupation* rather than a *calling*. Moskos (1977) describes a calling as legitimated in terms of institutional values. A calling enjoys high regard in society, as it is associated with ideals such as self-sacrifice and a transcending of individual self-interest in favour of a presumed higher good.

A profession is legitimated in terms of specialized expertise, for example, a skill level formerly accredited after long, intensive academic training. An *occupation* is legitimated in terms of the marketplace, for example, prevailing monetary rewards for equivalent skills or competencies. The occupational model implies that priority subsists in self-interest rather in the task itself or in the employing organization (Moskos, 1977).

With the advent of an all-volunteer force, the military began to shift from the normative values of a *calling* depicted with words like "duty", "honour" or "country" to recruiting based on monetary rewards and guided by marketplace standards.

A study sanctioned by the U.S. Army Research Institute called, *Propensity to Serve and Motivation to Enlist Amongst American Combat Soldiers* (Woodruff, Kelty & Segal, 2006), focused on clarifying the sociological conceptualization of existing

models of motivation for military service. In their study, the authors investigate motivations for joining the military among high school students. Their analysis of motivational data tests Moskos' institutional and occupation model of military service. The propensity to serve was measured by asking a sample of enlisted combat soldiers to indicate what their aspirations had been during their late high school years. Interestingly, seventy percent of respondents had not anticipated joining the army in their later adolescent years.

This result was consistent with a previous longitudinal study (Orvis *et al.*, 1992) which reported that seventy-three percent of military personnel had expressed negative propensity toward military service prior to joining. Low propensity soldiers were motivated by "occupational" pecuniary motives rather than "institutional" motives such as, patriotism and desire to serve. High propensity soldiers were greatly influenced by patriotic motives as well plans for future military careers. Educational benefits figure as a prominent motivational factor for both high and low propensity soldiers. The majority of respondents were motivated by the possibility of adventure and challenge, the idea of serving their country and acquiring money for college or to repay student loans. The study findings revealed that motivational factors for joining the military are more complex than those proposed by Moskos's (1977) "occupational" versus "institutional" models.

Just as Lee (1996) identified that a sense of community is formed through the bodily experience of dance training, group cohesion is an integral component of military culture and effectiveness. The essence of strong primary group cohesion is the development of trust among group members, combined with the groups' capacity for strong teamwork. Siebold (2007) refers to King (1978), who wrote that combat members try to develop strong bonding as a collective good because it is in their own self-interest for survival to do so. Social control is maintained through the norms and habits combined with expectations of loyalty and ready assistance to other members of the group (Siebold, 2007). Siebold concludes by stating that during the last twenty

years, sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists have emphasized interpersonal trust and teamwork, which is built through military exercises, such as ardent training and drills (2007). These findings concur with those of Wainwright and Turner (2004) which emphasize the idea that social identity is formed during the process of professional ballet training.

In his article, *Choice and Commitment to a Military Career*, Aharon Tziner (1983), attempts to identify the characteristic features and motivations of those who are likely to select a career with the military. His study considers a theoretical framework for understanding the individual's motivations governing attachment to an organization. He refers to Hall (1976), who claims that individuals tend to choose a career that is perceived as congruent with his or her self-concept. The choice of occupation is guided by consideration of ensuring maximum congruity between the individual's attributes and the requirements of the career role (Hall, 1976, in Tziner, 1983).

In his article, Tziner (1983) examines the military from a sociological perspective. He studies the methods employed that reinforce the soldier's sense of occupational identity and strengthens his or her commitment to a military career. His study reveals that individuals characterized by a strong need for achievement may have more satisfaction fulfilling opportunities in a military career, as professional mobility is rapid. The army serves as a potential channel for social mobility. A military career may fulfill additional needs such as the need for security as chances of dismissal are low. The need for conformity can also be fulfilled as patterns of behavior are explicitly defined. Authoritative needs may be addressed as the military milieu is founded on solid hierarchal structure that operates according to fixed rules and generally relieves those of low and middle ranks, of the need to make decisions (Tziner, 1983).

Tziner's (1983) research offers valuable insight, which contributes to a deeper sociological understanding of the military as a career choice and offers clues into the participant's motivations to pursue military careers.

2.7 Conclusion

The theoretical framework that supports this present study offers a rich possibility for the advancement of knowledge and deepens our understanding of the phenomenon at hand. Studies from dance researchers encourage a sociological view on the formation of ballet dancers and help to expand our understanding of how identity is developed simultaneously with training. In addition, Erikson's psychological concept of *identity development* (1968) during adolescence, as well as Bandura's concept of *self-efficacy* (1977), provide analytical tools for understanding the conditions and motivations surrounding the two participants, which led to their decision to dropout from an elite professional ballet school. On the other end, sociological inquiries into the structure and culture of the military indicate the motivations that might compel an individual to pursue a military career.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study aims to clarify the perceived circumstances and motivations surrounding two of our former colleagues, which resulted in their decision to abandon professional ballet training and eventual reorientation to the military. We are principally interested in the particularities of their identity development during the transitional experience.

To conduct this study, we chose to use a qualitative method of inquiry because the subject of our research involves the world of lived experience, a world where individual belief and action meets with culture (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000).

In this chapter, we present considerations for a qualitative study under the interpretivist paradigm, including justification for using a descriptive or "storytelling" method. A discussion on the research design is followed by the procedure and data analysis.

3.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research originated from the fields of social and behavioral sciences (Silverman, 1985). Qualitative researchers acknowledge a constantly changing reality that cannot be measured or quantified (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000). They investigate

and explore subjects in their natural settings and attempt to find understanding in terms of human meaning by illuminating underlying reasons, opinions and motivations (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000).

Methodology may be described as a model to conduct research within the context of a particular paradigm (Boyce & Neale, 2006). This paradigm is comprised of the underlying beliefs that guide a researcher to choose one set of research methods over another (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

This research project aims to clarify, understand and interpret qualitative findings rather than quantify them (Wahyuni, 2012). The epistemology of this study is concerned with finding subjective meanings in social phenomena. As such, our focus as researchers considers the details of the situation and the reality behind these details such as subjective meanings and motivational actions. This epistemological view is compatible with the interpretive paradigm (Wahyuni, 2012).

3.2 Interpretivism

Interpretivism evolved as a reaction to the positivist philosophy that claimed that the purpose of any science was to offer causal explanations of behavioral and physical phenomena (Shwandt, 2003). Defenders of interpretivism on the other hand, argue that the aim of human sciences was to understand human action (Shwandt, 2003).

Interpretivists believe that understanding a particular social action requires that one grasp the meanings that drive that action (Shwandt, 2003). Understanding the meaning of human action necessitates an interior examination of human intent (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006).

The interpretivist/constructivist approach to research aims to understand human experience and subscribes to the belief that reality is socially constructed (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Wahyuni, 2012).

This study adopts the interpretivist approach because it is centered on the human experience. It uses the narrative form of analysis in order to provide highly detailed accounts of a particular social reality.

The study also favours interaction and dialogue with the participants in accordance with interpretivist values in order to illuminate the social world as perceived by the participant's personal experiences and the subjective meanings which they have attached to them (Wahyuni, 2012).

In terms of axiology, as an interpretivist researcher we take an *emic* or insider perspective in order to study social reality from the participants' own perspective (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006).

In the interpretive approach, the researcher's personal background and experiences are recognized. The experiences and values of both researcher and participant substantially influence the collection of data and its analysis (Wahyuni, 2012). According to Shwandt (2003), the process of reaching an understanding should not entail setting aside, escaping, or managing one's own personal views, biases or prejudices. In contrast, Shwandt explains that interpretivist understanding requires engagement of biases: "We do not construct our interpretations in isolation but against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices and language" (Shwandt, 2003, p.197). In this study, our personal experiences became a positive dynamic that afforded us an informed subjectivity regarding the interview process.

In terms of ontology, this study adopts the view that the identity among professionally trained ballet students and military personnel is constructed in part through daily training practices and feedback from peers and authority figures. For this reason, we chose the interpretive paradigm to guide this investigation. In terms of axiology, we acknowledge that our interpretation of the research findings is central to the investigation. We recognize the impact of our personal connection to this study and in so doing, are congruent with the philosophy of the interpretive paradigm (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). Lincoln and Denzin (2002) elaborate, "The interpretive researcher understands that research is an interactive process shaped by one's history, biography, social class, race and ethnicity and those of the people within the setting" (p.5).

3.3 In-depth interviews

In order to reveal the complexities of the phenomenon of abandoning professional ballet training, the subsequent process of reorientation and quest for professional identity, this investigation was built upon information derived from in-depth interviews. Our aim was to obtain a profound understanding of the meaning and definition of the participants' situation as presented by them (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

Boyce and Neale (2006) describe in-depth interviewing as a qualitative research technique that involves the use of extensive individual interviews with a minimal number of participants in order to explore their perspectives on a specific idea, program or situation. The use of this method provides access to the personal experiences of the subjects' lives and allows for private thoughts and motivations to be revealed (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Our objective was to expose the subjects' perceptions of their decisions that led them to the experience of quitting professional ballet training and eventual reorientation to the military. With this regard, simple

observations of the rituals and practices of professional ballet and military training were not sufficient, as they do not expose the subject's inner thoughts and feelings.

3.4 Storytelling

In order to reveal the depth of embodied transformative experience, it is necessary to hear the story as told by the participants themselves (Berger & Quinney, 2005). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) relate that storytelling research involves reconstructing an individual's lived experiences to both the other person as well as the social milieu. Through storytelling, an 'insider' account of the physical and mental experience of professional ballet formation and subsequent transformation to the military can be realized.

Storytelling or narrative inquiry evolved as a reaction against the use of the quantitative research methods, which dominated sociological investigations during the first half of the twentieth century (Berger & Quinney, 2005). Positivists promoted a view of sociology as a value-free enterprise dedicated to "[...] the creation of objective non-ideological knowledge derived from scientific observation of empirical reality" (Berger & Quinney, 2005, p.1).

Social movements which took place during the 1960's, such as civil and women's rights challenged sociologists to disregard their belief in value neutrality and seek an alliance with the advocates of change (Berger & Quinney, 2005). At that time, new voices were being heard and previously marginalized groups began to speak openly, sharing their personal truths about their lives and the world as they saw it (Berger & Quinney, 2005).

Feminism was instrumental in refuting sociology's privileged knowledge claim (Berger & Quinney, 2005). Feminists argued that truth could be contested and had

many voices. They proposed that different social groups had distinctive insights to problems or situations (Berger & Quinney, 2005). Feminists championed:

> [...] a research methodology that would eschew personal detachment and encourage collaboration and emphatic connection with research subjects, cross-fertilization among academic disciplines and involvement in action-oriented research that would facilitate personal and social transformation (Harding, 1991; Jaggar, 1983; Laslett & Thorne, 1997; Reinharz, 1992 in Berger & Quinney, 2005, p.3).

Berger and Quinney (2005) maintain that storytelling began from the need to speak and understand the world. Storytelling strengthens and increases our consciousness while extending the reality of our experiences.

Mitchell and Egudo, (2003) relate that the narrative or storytelling approach is a currently growing trend in research. It spans across many disciplines including; psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, organizational studies and history. The authors (2003) submit that the storytelling approach is said to:

> [...] enable capture of social representation processes such as feelings, images and time. It offers the potential to address ambiguity, complexity and dynamism of individual, group and organizational phenomena. [...] The method is well suited to study subjectivity and influences of culture and identity on the human condition" (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003, p.ii).

Furthermore, Shrank (1990) proposes that people think mostly in terms of stories. He writes, "They understand the world in terms of stories that they have already understood. New events or problems are understood by reference to old previously understood stories and explained to others by the use of stories" (p.219).

Weick (1995) suggests that people make sense of events, outcomes and self by telling themselves and others stories about what they have experienced. According to Weick,

all sense makings are retrospective and based on storytelling to self and others, by the storyteller.

Berger and Quinney (2005) suggest that the narrative approach is theoretically minimalist and seeks to find meaning from within the stories themselves. The storied approach encourages the listeners /readers' active engagement with the material (Berger & Quinney, 2005).

The authors (2005) write:

> We understand the artfully persuasive storyteller as one who is willing to relinquish control over a story's meaning and to trust the readers to bring their own interpretive and emotional sensibilities to bear on the tale being told (p.7).

Use of storytelling in research has been criticized for its lack of generability, the difficulty of verifying the truth in its data and the potential bias of the researcher or participant (Boyce & Neale, 2006; Lincoln & Denzin 2000). Despite this fact, truth is judged by the power of the story to evoke the vividness of lived experience rather than conventional scientific standards of validity and reliability (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Denzin, 1997). The story becomes the object of study, focusing on how individuals or groups make sense of events and actions in their lives (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003). The writing is recognized as part of the research process in storytelling sociology. It is an integral component of the process of making meaning (Berger & Quinney, 2005).

Stories relay a truth that " [...] no amount of theorizing or recitation of statistics can reveal, a truth that generates empathy, makes it more difficult to marginalize others and helps build social bonds" (Duncan, 1998, p.107).

3.5 Research using storytelling methodology

In this section, we will review research that favours the "storytelling" or narrative approach in methodology.

As researchers, according to Lincoln and Denzin (2000), we can be considered storytellers because in essence, we tell stories about others' stories. Lincoln and Denzin (2000) affirm that narrative is a prime concern of social sciences today because the self and society can be considered storied creations. Therefore, there is no dichotomy between the self and society: "Narratives of the self, as temporal constructions are anchored in local institutional cultures and their interpretive practices" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000, p. xii).

Narrative, according to Andrews *et al.*, (2004), is one element in the broader cultural and linguistic 'turn' of the social sciences, through which recognition has been given to both the shaping effects of cultural environment and to subjective experience. It is a common element of qualitative research methods used in sociology and psychology, ethnography, biographical case studies, discourse and conversation analysis, social constructionism as well as narrative studies.

In her study, *We Dance We Don't Live: Biographical Research in Dance Studies*, Anna Aalten (2007) sheds light on the personal sacrifices made by female New York City Ballet dancers. Aalten (2007) presents a historical retrospective on the storytelling method. She relates that anthropologists in the 1920's began to collect and record the life stories of endangered First Nations cultures. Sociologists of the 'Chicago school' did likewise with individuals from marginalized groups such as immigrants, criminals and alcoholics in the belief that the storytelling method produced better, more realistic material about the day to day realities of the studied

groups (Aalten, 2007). According to Aalten (2007), the narrative approach offered these voiceless marginalized groups an opportunity to be heard.

Aalten recounts that during the 1980's, French sociologist, Daniel Bertaux promoted the use of life stories in the social sciences as an alternative method to the determinist approach of both structural-functionalists and Marxists who dominated the social sciences during the 1970's (Aalten, 2007) . Biographical research opened the door to understanding human agency and made it possible to study individual experiences against the framework of larger social processes (Bertaux, 1981 in Aalten, 2007). Aalten writes that according to life story theorists, "Personal identity is that which emerges in and through personal narrative; by telling others about our lives we conceive of and make sense of our lives and ourselves" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004 in Aalten, 2007, p.7).

Collecting life stories enabled Aalten to access the descriptions of the daily lives of ballet dancers and their identities from the words of the participants themselves. This knowledge is valuable because until recently anthropological or sociological investigations of the ballet world were non-existent (2007). Personal stories of professional dancers were seldom heard publicly. Aalten (2007) also relates that a narrative approach to research can illuminate how individual lives are shaped by social structures, while also leaving room for individual variation and change. An individual's identity, which is presented through life stories, is shaped to the constraints and demands of the cultures of which they belong (Aalten, 2007). They choose and select from the narrative standards that are available and in so doing, they become active participants, shaping their lives within its social and cultural context (Aalten, 2007).

Drawing from biographical interviews and a collection of dancers' autobiographies, Aalten contends that the life stories she constructed with the dancers and the

autobiographies were central to her research. As an anthropologist, Aalten investigates the meanings that professional ballet dancers give to their experiences. According to Aalten (2007), biographical research is founded on the view that, "[…] individuals are the re-creators of meanings, which form the basis of their everyday life" (p.8). For this reason, storytelling research can be useful for gathering material based on actual experiences and events with peoples' perceptions and the meanings they give to them.

The multi-layered and multi-dimensional characteristics of life stories and biographical research invite the researcher to reflect on contradiction and inconsistencies found within the stories. The resulting analysis Aalten (2007) states, "[…] gives room for the ambiguities and complexities of human life" (p.8).

In their study, *Crystallising experiences among young elite dancers*, Pickard & Bailey (2009), profess that the "life as told" by the participant is inevitably drawn from what is available in the interview at that time. Their research chose not to focus on the outcome, but rather the moment to moment co-constructive process through which, "[…] meaning is negotiated, re-negotiated and contested" (p.171).

For Paul Ricoeur, life itself could be seen as a narrative (Simms, 2003). Ricoeur developed hermeneutics as a phenomenological philosophy that adopts the view that the best route to understanding the world is to read it as though it were a text (Simms, 2003). The distancing effect of textuality is a positive force, which allows for the critical distance of historicity between the reader and the text. Texts offer a world that readers appropriate in order to understand their own worlds and therefore understand themselves (Simms, 2003).

A narrative approach to research is valuable for understanding and clarifying the lived experience of the subjects. In, *The Uses of Narrative* (Andrews *et al.*, 2004) the

authors write, "If we are constructed by stories, or are storytellers by nature, or perhaps both, then narrative must, surely, be a prime concern of social science" (p.1). From these studies, emerge valuable insights into how particular narrative patterns interact with individual and social representations of the world.

3.6 Research design

The present study combines descriptive research methods (storytelling and in-depth interviews). The goal of using these methods is to explore and illuminate the perceived conditions and motivations of two former students that contributed to the abandonment of an elite professional ballet training program in 1986 and subsequent reorientation to the military.

We have chosen to tell their stories and illuminate their experience of career orientation transition from professional ballet training to the military through in-depth interviews. The events unfold at a specific time and place with singular players of whom we share common experiences and friends. Therefore, we adopted a subjective/biased posture as a researcher, hoping that our familiarity with the subjects would bring forth a rich quality of information that might be more difficult to acquire from a stranger and would in effect, enrich the analysis.

We believe that our personal connection with the subjects proved to be an asset to this project as it allowed us to engage in a more casual and intimate discussion as former colleagues rather than subject and researcher. Due to our background in ballet and personal connection with the participants, we believe that we were more attuned to the subtle and profound statements, which arose that could have been overlooked by an "outsider" (Khudaverdian, 2006). Our experience and interpretation of a large part of the data was central to this study but it is important to acknowledge that we did not substitute our voice for that of the participants.

The uniqueness of the phenomenon determines the number of subjects chosen for this study.

3.7 The participants

The two participants (one male and one female) are former colleagues from an elite professional ballet training institution who lived and were socialized within the culture of professional ballet training during the 1980's. Both participants chose to abandon their training in professional ballet in order to eventually pursue a career in the military (reserves and infantry). Their experiences are uniquely singular and offer a rich opportunity for understanding a phenomenon, which we believe, has received little documentation in academic circles. At the time of this study, the participants were in their late 40's and residing in Canada.

3.8 Protocol

Although thirty years have passed since our days at the professional ballet school, social media assisted in making it possible to easily reconnect. After receiving approval from the Ethics Commission (CERPE) (refer to Annex C), we made our initial approach to the proposed participants through Facebook and then more formally through email.

In these interactions, we took steps to ensure that ethical research standards were followed. The participants were informed of our research goals and objectives and were assured confidentiality. They were provided with pseudonyms so as not to be recognized in their professional or personal circles. They were informed that they were free to withdraw their participation at any time during the research process (the participant consent form is included in Annex D).

Data was derived from a series of reported life-story in-depth interviews concerning the participant's motivations and experiences as they relate to the experience of dropping out from a professional ballet school and eventual orientation transition to the military. An alphanumeric code was assigned to each participant's data. The key to the code was kept in a locked location apart from the data folders and was accessible to authorized persons only. Paper data was kept in a locked location with identifying information removed or kept in a separate locked location.

3.9 Interview questions

Boyce and Neale (2006) describe a model for in-depth interviews called responsive interviewing that guided our interview procedure. Responsive interviewing is heavily grounded by interpretive research philosophy. The approach emphasizes the importance of keeping the research design and questions flexible and adaptive in order to allow new information to emerge freely or to adapt to an unexpected direction. Boyce and Neale (2006) elaborate, "Responsive interviewing concentrates on obtaining a deep understanding; rather than a breadth of the investigated topic" (p.75).

The interview questions were structured to include open-ended, main questions, follow-up questions and probes (refer to Annex D). Open-ended questions were used in order to uncover the "[...] deep nuances and dynamic interactions between thoughts and actions" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000, p.3). The main questions were developed and based on our research problem and research questions. The interview questions were organized and categorized according to which research question was being addressed (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

3.10 Interviews

The main task of the interview was to build upon and explore the participants' responses to the questions. Our aim was to allow the subjects' mental and physical experiences within the context of professional ballet training emerge in order to understand their decision to quit the elite professional ballet training institution and the process of reorientation, which eventually led to the military.

In order to achieve this, the interviews were orientated to focus on the subjects' life history (storytelling). We allowed the subjects the opportunity to talk and give as many details as possible about their lives and experiences. By asking the subjects to reconstruct details of their experiences, they were in effect selecting events and in so doing and they were imparting them with meaning. As an interpretive researcher, this process of meaning-making through storytelling was central to this study.

Each interview took place in two stages. The first interview was focussed on allowing the participants to share their stories with no interference from us. This initial interview was conducted in person (Brenda, August 12th, 2015) and via telephone (Tom, August 17th, 2015). The duration of the initial interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 1 hour in length.

During the first interview, the participants were asked to relate their personal stories of career reorientation and transition from professional ballet training to the military. These narratives enabled the participants to tap into their personal experiences and communicate their transitional experience in an open and uninterrupted manner. Although engaged in active listening, our role as the interviewer was completely passive as the participants constructed and communicated their story as they wished. By using the narrative storytelling structure we were able to capture the participants' inner motivations and sense of identity through their story's coherence.

The second sets of interviews were conducted both in person (Tom, August 21st, 2015) and by telephone (Brenda, August 27th, 2015). The interviews consisted of open-ended questions (in-depth interviews) which specifically inquired into the participants' professional identity, motivations and transitional experience from professional ballet training to the military. The participants were guided by our questions in order to achieve a fulsome and in-depth detail of their experiences.

During each of the interviews, we took notes while the participants spoke, recording our own feelings and insights.

3.11 Data analysis

Participant data from each of the two interviews was transcribed and printed in order to secure the integrity of the responses.

The data derived from these interviews was analyzed in stages during the autumn of 2015.

In the analysis process, we used a moderate inductive approach (Savoie-Zajc, 2000). Through time and based on a retrospective back and forth between data collection and analysis, answers to research questions were progressively developed.

During the first stage, the data was analyzed with as little theoretical influence as possible in order to precipitate the appearance of emerging themes (Fortin, 2005 in Aitchison, 2012). Lorraine Savoie-Zajc (2004) supports this analytical approach. She suggests that the researcher should have the least theoretical influence as possible in order to allow theories in the data to emerge. During this initial stage, we tried to keep our minds as clear as possible and focus only on the participant's words.

For the purpose of this study we adopt the stance set forth by Clendenin and Connolly (2000) who advise that, "The place of theory in narrative inquiry differs from the place of theory in formalistic inquiries. It is more productive to begin with explorations of the phenomena of experiences rather than in comparative analysis of various theoretical methodological frames" (p.128). Hence, we began the second stage of analysis by writing the participants' personal stories through synthesis of the interview data. The transcripts were sent back to both participants for their approval (December 6th, 2015).

During the third stage, of the analysis, interview data was analyzed and guided by our research questions and sub-questions. As we analyzed the data, using the concepts described and defined in chapter two, we looked for identifiable patterns, which related to our research questions and goals (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

Lastly, the themes which emerged were grouped and coded with major concepts of career identity and career transition in order to bring understanding and illumination to the participants' lived experiences. We then performed cross analysis on data from both participants in order to identify any commonalities or dissimilarities in their patterns. A chart was made which was divided into sections according to the major patterns and themes that emerged (included in Annex A). Data was divided and placed into these pertinent sections of the chart.

Research findings were disseminated through narrative or life-story methods. These methods helped provide descriptions and understanding to reveal the inner workings of the transformative journey, which began with professional ballet training and eventually led toward the military. The participants' stories are presented in part one of the next chapter followed by the results of the study.

CHAPTER IV

STORIES, RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

In part one of chapter four; we present the relevant life stories of this study's two participants. The stories were written through a process of synthesis of data derived through in-depth interviews. The interviews were conducted during the summer of 2015.

The results and interpretation of data is presented in the second part of chapter four.

PART 1

4.1 Stories

The objective of this study is to examine the lived experience of transition from professional ballet training to the military and the subsequent search for professional identity that ensued.

The following stories provide candid insights into Tom and Brenda's life experiences and help to illustrate the perceived motivations and conditions that may have influenced them in their career-related decisions. We begin by presenting Tom's story followed by that of Brenda's.

4.1.1 Tom

Tom spent his early childhood years in a small northern community along with his sister and parents. Tom's father was a truck driver and an opposing figure in Tom's life; his methods of child rearing were strict and controlling. Not having had the opportunity to develop his artistic side, Tom's father grew up watching James Dean films and had personal aspirations of being famous. Deciding to give his children the opportunity he never had, Tom's father enrolled both his children in highland dance lessons.

Tom's dancing journey began with highland dance lessons at the age of six. After these lessons, Tom would return home and practice in front of his father who was critical and felt the need to coach his dancing technique.

Tom had never asked to participate in dance; his involvement was merely to please his father. Nevertheless, Tom's dancing showed talent and after winning several local competitions, Tom's father registered both he and his sister to audition for an elite professional ballet school. Tom's mother on the other hand, did not share in her husband's aspirations for his children as the school was in a large metropolitan city hundreds of miles away from their home.

At the young age of nine, Tom was accepted to the prestigious professional ballet school. The next year Tom moved to the city to begin his training at age ten. This first year of training away from his family was difficult and stressful for Tom. Living far from his family in the school's residence, he began to suffer chronic headaches

and nosebleeds. The decision to send Tom to the school was not a mutual decision by Tom's parents who divorced that same year. Tom blamed himself for the divorce and this only worsened his feelings of stress and homesickness.

As time went on, Tom realized that the reasons for his studying at the school were different from those of his ballet school friends. Unlike them, he did not love to dance and had never imagined himself becoming a ballet dancer. Although he enjoyed the school trips to watch the schools affiliated ballet company perform, dance was not his dream. Throughout the daily activities of ballet training and studying, Tom felt that he was just going through the motions. For Tom, his presence at the school meant obeying his father's commands and fulfilling his father's wishes.

Tom valued and loved his ballet school friends immensely. Yet secretly, deep inside, he harbored feelings of inferiority and guilt. Tom felt that he was taking someone else's place at the school; someone who perhaps loved to dance and wanted to become a dancer. He felt he did not belong at the prestigious school.

In order to disguise his feelings of inadequacy, Tom adopted the role of the class clown. Entertaining his classmates with his humorous antics became his reason for being there. Rather than ballet, his friends became the motivation that kept him at the school.

When Tom was thirteen years old, his father began dating one of the ballet teachers at the school. Tom was forced to move from the school's residence and join his father with the ballet teacher and her children. No longer able to live with his friends, this experience became the catalyst for change.

The following year, Tom and his father met with the school's artistic director to discuss his future at the school. Fuelled by his feelings of inadequacy and separated

from the support of his friends, Tom stood up to his father and refused to return. This moment represented a hallmark in Tom's life, as he had never voiced his opinion in his life's direction before this point.

The next year Tom began his studies at a technical college in the city. Far from the intimate setting of the ballet school, Tom was thrust into a foreign world, his father was often away as a truck driver and all Tom's close friends were still at the ballet school. He began to battle intense feelings of loneliness. He was unable to relate to the other kids at the high school and the freedom compared to the control of the ballet school became too much to handle. He dropped out of high school at the age of sixteen.

Tom spent the rest of the year wandering the streets of the city and hanging out at the waterfront alone, with no guidance and no family to direct him. Tom's only goal was to not be like his father.

The following year Tom met a girl whose brother was in the military. When she became pregnant, they married. Tom was slammed with the reality of supporting his new family and decided at age seventeen to join his brother-in-law in a military career. Tom had never dreamed of an army career, life had dealt him a situation in which the army could provide an easy solution.

At that time, a movie called Top Gun was enjoying enormous success and Tom was struck by the glamorous military image the movie portrayed. Tom hoped like the movie's hero, Tom Cruise, he too would ride motorcycles, fly fighter jets and work with high-tech weapons.

Against the wishes of Tom's mother, he signed up for military training. Tom quickly realized that military life was not the same as it was for his military colleagues. For

Tom, a military career was not a vocation but a job. Tom felt comfortable in the structured and disciplined environment of the military due to his years of professional ballet training. He was used to hard physical exercises. Having earlier experienced a period of aimlessness, Tom felt relieved to be back in a structured environment.

After a few years however, Tom realized that a long-term career in the military was not for him. The monotony of daily preparations in military life began to wear him down. The reality of military life was very different from the big-screen glamorized version, which had inspired him as a teenager. He began to turn down military career courses and opportunities to move up the hierarchical ladder. Unlike his military colleagues who had been 'broken down' during the training process he questioned authority and demanded reasons for executing commands. Tom felt that he had already grown past the 'broken down' stage. Yet, he took pride in his work and fulfilled his tasks to the fullest.

Tom credits his years in professional ballet training for giving him a strong work ethic. Tom joined the military when he was seventeen and he continued with the military until his late twenties. Although he never considered himself a soldier, the camaraderie of his friends and his feelings of appurtenance to the group kept him involved. For Tom however, the military was just a job rather than a career.

Since leaving the military Tom has remarried. He lives in a small northern town with his son from his previous marriage and a two-year-old daughter. He is now a truck driver.

4.1.2 Brenda

Brenda first began ballet lessons at age six, joining her best friend as part of an extracurricular activity at her elementary school. At this time, becoming a ballerina

was far from her thoughts and dreams. Ballet lessons were a way to stay occupied and have fun with her friend.

Soon after, Brenda found herself attending weekend ballet lessons at a professional ballet school as part of their recreational program. Two years later, when her best friend decided to audition for the school's full-time professional program, Brenda decided to follow suit. At age ten, Brenda was invited to study ballet professionally; unfortunately, her best friend was not.

Brenda was very enthusiastic during her first few years at the school but was saddened about leaving her friend behind. As ballet began to fill the majority of her time, her former friend moved on to other activities and other friends. Nevertheless, Brenda began to imagine herself becoming a ballerina and one day joining the school has affiliated Ballet Company.

Although she loved participating in the professional ballet program she found making friends difficult. It seemed that year after year, as she developed close bonds with anyone, they would not be accepted for the following year and Brenda would be alone again. Competition between classmates as well as the small class sizes, made the possibility of cultivating real friendships difficult.

During those first few years at the school, Brenda developed a real passion for dance, her dancing showed talent and promise as her body type was considered ideal for ballet. As Brenda approached adolescence, several negative experiences changed the way she viewed the teachers and policies of the school. Brenda's mother (a schoolteacher) had always encouraged Brenda to partake in many activities but as her engagement in ballet progressed, so too did the restrictions on her personal life. Brenda began to resent the fact that she was unable to audition for outside shows such as musical theater productions or participate in horseback riding.

Brenda felt that the school wanted to completely control every aspect of her life. Even though she lived in the same city as the school, the artistic director wanted Brenda to move into the school's residence. Her mother refused to allow this. Brenda began to suspect that the school wished to separate her from her mother who had openly criticized what she saw as poor academic standards at the school and its unethical practices. Friction began to build between Brenda's mother and the school's director as each battled for Brenda's control. By age thirteen she realized she no longer wanted to be at the school, yet she decided to stay one last year to please her father.

Brenda made it clear to the school that grade nine would be her last year. In so doing, Brenda began to feel like she was personally attacked and punished by the teachers and administration.

Each year students at the school participated in Cecchetti[2] ballet exams. During her last year, the school dissuaded Brenda from taking her exam, but Brenda persisted and was finally allowed to take part. The school placed her with another student whose technical ability was far less than hers was. Brenda thought hopefully to herself, that perhaps the school was trying to let her look better in comparison. As the exam progressed, the other girl began to make mistakes and become more and more confused. Finally, the girl ran crying from the examination, leaving Brenda to finish alone. When the marks came back, Brenda was shocked to find that she received a much lower mark than her classmate who did not even finish. She began to suspect foul play on the part of the school and Brenda began to detach herself more and more.

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[2] The Cecchetti Method of ballet is a style of classical, theatrical dance based on the teachings of the great Italian ballet master Enrico Cecchetti (http://www.cecchettisociety.ca/About/about-e.html).

Brenda began to rebel against the controlling atmosphere of the school by cutting her hair and associating with the punk-rock[3] movement. She wanted to prove to everyone that she was tough and that she wasn't bothered by the school's treatment of her. The school asked Brenda to see their resident psychiatrist but Brenda's mother refused to allow it.

During this year, Brenda's perception of being attacked by her teachers and the competitive atmosphere among students became too much for her to handle. She began to fantasize about being a regular teenager. Brenda left the school at age fifteen.

At first, Brenda enjoyed her feelings of freedom, yet quickly became overwhelmed by them. Logistics of travel to and from the studio became problematic.

Becoming a normal teenager was difficult. The shock of high school with its boys, alcohol and drugs were foreign to Brenda. She had gone from knowing exactly what she wanted to do with her life to having absolutely no idea. Brenda felt lost. She spent a year in private school and then two years in high school before dropping out.

Freed from the disciplined and controlling environment of the ballet school, Brenda began to fantasize about becoming a helicopter pilot; a career choice, which seemed very different from ballet. Brenda first tried to enlist in the military at age sixteen. Rather than accepting her, the officer at the registration office encouraged her to try the army reserves first to see if she enjoyed it.

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[3] Miriam Webster Dictionary defines punk rock as rock music marked by extreme and often deliberately offensive expressions of alienation and social discontent. (Punk rock. (n.d). Retrieved August 15, 2016, from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/punk rock)

While working as a security guard at a local festival, Brenda was approached by a former academic teacher from the ballet school. The teacher reproached her for her decision to leave the professional program and proceeded to point out to Brenda that she had sunk very low compared to her privileged place at the school. This experience confirmed her perception of being picked on at the school and fuelled her rebellious motivations.

After dropping out of high school, Brenda and a friend moved to Banff in order to work at the Banff Springs hotel. Brenda needed time away from her family in order deal with the teenage pressures she was feeling and to 'find herself'. She had planned to earn money in Banff and later travel to Mexico, but her traveling companion became reckless and self-destructive so Brenda returned home in order to sort herself out.

After returning home, Brenda noticed a job opening for the military reserves. Fueled by curiosity, she joined an armory in a large metropolitan city in 1989. She was eighteen years old at the time.

For Brenda, the years of physical and mental training in ballet gave her an upper hand when applied to military training. She was used to the hard physical exercise and mental discipline. Brenda enjoyed the military exercises and working with weaponry, but after a few years, she realized that the military would not be a career option for her. She was not stimulated by the daily atmosphere and found military culture to be narrow and uninteresting.

After leaving the military reserves, Brenda decided to return to artistic endeavors. She attended Theatre School in Toronto but left two years later after being disillusioned with the politics and her teachers.

She admits that she has always dabbled in many different vocational directions and is still in the process of trying to find herself. She is now married and has three daughters. Brenda currently works as a yoga instructor.

4.1.3 Summary

The chronological accounts of the participants' lived experiences of professional ballet training, abandonment of such training and eventual reorientation toward a military career are presented in part one of chapter four. These stories were derived from a process of synthesis of personal narratives that were gathered through in-depth interviews.

The purpose of this section provides the reader with a holistic account and deeper understanding of the phenomenon of dropping out from professional ballet training programs and the subsequent ensuing search for personal professional identity.

PART 2

4.2 Results and interpretation

The objective of this study is to examine the lived experience of the transition from professional ballet training to the military. The results of the two case studies by storytelling are presented in this chapter and were guided by the following research question:

What are the perceptions of the motivations and conditions that could influence two former ballet students involved in full-time professional training to abandon such training and later reorient toward a military career?

To answer this question an initial interview was conducted with Brenda in person and Tom and via telephone during the summer of 2015. The duration of the initial interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 1 hour in length.

A second interview, which took place a month later, both in person and via telephone, was designed to find answers to the following sub-questions:

1) How does one's individual sense of identity modify itself during the transitional career orientation process from professional ballet training to the military?

2) What skills acquired through ballet training could be applied to facilitate the transitional process of the career orientation shift from professional ballet training to the military?

To begin, we will present the themes that emerged through analysis of the interview data, followed by the presentation of the results.

Twelve major themes relating to our research questions emerged during the analysis of the interview data. Those themes constitute answers to the research questions in four sections.

The first section exposes the motivations and conditions established through the participants' stories that prompted these students to abandon a full-time professional ballet-training program. These are: 1) First steps in ballet; the role of family, 2) Discipline and control in professional ballet training, 3) Depleting satisfaction and emotional well-being; losing pleasure in dance, 4) Social identity; seeking friends and fitting in, 5) Authority and self; me against them, 6) Trigger moments leading to dropout.

The second section exposes the modifications of identity that occurred during the transitional career orientation process from professional ballet training to the military. These are: 1) Identity development and the self, 2) The self in adolescence.

The third section exposes the motivations and conditions that influenced this study's participants to partake in military training. These are: 1) Reorientation; freedom and being normal, 2) War Games; military fantasy vs reality.

The fourth and last section exposes observed patterns in career identity development as well as the skills acquired through ballet training that were applied to facilitate the transitional process of the career shift from professional ballet training to the military. These are: 1) Career identity; job vs vocation, 2) Character traits; obedience and being tough.

The resulting elements of response to the research questions expose the participants' experiences, describing how they lived their trajectories and the critical incidents that contributed towards constructing the course of their journeys during the transition in question.

Section 1

4.2.1 Conditions and motivations that led to dropping out of professional ballet training

The following six subsections (from 4.2.1.1 to 4.2.1.6) address the motivations and conditions of professional ballet training which influenced the participants' decision to discontinue their professional studies in ballet.

4.2.1.1 First steps in ballet; the role of family

Brenda shares how she first became involved in ballet classes:

I think it was just an activity at my school. I was at a public school and it was sort of like what parents do right? Put their kids in programs you know?

For six-year-old Brenda, these initial ballet classes were a social activity. She admits that she had never thought about becoming a ballet dancer, she was merely following her friend.

She compares studying ballet to being a Girl Guide, "It wasn't like I wanted to be a Girl Guide... You just did it."

When her best friend decided to audition for a professional ballet-training program Brenda decided to join her. She relates the audition process as, "[...] just something to do." Brenda shares her feelings upon hearing she had been accepted to the full-time professional program, "It just kind of happened and I didn't think about it, and then I was there."

Brenda enjoyed her first year of professional ballet training. She recalls:

I was really kind of enthusiastic. I had a really good academic teacher that year, I think it was Mrs. A and she was really quite lovely, and my dance teacher was a real sweetheart and she was very good. I really liked it. I loved it you know, and I started to develop that kind of ambition a bit.

Inspired by recent graduates who were performing at that time with the school's affiliated Ballet Company, Brenda decided that she would one day do likewise. She admits however that her young age and lack of exposure to other occupations were part of her decision. She recalls:

I loved the dancing. I loved all of that and I just looked at all of that you know, because we had K---- who had graduated from the school and was dancing with

the company. She was moved from the Corps to Principle[4] status I believe that year, either grade five or maybe grade six...so I just sort of thought, well this is what I will do. I'll just go along with it, finish school and then that's where I'll end up you know, you're just a kid, right?

Involvement in professional ballet training consumed the majority of Brenda's time and left little for personal life or exploration of other interests.

For his part, Tom was enrolled in ballet classes by his father in order to improve his highland dancing[5] technique. Becoming a dancer was never a childhood dream for Tom. He explains, "It was something he [his father] wanted us to do. I wasn't one of those kids that said, Hey boy, do I ever want to dance!"

Tom remembers his childhood as one which revolved around, as he describes, his authoritative and controlling father. He explains:

> My whole life was basically geared around my father who has now passed. He always wanted to be famous. He grew up in the James Dean era kind of thing, so we all wanted to be famous. So I was one of those kids who things were put on to me for these reasons.

At the age of ten Tom's father sent him along with his sister to audition for an elite professional ballet training institution.

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[4] Corps de ballet refers to the members of a ballet company who do not perform solo dances and appear only in the ensemble. Principle dancers perform the lead solo roles in a ballet company repertoire (Chujoy & Manchester, 1967).

[5] A style of dancing based on traditional dances of the Scottish Highlands; specifically competitive (often solo) dancing which usually takes place at Highland Games and other public events (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/highland_dancing)

When Tom was asked to describe how he felt about participating in ballet at the time. He responds, "I didn't dislike it. It was just something that I was... I had to do. It is kind of like having to go pay your license every year. It's like having to go get hydro or a phone."

After a successful audition for the elite professional ballet training institution and in order to fulfill his father's expectations, ten-year-old Tom left his family to pursue full-time professional ballet training in a large metropolitan city.

Tom's mother did not share in her husband's aspirations for their son. She was against the idea of Tom attending a full-time professional ballet-training program. Tom recalls, "She did not want me to attend the ballet school cause I mean, I'm nine years old leaving home... moving to a big city from my tiny little town, you know... her boy."

During his first year, living at the ballet school Tom's parents separated and divorced. He relates:

> When I was ten years old, my parents got divorced when I was away from home. I had a lot of headaches and a lot of problems. I think because of my parents and the stress and all that stuff.

This event influenced the growing boy's sense of identity and self-worth.

4.2.1.2 Discipline and control in professional ballet training

Discipline and control have been well established by scholars as integral components of classical ballet training (Aitchison, 2012; Dryburgh, 2008; Grau, 2009; Ritenburg, 2010; Wulff, 2008). The two participants involved in this study reveal significantly different perspectives on the role of discipline and control and its impact on their developing sense of identities during their time spent in professional ballet training.

The strict environment of the ballet school put Brenda and her mother at odds with the school's director. Brenda recalls:

> It was very controlled, you know. You can't horseback ride, you can't... my parents let me. They [my parents] let me do all the stuff that I... you know, we weren't allowed to audition for anything else. My mom took me to an audition for Annie [the musical]... so like, it was very, very controlled and my mom wasn't like that so [the artistic director] wanted to control... I just found that she was very controlling.

Brenda perceived that the school wanted to separate her from her family in order to control every aspect of her life.

She recounts that the school encouraged her family to have her move into the school's residence. Her mother refused to do so, calling the school a psycho Babylon.

In traditional classical ballet training, uniformity and conformity of appearance are important aspects in the formation of a ballet dancer (Wainwright & Turner 2003, Aalten 2007, Ritenburg 2010, Wulff 1998). Brenda recalls that the school placed a great deal of importance on keeping a pristine appearance with the schools uniforms during public outings. When Brenda decided to cut her hair, the school's academic vice-principal, for not following the schools uniform code, admonished her.

Brenda admits that she was the first to cut her hair at the school:

> After that, girls started doing it. Yeah, I guess I was the first ...the following year some of the seniors cut their hair and it wasn't... it wasn't such a big deal. But I guess... being the first... I didn't think I was breaking any rules. I didn't think I was breaking any ground... but it was a really big deal that I cut my hair short.

Using military references, Tom describes life at the elite professional ballet school as, "non-civilian". Tom never questioned the controlling and disciplined aspect of professional ballet training. He describes:

> I never disliked it and I never woke up hating my life or... it was just something I did... that's just what I was expected to do. I was expected to do that, and that's what I did.

Tom recalls the orderly atmosphere of life in residence:

> You know, at the school where you have a schedule and you are kind of told where to go for your classes and you know, when I was living in residence there... it's very, you know, you get in, you go to the cafeteria, you're getting this on your menu... they tell you where to go and what you have to do.

Unlike Brenda, Tom found comfort in the daily routine of professional ballet training. He explains, "[...] when you grow up kind of structured like that, it's the comfortable thing for you."

4.2.1.3 Depleting satisfaction and emotional well-being; losing pleasure in dance

Studies have documented that enjoyment of dance is the primary element that influences students committed to selective training programs (Aujla *et al.*, 2014). Pickard and Bailey (2009) suggest that memorable moments and significant experience can have a powerful impact on a young dancers' identification with the practice as well as their development within it.

Brenda recalls that her experiences with the administration, teachers and colleagues during her final years of training at the elite professional ballet training institution contributed towards her feelings of dissatisfaction and motivated her to abandon the craft. She explains:

I did want to dance professionally. Actually, that didn't really stop. What happened was that my experiences the last couple of years took all the joy out of my dancing which was one of the things that had me there in the first place...

Negative experiences drained all the passion and enjoyment from ballet training practice for Brenda. She describes this period in her training as "drudgery". At the age of fifteen, Brenda had lost her drive to attend the school and began to resent the strenuous time schedule of life at the school.

Brenda describes how she felt during her last year in professional ballet training, "So then it was like... a very hard year. I was just counting down the minutes..."

According to Tom, there are different kinds of people involved in the professional ballet-training milieu. He explains:

When it comes to dance I think there are two things; either you really, really love it and it's your life and in your heart, or in my case, when I got into it...it was kind of forced on me at a really young age by my father. He was very strict about it to the point where it wasn't fun for me. It was what I was told to do.

Pleasing his father was Tom's chief motivation for attending the ballet school. Unlike his colleagues, Tom perceived that he had never had the inner drive to dance. He shares:

I never felt like I was a good dancer. When I went to class, I always felt inferior to everybody because I didn't seem to have that drive. Everybody else had that drive and for me the school, it was just going through the motions. I always felt like I was bothering people.

Tom's feelings of inadequacy lead him to lack confidence, therefore affecting his enjoyment of dance.

4.2.1.4 Social identity; seeking friends and fitting in

The development of social identity played a crucial role in the decision-making process concerning their involvement in professional ballet training for both of this study's participants.

Separated from her former best friend, Brenda's perceived feelings of social isolation began early on during her training process at the school. Because of the demanding time schedule at the school, Brenda was unable to maintain her former friendships.

Brenda found it difficult to make friends with her new ballet school colleagues during her first year in full-time professional ballet training. The class sizes were much smaller than those of her former community school were.

Losing new friends due to the annual selection process at the ballet school added to Brenda's dilemma. She recalls:

> Well, it seems like every year if I had someone... if there was someone that I really chilled with, they were only there for like a year. It was A--- one year, J---- another year and they... they were gone at the end of the year. So it was a very transient thing. There were people that stayed stationary but, you know, they were not necessarily like a friend. It just sort of, felt like you had no option. There was a boundary in such a small class and it got smaller every year.

Brenda was challenged by the process of developing and nurturing friendships within the competitive environment of the school. She explains:

> You're getting it [negativity] from the kids that are in competition with you which for some reason they [teachers at the school] seemed to thrive on pointing out. They put J--- and me against one another. There was no way J--- and I could be friends. We were always told we were both up for the same part you know? And then I got it one year, and she was my understudy and then there was no way she and I could get along.

In Tom's case, the social aspect of professional ballet training was one of the factors which motivated him to continue. Tom relates that the primary source of enjoyment during his training experience was the friendships formed at the ballet school. Yet, he still harboured inner feelings of inadequacy and guilt.

In order to disguise his inner turmoil and cope with his feelings of stress and guilt, Tom adopted the role as the class clown. He confesses:

> Well, I was the class clown, you know…and that... you look back now and that was... I know exactly why. It's a lot of problems with my parents and knowing that I truly maybe didn't want to be there and a lot of people out there try to be the class clown to cover up…their sadness or inadequacies or the way they feel. I literally didn't feel like I belonged there.

Although Brenda and Tom shared different perceptions and experiences of the group dynamic at the ballet school, both participants were reoriented toward an occupational field where social cohesion is of primordial importance (Elder, 1986; Eighmey, 2006; Jackson *et al.*, 2012; Kirke, 2009).

4.2.1.5 Authority and self; me against them

As the participants shared their stories, the theme of 'me against them' emerged. In Brenda's testimony, she frequently used the term 'they' to describe the teachers and administrators of the elite professional ballet training institution. For example, "[…] that was the year they tried ...", and "They got worse with me…"

Although Brenda reported that she enjoyed the training process during her initial years at the school, several experiences compelled her to question authority and radically change her perception of the school's authority figures.

Brenda felt that the school did not want her to participate in the Cecchetti exams because she had expressed her unhappiness and willingness to leave the elite professional ballet-training program.

She insisted and the school finally allowed her to take the exam. Brenda was paired with a dancer who she felt was technically far weaker than her.

Brenda describes her exam experience:

> [...] very, very early on, this girl started to lose her footing. So she was messing up and then she was messing up more and then she ran out of the room crying. I finished the entire Cecchetti exam except for the last two things by myself. And when I got my mark at the end, I got a pass and she got a highly commended! So either they rigged it or the woman was so old she made a mistake and confused me with her because... and then I was actually getting a bit back into it again, enjoying the training and stuff like that and then I was like, "I'm getting the hell out of this place if they can do that". I did that whole thing myself pretty much... the girl was gone in the bathroom crying for the whole exam and they gave me a pass and her a highly commended? I don't think so!

Brenda's mother supported her daughter's changing perceptions of the school. When the schools artistic director encouraged her to send Brenda to see the schools resident psychiatrist, her mother refused. Brenda perceived that her mother's refusal to comply angered and pitted her against the schools artistic director.

Brenda gives testimony to how her ballet teachers and the school direction encouraged competition between students. She explains, "You know, these are adults playing out some kind of psycho mind game ... you've got adults acting like children because they are encouraging that [competition between students].

When Brenda expressed her desire to leave the school, she describes her perception of being singled out and personally attacked by the teachers and administration.

In Tom's case "them" is represented by his authoritative father who, by Tom's accounts, dictated the direction of his life until the age of fifteen. As presented earlier, Tom describes how his childhood was geared towards pleasing his father. As a result, Tom confessed that he lacked the inner drive to dance and was just "...going through the motions" of training at the ballet school.

4.2.1.6 Trigger moments leading to dropout

During her final year at the school, Brenda describes the ensuing aftermath when she decided to cut her hair. The response of teachers and administration increased her perceptions of being personally attacked at the ballet school. She shares:

> It just felt like... personal. It felt personal like picking...so I was just like, oh my God, the psychological warfare... right?

Brenda realized through a series of negative experiences that she no longer wanted to attend the elite professional ballet training institution.

In Tom's case, he confessed that his father had begun dating his ballet teacher at the ballet school. As a result, Tom left the school's residence in order to join his father at his ballet teacher's home (an event that may have been socially awkward for young Tom). The combined experience of leaving the school's residence and his father's behavior may have become the catalyst that solidified his resolve to leave.

Brenda's account of her experience with her ballet exam and the perceived aftermath she felt after cutting her hair along with Tom's experience of living with his father at his ballet teacher's home could be considered crystallizing moments which motivated the participants to abandon their professional ballet training.

Section 2

4.2.2 Identity development and the self

The following section presents the results that shed light on the possible modifications and mutations of the participant's identity development during the transitional reorientation from professional ballet training toward military training. We will begin by presenting the results that correspond with aspects of identity development during adolescence.

4.2.2.1 The self in adolescence

The developmental period of adolescence can be seen principally as a time of transition, in which individuals are striving toward greater commitment and consolidation in major life domains (Arnett, 2000, 2004).

For both Tom and Brenda, the passage from childhood to adolescence marked an important turning point regarding self-agency and career direction.

Brenda recalls that by the age of fifteen, she was feeling increasingly alienated from her classmates and felt that the teachers and directors at the ballet school personally attacked her.

She describes:

> There was grief with the teachers...the vice-principal was giving me a hard time, the French teacher was giving me a hard time, my dance teacher was in and she was really giving me a hard time. She didn't want me there at all. And they were just doing anything they could to kind of make me very unhappy. And I was like, what am I doing? Like this is...hell, you know?

In order to help cope with the stress of competition with colleagues as well as her feelings of alienation and isolation, Brenda found solace in the punk-rock movement that was popular at that time.

She relates:

> I was dabbling in the whole punk thing when I was still at the ballet school. I mean, I was always trying to show everyone... you know, I'm tough, that what they were doing didn't bother me. I don't think they had any idea how much what they were doing bothered me. I surely... I wasn't going to give them the satisfaction.

Brenda realized that she no longer wanted to attend the elite professional ballet training institution a year before finally doing so. She approached her parents who persuaded her to stay for one more year.

Tom moved from the school's residence in grade nine to become a day student at the age of fourteen. This experience helped to clarify his personal goals and career path. At the age of fourteen years, Tom realized he did not want to continue with professional ballet training.

Tom describes his first experience of choice and self-agency concerning his professional direction:

> When they asked me if I actually wanted to go back, and I said no, that's the first time I was ever asked... I actually... that was truly the first time I ever really thought about what I was doing. I've never been given the choice before that, literally, which is hard because, you audition, you are hand-picked... you go through a lot of stuff and a lot of people would have killed to have been in my spot... you know?

For both Brenda and Tom, adolescence marked the beginning of career reorientation, as they began to reassess their involvement in professional ballet training.

Section 3

4.2.3 Motivations for military training

The following three subsections present the results of the study, which illuminate the participant's motivations for participating in military training.

4.2.3.1 Reorientation; freedom and being normal

Both participants had abandoned their professional ballet training at the age of fifteen. Brenda confessed, "[…] part of me, I think just wanted to be a regular teenager." This realization marked the beginning of an important turning point in their journeys of transitional orientation from professional ballet training to the military. The challenge of leaving a structured and disciplined environment of professional ballet training to one of relative freedom (high school) was easier said than done.

Brenda had still wanted to continue dancing when she left the ballet school. She confessed, "It wasn't that I had made the decision not to dance, I just knew I didn't want to be there [the ballet school] anymore."

Brenda searched for ways to continue her dance training after leaving the ballet school but the challenge of finding a reputable teacher as well as the travel to and from dance classes proved to be overwhelming.

For Brenda, the decision to discontinue her professional ballet training made her feel "really free".

She relates:

I was fifteen when I left; I turned sixteen the summer after I left and it was just like okay you know, you're just a regular kid, just like everybody else... and just doing regular stuff.

Brenda admits however that she felt overwhelmed by this new found sense of freedom. She explains:

> Well, it felt really free; maybe a bit too free because of course you know, there was a bit of a shock. Even though we were exposed to within the neighborhood of the ballet school... there were punks, skinheads, prostitutes, and transvestites. You know, it's a little bit rough around the edges of our neighborhood and you saw all of that, but when all of a sudden you were mixed in with high school it was like alcohol drugs you know, everything coming at you... sex... you know all that stuff. We were pretty sheltered from all of that stuff, so in a way; it even shocked me when I got out of the school.

Tom struggled to cope outside of the structured environment of ballet school. The year after leaving the ballet school he found himself wandering the streets of the large metropolitan city. He shares:

> So when I got out, you know, I went to high school for a bit and...and that was the hardest point for me going from being told where to go and having a schedule and... you know you're going to class here etcetera, etcetera, to all of a sudden, you are just free and my dad actually, my dad actually drove truck. So he worked... he wasn't even around that much...

Tom elaborates:

> When I left the ballet school there was nothing. My sister was kind of around but, you know, it was just basically me wandering around the streets of the city. All of a sudden coming out of a non...I call it non-civilian life where everything is structured.... well the year after I left, I went to a technical college and my dad was always gone so a lot of the times I was on my own like fourteen, fifteen, sixteen years old... just kind of wandering around.

Lacking any parental guidance and missing his former ballet school colleagues, this year of wandering proved to be a lonely experience for Tom. He describes his lack of goals and aspirations during that difficult time of transition:

> I had no goals. There were no goals, guidance or … nothing... just by myself. I was just spending a lot of time by myself. Like I say, I woke up, I went to a school where I didn't know anybody to... to learn stuff which I really wasn't interested in....being fifteen, sixteen years old just not... there was nothing. Nothing that... there was no... I had no guidance. I had no parents to say 'You realize you're fifteen or sixteen and you realize you're just wandering around the streets?' No one ever once said that to me... Ever!

Tom was unable to integrate the unstructured environment of a public high school. He dropped out of high school at the age of sixteen.

Following her time spent at the professional ballet school, Brenda attended a private alternative high school followed by two unsuccessful years at a public high school. After failing her twelfth grade, Brenda decided to leave Toronto to work in Banff Alberta.

She describes her feelings at that time, "Well, I mean I was definitely without an anchor right? So you had gone from knowing what you wanted to do to no idea what you wanted to do."

Overwhelmed with the plethora of personal and vocational choices available, the period of freedom, which ensued after leaving the professional ballet-training milieu, became a period of incertitude for both Brenda and Tom.

4.2.3.2 War games; military fantasy vs reality

Brenda was sixteen years old when she first tried to enlist in the military. Driven by her feelings of rebellion after leaving the elite professional ballet training institution, Brenda relates:

> So as soon as I got out of the ballet school I became very rebellious, very kind of like, "Don't tell me what I can and cannot do!"…and not dealing with any of the drama and stuff like that…and then, for some reason, I fantasized about being a helicopter pilot!

Brenda visited a recruiting officer for the military who convinced her to try the reserves before committing to a four-year term. Brenda then dropped out of high school and moved to Banff, Alberta.

After returning from Banff, Brenda noticed a job opening with the local military reserves. She thought back to her initial meeting with the military recruiting officer. Her curiosity and interest for the military helped drive her decision to join.

Brenda joined an armory in a major Canadian city … one of the few regiments at the time that allowed women. She was eighteen years old.

After a year of what Tom describes as, "[…] wandering around the streets of the city," Tom met and subsequently married a girl whose brother was serving in the military. Tom was seventeen years old at the time. He shares:

> My girlfriend at that time who I ended up marrying… her brother was in the military and I was… I literally had no guidance in life, not even a thought. I was just wandering around… you know just livin' life as a sixteen, seventeen year old person. And then she mentioned it. You know, at that time you think you're grown up and you want to… you want to be responsible and you're talking about getting married… and yeah… again there was never any guidance and I never had anybody to say, "Hey you know, maybe you should look at the military as an option." It was never like that.

In 1986 a movie called *Top Gun* was released starring popular American movie star Tom Cruise. The film was a blockbuster hit and focused on a group of young men training to become fighter pilots. Tom shares how this film influenced his decision to join the military:

> I joined the military kind of in the Top Gun era... when Top Gun came out, you know what I mean? Everybody wanted to join the military. They wanted to fly jets and drive motorcycles and meet girls, you know? I figured that's what you do. Join the military and you get... "Here's your jet! Away you go. Start flying!"

Tom's goal at that time was to fly a jet. He shares, "That was my goal [to fly a jet]. Yep... fly jets or work on weapons or something... and I ended up in the infantry."

Both participants had fantasized about pursuing careers in the military. For Tom, a popular film called Top Gun fuelled the fantasy. For Brenda, rebellion against the conformity and regulations of professional ballet training fed her dream of becoming a helicopter pilot.

Tom reveals that for him, the experience of transition to military training was fairly smooth and easy. He attributes this in part to his background in professional ballet training and a year spent without guidance or direction. Tom enjoyed his return to a disciplined and controlled atmosphere.

Tom elaborates on the similarities of the two contexts:

> Living in the military is kind of the same as the ballet school where... they literally did everything for you! Banking... you literally didn't have to do anything! The military takes so much control of your life. When you get out of the military, there is a course you have to take before they will release you. They teach you how to do banking. They teach you (laughing) basically how to live your life. So you get guys who are forty-five to fifty years old you know, who have never really been to the bank before! So... yeah, it all kind of went from one structured kind of thing to the next. It was almost like I just kind of

somehow was guided into another structured society which I feel I fit into fairly easily.

The hierarchical structure of military culture was a motivating factor for Tom. He shares:

> I enjoyed the progression and stuff because they progressed you know, from pistols to rifles, to tank weapons, to mortars, to snipers... you know everything is a progression and you kind of look forward to it.

Brenda describes the activities that take place during a weekend exercise on the military reserve camp:

> So it's like a war exercise. You pretend that there's a war on for the weekend and everybody's got their job to do. So, then we played war for the day. Everybody sets up. There's like a kitchen tent and a mess tent and a lavatory tent and then there are the barracks where everybody sleeps. And you have your gear and you set it up. And then there are different exercises where you play... I mean, it was fun! You got to shoot a gun, and you got to practice with stuff like that! And there was a certain amount of physical training. You were trained on basic things like how to brush your teeth properly...

Both Brenda and Tom perceived their time spent in military training as a job rather than a vocation. Brenda shares:

> There were some girls that I became friends with that I really liked and we were having a laugh. I mean, in a way it was just a bit of a lax job, because in the end when I finished general military training and all that stuff was done, we just came in and goofed off for the rest of the year!

Tom describes feeling isolated from his military training colleagues. He relates:

> It was a different experience for me than for other people. I did notice, like I say... I could see that a lot of the gung-ho being a man, carrying a gun all that stuff wasn't there for me. It was more of ... this is a job for me and this is what I'm going to be doing. So that's just kind of the way I looked at it. It wasn't...it wasn't a big thing for me.

Tom completed his basic military training but became disillusioned with the typical daily routine of the military life. He describes a typical day working for the army and how for him, the experience of military training was more interesting than the day-to-day reality of a military career. He soon became disillusioned with the mundane day-to-day life of the military. He shares, "It wasn't good times; it wasn't what was on the poster for the guy in the military".

Like Tom, Brenda discovered that a military career was not what she had anticipated. She explains:

> It just seemed very narrow, like it just seemed very simple like it wasn't very interesting. It wasn't very stimulating. The people in it... with the exception of the few people that I knew as well sort of taking it on a very part-time basis were kind of like... dumb and narrow-minded. So it was just like... Yah ... no not interested!

Although initially drawn to the idea of military training, the reality of the military milieu proved uninteresting to both Brenda and Tom.

Section 4

4.2.4 Patterns in professional identity development and transferable skills from professional ballet training (tights) to the military (tanks).

The following three sections examine character traits and observed patterns in the participants' career identity development, which we believe, may be connected to an early intense commitment to ballet training. Next, we present reported transferable skills, which afforded the participants' a smooth transitional experience to military training.

4.2.4.1 Professional identity; job vs. vocation

Both Brenda and Tom admit that they have a tendency to fall into (Tom) or dabble (Brenda) into career paths.

Brenda followed her best friend to her initial audition for the elite professional ballet training institution. She describes her acceptance to the professional ballet training program as a haphazard event, "It was just something to do.... it just kind of happened and I didn't think about it and then I was there."

Research on adolescence and career choice suggests that many emerging adults decide to "sample" the many career opportunities available in the hopes of finding a vocational role that provides a reasonable or optimal fit with their developing sense of identity (Konstam, 2015). This is certainly the case when it comes to Brenda. She describes her partial motivations for joining the military reserves, "Well this is a way of trying it on to see if it is something that could fit."

Recalling her feelings and aspirations at the time of her military training, Brenda reveals:

> Of course, this is giving you a little insight into probably my personality, especially when I was younger. I didn't really feel this massive like, 'Oh my God, you know, I have to figure this all out'. I just felt like I was floating around trying to see if this doesn't work... something else... you know. So when I was there I was just flowing with the crowd. I was meeting new people. I was having a little bit of fun…

Tom recalls his decision to join the military:

> Getting into the military I actually met a girl who I ended up getting married to and her brother was in the military. So again, it wasn't something that I thought… I ever really planned on doing. I wasn't one of those guys growing up, one of those kids who grew up and wanted to join the military and stuff.

Tom confesses that as a teenager he never had a career plan:

> It's funny, you hear a lot of people say, you know, we'll go to the high school and we'll talk to a guidance officer and they'll start working towards this and start working towards that. There was none of that for me at all. I just basically fell into everything, that... even today to be a truck driver, I never grew up wanting to be a truck driver... it wasn't my plan of life... ever! I just kind of fell into it and here I am!

During his military career, Tom reveals that partial motivation for his commitment to the profession was the special feeling of being part of a group. The social aspect of the military rather than the actual exercises involved in the practice were important to Tom.

After a few years of involvement, Tom came to realize that a long-term military career was not what he wanted to do with his life:

> I think it was always there just... I just knew that... it's kind of like after a couple of years in the military, I realized that's not... that's not me. That's not what I wanted to do. I actually knew earlier in my military career that I wasn't going to make it a career... so I passed up on a lot of stuff. Like there was a lot of career courses and stuff like that that I passed off and passed on to other people... my peers who I knew were going to stay in the military.

When asked if he ever considered himself to be a soldier, Tom replies, "Not really... nope. And I never considered myself to be a candidate for the [major affiliated ballet company of the school] either. Like I never... it just... it was just something that I did."

Brenda recalls that she quickly realized that a military career was not for her. She shares, "I wanted to see what it was like but then pretty soon after that I realized it wasn't... that it wasn't for me".

The stories related by both Tom and Brenda reveal a lack of vocational direction and an ongoing search for professional identity. It appears that the process of reorientation from professional ballet training to the military was not a deliberate choice for either of this study's participants.

4.2.4.2 Transferable skills from "Tights to tanks"

The following section presents the results of this study, which relate to the skills and competencies acquired through time spent in professional ballet training. The two participants applied these skills toward military training.

4.2.4.3 Character traits; obedience and being tough

Both of the participants' credit their time spent in professional ballet training for developing individual skills and insight that in turn assisted their transition into the military training process.

Tom discloses how his previous experiences of professional ballet training and the subsequent year of incertitude and aimlessness assisted him during the transitional process of becoming a soldier. He describes this process and shares what set him apart mentally from his colleagues during the process of military training:

> You know, I wasn't there mentally... and that's the big thing in the military, that's what the military does, that's why they have basic training, they tried to break everybody down. It doesn't matter if you are a window washer off the street or a millionaire's son, everybody gets broken down to the same level and everybody gets raised up from there and then trained as a soldier. That's the way it goes, and for me, I was already kind of... I was past the broken down phase...into the wondering...watching the people being broken down...so yeah... I was...it was different...very different.

This "being past the broken down stage" left Tom with a cynical view towards authority. His previous experiences had taught him to question authority figures rather than to follow blindly.

Physically as well as mentally, Tom relates how skills acquired from professional ballet training enabled him to achieve a smooth transition into the military training procedures. He explains:

> I went from ballet classes three or four times a day and all that stuff to military and a lot of the guys in the military went from being in high school doing nothing except for sitting back and drinking beer and partying and I never did that, so it was pretty easy for me...physically it was very easy and mentally.

Whereas Tom acquired an aptitude toward structured environments and a strong work ethic, Brenda admits that time spent in professional ballet training made her tough. Like her colleague Tom, Brenda concedes that her experience of professional ballet training gave her a somewhat more cynical view of training programs. She explains:

> I went to drama school. I also trained to be a yoga instructor and sometimes there was a certain amount of baloney that started to happen with the teachers... and I'd seen it before. I just kind of knew how to navigate those waters a little bit better than the others.

Tom is asked to describe how military training may have affected his personal development. He responds:

> I don't think it did. I don't think it really changed me as a person. I already have those values of, like I say, ethics and stuff. You know, it made me more responsible, but it's hard for me too because I joined when I was seventeen, my mom had to sign for me. I joined when I was younger and I spent most of my teenage years into my twenties and mid-to-late twenties doing something that was kind of a natural progression you know? That's how...that's where I grew up, doing that right? So it's hard because it's a time when you grow and learn who you are and stuff anyway, right?

Tom reiterates how his time spent in the military was just something he did.

4.2.5 Summary

Analysis of the qualitative data collected through narratives received from two individuals who experienced the transition from professional ballet training to the military was presented in this chapter. Findings were organized and grouped into themes guided by our research questions.

To summarize, Brenda abandoned her career path towards professional ballet for reasons, which related to her perceived feelings of alienation and lack of belonging to the group majority at the ballet school. While in professional ballet training, Brenda was denied the liberty to control her physical appearance as well as her personal life. This had a negative impact on Brenda's developing sense of identity as well as her social well-being.

Having been forced into ballet by his father, Tom wrestled with feelings of inadequacy and guilt during most of his time spent at the elite ballet training institution. Tom chose to abandon his professional ballet training at age fifteen shortly after moving from the school's residence to live with his father and ballet teacher who were romantically involved at that time.

Both participants reported finding military training to be a positive and rewarding experience. For Tom, the return to a structured and controlled environment felt comfortable after years spent with no direction. For Brenda, rebellion against the conformity of ballet culture made the military an enjoyable experience and refreshing change.

Professional ballet training for Brenda instilled a toughness and insight that helped facilitate the transitional process and career shift from professional ballet training to the military. Likewise, the work ethic and comfort in structure Tom acquired from years of professional ballet training accelerated his smooth transition into the military training culture.

Both participants developed a cynical view of authority from their experience in professional ballet training which influenced their transition into the military and subsequent training programs.

For Brenda and Tom, time spent in the military represented a period of self-awareness and introspection that contributed to their personal growth and maturation.

The next chapter presents a discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results presented in Chapter 4 will be discussed. In-depth interviews were conducted and the partial personal life story accounts of two former professional ballet students who chose to abandon their studies in professional ballet to pursue careers in the military were recorded. The findings which emerged from their stories resolved the following research question which asks:

What are the perceptions of the motivations and conditions that could influence two former ballet students involved in full-time professional training to abandon such training and later reorient toward a military career?

The following sub-questions guided our analysis and provided deeper knowledge of the subject:

1) How does one's individual sense of identity modify itself during the transitional career orientation process from professional ballet training to the military?

2) What skills acquired through ballet training could be applied to facilitate the transitional process of the career orientation shift from professional ballet training to the military?

This study presents the subjects' personal recollections that illuminate the motivations and conditions leading both participants to abandon their artistic formations in ballet and eventually choose to orientate toward the military during the 1980's.

5.1 Principle Findings

The goal of both participants was not to study ballet professionally; therefore, their motivations for attending the elite professional ballet institution were external rather than internal. Brenda followed her best friend to the ballet school audition. Tom fulfilled his father's expectations by auditioning for and attending the full-time professional ballet-training program. Both experienced growing up as children in the authoritative atmosphere typical of professional ballet training institutions during the 1980's (Goltsmann, 2008; Green, 2002). Tom felt he did not belong in the school since he lacked the drive to become a dancer; Brenda rebelled against what she perceived as the authoritative and conformist ideology of the ballet school. Both participants related that their parents were highly involved with the ballet school although in different manners. Brenda's mother openly criticized the school's academic program and counseling procedures. Tom's father became romantically involved with one of the school's ballet teachers. As presented in Table 1, exposing aspects of the stories, both participants chose to discontinue their professional ballet training upon reaching adolescence, and both experienced a period of incertitude upon leaving the ballet school.

	BRENDA	TOM
Participants personally chose to study ballet professionally	No	No
Authority	School	Father
Social aspect of ballet school	Competition	Inferiority complex
Age of decision to abandon ballet training	15	15
High school after ballet school	Dropout	Dropout

Table1. Comparison of participant career orientation transition

The results of this study indicate that the process of reorientation from professional ballet training to military training had little reported effect on either of the participant's sense of self. Self-discipline (strong work ethics), comfort in security, strength of character and mistrust of authority were attributes acquired from time spent in professional ballet training. These attributes were applied to and helped to facilitate smooth transitional experiences from professional ballet-training to the military.

In order to clarify the motivations and conditions that, thirty years ago, led to an abandonment of professional ballet training and subsequent reorientation toward military training, the results from each participant will be individually discussed. The patterns, principles and themes, which emerged from each of the participant's stories,

will be related to previous research and theoretical knowledge relative to identity and career change.

5.2 Tom

Before attending the elite professional ballet institution, Tom spent his early childhood years with his family in a small northern community. Tom was first introduced to dance by his father who enrolled him in highland dancing lessons at the age of seven. Tom excelled in highland dance (Scottish Folkloric Dance) and his skills in dance won him awards in local competitions. Enrollment in ballet classes became the means to improving his highland dancing skills.

Tom describes his father as a controlling figure of whom he has no choice but to obey. Although Tom exhibited talent in dance, his involvement in the art form was never a personal wish. Tom relates that his involvement in dance was due mostly to fulfill his father's unfulfilled dreams of fame. This circumstance (of his father's wish) is in itself unique.

In *The Things That Dreams Are Made on: Dreamwork and the Socialization of "Stage Mothers"*, Nelson, (2001) observed that, in contrast to female children's participation in ballet classes, "[...] mothers of young boys commonly reported that fathers or other male relatives had voiced opposition to their son's enrollment or dance or ballet lessons on the grounds that dance might 'feminize him' or 'make him into a fag' (p. 443). By Tom's account, we see an entirely different situation in which his father demands his son's participation in ballet training despite the fact that a career in professional ballet is short-lived, offers meager financial rewards and is often accompanied by social stigma for boys (Nelson, 2001).

Choice was never an option when it came to Tom and professional ballet training. At his father's bidding, ten-year-old Tom left his small town and family to pursue professional ballet training. For Tom, professional ballet training was an obligation.

Tom relates that he neither enjoyed nor disliked participating in the professional ballet-training program. Rather, the social aspect; the friends made during the process as well as group outings to ballet performances contributed to keeping him engaged in practice. For Tom, the social aspect became his "drive"; the motivating factor that kept him at the ballet school. Although the friendships formed during Tom's time in professional ballet training were extremely important, he reports that he felt at odds with his colleagues in relation to dance. Tom confesses that he felt as though he never really belonged and felt inferior to his classmates because he did not share their passion for dancing. In order to compensate for his feelings of inadequacy, Tom admits that he adopted the role of the class clown.

An unwillingness to disappoint his father figures predominantly in Tom's accounts. Indeed, Tom relates that his entire childhood revolved around pleasing his father. Wuerth, Lee and Alfermann (2004) propose that children with over-involved parents perceive high levels of parental pressure. This pressure is linked to lower self-esteem among athletes (McElroy, 1982 in Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004) feelings of distress, guilt as well as burnout (Donnelly, 1990; Smith, 1986; Udry *et al.*, 1997 in Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004).

With adolescence came freedom of choice. Adolescence may be described as one of the most intense periods of development for critical events, which transpire during this time (West & Newton, 1983). One of the most critical events is the choice of occupational role. West and Newton (1983) point out that:

> Perhaps the most important event during adolescence is the choice of a role by which the individual can enter society as an independent figure contributing to as well as taking from the larger social group. Choosing a role very much defines one status in society. Role choice is very much a process of self-definition (p.173).

Tom relates that becoming an adolescent meant having a choice of career direction for the very first time. Tom had never aspired to become a dancer. His chief motivation for dancing was to please his father. Reassessing his involvement in dance, he decided to abandon a professional ballet career. Fredricks *et al.*, (2002) describe adolescence as a period of self-determination for individuals engaged in arts and athletics. Their findings suggest that adolescents who had been participating in an activity more for others' sakes rather than their own (in order to avoid disappointing their peers, families or coaches) found themselves to be re-evaluating their motivations once they reached adolescence and had gained more autonomy (Fredricks *et al.*, 2002). This stage of identity development is often accompanied by the affirmation not to participate just to please another person (Fredricks *et al.*, 2002).

Tom's decision to discontinue his professional ballet training was fueled in part by the situation created when his father begins dating a ballet teacher at his school. At that time, Tom moved away from the school's residence in order to join his father at his ballet teacher's home. This situation could be seen as a trigger moment or crystallizing experience that strengthened his resolve to leave the school. Because of the importance that Tom placed on friendships and the social aspect of the professional ballet school, the fear and embarrassment of having his father's involvement with one of the school's ballet teachers being discovered may have been part of his reasoning for leaving the ballet school.

The following year marked a period of incertitude and aimlessness in Tom's life. The transition from the controlled and disciplined atmosphere of professional ballet training to public high school became too much to handle. Lacking guidance and

direction, Tom spent his days wandering the streets. He felt unable to relate to the other high school students and admitted that the academic course content did not interest him.

Tom confesses that high school was one of the most difficult periods in his life. He shares, "Going from being told where to go and having a schedule to all of a sudden... you are just free" he continues to explain, " I think that's why I had such a hard time in high school when I got out of the ballet school because you rely on that structure."

In, *Identity and Group Membership*, Konstam (2015) refers to Schwartz, Coté and Arnett (2005) who investigate the relationship between agency and identity. The study reports "[...] emerging adults who evidenced a commitment to a set of goals values and beliefs were able to cope with and counteract the pernicious effects of lack of structural supports" (Schwartz, Coté & Arnett, 2005 in Konstam, 2015, p.223). Tom confesses that during this difficult period of transition he had no guidance and felt completely alone.

Gaining freedom of choice and the ability to choose his own career direction was a milestone in Tom's life, one that enabled him to confront his father and abandon a career in professional ballet. Yet freedom may have its downside. Konstam (2015) describes that today's adolescents are bombarded with choice. Where some may feel the promise of abundant choice, others may feel bewildered and anxious about the decisions they face. Konstam (2015) asserts that today's affluent society amidst a myriad of technological advances has resulted in an expansion of choice for emerging adults.

Having been raised with little personal choice, the skills necessary to negotiate this new element in his life had not been developed. After one year, Tom dropped out of high school.

Tom states that the chief motivation for joining the military was a need for stability and was in part, inspired by the glamorous military portrayal of the film, *Top Gun* (1986). From its inception, the motion picture industry has been fascinated with combat as a vital element of the American patriotic legacy (Pollard, 2002). Tom tells, "I joined the military during the *Top Gun* [6]era when everybody wanted to join."

Stahl (2009) describes the film as one of the first of its kind to promote "techno-fetishism" (p.28). The glorification or romanticism of high-tech weaponry is implicated throughout the film. Stahl (2009) writes:

> Top Gun refigured public interest in the military from the axis of ideology to the axis of technology. Weapons not only take the center stage but also become the primary symbolic currency through which war negotiates legitimacy, righteousness and a host of other related values (p.28).

Padilla and Laner (2002) maintain that during the 1980's, aviation-related themes proliferated U.S. Army recruitment advertising, most of them emphasizing learning a high-tech skill. Images and messages used for military recruitment are designed to, "[...] capture the attention of potential recruits and to persuade them to sign on to a new way of life, complete with a new set of symbols and sense of identity (Padilla &

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[6] Directed by Tony Scott, the film garnered over 300 million dollars in worldwide gross (Kauffman, 1987). In *Militanment Inc.; war, media and popular culture*, Stahl, (2009) describes the film as, "...perhaps the purest and most successful example of a Hollywood film pressed into the service of military recruitment (p.77). Supported by the U.S. Pentagon, the film had granted the military the right to approve the script in exchange for military hardware and consultation (Kauffman, 1987).

Laner, 2002, p.2). Tom admitted that his goal at that time was to fly a jet and work on weapons.

Tom recounts that his entry to military training marked a return to a structured and controlled environment; a homecoming, of sorts. He shares his emotional feelings when starting military training, "I felt...I felt a lot better because I went from no guidance or anything [during high school], to back in that whole atmosphere...the military atmosphere of being told what to do, where to go and when to do it". Tom's need for structure and security was fulfilled through military training. As he relates, "[...] you [himself] went from one uniform to the next."

Tziner (1983), states that a military career holds potential fulfillment of human needs including security, the need for conformity as well as authoritative needs. Tom shares how he felt comfortable in the structured and disciplined environment of military culture. Tziner (1983) describes military life as it relates to security:

> The army is probably the optimal organization since the chances of dismissal are low, the effective and functional requirements are ambiguous and required behavior patterns are well defined. The behavior patterns are arranged by clearly defined and rigid procedures and commands (p.126).

The hierarchical structure of ranks was another quality of military training that Tom reportedly enjoyed. Tziner (1983) describes how the military milieu is built upon a firm hierarchal structure. It functions according to permanent rules thereby relieving those involved in low and middle military ranks the need to make independent decisions or to think outside the box. Individuals who are characterized by conformist tendencies will feel comfortable in a military career.

One may argue that ballet training operates on a similar hierarchical structure based on permanent rules (Aalten, 2007; Aitchison, 2012; Dryburgh, 2008). Researchers

have suggested structural relations of social oppression may be internalized becoming embedded in the organization of people's identities (Lipsky, 1987 in Tew, 2006).

For Tom, the correlation between military and ballet training cultures is clear. He shares:

> [...] at the school where... you have a schedule, and you are told where to go for your classes and ...you know when I was living at the residence there... it's very... you get in sometimes; you go to the cafeteria, you're getting this on your menu, kind of thing. Military life is pretty much the same thing.

Tom's habitus of obedience which was socially formed in part by his father and also the institution of professional ballet training made him feel secure and comfortable in the strictly disciplined environment of military training. He admits that obedience was a quality or trait that helped him transition from professional ballet training to the military. He offers credence to this idea sharing, "You know, I almost liked it [military training] because it was so controlled. You know, I grew up in that kind of environment."

Tom explains how his years spent in professional ballet training helped him to feel comfortable in the structured and disciplined environment of military culture. He was used to obeying commands and had developed a strong work ethic that helped him through the rigorous training procedures of the military.

Helena Wulff (2008) describes the values that become ingrained in the professional ballet dancer. She presents ballet dancers as, "[...] workhorses who work long hours and eventually succeed" (2008, p.578) in a milieu where punctuality and respect for higher status are to be expected (Wulff, 2008).

Tziner (1983) elaborates on the importance of obedience in military culture:

> The army is a hierarchical decision-making structure. If (a) is above (b) in the hierarchy, then (b) must execute the decisions made by (a). At most (b) may interpret develop and transfer the task to those under him. If he does not carry out the instructions of (a), he is subject to punishment for refusing a command (disobedience) (p.124).

In the same way that a professional ballet student must obey the directives of his teachers and directors, failure to obey may cost his or her place in the school or result in not being considered for roles and performances (Lakes, 2005; Pickard, 2012). In professional ballet, just as in the military, obedience is a given.

Teamwork and self-sacrifice for the good of others are integral military values (Tziner, 1983). Soldiers are trained to function as a group and in so doing they develop strong tendencies of cooperation and mutual dependency. Tziner (1983) relates how "The willingness [of military members] to forfeit individuality and to self-sacrifice for the good of others has a great deal of psychological importance" (p.124).

The social aspect of the military milieu was a critical factor for Tom's commitment to the field. He describes how the feeling of wearing uniforms, which identified him as a member of the group, became central to his motivations for commitment.

Having been attracted in part by a glamorized film representation of military life, Tom realized that a long-term commitment was not to be. The monotony and constant acts of preparation involved in the daily routine of military life encouraged both participants to disengage from the military as a long-term profession.

As a student involved in full-time professional ballet training, and later during his year spent in public high school, it appears that he had little time to develop a sense of vocation or professional identity. He states that he never considered himself becoming a ballet dancer and in his words, he always "fell into things." His use of the

word "fell" to describe his career trajectory denotes a sense of powerlessness and lack of personal control.

Tom describes his involvement in both ballet and military practice; he removes himself from the situation stating, "It was just something I did." When Tom speaks of his current profession, he confesses that he never grew up wanting to be a truck driver; he had never planned this profession.

5.3 Brenda

As presented in Chapter 4, Brenda's family enrolled her in ballet classes that were offered at her public elementary school. Brenda remembers these classes as a social activity; she was merely following her friends.

Brenda followed her best friend to the annual audition for the professional ballet-training program and gave little thought to the consequences. Her acceptance to the elite institution was perceived as a haphazard event. She had never before considered ballet as a professional career.

Brenda was ten years old when she began full-time professional ballet training at the school. During these early years at the ballet school, she loved to dance and entertained thoughts of one day becoming a ballet dancer.

The development of professional identity occurs during the formation process of ballet dancers (Mason, 1993). As the student begins to perceive of him or herself functioning in the role of a dancer, the students' self-concept as a dancer is formed. The student then evaluates and adjusts this newly formed self-concept according to his or her ability to perform in the role (Mason, 1993). It is the combination of an

individual's self-concept and level of self-perception that contribute to the construction of identity (George, 1980).

Previous studies on youth commitment and participation in sports or artistic activities have observed that enjoyment is the critical element that motivates young individuals to stay committed to a specific domain (Anderson *et al.*, 2003; Aujla, Nordin-Bates & Redding, 2014). Feelings of enjoyment stem from several sources such as self-expression, movement sensations and performance-related feelings (Aujla, Nordin-Bates & Redding, 2014). Feeling confident about personal skills is a factor of increased enjoyment (Fredricks *et al.*, 2002).

Although she loved ballet during her few first years of training, Brenda became disillusioned with the practice during adolescence. She describes how she had lost her passion for dance, attending the elite professional ballet school became drudgery. Negative incidents such as her experience with the ballet exam and her feelings of lack of control contributed towards changing her self-perception as well as her role within the tight-knit community of the professional ballet school. Walker, Nordin-Bates and Redding (2012) relate that lost passion, along with changes in aspirations and perceived low competency are major reasons why adolescent dancers aged fifteen and over decide to cease involvement in professional dance training programs.

Adolescence may be described as a time of self-discovery or self-creation (Bower, 1980). It is a stage in life when individual identity is developed. Decisions regarding occupational choice become entwined with an individual adolescent's view of him or herself (West & Newton, 1983). Adolescents who are struggling with decisions about career choice are in a sense engaged in the process of self-definition as adults in the world (West & Newton, 1983). Like Tom, adolescence proved to be a turning point in Brenda's life as she began to reassess her goals and position at the professional ballet school.

Participation in annual ballet exams serves as a way for students and teachers to assess their progress in training. Brenda relates that during her final year of professional ballet training, the school's artistic director dissuaded her from taking her exams. Brenda persuaded the director to be able to take her exam and succeeded. Upon receiving the results of her exam, Brenda was shocked and disappointed to learn that she received a comparatively low mark compared to that of her colleague who was unable to complete her exam due to nerves.

Researchers have noted that positive reinforcement and feedback from teachers and peers are motivational factors (Fredericks *et al.*, 2012; Walker, Nordin-Bates & Redding, 2012) which help young dancers stay committed to their field. Pickard and Bailey (2009) describe crystallizing experiences as memorable reactions an individual has to some quality or feature of an activity or domain that yields a long-term change in the individual's performance and their view of themselves. We suggest that Brenda's ballet exam experience where she was not supported by her ballet teachers and the school's artistic director, as well as her perception of receiving unfair exam results became a negative crystallizing moment which contributed to her feelings of unhappiness and eventually resulted in her leaving the school.

Fredericks *et al.*, (2002) propose that the social aspect of belonging to a peer group of shared common values and interests is the second most important psychological factor that contributes to the decision-making process of commitment over time. Aujla, Nordin-Bates and Redding, (2014) report similar findings whereby enjoyment and social relationships are the two most important factors relating to commitment in dance training.

Brenda relates that she found it challenging to develop strong lasting friendships within the competitive environment of the ballet school. She recounts how the school

had often placed her and her classmates up for the same roles and therefore made meaningful friendships difficult if not impossible to cultivate and maintain.

Mason (1993) describes, "Along with special relationships with peers and teachers comes jealousy and competition. This is often the young dancers' first exposure to the politics and competitions of life in ballet (p.9).

Brenda shares how year after year; she experienced the loss of close friends because of the re-evaluation and selection process at the professional ballet school. As a result, Brenda experienced feelings of loneliness and isolation. She describes the school as "transient" where people come and go. I suggest that for Brenda, investing in friendships became a form of liability for there was a great chance they would not be staying. Brenda's self-perception of being outside the select group of favoured ballet students may have motivated her decision to leave the training milieu.

It can be said that professional ballet schools in the context of the environment of the 1980's were dictated by conformity, rules and discipline (Mason, 1993; Ritenburg, 2010).

Ritenburg (2010) describes the controlled atmosphere of professional ballet training:

> Western dance training, including ballet, is typically authoritarian with a complex set of rules, techniques, etiquettes and protocols that have been laid down over centuries. The individual becomes a unit within a mass. The individual is recognized through his or her degree of membership with the group by tracing and establishing the norm (Foucault, 1978, p.141-167 in Ritenburg, 2010, p.74).

For young dancers in training, the consistency provided by the ballet school may be reassuring and supportive, much like an adequate home environment. It may also prove to be as disruptive as a dysfunctional home (Ritenburg, 2010).

Brenda relates that she struggled with what she described as the controlling environment at the professional ballet school. Brenda continued to live with her mother at home where she experienced more freedom to do things that were not encouraged at the ballet school (such as auditioning for musical theater shows, riding horses, etcetera).

Brenda decided to assert control over her personal appearance by cutting her hair and dabbling in the aesthetic of the punk rock movement. As a result, Brenda relates how she felt personally attacked by the administration and teachers for rebelling against the school's uniform policy.

As Brenda struggles to assert her individuality from within the controlled and disciplined environment of the ballet school, her perception of being ostracized increased. She recounts how when the schools' administration discovered her unhappiness, the perceived anger and abusive behavior toward her worsened.

Tew (2006) refers to Max Weber's individualist perspective of action theory that presents power as, "the capacity of an individual to realize his will even against the opposition of others" (Weber, 1968, iii, in Tew, 2006). Yang *et al.*, (2015) suggest that power gives people the ability to control themselves and their environment and this control is considered a fundamental human need.

For Brenda, asserting control over physical appearance becomes a form of rebellion against the norms of the professional ballet school. Cutting her hair short and dabbling in the "punk-rock thing" became easy ways to assert herself and her growing sense of identity.

Brenda's mother complains about what she finds to be poor academic standards at the school and refuses to allow her daughter to live in the school's residence. This situation put her at odds with the school's direction.

Brenda presents her experiences of herself and at times her mother, trying to attain power within the professional ballet-training milieu. In so doing, they isolate themselves from the larger group social structure of the ballet school and suffer retribution. Social attitudes are influenced by an individual's beliefs about the appropriate structure of a social group and their relationship in a particular social system (Dru, 2007). Brenda's mother refers to the school's residence as a "psycho Babylon."

During the interviews, Brenda describes her former teachers at the ballet school as crazy. These views denote extreme mistrust of the authoritative structure of the ballet school. I suggest that Brenda, with the support of her mother, had already begun the process of disengaging from the school that led to her eventual dropout.

In their study, *Changing categorization of self can change emotions about outgroups* (Ray, Mackie, Rydell, & Smith, 2008) propose that an individual's perceived emotional reaction toward another social group can change in response to situationally induced shifts in self-categorization. The researchers suggest that social category membership can at times inform a person's self-definition as much as or more than distinctive personal attributes. The results of their study demonstrate that situationally induced self-categorization changed emotional reactions to the group. People's emotions about a given social group differ depending on the perceiver's self-categorization. For Brenda, the year before leaving the school marked a dramatic shift in her self-categorization from, "us" to "them" which affected her emotional reaction to the group.

Brenda's perception of being picked upon and personally attacked by teachers and administration at the ballet school may have left her feeling angered and humiliated in front of her ballet school colleagues. Veldhuis *et al.*, (2014), describe the experience of humiliation as a strong emotional reaction to being ostracized. Experiences of social rejection can create serious deficits in the satisfaction of social needs (Veldhuis *et al.*, 2014) Furthermore, the authors suggest that the experience of humiliation centers on an individual being deprived of power and being controlled by a third party. In Brenda's case, the third parties are the teachers and administration at the professional ballet school that she describes as "crazy" who ostracized her efforts to achieve individuality within the conformist structure of the ballet school.

Being a member of any society implies certain shared beliefs (Bar Tal, 2000). Bar Tal (2000) suggests that if societies are characterized by a set of beliefs and values, then membership in society requires holding the same beliefs and values.

Sociologist, Daniel Bar Tal (2000) clarifies that on the individual level, sharing beliefs strengthens confidence in the perceived reality and provides a strong sense of similarity to and identification with other society members. On the societal level, it increases cohesiveness, the perception of society, uniqueness, mutual liking and strong group identity. We suggest therefore, that not sharing societal beliefs will produce the opposite effect. Given Brenda's story, it becomes clear that negative experiences may have caused a shift in the way that Brenda and her mother viewed the administration and norms of the ballet school. This shift of views contributed toward Brenda and her mother pulling away from the school as a whole. She and her mother no longer shared the societal beliefs of the elite training institution. Hence, it became "them against us".

Brenda began to develop vocational identification as a ballet dancer yet she chose not to continue her studies at the prestigious ballet school. We argue that Brenda's

negative perceptions of the context of the professional ballet-training milieu became a critical determining factor in her decision to leave. Fredricks *et al.,* (2002) propose that an individual's experience in any organized activity is shaped by the layers and cultural conditions in which they live as well as their experiences in other contexts such as school, family and associates. It was the nature of the ballet training environment; the competition, controlled and conformist atmosphere that did not accord with Brenda's identification with the craft rather than ballet training itself.

Brenda chose to leave the school after grade nine. Like Tom, Brenda was not able to successfully integrate into the relatively free and unstructured atmosphere of high school. Brenda states, "There was a bit of a shock." Accustomed to the small and intimate class sizes of the professional ballet school, the move to public high school was too much to handle. She shares how she was unable to deal with the freedom of high school with its alcohol, drugs and sex. She dropped out after two years.

When Brenda fails to successfully continue her dance training outside the secure walls of the professional ballet school, her sense of professional identity was disrupted. What follows is a period of vocational self-search to see if various occupations could "fit". She describes herself as "floating around" in the military training milieu. The word floating suggests the quality of having little to no direction or weight. Brenda tells us how she went from knowing exactly what she wanted to do, to having no idea what she wanted to do. Professional ballet training may limit an individual's self-knowledge and career opportunities. Greben (1989) writes:

> One way in which dance begins to limit young children is that they often make special arrangements for their education, which may ultimately limit their knowledge of other talents and abilities (p.10).

Studies on high school dropouts relate that quitting school early imprints social, as well as psychological scars (Burman, 1988; Gilbert *et al.,* 1993; Tanner *et al.,* 1995 in

Crysdale, King & Mardell, 1999). The majority of high school dropouts are ill prepared for working life (Crysdale *et al.*, 1999). Their general vocational knowledge is low and often based on incomplete and misleading information (West & Newton, 1983).

Brenda confides how rebellion against the conformity and discipline of professional ballet training was part of her motivation to join the military reserves.

She explains that she had gone from having a secure sense of career direction to having no idea what she was going to do. Military training offered an opportunity to explore new vocational possibilities as well as financial compensation. Ironically, although her motivation for joining the military reserves was a rebellion against the conformity and control associated with professional ballet training, her participation in the military reserves marked a return to a controlled, closed and rigid environment.

Brenda shares that she developed a strong quality of personal strength and fortitude due to her time spent in professional ballet training. She states, "Well it certainly made you tough!"

Resilience and strength of character are considered traits young ballet dancers require in order to succeed through the years of criticism, hard work, sacrifice, pain and often rejection (DeMille 1952; Khudaverdian, 1998; Wainwright & Turner, 2003; Wulff, 2008).

DeMille (1952) describes how ballet students at that time, were geared towards accepting physical pain as part of their daily practice. She describes the certain type of bravado that results from this acceptance:

The dancer must endure the pain and suffering which comes from dancing on pointe. I must say though, we were quite proud of having enjoyed the pain which eventually became part of our everyday lives (p. 63).

For young aspiring ballet dancers, physical pain is viewed in a positive light (Wulff, 1998). Physical pain brings with it a sense of heroism; it is seen as a sign of hard work and progress (Wulff, 1998). Mental toughness, resilience and stamina are seen as a feature that distinguishes those who become professional dancers (Wainwright, Williams & Turner, 2005).

Rip, Fortin and Vallerand (2006) strengthen this argument. In their study, *The Relationship between Passion and Injury in Dance Students*, the authors investigate the connection between obsessive passion in dance and injury. They write, "Importantly, results indicate that the more dancers are obsessively passionate, the more time they spend suffering from chronic injuries" (p.18). Personal pride is the major factor that prevents dancers from seeking treatment for their injuries (Rip, Fortin &Vallerand, 2006).

In response to perceived negative attention and her perception of being personally attacked by teachers at the ballet school, Brenda developed a tough mental exterior that helped her cope with the stress and negativity that surrounded her.

The combination of physical and mental resilience that Brenda acquired through professional ballet training helped her to achieve a smooth transition to military training.

Captain John Rickard (2013) presents resilience and strength of character as essential qualities of a successful soldier. He refers to the Canadian Army terminology panel (2009) describing military resilience as, "[...] the capacity to recover quickly, resist

and possibly even thrive in the face of direct or indirect traumatic events and adverse situations in garrison and operational environments" (p.50).

As in professional ballet, only the strong can survive the physical and mental demands of military training (Aalten, 2007, Pickard, 2012; Rickard, 2013; Stouffer & Horn, 2012; Wulff, 1998). Rickard (2013) refers to a 1950's war training manual that states explicitly the desired qualities of soldiers:

> Mental toughness must be inculcated. From the start, a man must be taught to take pride in toughness and his power to overcome difficulties and his capacity to stand up to long periods of strain. He must realize that the Army has no use for weaklings. It is a tough profession in which only the strong survive (p.60).

The process of military training did not intimidate Brenda. She enjoyed the technical aspects such as using weaponry and the weekend exercises. Like Tom however, she was not able to envision herself in a long-term military career. She admits that she has since dabbled in several career directions and that her search for professional identity is ongoing.

In the following subsections up to 5.11, we will discuss the conditions inherent to professional ballet training that may have influenced the decisions and career orientation trajectory of this study's two participants.

5.4 Children and career choice; the role of the family

Exposure to ballet training is typically introduced to young dancers by their parents who provide the leotards and ballet slippers, arrange and pay for the lessons and support their children's participation in the art form (Mason, 1993; Nelson, 2001).

Despite the fact that a professional career in ballet scores low on financial rewards, parents continue to enroll their children in ballet lessons year after year[7].

Because young dancers are typically exposed to ballet through their parents, investigating the role of the family in the career development of professional ballet students may offer valuable insight into the choices made and the transitional experience of this study's participants. Keller and Whiston (2008) acknowledge that current theoretical studies indicate a potential link between parenting behaviors and adolescent career development.

The authors (2008) report that:

> For more than half a century researchers have speculated that family dynamics such as conflict, attachment or enmeshment may either enhance or impede the vocational development of youth. The overall quality of parent-adolescent relationships, as well as specific relational factors such as individualism and support, may influence young adolescents' career exploration, occupational aspirations and perceptions of career barriers (Hill, Ramirez, Dumka, 2003 in Keller & Whiston, 2008).

Both Brenda and Tom shared stories of their parents' involvement and interactions with the school's administration and artistic staff.

Parental support is instrumental to children's participation and success in athletic endeavors (Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004; Wylleman, De Knopp, Ewing & Cumming, 2000). However, both under-involved, disinterested parents, as well as

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[7] A study by TJ Cheney Research (2004) commissioned by the Canada Council for the Arts submits that since 1970, dancers have earned the lowest incomes of culture workers. Their earnings are among the lowest incomes of all workers, comprising less than two-thirds of the average Canadian income, and ranking among the bottom 5% of all occupations (http://canadacouncil.ca/council/research/find-research/2004/facts-on-dance).

overly engaged parents, may play a destructive role. The authors suggest that the quality of parental behavior rather than its intensity is a critical factor in the parent-athlete relationship.

Children's perceptions of parental over-involvement as evidenced in Tom's case may lead to heightened anxiety and burnout (Gould, Tuffey, Udry & Loehr, 1997; Holt *et al.*, 2008). The perceived parental pressure was found to be a significant negative predictor of sports activity enjoyment in a 2003 study by Andersen *et al.*, which examined children's perceptions of their parent's involvement in all types of extracurricular activities. Their study observed that as parental pressure increased, children's reported enjoyment decreased.

As students progress from one phase of development to the next, they experience higher levels of demands and related stress, and often this period of transition will lead to considerations of dropout from the activity (Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004). The progression to higher levels of performance and expectation is frequently accompanied by loss of self-esteem (Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004).

In this case, both of the participants chose to abandon their training in professional ballet after the ninth grade, which marks the passage from the junior training program into senior status at the elite professional ballet training institution. Researchers recommend that increased support from coaches and parents is necessary in order to avoid adolescent dropout during this crucial phase of transition (Wuerth, Lee & Alfermann, 2004).

Recent studies from the world of sports (Jayanthi *et al.*, 2013) and dance (Walker, Nordin-Bates & Redding (2012) have observed a link between early intense specialization and adolescent dropout.

We suggest that in the present study, parental behavior and involvement as well as intense early involvement of both participants may have played a significant role in the participants' perceptions of their training process. These conditions may have influenced their decisions to terminate their training and abandon a career in professional ballet.

5.5 Discipline and control in professional ballet training

In Chapter 2 we discussed the theoretical concepts of Pierre Bourdieu *(habitus)* and Michel Foucault *(discipline)* as they relate to the formation of professional ballet dancers.

Habitus has been described as the attitudes, dispositions and tastes that individuals share as members of a field of social activity (Turner & Wainwright, 2004). Habitus is formed through one's early life experiences including family history and educational experiences and perseveres in a stable nature for a long period of time. Since habitus is formed through early socialization, it is inscribed in not only the individual's body but also their unconsciousness (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Because individuals internalize their objective social conditions, they acquire tastes and practices appropriate for that social position (Dumais, 2002).

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) set forth:

> [...] social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds and fields and in habitus, outside and inside social agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a 'fish in water'; it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted.

Attending public high school was a traumatic experience for both Brenda and Tom. Both participants dropped out before graduating. We propose that the field of public

high school represented a social arena where the participants felt like "fish out of water." In other words, they found themselves in a situation where their old habitus did not subscribe to the dominant habitus of the new social setting.

Brenda rebelled against the controlling atmosphere of the professional ballet school, whereas Tom relates that he felt secure within the structured and disciplined environment of the professional ballet-training milieu. While attending the professional ballet school, Brenda lived at home with her family who held liberal values and ideas towards child rearing. On the other hand, Tom grew up in a disciplined and controlling family environment before living in residence at the ballet school. Consequently, we propose that Brenda's habitus was not as fully ingrained or internalized as Tom's.

Several researchers have noted the links between Foucault's concept of discipline and the training milieu of professional ballet (Aitchison, 2012; Dryburgh, 2008; Foster, 1995; Grau, 2005; Green, 2002; Khudaverdian, 1998; Ritenburg, 2010; Wulff, 2008).

According to Foucault, the body is the site where discipline and regulation are exercised (1975). He describes the body as the place where "willing and feeling and thinking all take root" (Miller, 1993, p. 182). The body is understood as being a part of social practices and regulations, which operate both within and around it.

Aitchison (2012) describes how ballet dancers are viewed as products of an institution or teacher. Foucault's theory of *technologies of domination* as outlined in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) may help illuminate the phenomena of production in professional ballet training and its impact on dancers' sense of identity. Foucault (1977) examines the procedures of discipline which contribute to the making of a "docile body"; that which is "[...] manipulated, shaped, and trained; which obeys, responds becomes skillful and increases its forces" (p.136).

According to Foucault (1977), "Discipline is a political anatomy of detail" (p. 139). Referring to the formation of soldiers, he describes how soldiers can be formed through habit and detailed instruction (Aitchison, 2012). Training through repetition or drills joins the analyzable body to the manipulative body (Foucault, 1977) in order to produce the docile or silent body. This regime is designed so that the individual soldiers accept and reproduce divisions of identity and class. Power is achieved when the individual internalizes norms and productive goals (Fortin, Viera & Tremblay, 2009).

The participants had essentially grown up within the controlled and structured environment of the professional ballet school. We suggest that these properties had become a part of their identities.

Foucault's (1979) understanding of discipline in relation to physical training in general, suggests that these practices contributed to the maintenance of social order. It issues from laws and "natural" processes of a society and allows for the individual to be ranked, arranged and organized over space and through time.

These educative processes work to maintain social cohesion, as corrective measures are implemented to reduce differences and inclusions or exclusions as measures are adopted which establish and maintain boundaries. Those who are encompassed by these boundaries are able to conform and to uphold to the aesthetic ideals found within (Phillips, 2014).

Aitchison (2012) draws a comparison between ballet training milieu and the military training culture. Ballet, as in the military, is based on a disciplined power model where student obedience is valued over communication (Hecht, 2007).

Becoming a soldier requires discipline, control and obedience; three behaviors Brenda rebelled against. Ironically, Brenda chooses this discipline upon leaving the ballet school. This suggests that even though she rejected these values, her institutional habitus garnered through years of professional ballet training steered her unconsciously toward another similarly controlled and disciplined milieu – that of the military.

5.6 The self in adolescence

Investigating the process of identity formation during adolescence may offer insight into the decisions taken by the participants concerning their career orientation.

The process of identity development can be described as the first and most challenging task of mentoring and negotiating adulthood (Konstam, 2015). This maturity process can often cause emotional pain (Konstam, 2015). During the socialization process into maturity, adolescents experience tension between their individual wishes and powerful social structures that surround them such as family and school (Crysdale, King, & Mandell, 1999).

In Erikson's view (1968), tentative crystallizations of identity occur during childhood. During adolescence however, a new form of identity emerges in which these identifications of childhood are examined, subordinated and transformed in order to produce a new identity configuration (Kroger, Martinussen, & Marcia, 2010).

Under the disciplined and highly pressured auspices of a professional ballet program, we suggest that this period of self-exploration, redefinition and discovery can be even more intense and painful. In a setting, which values physical conformity and a clearly defined physical aesthetic, physical and emotional changes can be viewed as potential

disruptions in the formation of personal and professional identity among young dancers (Pickard, 2012).

Crysdale, King and Mandell (1999), outline the process of disengaging from the expectations of the adult world in order to attain self-agency. They write, "Youth themselves play a critical part in determining their futures. By mid-adolescence, they normally accept, reject or modify the expectations of adults and peers" (p.94).

For teenagers involved in highly demanding athletic or artistic programs, this period of self-reflection and identity formation causes the individual to reassess their needs as they become clearer about how their participation in an activity fits with their developing perceptions of self and individual values (Fredricks *et al.*, 2002). This emerging identity as a participant in a particular activity helps to shape their perceptions of the context as well as their motivations for participating in it. If an identity as an artist or athlete did not fit, with whom they thought they wanted to be or did not fit with their own personal values and beliefs, they were likely to cease involvement.

The combination of psychological factors, context and identity formation helps to shape an individual's future direction and decisions regarding continuation or discontinuation of a particular vocational role (Fredricks *et al.*, 2002).

Both of this study's participants chose to abandon their professional training in ballet upon reaching adolescence. Walker, Nordin-Bates and Redding (2012) however, offer a more positive outlook on adolescents and dropout behavior from dance training programs. They suggest:

> The word dropout tends to have negative connotations; it may simply be a normal part of adolescence whereby young people seek activities that best suit

their developing identities. Thus, the focus of teachers and administration should be on the quality of the dance experience, not simply the outcome (p.72).

5.7 Social identity; seeking friends and fitting in

This study adopts the stance that identity is socially constructed. Group identity informs the process of identity formation (Phinney, 2006).

Tajfel (1979) proposes that groups are an important source of pride and self-esteem. They provide a sense of belonging to the social world (Tajfel, 1979). Social identity can be described as an individual's self-concept that is derived from perceived membership in social groups (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002).

Understanding the ways in which Brenda and Tom identified with their social groups helps to clarify their actions and decisions regarding their career development.

The social aspect of professional ballet training played a crucial role in the decision-making process for both Brenda and Tom. Brenda found making lasting intimate friendships challenging under the competitive auspices of the ballet school. Her perception of being marginalized from the group as well as her feelings of social alienation may have contributed to her resolve to leave. Tom relates that his friends at the ballet school became his drive to continue his training and remain at the school.

5.8 Patterns in professional identity

Attending a full-time professional ballet school is a goal for many aspiring ballet dancers. But the chances of meeting the rigorous physical as well as mental requirements for acceptance are few and far between. For example, over a thousand young dancers audition annually for Canada's National Ballet School in 20 different cities hoping for a chance to attend the four-week summer session. Of these, 175

dancers are invited to the summer program and a mere 50 dancers will have proven that they have what it takes to deserve a spot in the full-time training program (Greenaway, 2014).

Surprisingly, and despite the fact that they met the rigorous requirements of acceptance to the professional ballet-training program, both Brenda and Tom admit that they hadn't planned or dreamed of doing so. Neither of this study's participants had envisioned themselves becoming ballet dancers before attending the full-time professional ballet-training program.

Researchers suggest that vocational development is essentially that of developing and implementing self-concept (Super, 1963; West & Newton, 1983). Self-concept has a crucial influence on the process of occupational choice (West & Newton, 1983).

Although Brenda began to develop a vocational identity as a ballet dancer during her early years in training, the context of the professional ballet school and negative experiences within it caused her to reassess her role within the milieu. Tom had never perceived of himself as a ballet dancer.

5.9 Trigger moments leading to dropout

In their study, Pickard and Bailey (2009) suggest that memorable moments and significant experiences occur frequently during the formation of elite dancers. These experiences can lead to a long-term change in the individual's performance and view of themselves (Pickard & Bailey, 2009)

In the previous chapter, we suggested that Brenda's negative experiences involving her ballet exam and the negative reaction she received from cutting her hair as well as Tom's experience of moving from the school's residence to live with his father and

ballet teacher could be considered *crystallizing moments*. These moments may have motivated the participants to discontinue their professional ballet training and abandon an artistic career. Brenda's subsequent demoralizing experience with a former teacher that occurred while she was working as a security guard at a major local event, may have contributed to her decision of joining the Army.

Pickard and Bailey (2009) suggest that dance students who lose interest in the practice may do so in response to having experienced more negative events than positive ones within the training milieu. These negative experiences may be linked to lowering self-esteem and confidence, contributing to the motivations for quitting dance studies (Pickard & Bailey, 2009) These key events and experiences may lead an individual to make decisions which have consequences for their ambitions and future life direction and result in the emergence of new aspects of the self (Pickard & Bailey, 2009).

Negative experiences, which occurred while attending the elite professional ballet training institution, affected Brenda's sense of self-worth and efficacy. Already plagued with self-doubt and guilt, Tom's experience of moving away from his friends or in his words, "his drive" may have been part of the catalyst for change.

It has been suggested that crystallizing experiences have a dramatic lifelong effect on an individual's self-concept (Freeman, 2000). Crystallizing experiences affect the way participants view themselves within the context of an activity (Freeman, 2000). Adolescents who feel confident about their skills in a specific domain often tend to continue, whereas students who experience setbacks and negative attention eventually lose interest in the activity (Fredricks *et al.*, 2002).

Both Brenda and Tom shared their feelings of perceived powerlessness while training at the professional ballet school. I suggest that negative experiences and lack of

personal freedom to choose self-direction had a negative impact on both Brenda and Tom's belief of self-efficacy. Bandura (1997) relates that self-efficacy belief is essential for successful performance. According to Bandura, individuals require a resilient sense of efficacy in order to rise above challenges in performance situations (Bandura & Locke, 2003).

Self-doubt and lack of self-efficacy beliefs resulting from negative crystallising experiences became a motivating force behind both participants' decision to abandon an artistic profession in ballet.

5.10 Reorientation; handling freedom and becoming normal

Although the participants chose willingly to leave the elite professional ballet training institution, both Brenda and Tom admitted that they felt overwhelmed by the process of integration into high school culture. Becoming a 'normal teenager' was far from easy.

Mason (1993) describes the process of adjustment that dancers' face when retiring from the profession, (in this study career orientation endings) a process which often leads to self-destructive behavior and depression. The initial response to the career ending is shock and numbness followed by the defense mechanisms of denial (Mason 1993). With time, denial gives way to anger or resentment. The anger may be self-directed and displayed by self-defeating behavior or directed outward towards others. Lastly, this pattern of behavior is followed by a responsive depression involving withdrawal from others while experiencing a sense of loneliness and helplessness (Mason 1993). Both Brenda and Tom experienced a period of incertitude and loneliness after dropping out of the professional ballet school.

Both participants had rejected the controlling environment of the professional ballet school. The freedom of choice offered by public high school however, proved too much to handle.

Shwartz (2004), in Konstam (2015) challenges many assumptions related to choice. He argues that the combined effect of abundance and choice causes, "[…] substantial distress more so when combined with regret, concern about status, adaptation, social comparison and the desire to have the best of everything" (p.221).

Schwartz (2004) contends that in the context of abundance, choice increases the likelihood of making mistakes, increases the amount of effort that is needed to be expended to make a decision and makes psychological consequences of mistakes more severe.

Konstam (2015) suggests that the plethora of choice available to emerging adults today compromises the process of identity formation. He observes that for adolescents engaged in the process of becoming adults, rules are less clear and more contextual (Konstam, 2015). Furthermore, institutional guidance pointing to clear developmental avenues is lacking (Konstam, 2015).

Having internalized the discipline and order associated with professional ballet culture and having been initially denied the freedom to explore other aspects of professional identity beyond ballet, we suggest that both Brenda and Tom had not yet developed the skills necessary to successfully manage their transition into normal teenaged life.

5.11 From tights to tanks; the military experience

For Brenda, rebellion against the "conformity of what you are" or against the norms of professional ballet training as well as the need to "sort herself out" were motivations to join the military reserves. Tom looked to a career in the military to provide structure and security in his life. The film, *Top Gun* (1986) had considerable influence in determining his decision to pursue a military career. We argue that the fantasy of military culture supported by both Brenda and Tom's initial preoccupation with military weaponry such as jets and helicopters may have represented their personal quest for self-empowerment and control of their own destiny which eluded them during their years of professional ballet training.

"Playing war", carrying a gun and shooting are parts of the military training process which both participants stated they enjoyed and initially drew them toward military training.

Military sociologists propose that military training is set up to break an individual's former identity and replace it with a new military identity (Elder, 1986; Jackson *et al.*, 2012; Mayer, Roberts & Barsad, 2008).

Jackson *et al.*, (2012) describe the socialization process and subsequent identity formation of soldiers in training:

> New recruits are immersed in an extensive boot camp program in which their civilian status is broken down and the new identity of the military is forged. Secondly, an incentive structure is set up that rewards recruits who fulfill the expectations of military culture and punishes those who do not. These external contingencies lead to changes in daily behavior that over time are thought to promote changes in personality traits (p.271).

Tom describes the goal of his military training as, "pretty much for bringing everybody down to a single level and building them up."

Remarkably, both Brenda and Tom acknowledge that their experiences of military training had little to no effect on their sense of identity. Both confirm that they found the transition from professional ballet training to the military to be both physically and mentally unchallenging. Tom sets himself apart from the other recruits during the process of military training explaining that mentally, he was, "already past the broken down phase."

Curiously, the process of military training which Elder (1986) describes as a major turning point in people's lives that produces long lasting changes, did not affect or change either of this study's participants.

5.12 Limitations of study

This study is limited by the small sample size of participants. Two cases are not representative of all the cases that may have chosen the same path. However, data obtained through in-depth interviews gives a number of indications of motivations and conditions in context to better understand the factors that could lead to abandoning a professional ballet career orientation.

The military is one of the possible issues. It would be interesting to investigate those other paths among different groups of students, other schools and in other eras. It might be of value to find other professional ballet students who have experienced similar transitions from professional ballet to the military.

Unfortunately, this study is limited by search constraints of finding a third participant in our cohort. Interviews with two former students from an elite professional ballet

school are not representative of the entire cohort. However, in qualitative research the goal is not necessarily to produce generalizable results, but rather to explore and understand individual perceptions.

5.13 Implications for practice

Once considered a bastion for the conservation of traditional values and norms, there appears to be a growing awareness in the professional ballet milieu as it works toward building a healthier atmosphere in which the emotional and artistic growth of its young members is nurtured.

Enlightened directors and teachers are developing a new generation of ballet dancers who are strong and empowered within their profession (Aitchison, 2012; Kelly, 2012). Professional ballet dancers are no longer perceived as slaves to their art, but as elite athletes and valuable employees within their field (Kelly, 2012).

Former Balanchine dancer and muse Gelsey Kirkland is dedicated to establishing these new values. In 2010, she founded the *Gelsey Kirkland Academy of Classical Ballet* in New York City. Considered by many to be a survivor of an abusive regime of power (Kelly, 2012), Kirkland strives through her teaching to create dancers who are unique and with a voice of their own. Professional ballet dancers are no longer required to be submissive and surrender to the whims of authority figures. Today's contemporary ballet choreographers such as William Forsythe value the creative input of their dancers and often engage them in the creative process (Aitchison, 2012). Professional ballet dancers today are valued for their minds as well as their bodies.

Just as the professional milieu of ballet has evolved, so too has the culture of professional ballet training. For example, Canada's National Ballet School describes their progressive mandate towards young dancers in training[8]:

> Canada's National Ballet School is committed to developing confident, self-aware dancers capable of fully exploring their artistic potential. We continue to pioneer the use of health professionals to support this goal. Specialists – including on-site physiotherapists, doctors, psychiatrists, social workers and nutritionists – provide instruction on topics such as injury prevention, nutrition, mental and emotional health, personal fitness and lifestyle.

The Royal Ballet School in London, England shares this modern and healthier approach to ballet training. On their website[9], they state their student based values:

We are:

• Student focused: Students are at the heart of everything we do at the School and their training and welfare are the basis of all decisions.

• One team: We support each other, creating a warm, nurturing environment for students to maximize their potential

• Committed to academic education: We give students the best possible education and in so doing open up their opportunities beyond ballet.

• Nurturing of our students: We are respectful of our dancers as aspiring artists and as individual, intelligent human beings

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[8] (http://www.nbs-enb.ca/)

[9] (http://www.royalballetschool.org.uk/discover/about-us/).

In addition, The Royal Ballet School has initiated a program dedicated to ensuring the physical and mental health of its students called the *Healthier Dancer Programme.* They describe their program's mandate[10]:

> The team is focused on optimising students' performance by nurturing the physical and psychological wellbeing of each student, creating the strongest possible foundations for their future as dancers. At all times emphasis is placed on natural flow of movement, musicality, and the joy of dance and the development of the dancer as an artist.

Professional ballet training institutions of today endeavor to produce a more empowered and diverse generation of ballet dancers as audiences become more enlightened (Kelly, 2012). Standards that prevailed in professional ballet training thirty years ago, that favoured the technical aspects of dance training over the health and psychological well-being of the individual dance student, are losing favour in today's society.

5.14 Implications for research

Keeping in mind recent changes in the approach to professional ballet training, further research is needed on the phenomenon of abandoning professional formations.

Future investigations into intensive professional ballet training programs may assist educators in providing young dancers with optimal opportunities in developing their talents as well as ensuring that their individual needs are met. Emotional, as well as academic support should be available to students enrolled in professional ballet training programs. If students then decide to end their involvement in the training

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[10] (http://www.royalballetschool.org.uk/train/dancer-training/healthier-dancer- programme/)

program, they will be better equipped with the skills and knowledge necessary to pursue other professional objectives.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the perceived motivations and conditions which influenced two former ballet students attending an elite professional ballet school during the 1980's to abandon their training during adolescence and later pursue a military career. It also investigated the effects of this decision on the participants' process of professional identity development over time.

The motives for undertaking this research project are embedded in our personal experience as a former professional ballet student at the same time and place as the participants. Their decisions and subsequent trajectories are at the heart of this study.

Pursuing this research project has brought understanding to the unique phenomenon of dropout from professional ballet training and subsequent quest for professional identity which led to a military career. It has also brought understanding to what a life history is, and why it can be a valuable tool for conducting research. Specifically, we learned about Tom and Brenda's life history; how the experiences of the past may have played an integral part in their professional identity development and the manner in which the participants viewed life and careers.

Professional ballet schools fulfil a determining role in the identity development of their students (Khudaverdian, 1998, 2006; Mason 1993). The results of this study bring to light ethical considerations that may not have been considered in studies that have postulated that professional ballet demands full-time commitment and

engagement from a very early age (Aitchison, 2012; Chua, 2015; Khudaverdian, 2006; Wulff, 1998).

This study provides an insider's view of the perceived conditions leading toward dropout from professional ballet training and the challenges of reorientation faced by adolescent professional ballet students who decide to do so. It is a complex phenomenon involving the social dynamics of family teachers and peers, the environmental context and its effects on self-worth and identity development.

Consequently, this study has important implications for teachers and all those involved in the professional formation of ballet dancers raising our attention to the need for social support in these kinds of training establishments. Since many professional ballet students must leave the support of their families in order to pursue training, it is essential that professional ballet schools take responsibility to ensure that their students are given the educational and psychological tools necessary to excel both inside and outside of the ballet studio.

Much more exploration needs to be done regarding this unique and understudied phenomenon in order to fully understand how to guide and motivate professional ballet students to fulfill their potential in all areas of life.

ANNEX A

SAMPLE DATA ANALYSIS LEGEND

(Research questions are colour coded)

What are the perceptions of the motivations and conditions that could influence two former ballet students involved in full-time professional training to abandon such training and later reorient toward a military career? (RED)

 Sub-questions:

1) How does one's individual sense of identity modify itself during the transitional career orientation process from professional ballet training to the military? (PURPLE)

2) What skills acquired through ballet training could be applied to facilitate the transitional process of the career orientation shift from professional ballet training to the military? (GREEN)

BRENDA

CHILDHOOD AND BALLET

Children and career choice – the role of family.

- ➢ BALLET NOT HER DREAM.(RED)
- ➢ parents put her in ballet
- ➢ Social activity
- ➢ 2.9.10 "I didn't think about it. I was just doing whatever everybody else was doing."
- ➢ Audition 2 .14-"….it was just something to do"

- ➢ Getting accepted 2.15-"It just kind of happened and I didn't think about it and then I was there."
    (RED)

ASPECTS AND CONDITIONS TO ABANDON BALLET- CONTROL (RED)

Satisfaction, emotional well-being – pleasure in dance
Trigger moments
Authority and self – me against them

- ➢ TRIGGER- School tries to stop her from taking her exam-1.6-11
- ➢ * Director doesn't like her- 1.13 "because she didn't like me and she knew that I didn't want to go back"
- ➢ Feeling that school rigged her exam results. Feeling cheated from work done.1.43.
- ➢ 1.46- " … cause and then, because I was actually getting a bit back into it again, enjoying the training and stuff like that, and then I was like, yeah, I'm getting the hell out of this place, if they can do that. I did that whole thing by myself, pretty much, and uh, the girl was gone in the bathroom crying, for the whole exam, and they gave me a Pass, and they gave her a Highly Commended..... I don't think so!"

Discipline and control in professional ballet training

- 1.75-82-School wants complete control-wanted to separate her from her family
- 1.92-96- Her family more open and relaxed than the school.

- 1.94-98 "so like, so it was very, very controlled and my Mom wasn't like that, so (Artistic Director) wanted to control, like… I just found that…. like, she was very controlling. So as soon as I got out of the ballet school, I became very rebellious, very kind of like, "Don't tell me what I can and cannot do."
- Academics 1.254 -. "And even then, like the foundations for there, they passed you at the Ballet School, if they, liked you".
- 1.256-You didn't have to do anything. I didn't do anything (Laughter). I did not. (RED)

CONTROL- HAIR

- she cuts hair, feels punished by school direction
- It's not the uniform 1.316-319- feels personally attacked
- 1.335-"it felt personal, like picking" describes experience as "psychological warfare"

CONTROL-UNIFORM   (ENTIRE PAGE RED)

- 1.351-354 "…our uniforms were very pristine, but like, with the camel coats and the oxford shoes and… just like everything has to be so perfect ,cause if you looked a little disheveled at all…it's like, forget it!"

CHANGING PERCEPTION DANCE

Satisfaction, emotional well-being – pleasure in dance

➤ 2.211-226 "Um… I did want to dance professionally actually, that didn't really stop, what happened was, my experience the last couple of years there, took all the joy out of my dancing, which is one of the things that had me there in the first place. Like I think it was one of the things that made me as good as I was. I obviously loved it, and I was very passionate about it and it was very much reflected in the way I dance but, at the end, it was like, "This is drudgery", there's no passion left. There's not…, you know .It wasn't that I had made the decision that I no longer wanted to dance, I just knew I didn't want to be there anymore…… cause I was so unhappy, there". (RED)

SOCIAL ASPECT   (RED)

Social identity – friends and foes, fitting in

➤ Her old friends moved on. She was too busy at ballet school to maintain friendships outside the school.2.37-41
➤ 1st year at ballet school she felt isolated. Difficult to make friends.2.52
➤ FRIENDS- 2.55 "…you only had a small pool to choose from." "So it was kind of hard." 2.59

Social identity – friends and foes, fitting in

➤ She made friends but they always left the school (not accepted) 2.102 "it seems like every year after that, if there was someone that I really gelled with, they were only there for like a year" "they were gone at the end of the year." 2.103
➤ describes school life as transient.2.107

- ➤ She had no option for making friends because class kept getting smaller and smaller.2.109.Didnt consider ones who stayed on as friends.2.109. (Lack of social support from within)
- ➤ FEELING PICKED ON- couldn't relate to other girls. Favoritism among teachers, Girls were mean.
- ➤ 2.302-311."the Vice Principal was giving you a hard time, the French teacher was giving me a hard time, my dance teacher was M----- S----- and she was really giving me a hard time. She didn't want me there at all."
- ➤ COMPETITION-2.324 "And then, like I got it one year, and she was my understudy, and there was no way her and I could get along..."

IDENTITY INNER FEELINGS AT BALLET SCHOOL

(All data below is RED)

Authority and self – me against them	➤ Feeling picked on and punished for not wanting to return after exams.1.15 ➤ "…and then, and then um, they decided to make my life a living hell." ➤ Feeling like a pawn, no self-determination. 1.13-15
The self and adolescence	➤ felt personally attacked by school director for cutting her hair.1.335 ➤ Goal was to continue dancing and join the company in the beginning. 2.86"Yeah, so that was my goal; was just to keep going on with that and didn't really have anything apart from that".

➢ School was "the School was all absorbing "…all-encompassing" 2.91.she had nothing else "I mean… it was you're everything right?" 2.89

➢ ON THE LAST YEAR-") But, at the end, it was like, "This is drudgery", there's no passion left." 2.218

➢ 2.219-".It wasn't that I had made the decision that I no longer wanted to dance, I just knew I didn't want to be there anymore… cause I was so unhappy, there."

➢ WANTED TO BE NORMAL- 2.236-240. "And …and part of me also I think just wanted to be a regular teenager. I was fifteen when I left, I turned sixteen the summer after I left and it was just like, "Okay now, you know you're just a regular kid, just like everybody else." …and just doing regular stuff." 240"Ah…well, it felt really free…"

_____ (RED) _____

TRANSFERABLE SKILLS FROM BALLET

(All data below is GREEN)

➢ Ballet school taught her to be tough. 1.133

| Character traits |

➢ Cynicism- 2.122 "there's a lot of insight I have into many other trainings I've done."

➢ 2.126 "I also trained to be a yoga instructor and sometimes there was a certain level of baloney that started to happen with the teachers and I'd seen it before."

➢ Musicality, culture, muscle and physical awareness 2.138-145

➢ Physical fitness 2.160-171. TOUGH "I was dabbling in the whole Punk thing when I was still at the ballet school. I mean I was always trying to show everyone I'm tough that what they were doing didn't bother me". 2.404 407 (GREEN)

HIGHSCHOOL TRANSITION PHASE

(All data below is RED)

➢ 1.249. "… you just you started back to segue yourself into being a normal teenager which was not easy to do."

Freedom and being normal
Identity

➢ spent one year in private alternative school before going to public school
➢ 21- 2 40 being normal felt, "well it felt really free"
➢ TOO MUCH FREEDOM 2.243"… there was a bit of a shock"
➢ 2.246- 249 "…but when all of a sudden you were mixed up in with high school it was like alcohol drugs you know everything coming at you, sex you know all that stuff…" (RED)
(All data below is RED)
➢ Boys 2.252 - 255 "…and then you get out and all of a sudden guys are like chasing you and telling you you're gorgeous and you are like what the heck !where did that come from?"
➢ spent one year at a private alternative school before going to regular High School in order to catch up academically 2.65-266
➢ Failed grade 12 - 2.269

> ➤ TRANSITION-"I was definitely without an anchor right? So you kind of had gone from doing what you wanted to do to no idea what you wanted to do. So I would say for the longest time and even including up to this day I have done a lot of dabbling." 2.275 – 278

CONTROL- ME AGAINST THEM (teachers, direction and friends)

(RED)

> ➤ 1.71-75 Director tried to make her live in residence but mom wouldn't let them." no, Miss--- tried to get me in residence and my mom wouldn't... my mom said, 'nay nay nay, not that psycho Babylon, I'm not sending her in there' because Miss--- wanted complete control of my life"

Authority and self – me against them
Discipline and control in professional ballet training

School wants to separate her from her mom 1.79 -81.
School very controlling no horseback riding no auditioning for other dance shows 1.92 -96
1.291 describes teachers and authority at school as, " crazy they were crazy all those people were crazy"
1.296 -299.- teachers were awful

> ➤ 2.26-231" As soon as they knew I really wasn't happy about being there they got worse with me and then the (Data below is RED)

Social identity – friends and foes, fitting in

anger towards me became exaggerated and very abusive and then they were just doing anything they could too kind of made me very unhappy and I was like what am I doing ?you know? Like this is hell!" 2.309 - 311.

> ➤ COMPETITION 2.318 -321"...these are adults playing out some kind of psycho mind game you know?" you're getting it from kids that are in competition with you which for some reason they seem to thrive on pointing

that out like they put J&I against one another there was no way J--- and I could be friends" (RED)

CHARACTER TRAITS INNER FEELINGS

(PURPLE)

Professional identity – job vs. vocation	➢ rebellious ➢ questions authority ➢ She rolls with situations 2.75 "I guess this is probably just my personality was I was kind of rolling with it" ➢ dabbling in things ➢ Tough 2.400" You know I think I left that school feeling like I had to be very... very tough all the time, I'm still probably a bit like that" ➢ 2.405 "I was always trying to show everyone I'm tough, that what they were doing didn't bother me. I don't think they had any idea how much what they were doing bothered me. I surely wasn't going to give them the satisfaction!"

INNER FEELINGS- SEARCH FOR PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY- VOCATION

Identity Professional identity – job vs. vocation	(PURPLE) ➢ drops out of high school went to work at Banff Springs Hotel 1.121 ➢ Military reserves it's a job 1.148 ➢ Wasn't happy at ballet school tried to dance on her own 1.220-21

- First Years at ballet school she enjoyed it and started to develop ambition 2.150. "I really liked it I loved it and I started to develop you know that kind of ambition a bit." -she was "kind of rolling with it" 2.75
- Inspired by former students company members wants to join the company.
- Going from knowing what you want to do to no idea is difficult she has a tendency to dabble in things. 2. 275-278
- 2.280 "Oh maybe it will be this, you know? ...maybe it will be that."
- Tried theatre school after military training (All data above is PURPLE)

IN BETWEEN YEARS –TRIGGER

(RED)

Freedom and being normal	

- DANCE- tried to continue dance, found it hard to find a good teacher, travel time to and from classes difficult when used to having everything there 1.241-242
- NORMAL- "it wasn't exciting or interesting for me anymore so then it was just... you started back to segway yourself into being a normal teenager which was... it's not easy to do." 1. 249-250
- FEELING JUDGEMENT FROM AUTHORITY
- Art teacher says 1.281-283 "Look how low you have become. Think of where you were and what you are doing now, doesn't that make you sad? Doesn't that make you feel awful?
- BANFF "Then I didn't know what I was going to do" 2.371

> " I took that time away at Banff to be away from my parents to be away from all the kinds of pressures I was feeling as a teenager and everything and just wanted to break free on my own, so I took that time and just wanted to find a bit who I was." 2 .371- 375 (All data above is RED)

MILITARY MOTIVES- rebelling against conformity   (RED)

War   Games   – military fantasy vs reality
Identity

> 1.66 rebelling against regimentation and control of ballet (paradox)
> "I was pretty rebellious I think after leaving that regimented, controlled environment. You know, you can't do this… you can't do that… you can't…
> Started dancing at age six (1.213). - Full time enrolled at ballet school by age ten. Life revolves around ballet (1.216) after she questions what she was going to do.
> 1.271"Everything I wanted to do after that was just sort of to rebel against the kind of conformity of what you are".
> 2.385 Wants to sort self out after Banff. She wanted to see if the military was something that "could fit"

TRANSITION FLOATING

Professional identity – job vs. vocation

> (All Data below is Purple)
> 2.509-"I didn't really feel this massive like, oh my God I have to figure this all out! I just felt like I was floating around… trying to see if this doesn't work …something else"
> 2.514 "When I was there I was just fooling around with the crowd"

> ➤ 2.515-518 "I was having a bit of fun. There were some girls that I became friends with that I really liked and we were having a laugh. I mean, in a way it was just a bit of a lax job."
> ➤ 2.523-"I wanted to see what it was like but then I figured it out pretty soon after that I wasn't that it wasn't for me."
> (Purple)

MILITARY CULTURE and TRAINING (RESERVES)

War Games – military fantasy vs reality

> ➤ calls herself a misfit toy at the beginning of military training 1.156 (PURPLE)
> ➤ military culture "screwed up" 1.163 (BLACK)
> ➤ 1.168 "We would go on training exercises and the men would act like complete animals around us."
> ➤ "playing war" exercises 1.179-186
> ➤ Sexual 1.182 "...and all these guys are setting up camp and are cat calling us."
> ➤ Fun 1.189"... you got to shoot a gun; you got to practice with stuff like that."
> ➤ Trained in basic personal hygiene how to brush teeth 1. 191-192
> ➤ 2.391"it was a really easy job and it was a way of just kind of doing stuff."
> ➤ 2.393 "it was just here's how to take apart a gun here's how to put a gun back together and then to shoot one" 2.503-505

CHARACTER- VOCATION AFTER MILITARY

<table>
<tr>
<td>Professional

identity – job vs.</td>
<td>➤ DABBLING- "So when I finished with the military and goofing with that…" 2.288 -joined theatre school but became disillusioned with the politics and quit. 2.291-294 "Oh my God this is like back at the ballet school again and I walked out the door." (PURPLE)</td>
</tr>
</table>

MILITARY CULTURE FANTASY

<table>
<tr>
<td>War Games – military fantasy vs reality

Professional

identity – job vs.

vocation</td>
<td>➤ she is not like military colleagues
➤ "…they were like little boys playing war fantasy" 2.555
➤ "When we went up there and we actually had those big games they were almost like games, we were young eighteen or so, seventeen and we didn't quite know what we wanted to do" 2.574-576. (BLACK)</td>
</tr>
</table>

ANNEX B

SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE

First interview

I'm interested in understanding your personal experience of transition from professional ballet training to military. I'm really interested to hear all about this journey!!

Second Conversation

Topics

Tell me about:

Formation in Ballet

1) Your first involvement in ballet

2) What interested you in ballet?

3) Tell me about your friends and family. How did they feel about your involvement in ballet?

4) Tell me about any specific events or people that made you first start thinking about training in ballet professionally.

Professional Ballet Training

1 Tell me why you wanted to study ballet professionally (crystallizing experiences).

2) Family and friends thoughts on your career choice.

3) Tell me about the audition process.

I will try to gear the conversation towards the emotions and feelings surrounding this event.

4) How did you feel when you found out you had been accepted for the program?

6) Describe your first year at the school (day to day life).

7) Tell me about your first year of professional ballet training. How did you feel? (Physically and mentally).

9) What did you enjoy about professional ballet training? What aspects of the training challenged you? Explain.

Probe- I will let the participants speak freely and I will guide the conversation to personal experiences of struggles, goals and success.

10) Looking back, how did you feel about yourself as a professional ballet student?

Probe- Tell me about your ballet teachers at the school.

11) Tell me about your role models. Was there anyone who inspired you? Describe.

12) During your time in professional ballet training, what were your goals? Explain.

13) Tell me about the other students in your class.

14) Looking back, do you think that the struggles and sacrifices associated with professional ballet training were worth it? Explain.

15) How did your training at the school affect you as a person?

16) How did your training benefit you as a person?

Motivation and Transformation

1) Were there any times during your professional ballet training when you thought of leaving the school? Tell me about them.

2) Were there any experiences that pushed you towards leaving? Explain.

3) When did you realize that you didn't want to be a professional ballet dancer?

4) How did the thought of moving on to something new make you feel about yourself?

5) What did your family and friends think about your wanting to leave ballet? How did their opinion affect you and your decision?

6) How did you feel about your decision to leave ballet?

Probe- I will gear the discussion towards issues of identity, feelings of regret or loss or perhaps freedom and physical changes.

Transition to Military

1) What drew you towards military training?

Probe- I will gear the discussion toward career goals, identity, personal goals and motivations.

2) Was military training something you had considered while you were still dancing? Or did the idea to develop after you had already stopped training?

3) How did your circle of friends and family react to this career change? Were they surprised? Supportive? Did they have any influence on your decision to start military training?

4) Tell me about your initial experience of military training. Describe your feelings during this time.

5) Describe the process of military training. What time did you wake up? What kind of exercises did you do?

6) How did you feel emotionally during this period of acquiring new skills? Excited? Stress?

7) Were there any aspects of military training for which you felt completely unprepared? Describe

8) What was your emotional response to the culture of military training?

9) What circumstances made you feel challenged or uncertain during the transition?

10) How did the career transition impact your sense of self? Describe.

11) Describe the period of adjustment from professional ballet training to the military. Was it difficult? Was it inspiring? How long did it take you to consider yourself a soldier? Describe any experiences that may have crystallized your formation as a soldier.

12) What skills or circumstances helped you during the process of transition from professional ballet training to the Military?

13) Were there any aspects of military training that reminded you of your formation as a ballet dancer?

14) What skills acquired from ballet came into play (if any) you when you first started military training?

15) In terms of physical training, can you describe how your body had to adapt to military exercises?

16) Were there any physical habits acquired from ballet that you had to let go of in order to adapt to military training?

17) What did the other military trainees think about your background in ballet?

19) How did you feel about yourself as a person when you were involved in military training?

13) How did military training change you as a person? How did you see yourself at this time?

Probe- Identity.

14) What were your goals for the future at this time?

15) What motivated you to succeed in the military training process?

16) Describe your colleagues.

17) Did you tell your military colleagues about your background in professional ballet? If so, what did they think? If not, why?

18) Did you miss your ballet school friends or ballet in any way? If so, what did you miss?

ANNEX C

ETHICS CERTIFICATE

UQÀM
Université du Québec à Montréal

Faculté de communication
Faculté des arts
Faculté de science politique et de droit

Comité d'éthique de la recherche pour les projets étudiants impliquant des êtres humains (CERPE)

No du certificat : 0135

CERTIFICAT D'ÉTHIQUE

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche pour les projets étudiants impliquant des êtres humains pour la Faculté de science politique et de droit, la Faculté des arts et la Faculté de communication a examiné le protocole de recherche suivant et jugé conforme aux pratiques habituelles ainsi qu'aux normes établies par le Cadre normatif pour l'éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains de l'UQAM.

PROTOCOLE DE RECHERCHE

Nom de l'étudiant(e) : Andrea Palmer
Programme d'études : Maîtrise en danse
Directrice/Directeur de recherche : Hélène Duval
Titre du protocole de recherche : From Thights to Tanks : A Case Study Investigation into the Career Transition From Professional Ballet Training to the Military.
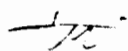
MODALITÉS D'APPLICATION

Les modifications importantes pouvant être apportées au protocole de recherche en cours de réalisation doivent être transmises au comité*.

Tout évènement ou renseignement pouvant affecter l'intégrité ou l'éthicité de la recherche doit être communiqué au comité.

Toute suspension ou cessation du protocole (temporaire ou définitive) doit être communiquée au comité dans les meilleurs délais.

Le présent certificat d'éthique est valide jusqu'au 15 juin 2016. Selon les normes de l'Université en vigueur, un suivi annuel est minimalement exigé pour maintenir la validité de la présente approbation éthique. Le rapport d'avancement de projet (renouvellement annuel ou fin de projet) est requis pour le 15 mai 2016.

Emmanuelle Bernheim
Professeure au département de sciences juridiques
Présidente, CERPÉ2

__15 juin 2015__
Date d'émission initiale du certificat

*Modifications apportées aux objectifs du projet et à ses étapes de réalisation, au choix des groupes de participants et à la façon de les recruter et aux formulaires de consentement. Les modifications incluent les risques de préjudices non-prévus pour les participants, les précautions mises en place pour les minimiser, les changements au niveau de la protection accordée aux participants en termes d'anonymat et de confidentialité ainsi que les changements au niveau de l'équipe (ajout ou retrait de membres).

ANNEX D

PERMISSION FORM

UQÀM
Universite du Quebec à Montreal
CONSENT FORM

Title of the Study
From Tights to Tanks: A Case Study Investigation into the Career Transition from Professional Ballet Training to the Military.

Director of Research
Hélène Duval. Ph D.
Professeure Département de danse UQAM

Téléphone : (514) 98██████████
Télécopieur██████████
Courriel : █████████

Student Researcher

Andrea Palmer
Maîtrise Danse (3723)
Telephone :█████████
███████████

Preamble
We ask your participation in a reseroch project that implicates your participation in an interview. Before accepting to participate in this research project, please take the time to attentively consider and understand the following information.
This consent form explains the goal of the study, the procedures, advantages, risks and inconveniences as well as the persons with whom to communicate if needed.
This consent form may contain words which you may not understand. We invite you to ask any questions which you judge to be useful or pertinant.

Description of the project and its objectives
My goal as a researcher is to clarify and understand the circumstances and motivations surrounding the subjects which resulted in the career shift from professional ballet training to the military.
I am particularly interested in the changing sense of embodiment and mutations of identity which may occur during the transition from professional ballet training to the military.
Through research. I will attempt to answer the subsequent question; *What are the aspects and conditions which would motivate a professionally trained ballet dancer to abandon his or her artistic formation and pursue a career in the military?*
There are three proposed participants for this study.

Nature and duration of your participation

Participants will be asked to take part in two individual, in-depth interviews which will take place in person this summer (2015).
The interviews will be audio recorded.
Only myself and the participant will be present during the interviews.
The duration of the interviews will be between two and three hours.

Avantages connected to your participation
The participants may gain personal and emotional satisfaction in sharing their stories.
They may gain satisfaction in knowing that data produced from the use of personal information may

Avantages connected to your participation

The participants may gain personal and emotional satisfaction in sharing their stories.

They may gain satisfaction in knowing that data produced from the use of personal information may lead to major advances in knowledge and quality of life and inspire future studies.

Risks connected to your participation

I believe that this study poses minimal risk to the participants.

Sharing personal experiences from the past may bring unpleasant memories and feelings to the fore.

There is a minimal chance that emotional stress and moral discomfort may be experienced by the participants during the interview process as they revisit their past experiences.
The participants will be offered to decline a question if they do not feel comfortable.
If participants fear judgement or reprisal from social or professional communities as a result of their participation in this study, adequate measures shall be taken in order to ensure their privacy and confidentiality.

Confidentiality

The participants shall be provided with pseudonyms so as not to be recognized in their professional or personal circles.
An alphanumeric code will be assigned to each participant's data.
The key to the code will be kept in a locked location apart from the data folders.
Contact information for the interviewed participants will kept in a locked location apart from the data.
Care will be given in the written descriptions as to not contribute to the identification of the participants.
Any information which may lead to identification of the participants shall be omitted from the dissemination of results.
Paper data will be kept in a locked location in my home with identifying information removed or kept in a separate locked location.
Digital data will be de-identified, password-protected, and or encrypted on a USB key.
Only Helene Duval and myself shall have access to the data.
The documents shall be stored until three years after the study is published and then destroyed.
All personally identifiable information will be removed or deleted from the computer hard drive.
Paper records will be shredded and recycled.
Data stored on USB drives or recorded data on DVDs will be physically destroyed.
A record will be kept of the destruction process.

Voluntary participation and withdrawal
Your participation in entirely free and voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw participation at any time without justification. If you decide to withdraw from the study you need only verbally inform Andrea Palmer ; all information related to your participation will be destroyed.

Compensation
There are no compensations offered to the participants.

Responsibility Clause
By accepting to participate in this study, you do not forfeit any of your rights nor release the researchers, partners or implicated institutions of their legal and professional obligations.

Any questions concerning this project?
For any additional questions concerning this project and your participation please feel free to communicate with the following people responsible for this study :

Research Director :
Helene Duval, Ph.D.
Professor at the Dance Department of UQAM
Telephone : (514) ████████████
Fax : (514) █████ mail : ███████

Researcher :
Andrea Palmer
Telephone : ███████████
███ ████████

Confidentiality

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Paper data will be kept in a locked location in my home with identifying information removed or kept in a separate locked location.

Digital data will be de-identified, password-protected, and or encrypted on a USB key.

Only Hélène Duval and myself shall have access to the data.

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Research Director :
Hélène Duval, Ph D.
Professor at the Dance Department of UQAM
Telephone : (514)
Fax : (514) 9   mail : d

Researcher :
Andrea Palmer
Telephone :
Email : p   .uqam.ca or andr   .com

Questions concerning your rights?

The Ethical committy of student research projects which implicate human beings (CÉRPÉ) approved this research project of which you will participate. For any information regarding the resposibilities of the research team regarding ethical procedures of reserach with human beings or to register a complaint, you may contact the president of CÉRPÉ Emmanuelle Bernheim. (514) 987-3000, poste 2433 ou bernheim.emmanuelle@uqam.ca.

June 15, 2015

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