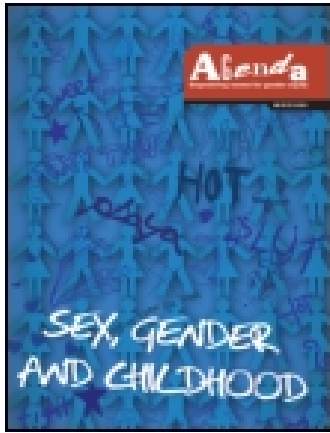


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Lliane Loots

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# 'Body Politics' and negotiating gender violence and child sexuality through Flatfoot Dance Company's youth arts intervention programmes in KwaZulu-Natal – a case study (2003 – 2013)

Lliane Loots

## abstract

This *Perspective* offers a feminist engagement with the 'dancing body' and the languages which it articulates and which it inscribes, in order to examine how social, cultural and political discourse and ideology permeate the use and reading of this body. This is done through the lens of looking at Flatfoot Dance Company's dance education and youth dance development programmes run in KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa), and their focus on challenging (amongst other things) the construction of sexual subjectivity of both the male and female youth and children who dance in their various programmes. This *Perspective* asks that in stepping into the difficult terrain of looking at childhood sexuality and how it is constructed, normalised, challenged, gendered and expressed, there is the need to include the arena of cultural practice as a terrain that teaches, negotiates and enacts sexuality. Flatfoot Dance Company works from the critical understanding that children's sexuality and its expression, should not be assumed to be non-existent.

## keywords

Dance, body, child sexuality, education, culture

Carol Brown has said that, "both feminism, as a politics, and dance, as a cultural practice, share a concern for the body" (1983: 198). Further, Ann Daly has said:

"Amongst all the arts . . . , dance may have the most to gain from feminist analysis. Certainly the two are highly compatible. Dance is an art form of the body, and the body is where gender distinctions are generally understood to originate" (1991: 2).

While historically feminist concerns around 'the body' have mainly been about the gendered social and historical construction and reception of femininity and female-ness (and increasingly masculinity and male-ness) as potentially profound areas of inequality and power relations, dance is an art form which locates its practice and language in the moving body. As such, form and content (around the body) have often merged to the point where the visceral, body as flesh, in dance training, practice

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and performance become key loci for interrogating gendered politics. The body (as feminists have argued in varying ways) is not a neutral site onto which dance can be placed through training and choreography; 'the body' comes to dance already inscribed by discourses and ideology whether these are gendered, racial, or cultural. The visceral body (the flesh) is often encoded by cultural practices, social and racial constructions and gendered conditions of use and reception (Loots, 1995).

Thus, while the dancer's body is always marked with the physicality of race and gender, there remains the need to decode and deconstruct the dancing body, and the languages which it articulates and which it inscribes, in order to examine how discourse and ideology permeate the use and reading of this body. The contemporary body is nothing less than a battlefield where, as Sally Banes, appropriating a Foucauldian perspective, has pointed out that,

"culture wreaks utter tyranny on individual bodies...where bodies are disciplined, moulded, re-arranged by dominant powers, which simultaneously promote the illusion that people are 'free' to construct their own bodies" (1994: 45/46).

In *The History of Sexuality, Vol 1* (1976), Foucault interrogated the body as a site of struggle in the discourse of sexuality where he attempted to "show how deployments of power are directly connected to the body – to bodies, functions, physiological process, sensations, and pleasures" (1976: 151). He writes of the way in which power as a relational concept not only operates on the body, but through it as well. He argues, for example, that within contemporary society, discourses around sexuality have become prime areas of struggle in which power is exercised through the constitution of the body. These discourses around the body do not carry neutral constructions, but have, operating through them, ideological imperatives which, in turn, become naturalised through being privileged by dominant institutions. Foucault goes on to argue that in our society power has not been operating by denying or allowing sexual expression, but rather by constructing and validating particular

forms of modern sexuality. In effect, therefore, Foucault, claims that subjects have been repressed through such constructions of sexuality that categorise 'correct' or 'deviant' sexual practice. This is also seen in the way in which certain (gendered) expressions of sexuality are normalised and, as such, the transmitting of implicit value systems and modes of behaviour, need to be interrogated as gendered and never neutral.

'the body' comes to dance already inscribed by discourses and ideology whether these are gendered, racial, or cultural

In stepping into the difficult terrain of childhood sexuality and how it is constructed, normalised, challenged, gendered and expressed, there is the need to include the arena of cultural practice as a terrain that teaches, negotiates and enacts sexuality. As the artistic director of Flatfoot Dance Company and teacher and choreographer, myself – alongside the dancers and dance educators working for Flatfoot – have spent that last 10 years (2003–2013) running what we refer to as dance development programmes in KwaZulu-Natal (in both rural and urban spaces) where we have primarily set out to train young dancers (we work with about 1 000 youth per annum between the ages of 6 and 23 years) but to importantly use our dance and cultural practice as an intervention methodology around specifically dealing with gender-based violence and other related health issues.

Our construction of sexuality draws on the understanding of the above articulation of the gendered politics of the body, and the enacted culturally fraught social norms around the body. Flatfoot has also, in the context of Durban and South Africa, set out in our dance education practice to use dance as both a weapon to challenge normative and gendered understandings around childhood sexuality, but also as a transgressive space to re-think childhood gendered and sexual norms. Our location within Durban, KwaZulu-Natal (and South Africa) is important as it sets up a geographical, political and social context where our province has some the highest HIV positive figures<sup>1</sup> in the world and where,

large contexts of rurality and poverty are linked to the continuation of paternal/patriarchal authority, and where (for example) child-headed households are on the rise in the province and South Africa<sup>2</sup>. Recent rape statistics suggest that KwaZulu-Natal continues to be a province with some of the highest gender-based violence figures in South Africa<sup>3</sup>. Thus while this *Perspective* will offer some ethnographic insight into our work, what has become overwhelmingly clear in the past 10 years of cultural/dance intervention work, is the deeply problematic emergence and enactment of childhood sexuality in a social/political/economic paradigm of normalised gender-based violence in South Africa.

Perhaps what Flatfoot Dance Company's arts intervention work is attempting/and has attempted to do is to recognise that the expression of childhood sexuality is an important arena through which gender power inequalities (and abuse) are played out and, importantly, also potentially challenged. As our work and this *Perspective* illustrates, how important it is to negotiate from a developmental space where sexual innocence is not assumed. Rather, issues around sexuality and gender become very

real terrain that these children and youth are allowed to negotiate through dance practice which brings them back to their physical and embodied selves. We thus work with the understanding that our dance practice, classes, workshops, rehearsals and performances are in fact interventions that offer cultural, artistic, political and personal spaces for the youth and children we work with to non-didactically begin to renegotiate their sense of sexual/gendered subjectivity.

My choice to call this *Perspective* an "ethnographic insight" is also mediated by an ethical consideration for me as feminist researcher/choreographer/teacher to be mindful of writing about **process** rather than offer any in-depth personalised life analysis of the youth and children we work with. I have held fast to the notion that our work, these past 10 years, would not turn these children's lives into 'research'. This said, what has emerged in our danced encounters and an attempt to engage Paulo Freire's 'critical pedagogy' (discussed below), has been an overwhelming need to discuss process and experiential learning as we have, in a dance dialogue, encountered the lives and realities of the youth and



Flatfoot sees dance as an intervention where youth can begin to renegotiate their sense of sexual and gendered identity  
 Photo: Flatfoot Dance Company

children we have worked with. In writing this I have thus kept the identities of these children safe and I have consciously written in a chosen methodological style that favours narrative in an attempt to honour the confidences given to us as teachers and educators.

### **Dance as intervention: the practice of liberation pedagogy**

In Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), he began to outline an alternate system of learning and teaching that he called "liberation education" (1970: 53). His understanding of education moved away from looking at learners as empty vessels that needed to be filled with knowledge that a teacher would bestow on a pupil (what Freire called "the Banking System of Education" [1970: 54]) He argues that, at best, this way of thinking about learning is deeply alienating to any learner and turns the learner into a "welfare recipient" (1970: 55). To this end he proposes a problem-posing method of education which allows the learner/pupil to draw on their own localised knowledge and understanding of the world. As such the educator and pupil enter into a mutual learning process. He argues that education is liberation, and further that "liberation is a praxis" (1970: 60).

Freire did not, of course, talk about dance but his profound understanding of the political, social and cultural imperative of education became the paradigm of my own and Flatfoot's conceptual context into re-thinking dance education and development practices. Amongst the various strategies we have employed over a 10-year period<sup>4</sup> has been Freire's insight that education and pedagogy should (and could) be about "becoming more fully human" (Freire, 1970: 55). Needless to say this involves a deep engagement with arts/dance and culture as the very rubric of 'development and education', and a deep understanding that in the context of South Africa, dance education can become – amongst many other things – a tool towards allowing the learner (or dancer in our case) the opportunity to articulate self (and the body) in environments where being severely economically disadvantaged, black

(primarily) female and young offers very little space to voice self.

Our programmes thus situates dance as an intervention methodology using the problem posing method of education. Through dance and its engagement with the body politic, we begin to interrogate issues of race, gender and health that ask the young learners to begin to re-think their own social and cultural relationship to the localised system which they have identified as being oppressive in their lives.

We enter and set-up these dance programmes knowing that many of the young learners who participate will never seek to or become professional dancers or choreographers. They voluntarily join these programmes because, firstly, it gives them a cultural outlet for self-expression (something not often given space in impoverished township education systems where arts and culture learning is usually the first area to be abandoned in times of economic hardship). Secondly, it teaches a sense of critical agency that values who these young learners are and what they have to say; especially valuable with our girl- and boy-child gender and sexuality interventions.

children's sexuality and the expression of sexuality, should not be assumed to be non-existent or innocent

Flatfoot also works from the critical understanding that children's sexuality and the expression of sexuality, should not be assumed to be non-existent or innocent and that this social/political assumption around children's assumed sexual innocence/lack of knowledge functions as a deeply painful and tactical tool where adults continue to hold power over children. This power provides adults with the ubiquitous role of protecting children from corrupting sexual knowledge (Renold, 2005); deeply problematic as a large contingent of the sexual danger and violence faced by our young Flatfoot learners comes from the adults who are constructed as being adult carers and parental figures.

This is, of course, also a potentially fraught argument as many children are indeed subject to heinous social and sexually violent gendered play when learning about/experiencing their own sexuality, and in turn enacting it. The argument above around not



Flatfoot's youth dance interventions break down the stereotyped ideal of 'real' boys and real 'girls'  
Photo: Flatfoot Dance Company

assuming 'sexual innocence/knowledge' should not in any way detract from the very real and very high figures of (for example) girl-children and sexually based gender crimes. Flatfoot's arts intervention work tries to open up a space to enact and challenge ideas and expression of sexuality and gender, however socially, politically and culturally it has been constructed, a space in which the learners re-negotiate their learnt sense of self; and importantly to also allow these children a way back to own their lived embodied selves.

### Performing self or embodying self?

Our arts/dance intervention work has, through a liberatory pedagogy (Freire, 1970) of considering the child a true participant in their education, focused attention on changing embedded and embodied learnt patterns of masculinity and femininity, and we continue to attempt to address what we have seen to emerge as the very real link between children learning and embodying sexual understanding through socially normalised patterns of gendered violence. These are played out in the dance training,

the dance practice and the questions we are often faced with in the numerous 'talk-back' sessions we host with the children.

Judith Butler's (1990) work is helpful in opening up the ways in which Flatfoot have (and continue to) understand how learnt sexuality begins to permeate performed gendered relations.

Renold (2004), working with Butler's notion of performativity (1990) argues that children, much like all of us, are subject to everyday and repeated rituals and practices that produce the effect of a being a 'real' boy and 'real' girl; both of which are invested with a learnt social power play. Renold (2004) argues that being seen as a 'real' boy or 'real' girl often involves a projecting and desiring the opposite sex, and the performance of being sexually 'authentic'. This is firstly, the very early normalisation of heterosexuality, but also germane to our work in dance, is the need to construct/perform a sense of the body that conforms to the stereotyped ideal and 'authentic' normalised idea that boys and men are strong and dominate and that girls and women are physically weaker and more compliant.

Flatfoot's programme and teachers have made a point of offering the same physical dance training to both boys and girls. We do not take it as a given that the boys are more physically capable of (for example) holding their own body weight and doing all the lifting. In the same way the girls are not allowed to succumb to the construction of themselves as those who are lifted and moved around the dance floor – by asking of both the girl and boy-child to experience being lifted and lifting, we have begun to redress the idea of men and strong and women as weak. The gendered partnering of many styles of dance (and the embodied sexual assumptions in the learning of these dance forms) from ballet to ballroom, are hugely deconstructed in our contemporary dance training in an attempt to get these young dancers to experience their bodies as both strong and light, and to do this without the gendered performativity and embodied normalised sexual role-play that often goes with this. In essence we are attempting to break or transgress the subtle coercion (Blaise, 2012) of children through what is socially normalised early development physical gender play. Thus, within the parameters of their after-school classes with Flatfoot, the boys and girls are given the opportunity, through play and dance, to physically embody a reality that does not police or give credence to heterosexual (learnt) sexual/physical norms.

What becomes important to note is thus the possibility for resistance. Power is never absolute and controlled by one central site (Loots, 1995). The possibility to resist these heterosexual and often violent constructions of self and the sexual body, is always open to contestation, as Foucault (1976: 102) says,

“There is not, on the one side, a discourse of power, and opposite another discourse that runs counter to it. Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field force relations; there can run different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy.”

Marianne Goldberg, in her article ‘Ballerinas and ball passing’ (1987/88), picks up on these ideas of counter discourse and resistance, and reiterates how the “body is constructed through discourse” (1987/88:

8) yet has the ability to “become subversive” (1987/88: 27). Goldberg claims some of the following (dance language) strategies as disruption (1987/88: 13):

“to challenge the accepted range of motion for the female dancer  
to challenge partnering conventions  
to challenge narrative structures  
to challenge visual gaze and display mechanisms  
to challenge spectator – performer relationships  
to challenge gendered aspects of costuming.”

While Goldberg is, of course, talking about the adult dancing body, these ideas are equally pertinent to the child dancer whose training and dance education at an early stage is often fraught with gendered stereotypes that begin to dominate, whether girl- or boy-child, a sense of sexual identity.

So too, do the Flatfoot dance teachers (both male and female) strive to challenge and subvert the enacted/performed gender roles in their own teaching praxis. Male and female teachers are paired together and very careful attention is given to who instructs and how instruction is given to children. Understanding that learning is done through observation of the role play of adults in positions of authority, the Flatfoot educators make sure that it is not, for example, the task of the female teacher to instruct warm-up and technique classes, while the male teacher steps in and takes over the choreography; arguably the ‘real’ part of the dance programmes. We also work with the very real attention to making sure that male Flatfoot teachers are seen to listen and follow teaching instructions given by their female colleagues creating an environment of respect for women’s voices. In the same vein it is not the domain of the male Flatfoot instructors (for example) to be seen to carry teaching equipment like sound systems and to operate all the technical aspects needed. As these shared roles in teaching praxis are unhinged from expected gender stereotypes and subtly re-enacted daily, weekly, monthly and yearly in front of the children, so too are embodied awarenesses of other gendered realities made available for these young children and youth to choose from.



Flatfoot creates an environment where the child's body is not disciplined and punished by social and culturally learnt gender constructions  
Photo: Flatfoot Dance Company

### Let's talk about sex?

In confronting the childhood sexual subjectivity of these children (both rural and urban) we dance and work with, many of the most fraught encounters have left us aware of how linked the discourse around the pandemically high levels of gender based violence<sup>5</sup> in South Africa are in affecting and effecting the construction of sexuality and gendered identity. That these issues are raised within the paradigm of dance education and development programmes is, as argued earlier in the *Perspective*, germane to the link between the dancing body and the lived social/political and economic body.

The following few selected ethnographic stories and observations detail a KwaZulu-Natal youth and childhood culture locked into an increasing violent sense of sexual identity; and these encounters remind myself and the Flatfoot team of the value of the work we do in offering the possibility to negotiate other embodied subjectivities. As mentioned at the beginning, it bears re-

articulation that all the comments raised below in this ethnographic encounter with these children in our Flatfoot dance programmes, serve to keep the identities of these children safe and I have written in a chosen methodological style that favours narrative in an attempt to honour the confidences given to us as teachers and educators.

### Urban children speak about sex . . .

Our programmes are run mostly in community halls in the historical township areas of Umlazi, KwaMashu, Waterloo and Clermont; all of which are about a 40 minute taxi ride outside the city centre of Durban. All of the programmes are mixed gender programmes, except for Umlazi where we have separated the boys and the girls. This was done early on in the history of this 10 year programme to firstly, give the girls a chance to step up outside of a social environment that allowed the boys to push forward and dominate the learning process.



We found that the girls lacked any physical drive to really sweat and work hard as young training dancers when the boys were around safe in their articulated understanding that they needed to 'look good'. Secondly, with the boys working on their own (and, in this context, with a male teacher), the complex play around the social linking of contemporary dance with gay sexuality and not being 'real' boys, is given space to breathe. In this boys' programme in Umlazi, we have found that the boys respond to their male teacher as a mentor (calling him "coach" – perhaps also a device to render a dance/art space safe for boys who might otherwise be out playing a sport?) and the dance work has allowed the boys a safe male figure to speak to. One of the questions asked by boys at regular intervals in the programme's history of overtly opening up discussion around gender-based violence, has been the rather telling request to "want to know the difference between rape and sex". The slippage of a lack of understanding around the meanings between sexual violence and consensual sex is pertinent to a deeper social culture that legitimises and conflates sex with the fact that women and girls do not actually have a say in what is done to them, or indeed, demanded and taken from them. Arguable this is one of the places where a rape culture starts.

Following this, in our KwaMashu programme, many of the younger girls (aged 6 – 13 years) have started to wear lycra cycling-type shorts instead of girl's underwear. In the beginning we thought this was simply a fashion statement or a trend, but on careful discussion and comment from us (we used to say how clever they were to wear these cycle shorts as it made changing into dance clothes so much easier in certain halls where there are very basic ablution facilities), we were met by the throw away remark that "this underwear makes it harder for the boys to rape us at school".

The ease with which these comments are tossed off by our young girls speaks of a rape culture that is being normalised. Nowhere in our talking and working and dancing, has it even been expressed by these KwaMashu girls that rape is not inevitable or that it is not the norm for them. That fact that these young girls wake up each day to decide what best to wear so as not to get raped is a shocking confrontation with how

their own sense of self is being mediated by a perceived and lived violent sexual reality.

In one of our gender interventions in Umlazi we began a whole programme around the growing phenomenon of sugar daddies. This programme started as a result of some of our older girls (between 14 and 16 years) being sexually harassed and sexually propositioned by a taxi driver on one of the trips they made into Durban to come and watch the Flatfoot perform. Far from being outraged, the girls articulate feeling "singled out" and "special" that an older and wealthy man was interested in them. Apart from the discussion around statutory rape that we felt was necessary to have with them, our best pedagogical space was to turn the discussion around and ask the girls why this made them feel "special". Their answers had little to do with a desire for sexual experience/knowledge or even that this being "singled out" was in fact sexually understood. What they did explain is, of course, a class related answer. These older men buy them food and clothes, take them to the beach, and in exchange for sex, these girls are then able to go home with better clothes and food that sets them apart from other girls in their neighbourhoods. It is (underage) transactional sex at its most basic where older men are (possibly) still buying into the cultural myths around sex with young virgins to cure them of HIV, or that young virgin girls (often referred to as "untasted") make them 'real' men.

it has been the policy of our programme to never make distinctions around what a dancing body can and should look like

One of our pedagogical strategies was, in turn, to ask these young girls what they thought they were worth. This question threw them and became the basis of a long-term programme of dance work as the girls and young women found a way to imagine what 'worth' meant for them. I challenged them by saying that they had just told me that they felt "their lives were worth a pair of Sissy Boy jeans and a bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken". Put so crudely, the girls took the challenge and began to find ways, in dance, to imagine their bodies being valued for something other than a crude sexual transaction. Interesting to note as well, is that none of these girls have ever

pretended to not know about sex; but what they have understood (and often experienced) is, and has been, violent, transactional and forced.

In the Umlazi based programme we have also begun to notice that as the girls hit the age of about 16 years, that they start putting on – very quickly – large amounts of weight. While it has been the policy of our programme to never make distinctions around what a dancing body can and should look like (especially for the girls), this rather rapid weight gain and the lack of health associated with it, was not something we could ignore. Opening up the discussion around well-being and food, the Flatfoot team was once again thrown a curve ball when these girls told us, again as throw away comments, that “boys like bigger girls because it means that they were healthy and not HIV positive”. Once again these girls were constructing their sexual identity around their perceived attraction to the heterosexual (and violent) ‘norm’ that asked them to fly in the face of healthy eating in order to be deemed sexually available – and not HIV positive. We have addressed this with some measure of positive HIV and AIDS education (which is always on-going) and a programme that also concurrently looks at good eating and nutrition. With rising obesity levels in South Africa and the concurrent increase in diabetes<sup>6</sup>, perhaps what these girls have begun to articulate offers a profound cultural landscape for interrogating how girlhood sexual subjectivity, HIV and food are intrinsically linked?

alternates to dominant modes of being and doing, are always possible

### **Rural children do not speak about sex . . .**

Flatfoot have (and continue to run) dance and arts education programmes in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. While many of the issues we face with the urban youth arise in great similarity in the rural areas, we have found that the navigation of sexuality, gender and identity to be less open and less up for overt negotiation. Many of the rural areas we work in still work with the traditional authority and often this authority is paternalistic. Our dance intervention work in rural communities is most often negotiated

through school and church structures; both of which often enforce strict ethical and gendered social codes around ‘right’ behaviour for the girl- and boy-child. As such, we were/are never able to directly address issues around sex and sexuality but instead circumvent these issues with a focus on health and well-being.

In our programmes run in Ndumo and the village of Mboza, for example, the girls are not permitted to wear trousers, shorts or pants and as such their freedom to dance unhindered by skirts and dresses and the constructed female modesty required by these items of clothing, has meant that certain types of physical dance work and training is simply not available to them. Our mechanisms to address this were to consult with the traditional authorities for them to give us permission to supply the girls with ‘dance pants’ which they were given to wear each session. They were not allowed to wear the pants outside of this dance/learning environment and we had to take them away with us after sessions. What is of course interesting was that even for this short space, we were able to negotiate this ‘transgressive’ strategy around clothing and the effect was huge in terms of participation and engagement from the girls.

Most relevant to our work in Flatfoot’s rural programmes has been the need to negotiate the physical contact between boys and girls that often emerges in dance. In communities where safe physical contact is only allowed within the family, any other type of touching across gender is understood to be potentially sexual and as such taboo. We have reflected on the need to create physical spaces in our dance teaching where touch can be something that is safe and not sexually violating, that it can be support in a dance move or support from a friend or dancing partner. This is an on-going struggle for our work and speaks to an insidious construction of the body as ‘only’ sexual and again, the need for us as the adults and teachers in these communities to save the construction of these children’s ‘sexual innocence’. This is a power dynamic that is hard to negotiate given that the children are blatantly sexually aware (often expressed as nervous laughing when touching is part of the dance class). Ten years down the line, this kind of intervention has begun to allow another way of working for these children

and again, as the male/female dynamic is enacted by the Flatfoot dancers and teachers where touching is seen and negotiated in a dance space, the children have begun to find it easier. The end point, for me and Flatfoot, is to create an environment where the body – and in this instance the child’s body – is not disciplined and punished by social and culturally learnt gender constructions, but is allowed a space to experience the embodied joy of moving and dancing that is unfettered by what is expected of a ‘real’ boy and a ‘real’ girl.

### Last thoughts

It remains to be noted, as Foucault (1980) has reminded us, that alternates to dominant modes of being and doing, are always possible; in essence, the fact that these children seek our Flatfoot dance programmes and are never coerced into joining (some of the Umlazi children have been dancing with us for 10 years) means that there are indeed alternate possibilities and choices being made. Even though the dance work we do competes against more dominant discourses like gendered family life, school education systems, media etc, we remain firm in our belief that a liberatory pedagogy is possible and that in offering this we are offering the potential for a transgressive children’s dance education practice. As mentioned at the beginning of this *Perspective*, our arts intervention work seeks to recognise that the expression of childhood sexuality is an important arena through which social, cultural and personal gender power inequalities are played out and, importantly to our work, potentially challenged. We work from the assumption that sexual innocence should not be assumed when working with youth and children in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal (and South Africa), but rather that issues around sexuality and gender become the very real landscape that these children are allowed and encouraged to negotiate through dance practice which constantly seeks to bring them back to their physically present and embodied selves.

### Notes

1. For recent statistics see: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022011.pdf>.
2. For recent statistics, see [http://www.childrencount.ci.org.za/uploads/brief\\_child\\_headed\\_households.pdf](http://www.childrencount.ci.org.za/uploads/brief_child_headed_households.pdf).
3. See UNIFEM’s Violence Against Women Index [http://www.unifem.org/gender\\_issues/violence\\_against\\_women/facts\\_figures.html](http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/violence_against_women/facts_figures.html)
4. See, for example Loots (2006), ‘Navigating African identities, otherness, and the “Wild Untamed Body” in dance training and pedagogy in South Africa: A case study of Flatfoot Dance Company’s dance development programmes’.
5. See [www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0341/P03412011.pdf](http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0341/P03412011.pdf).
6. See ‘Identifying South Africa’s silent Killers’, *Mail and Guardian*, 20 January 2012, [www.mg.co.za/article/2012-01-20-identifying-south-africas-silent-killers](http://www.mg.co.za/article/2012-01-20-identifying-south-africas-silent-killers).

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LLIANE LOOTS is the dance lecturer in the Drama and Performance Studies programme at University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College Campus). She is the founder and artistic director of the Durban based Flatfoot Dance Company, and a choreographer who has received numerous national and international awards for her dance and dance education work. Email: [lloodts@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:lloodts@ukzn.ac.za)