

‘A shock of electricity just sort of goes through my body’: physical activity and embodied reflexive practices in young female ballet dancers

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Participation in physical activities, in and out of school, remains heavily influenced by social constructions of gendered behaviour. In addition, the body plays a significant part in the presentation of legitimate performances of physical practice and the construction of a physical ‘identity’. The consequence is that in formalized activities many girls (and boys) are provided little chance to experience the pleasurable aspects of physical activity, as well as the added benefits of bodily confidence and knowledge. We suggest that the association of dance with other artistic forms of expression provides an opportunity to contest taken for granted assumptions about sport and physical education. The material for this paper was drawn from observations and interviews conducted with young, female dancers, aged between 9- and 11-years-old, at an internationally renowned ballet school in London.

Girls, bodies and physical activity

The social interpretation of biological sex continues to influence the way that physical activity is constructed for girls and women (Park, 1987; Scraton, 1992). Historically, physical exertion and assertion were considered to be harmful to girls’ overall development and the social understanding of ‘motherhood’ dictated that girls were seen as passive carers rather than as active providers. Evidence tends to suggest that many of these values still have currency today, and the early experiences of girls which can provide the foundation for future participation (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Hall, 1996; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Oliver & Lalik, 2004).

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Much of the writing on girls' engagement with physical activities has explored their negative experiences and consequences of exclusion, and especially from what is considered to be the male arena of sport (Scraton, 1990, 1992; Birrell & Cole, 1994). Consequently, investigations into gender in sport can be criticized for positioning boys as benefiting from sport and girls being excluded.

It has been suggested that the physical activities within the school curriculum contributes to the reinforcing of images of 'femininity' and the development of 'gender-appropriate' behaviour (Scraton, 1992). The legacy of male-dominated medicinal practices in sport, in tandem with social and cultural expectations in relation to gender meant that, for girls, physical education and physical activity were considered in terms of its appropriateness for teaching 'qualities' of grace and beauty, and as a foundation of good health and functioning.

Paechter (2003) notes how school physical education lessons present an important arena for the construction and consolidation of dominant and subordinate masculinities and femininities. Schools, as well as the sites where physical education is located—the school gym, sports hall or playing field, function as the context for displays of hegemonic forms of heterosexual masculinities and the subordination of others or alternatives (Epstein *et al.*, 2001; Renold, 2005; Skelton & Francis, 2003). Physical education in many countries remains gender segregated and a place where specific gendered performances are expected and encouraged (Hargreaves, 1994; Delamont, 1998). Paechter refers to Butler (1990, 1993) in acknowledging that gender is not only performed in the theatrical sense but is also performative. This is particularly the case for young men and women where there is more uncertainty about what constitutes correct or appropriate performances. Paechter supports the claims of social constructionists by arguing that physical education (sport, in particular) operates as a means of presenting broader social constructions of gender and identity. For her, physical education lessons provide an important arena for boys to act out hypermasculinity. She suggests that the relationship of girls and femininity to physical education is more complex partly because the agenda is set by the boys.

Two important themes emerge and provide the focus for this paper. Firstly, participation in physical activities, in and out of school, remains heavily influenced by social constructions of gendered behaviour. Particularly in mainstream sports, gendered performances are central to successful participation for both boys and girls (Wellard, 2005). Secondly, the body plays a significant part in the presentation of legitimate performances of physical practice and the construction of a physical 'identity'. The consequence is that in formalized activities there remain gender inequalities and continued attempts to restrict or contain bodies, leaving many girls (and boys) little chance to experience the pleasurable aspects of physical activity, as well as the added benefits of bodily confidence and knowledge.

Pronger (2002), drawing upon Cornell's (1992) 'philosophy of limit', describes the potential, or 'puissance' (2002, p. 66), to be found in bodily pleasures that exist 'outside' the boundaries of conventional thinking. If this concept is applied to formalized physical activities, it can be seen that a range of alternative forms of bodily expression are restricted or not even allowed. Highlighting the 'limits' of conventional

thinking about physical activity helps us explore not only who is excluded, but also the range of experiences that are available within the context of many forms of physical expression.

The body has the potential to be a source of sensual pleasure (Wright & Dewar, 1997) and, especially for girls, these pleasurable experiences provide the opportunity for individual empowerment (Talbot, 1989). As Garrett (2004) explains:

Notions of physicality and empowerment are useful as they demonstrate how young women experience themselves in physical contexts as well as the potential of different movement forms to develop a sense of physicality. (Garrett, 2004, p. 227)

Rather than focusing upon the negative aspects of girls' lack of participation in physical activities, we have concentrated upon activities that provide the opportunity for physical expression. By drawing upon dance as an activity popular among girls, our intention is to highlight the embodied, pleasurable experiences of young girls, whilst, at the same time, identify the 'limits' of many formalized activities, such as mainstream sports, which continue to exclude 'alternative' practices or bodies. We consider dance to be an established form of physical activity for girls, which incorporates different aspects to mainstream (male-based) activities, whilst demanding highly advanced physical techniques and practices by the dancer.

Background and methods

The material for this paper was drawn from observations and interviews conducted with girls, aged between 9- and 11-years-old, who took part in the junior phase of the associate programme which was held at an internationally renowned ballet school in London.

The associate programme at the ballet school employs traditional training methods, as well as contemporary forms of body conditioning, that emphasize the codified steps, bodily technique and practise of prescribed skills and dances, with an overall aim to develop artistic sensitivity and precise technique. The dancer is led to develop the physical attributes of flexibility, strength, posture, alignment, stamina, control and coordination, as well as to learn expressive movement by applying qualities such as rhythm, phrasing and spatial patterning. Throughout the class there is an emphasis on feelings associated with the movements and improving performance.

Dance, like gymnastics, ice-skating and swimming, recruits girls at an early age. On average, the girls take part in approximately five hours per week formal lessons (including two and a quarter hours in the associate class at the ballet school where this research was conducted), with some girls having up to 10 hours of lessons per week. All the girls in the study were eager to experiment further and practise independently for several additional hours per week. The taught lessons were mainly in ballet although the girls were open to stimuli from other dance forms, as many regularly attended, or had previous experience of modern, jazz, character and tap styles of dance.

A team of three researchers met on a number of occasions in advance of the interviewing process to discuss the format and to clarify any ambiguities with the proposed

language and interview structure. This internal critique of the interview schedule was a way of developing language appropriate to the ages of the children we were working with. Adjustments were made in the ways in which interviewers 'prepared' the participants at the start of interviewing (for example, by emphasizing that their views were valued and that 'correct' answers were not being sought, and by stressing the voluntary nature of participation in the study).

Letters were sent to all students of the junior associate programme and their parents, distributed by the programme teacher. These letters explained the purpose of the study, that participation was entirely voluntary, and invited both students and their parents to participate. In all, 30 interviews were finally conducted (15 girls and 15 parents). Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. For the purposes of this paper, we have used the data gathered from the girls.

We found that using at least two researchers during the interview sessions enabled us to conduct the interviews with less interruption to the timetable and was also beneficial for methodological purposes. Conducting the research with other colleagues also enabled us to alternate the interviews with parents and students. Consequently, we were able to reflect upon the interview processes in terms of our experiences with the parents and young people and develop strategies which could assist more effective collection of material. In addition, we found that we were able to support each other in various practical and intellectual ways. Interviewing the parent at the same time as the student allowed for the girls to be less influenced by the presence of a parent. Although we were adults, we could position ourselves as external to the dance school and provide additional reassurance that the discussions would have less impact upon their relationships with other school staff.

As experienced education practitioners and researchers, we were aware of the many time constraints placed upon teachers' working patterns and did not want to add to these without undue cause. The interviews were arranged well in advance so that little disruption to the normal timetable of the programme was encountered. Although we were constrained by having the sample chosen for us and our reliance upon the interviews as the prime source of data, we were aware that meaning is 'actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter' (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, p. 114). In addition, we were aware that the interview itself is a rich social encounter and like any other research there is constant decision-making on behalf of the researcher. Acknowledging these decision-making processes is part of the reflexive approach to the research (Bourdieu, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

All participants were made aware of the study's aim, the procedures that would be undertaken, the nature of their contribution and the confidentiality of their responses. They were told that they could end the interview or withdraw from the study at any stage, and that there would be no implications for the programme or themselves if they did so (Jago & Bailey, 2001). The access to and sharing of data was confined to the research team and managed in accordance with the Data Protection Act, 1998. Pseudonyms have been used for all quotes cited.

The semi-structured format of interview led to an open-ended discussion and invited the participants to base their responses on their own experiences, focusing on

what they consider to be relevant or important. At the same time, having a structure in terms of a series of prescribed questions aided analysis of the transcribed material and allowed us to identify themes from the responses. We also wanted a sense of purpose and structure to the interviews and did not want to have to record endless conversations in the hope that relevant material would emerge at some stage. A form of detailed grounding (Strauss, 1987) by systematically and intensively analysing data was adopted. However, we were not obsessed with the idea of classifying and coding everything; we wanted to be selective about the information gathered by focusing specifically on the main aims of the research. As Strauss (1987, p. 22) suggests, 'The focus of analysis is not merely collecting or ordering a mass of data, but organizing many ideas which have emerged from analysis of the data'.

Dance and the body

The significance of the body as a central theoretical concern could be considered a relatively recent concept within the social sciences (Turner, 1984; Frank, 1990; Shilling, 1993). However, most interest in the body has emerged in a range of sub-disciplines of the social sciences like feminism, psychoanalysis and social philosophy where the focus has tended to be something else such as gender, consumption or health and illness (Bordo, 1990; Grosz, 1994; Falk, 1994; Young *et al.*, 1994). Similarly, in terms of dance, most academic work has emerged within the field of anthropology, where the rituals and processes of dance forms provide the focus (Buckland, 1999). The moving, dancing body has warranted relatively little attention in academia (Thomas, 2003).

Humans possess, and to a certain extent are shaped by, their bodies (Turner, 1992); they also experience the world through their bodies (Shilling, 1993). The body is the primary means of expression and representation in western dance. According to Frank (1991), in dance, the body is communicative in that it is 'a body in the process of creating itself' (1991, p. 79). The body is seen as an unfinished entity that is shaped and constructed in and invented by society (Thomas, 2003). We are interested, then, in dance as a situated, aesthetic practice. However, at the same time, we recognize the relevance of biological aspects that influence the individual, embodied experience of dance (and other physical activities). Whereas Frank spoke of the communicative body in dance and in relation to other typologies of the body such as the disciplined, the mirroring and the dominating (1991, p. 54), we feel that body reflexive practices incorporate elements of all the typologies as well being communicative. In other words, we can talk about the social forces that operate to construct our understanding of 'dance', but we must also remember that the activity creates corporeal sensations that are experienced as unique by the individual dancer. In this particular case, the bodily reflexive practices of the young girls provide the focus and are considered in relation to their early experiences of dance.

Dance provides a site for examining the limitations and possibilities of the physical body. The professional dancer's body is trained to be strong and flexible and to move in ways at which others can often only wonder. It can reveal the infinite possibilities

of the body in movement and stillness (Thomas, 2003). By a kind of physical apprenticeship, student dancers learn to use their bodies, rather as apprentice craftsmen and musicians learn to use tools or instruments to produce a result that is subsequently evaluated by the teacher (Buckroyd, 2000). However, describing the body purely in terms of an instrument tends to dehumanize the whole person to a thing that is, 'refined and sharpened to perform particular skills. It suggests an unfeeling precious thing to be handled with care and used only for a specific purpose' (Geeves, cited in Brinson, 1993, p. 11).

It is important to recognize a range of factors that impact upon the mind and the body, and we approached our investigations into the experiences of the young ballet dancer bearing these factors in mind.

Embodied reflexive practices

Connell (1995, 2000) applies a social constructionist approach that incorporates the physical body within these social processes. As Connell suggests: 'Bodies, in their own right as bodies, do matter. They age, get sick, enjoy, engender, give birth. There is an irreducible bodily dimension in experience and practice: the sweat cannot be excluded' (Connell, 1995, p. 51).

Connell argues for a stronger theoretical position than those which focus solely on either the individual or discourse, which recognizes the role bodies have in social agency and the influence they have in generating and shaping social conduct. For him, the body is the central means through which gendered identity is constructed. However, he argues that it is still important to recognize other external factors that influence directly or indirectly the construction of gendered identity. For example, most research on sport emphasizes the ways in which disciplinary practices produce gender and thereby fails to capture the individual pleasure gained from the actual physical pursuit itself (Connell, 1995). In addition, he notes that the ways in which individuals experience their bodies vary. For example, an organized competitive tennis match between two players produces different emotions and feelings in comparison to the pleasure gained from hitting a ball to another person in a park or on a beach. Each can be considered physical pursuits but, at the same time, the individuals participating in them do so for contrasting reasons. This suggests that social and cultural factors interact with individual experiences of the body. This in turn creates a need to recognize not only the social forms and practices which underpin the individual's ability to take part in dance, or any other physical activity, but also the unique experiences or physical thrill of bodily-based expression. For example, Molly, one of the dancers in our study, graphically and memorably describes her experience of dancing as follows: 'I'm not quite sure how to say it, but a shock of electricity just sort of goes through my body'.

It would be difficult to account fully for the individual experience of dance on the basis of purely structural determinants. Social codes may dictate the appropriateness of an individual taking part in an organized activity, but this does not necessarily take into account how the individual enjoys the experience. In a similar manner, it is

difficult to understand from a purely Foucauldian (for example, 1984, 1986) perspective the individual enjoyment experienced by an elderly woman or an elite athlete when taking part in physical exercise or, for that point, why an individual who is excluded from an activity at the normative social level would want to continue to take part on his or her own or with other excluded people. On a broader level, Foucault does not fully account for individual bodily experiences, which are socially defined and socially regulated but continued even in the face of social exclusion. Many girls enjoy sporting and physical activities, but have to manage and negotiate their sexuality in order to continue taking part in mainstream physical activities. Thus, for girls, the bodily pleasures experienced through sporting activity have to be managed within a social understanding of the discourse of heteronormative masculinity (Butler, 1993), which in many cases may restrict ability to take part.

It is here that Connell is particularly instructive as his arguments form the basis of an understanding of the importance of the body and bodily practices. Connell attempts to incorporate the role of the biological in the social construction of gender and also applies a sociological reading of the social world where social actors are exposed to the restrictions created by social structures. Body-reflexive practices are, he argues, formed through a circuit of bodily experiences which link to bodily interaction and bodily experience via socially constructed bodily understandings that lead to new bodily interactions. As a result, Connell argues that social theory needs to account for the corporeality of the body. He writes: 'Through body-reflexive practices, bodies are addressed by social process and drawn into history, without ceasing to be bodies. They do not turn into symbols, signs or positions in discourse' (Connell, 1995, p. 64).

As such, materiality continues to matter and practice makes the world. Connell incorporates the corporeal to cultural definitions of gender in order to demonstrate the socially constructed nature of masculinity and femininity:

Gender is (among other things) a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures and ways of moving, certain possibilities in sex. Bodily experience is often central in the memories of our own lives, and thus our understanding of who and what we are. (Connell, 1995, p. 53)

The acknowledgement of the relationship of the individual to his or her body is what distinguishes Connell's argument from others. He demonstrates how this corporeal relationship is at the same time influenced or governed by social definitions, especially in the case of gender where there are classifications of masculinity and femininity. The body then is the starting point through which social definitions of gender can be read and, at the same time, as the individual experience of the living body is recognized there is the potential for a form of agency in the form of practice. Connell suggests that human practice makes the reality in which we reside. Thus, for example, Sadie and Andrea constructed an understanding of ballet that is informed through a clear interpretation of the body:

Well it's quite different because there are certain moves that are strong and not strong—you can point. Other dance does not have so many positions. Ballet makes you think about

your whole body. You've got to think of how the body works together to make it really nice.
(Sadie)

The teachers have to look at your posture and they teach you dances, work at the barre, they give you exercises to help your body to make you a proper dancer. (Andrea)

The understanding of ballet, or 'being' a ballet dancer, incorporates a bodily reflexive process where the body is contemplated and 'performed'. Specific social performances which convey the correct 'body' are then rehearsed and presented. However, the biological characteristics weigh heavily and can either enhance or impede the presentation of the balletic body. For example, Emily and Lauren described how they recognized particular bodily characteristics that could either enhance or restrict their progression:

Emily: Because I don't have a classical look. I look more modern, not exactly jazzy.

Interviewer: What would you say is a classical look then?

Emily: Probably like a darker look.

Yeah, everyone said that I had good posture before—that I always had my back straight up. (Lauren)

These characteristics were observed in their own bodies as well as others. For instance, Antonia described her teacher as 'very bendy' which suggested that she had already learned that prior possession of specific bodily characteristics, constructed through social definitions of the appropriate body for a dancer, created forms of social capital which would allow entry or further participation. Consequently, being a ballet dancer incorporates, like other sports, the possession of specific physical characteristics combined with the ability (to learn) to 'present' social definitions of what being a dancer entails.

Social bodies

Having established an argument that the body is a vital ingredient in the formulation of a dancer's construction of the self, it is worthwhile to reflect upon the social aspects of ballet and the way individuals achieve understanding of this social world through bodily practice. The concept of practice is particularly relevant as it provides a means of acknowledging the role of the individual and individual experience in wider social relations. For Bourdieu (1990), practice is firstly located in space and in time and secondly, it is not consciously organized and orchestrated. For instance, Bourdieu talks about social relations in terms of how an individual develops 'a feel for the game' and, 'a mastery acquired by experience of the game, and one which works outside of conscious control and discourse (in a way that, for instance, techniques of the body do)' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 61).

Bourdieu's concept of a social actor learning the rules of the game is similar to Goffman's (1972) sense of theatrical activity. Both acknowledge the role of the individual within social interaction, but Bourdieu develops this further when he refers to doxic experience. This relates to the notion that people take themselves and their social world for granted, that is, they do not think about it because they do not have

to. However, in the context of dance, the girls have to contemplate their bodies as both strong and soft, which suggests that they have to, to a certain degree, renegotiate their physical and gendered identities.

Bourdieu's metaphor of social life as a game does have problems though. As Jenkins (1992) points out, games have rules and are learnt through explicit teaching as well as practice, which is important for social competence. However, in sport, excellence is prioritized whereas only competence is needed for the habitus. The problem with this description is that Bourdieu does not fully account for the difference between competence and excellence. This is a particularly significant factor in the contexts of formalized physical activities since competence allows participation, but only to a certain extent: the social constructions of gender and sexuality create barriers to participation regardless of competence or excellence. Thus, the continued focus on excellence, in the form of idealized versions of bodily performance, is not fully covered by the concepts of taste and cultural capital when taking into account gender and sexuality.

An important aspect of this relates to the concept of hexus, which can be considered as forming the style and manner in which actors perform, such as gait, stance or gesture. Hexus presents a social performance of where the individual is located within the habitus. It also demonstrates the importance of the body in Bourdieu's conceptualization of the habitus. For it is in bodily hexis that the idiosyncratic (the personal) combines with the systematic (the social) and mediates a link between an individual's subjective world and the cultural world into which he or she is born and which she or he shares with others. Thus:

For Bourdieu, the body is a mnemonic device upon and in which the very basics of culture, the practical taxonomies of the habitus, are imprinted and encoded in a socializing or learning process which commences during early childhood. This differentiation between learning and socialization is important: the habitus is inculcated as much, if not more, by experience as by explicit teaching. (Jenkins, 1992, p. 76)

In habitus, power derives from the taken for granted aspects of the performances. Socially competent performances are produced through routine, in the sense that the actor's competence is demonstrated in not necessarily knowing what they are doing. For instance, Phoebe described how thinking about posture was important in ballet in comparison to other dance classes she had attended: 'Well here you do more thinking about your body and posture and where I dance at the other place I do just dancing—you don't really think about posture'.

However, for Phoebe, there was no need to contemplate 'why' posture was so important in ballet. For her, it was a taken for granted aspect of the practice of ballet and, consequently, became an intrinsic part of the process of becoming a dancer.

Body discipline

Although we have attempted to locate ourselves in a broader theoretical position, it is still important to recognize the influence of post-structuralist readings of the 'disciplined body'. A theme which emerged in the interviews with the girls was the constant

need by them to monitor and regulate their bodies. For instance, Beatrice and Charlotte describe the importance of both discipline and hard work in their daily routines.

My teachers helped me... they're strict and they make you work hard... but it has to be fun, it makes you stay there. (Beatrice)

I've seen a lot of discipline. I don't get corrected a lot but when there's a new step I get corrected quite a lot and quite often, but then I learn from the corrections. (Charlotte)

Wainwright and Turner (2004), in their study of former ballet dancers and staff, comment upon the 'sheer physical hard work of the professional ballet dancers' (2004, p. 314), which is comparable with the physical training undertaken by professional athletes. Heikkala (1993), drawing upon Foucault (1984, 1986) applies the idea that athletes are subjects, not only of external authority, such as those exerted by sporting governing bodies, but also through 'their own understanding and reflection relative to the ways they fulfil the plans' (Heikkala, 1993, p. 401). These techniques of the self allow individuals to perform operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct and ways of being in order to transform their identities within these practices and in turn achieve happiness and/or perfection. This relates to dance as well as sport in that although it is evident there is external control and power enforced by governing authorities, there are other factors within the process. Dance, like sport is not always compulsory, particularly outside of school there is a voluntary element. In the case of the girls, although they had been selected for the junior associate classes, they were still attending on a voluntary basis. As Heikkala explains, in relation to the sports performer:

Sport is not forced labour; it must and does include a strong voluntary flavour. Significantly, the will to do better must also carry a strong internalized feeling of a 'need' of discipline and conformity to the practices necessary for achieving the desired goal. (Heikkala, 1993, p. 401)

Thus, for the young dancers, it became immediately apparent that they needed to regulate and identify in order to achieve the desired goal. For example:

Interviewer: Do you have any particular areas that are a problem for you—that you have to work on?

Olivia: Probably the strength in my stomach.

Whilst we agree that there is a vast array of disciplinary technologies and practices imposing upon the young dancers, recognition must also be given to the individual, sensuous experiences that are involved in the activity. Many of the girls described their experiences of dance in ways that contradicted arguments that draw entirely upon the regulated aspects of the classes. For example, the girls described the sensation of dance as liberating:

Sophie: Ballet makes me feel free.

Jessica: It is a beautiful experience.

Often, these descriptions were framed in terms of how they felt whilst dancing. Words, such as 'soft', 'flowing', 'gentle' and 'dreamy' were used. Given that the

classes were held on Saturdays, outside of school hours and in a non-compulsory setting, the importance placed upon these embodied experiences demonstrates the significance of 'pleasure', in a much broader sense, as a factor in the girls' participation.

Conclusions

Evidence which highlights the extent to which girls enjoy extreme forms of physicality and continue to choose to do so, contests general assumptions about those considered most suitable for physical activities.

The association of dance with other artistic forms of expression provides the opportunity to contest taken for granted assumptions about sport and physical education. The young girls were able to explore their own bodies, both physically and artistically in ways that go beyond the forms of experience found in conventional sports. However, the transgressive impact of the dancers is still embedded in other forms of restraint, particularly those related to the gendered aspects of dance culture. For instance, Jessica described how the other children at school considered dance: 'They thought I was sissy some of them, you know, doing ballet'.

The experience of dance, though, for Jessica (and the other girls) was enough for her to continue participating regardless of the comments from her peers. It is from this perspective that we suggest that looking at forms of physical activity 'outside' of conventional forms of sport may provide more examples of different ways to engage young people in physical activities—which ultimately encourage embodied pleasurable experiences.

According to Garrett:

The signposts are there for PE to move beyond narrow forms of physical expression and beyond the school to more closely link learning to the powerful and defining culture in which young women exist. Practices should allow for multiple physical identities and multiple way of being physical as well as challenging narrow and limiting conceptions of gender and the body. (Garrett, 2004, p. 236)

There is an irony in the fact that many of the practices which form the basis of dance incorporate many of the distinguishing factors used so often to describe performers or performances in elite male sports. For instance, one of the questions we asked the dancers related to their sources of inspiration. Professional dancers, in particular Darcey Bussell, were often cited. The following response was typical: '[Darcey] dances with strength and grace'.

The combination of strength and grace has often been a factor in the descriptions of many male sporting 'heroes' (for example, McEnroe in tennis, Best and Pele in football). The possession of sporting skills combined with strength and grace, or 'artistic flair' reportedly separated them from the ordinary player. However, these qualities are core aspects in the development of the young dancers. Exploring their bodies, not only in terms of physical accomplishment, but also in terms of artistic and creative expression, suggests that there is much to be learnt from the practices inherent in dance.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank Jacqui Dumont and Nicola Gaines for their support and enthusiasm for the research, and all the children who kindly gave their permission and time to be involved in this research. We would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Vanessa Wennerstrom.

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